

FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN CHINA

**Human Rights Watch/Asia
(formerly Asia Watch)**

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Human Rights Watch/Asia (formerly Asia Watch)

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Addresses for Human Rights Watch

**485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104
Tel: (212) 972-8400
Fax: (212) 972-0905
email: hrwatchnyc@igc.apc.org**

**10951 West Pico Blvd., #203
Los Angeles, CA 90064
Tel: (310) 475-3070
Fax: (310) 475-5613
email: hrwatchla@igc.apc.org**

**1522 K Street, N.W., #910
Washington, DC 20005
Tel: (202) 371-6592
Fax: (202) 371-0124
email: hrwatchdc@igc.apc.org**

**90 Borough High Street
London, UK SE1 1LL
Tel: (071) 378-8008
Fax: (071) 378-8029
email: hrwatchuk@gn.apc.org**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	i
I. Introduction.....	1
II. The Religious Bureaucracy and the "Unofficial" Church	4
III. The Campaign.....	9
IV. Restrictions on Religion.....	15
1. Registration of Meeting Places	15
2. Fiscal Management.....	17
3. Recruitment and Training	19
4. Dissemination of Religious Literature.....	21
5. Proselytization	22
6. Superstitious Activities.....	22
V. Arrests and Trials	25
1. Catholics	25
2. Protestants.....	40
3. Sect Members	47
VI. Appendices	
1. Document 6: On Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion	49
2. Document 19: The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question During Our Country's Socialist Period.....	59
3. Document 3: Stepping up Control Over the Catholic Church to Meet the New Situation 81	
4. Vigilance Against Infiltration by Religious Forces from Abroad	91
5. Provisional Regulations Governing Places for Religious Activities in Kunming	95
6. Guangdong Regulation No. 44: Regulations on the Administrative Supervision of Places of Religious Activity in Guangdong Province.....	102
7. Provisional Regulations on the Administration of Religious Activities in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region	109
8. Notice on the Prevention of Some Places Using Religious Activities to Hinder School Education.....	114
9. Decision on Re-education Through Labor	119
10. Stipulations for the Villagers Regarding Normal Catholic Church Activities.....	121
11. A Regulation Concerning the Protection of Normal Religious Activities in Hunan	

Christian Church.....	125
12. A Report on the Development of Christian Sects in China.....	128

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The report was edited by Sidney Jones and Robert Kimzey. Lydia Lobenthal and Paige Wilhite assisted in the production of the manuscript.

Marxists should be atheists, not theists. Their world outlook should be dialectical materialism and historical materialism, not idealism.

– Tibet Daily, September 4, 1990

I. Introduction

In early 1989, well aware of the role of the church in eastern Europe, the monasteries in Tibet, and mosques in Xinjiang in fostering nationalist sentiments, Chinese authorities undertook a campaign to tighten controls over religious practice. The campaign intensified in the aftermath of the crackdown on the pro-democracy movement in Tiananmen Square and is still underway more than two years later. It has affected Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and Buddhists and members of what the Chinese government calls "superstitious" sects.¹ It has led to a proliferation of new regulations at the national, provincial and local levels. It has also led to increased harassment, intimidation, and arrests of religious leaders and layworkers.

In a country where Communist Party members who are not committed atheists can be expelled from the Party, Chinese leaders worry about the political power of religion. This concern is clearly articulated in an internal Party document dated February 5, 1991, "Document No.6: On Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion" (see Appendix 1). According to that document,

...we must realize that hostile forces beyond our border have all along been using religion as an important means to carry out their strategy of bringing about 'peaceful evolution' in our country. They have continuously engaged in infiltration and disruptive activities against us. The national splittists have also used religion to stir up trouble, attack party leadership and the social system, and undermine the unification of the motherland and national unity. In certain places, a few hostile elements run rampant. They establish illegal organizations and try to wrest leadership of the monasteries, Daoist temples and churches from us. Some of them illegally opened Bible colleges, convents and theological seminaries, trying to compete with us for the hearts and minds of young people. Some monasteries restored their feudal religious privileges,

¹The campaign does not appear to have affected Daoists as much, in part because Daoism is an indigenous religion without substantial international ties, in part because it has not made a significant institutional comeback since the Cultural Revolution. Daoists are, however, subject to the same restrictions as members of other faiths.

oppression and exploitation that had been abolished..."

The fear that religion can be a vehicle for subversion by foreign agents means that those who practice their faith outside the official religious bureaucracy can be charged with counterrevolution, especially Article 91 of the Criminal Code which makes "colluding with foreign states to harm the sovereignty of the motherland" a crime punishable by a prison term of ten years to life.

Catholics have come under particular attack in the government campaign. In February 1989, the central office of the Communist Party issued a circular to the United Front entitled "Stepping Up Control Over the Catholic Church to Meet the New Situation" (see Appendix 3). The circular accused the Vatican, which continues to recognize Taiwan as the legal government of China, of trying to send agents into China and wrest control of the government-sponsored church. The main concern of the government, however, appears to have been that the Catholic church in China, its size notwithstanding, might draw inspiration from the church in Poland and elsewhere in eastern Europe to engage in anti-communist activities. Official statistics say there are some 3.5 million Catholics in China, but those statistics reflect only those members of the state-sanctioned church, which rejects allegiance to the Vatican. If the number of Catholics in the underground church movement were counted, the total would probably double.

Evidence that the Chinese authorities at the end of 1991 were continuing to associate Christian religious activities with undesirable western influence came in the form of a circular from the United Front, the Propaganda Department and the Religious Affairs Bureau in Guangdong in November, restricting Christmas celebrations in the province. According to the statement, all outward manifestations of the holiday, such as lanterns, festive lights and playing recordings of Christmas carols in public, were banned. School authorities were exhorted to dissuade students from organizing or taking part in festivities, and government agencies were told to draw up measures discouraging church attendance or the exchange of cards.²

Asia Watch is concerned that this escalating campaign violates the internationally recognized right to freedom of religion.³ It also violates Article 36 of the 1982 Chinese constitution, which provides for freedom of religious belief:

Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief....No state organ, public organization or individual may compel citizens to believe in, or not to believe in,

² *Interpress*, November 9, 1991.

³See *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Articles 18, 19, 20.1, 20.2 and 26.3; *1981 Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*, Articles 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, 5.2 and 6; *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, Article 18.

any religion; nor may they discriminate against citizens who believe in, or do not believe in, any religion.⁴

Before analyzing how and why the current campaign to restrict religious practices came into being, it is important to understand the religious bureaucracy in China, a structure which in and of itself obstructs religious practice, and the nature of unofficial or "underground" churches.

⁴Article 36 has a qualifying clause, however: "The state protects normal religious activities. No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state." The article also states that "Religious bodies and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign domination."

II. The Religious Bureaucracy and the "Unofficial" Church

The Chinese government tolerates religion -- Marx's "opiate of the people" -- only to the extent that it contributes to China's "unity, strength, production, modernization and socialization."⁵ With the realization of "socialism with Chinese characteristics," the need for idealistic creeds will disappear; religious practice will wither and die. Until then, according to Chinese theorists, religion should not be driven underground where it can neither be effectively controlled nor contribute to economic growth. Rather, it should be harnessed to serve the interests of the state.

That harnessing takes place by restricting the number of officially recognized religions to five and exercising strict party control over their institutions and leaders. The five recognized religions, all of which have scriptures and a specific set of beliefs, are Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism, Daoism, and Islam. Each is monitored by a "patriotic association," which acts as a liaison between the party/government and the relevant church. There are five national associations: the Chinese Buddhist Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Daoist Association, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM), and the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CPA).⁶ Organized during the 1950s on the national, provincial, county and in the case of the Catholics, the diocesan level, these organizations were disbanded during the Cultural Revolution, then revived to transmit directives and policies to the official churches, keep the government informed of the needs and activities of these institutions, and regulate their internal affairs.

The patriotic associations are not voluntary organizations of clergy and laity as the government maintains, but a key part of the state bureaucracy staffed by government and/or party functionaries. They are headed by a general

⁵"Document No.19: The Basic Viewpoint and Basic Policy of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Religious Question in the Period of Socialism in China," March 3, 1982 (see Appendix 2). In the People's Republic of China (PRC), Document No.19 is the authoritative statement on religious policy. It was a *neibu* or restricted circulation document, but was widely leaked. Document No.6, dated 1991, is an amplification of its principles. See also Appendix 10, "Stipulations for the Villagers Regarding Normal Catholic Church Activities," paragraph 9.

⁶There are three other government agencies, two Catholic and one Protestant. The Chinese Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Catholic Administrative Commission were both organized in 1980 to facilitate church unity. They rule on such internal matters as Catholic theology, training of clergy, and regulation of church discipline. These two, together with the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, all have secular elements and overlapping memberships. The other Protestant organization is the Chinese Christian Council.

secretary who reports back to the Religious Affairs Bureau or *zhong jiao ju*. That bureau, together with the United Front,⁷ controls and administers religious activities, although religious policy is made at the highest party level, the Central Committee.

According to Document No.6,

All patriotic religious organizations must accept the leadership of the party and the government, abide by the law of the land, carry forward the tradition of self-education and constantly educate their religious staff in patriotism, socialism, the policy on current developments, laws and regulations of the country and steadily enhance their consciousness in defending the interests of the state...

The Chinese government is particularly concerned about keeping religious institutions free of any foreign influence. The "three-self" policy speaks directly to that concern. It calls for self-administration, self-support and self-propagation, and was established at least in part as a reaction to the years when foreign missionaries, whom the Chinese see as having been agents of imperialism, were active in China.

Many Catholics and Protestants reject the notion that the party should control religion. Even though any activity outside the religious bureaucracy is automatically illegal, rather than accept restriction, they practice their faith within an underground church movement. Catholics in China face a particular problem, because the "three-self" policy requires severance of all links with the Vatican and local election of bishops rather than appointment by the Pope. For believers, the link with the Vatican is not a political matter, as Chinese authorities view it, but goes to the heart of what it means to be Catholic. Many Catholics have therefore defied government decrees and organized underground groups. Some twenty-five bishops, who in turn have ordained about two hundred underground priests, have been secretly consecrated by Rome; congregations meet clandestinely; and diocesan affairs are managed independently of the Chinese government.

It should be noted that the division between the official and unofficial church is not absolute. Some Vatican-ordained clergy are active in the official church; some official clergy preside at underground services. Some loyal to the Vatican cooperate with the Chinese government in the interest of keeping religion alive and available. Some worshippers are in attendance at both official and unofficial churches. According to one report, some twenty bishops belonging to the Catholic Patriotic Association have been recognized by the Pope.⁸ They represent approximately one-third of the total number of government-approved bishops.

⁷United Front refers to the Leninist concept of seeking unity while preserving difference.

⁸ *Reuters*, September 10, 1991. There has been no confirmation from the Vatican.

Protestants (whom the Chinese refer to as Christians), including Methodists, Anglicans, Baptists, and Presbyterians, responded to the "three-self" policy by dropping their denominational ties and uniting in a single, "post-denominational" church. The Chinese Christian Council, representing the one church, was admitted to membership in the World Council of Churches on February 18, 1991, with the permission of the Chinese government.

Many Protestants, however, are unhappy with the "post-denominational" church and prefer the flourishing "house church" movement, where they meet in individual homes rather than in a formal church. The movement dates back to the Cultural Revolution when all religious activities were forbidden. Reliable estimates put the number of house churches at some 20,000, many but not all of which are dissident congregations opposed to the official church. They range in size from a handful of people to over 1,000, but most are small. Despite precautions, raids are frequent. Since 1990, according to one informant, such raids have increased significantly. Official religious personnel regularly denounce house church leaders and congregants to public security bureaus. In mid-May 1991, house church leaders in Zhejiang received letters from local public security bureaus and United Front departments and were visited by officials, warning that their meetings were illegal and must cease unless they agree to register with the Three-Self Patriotic Association.

House churches, usually but not exclusively a rural phenomenon, are composed of those clergy and laity who feel their doctrinal and liturgical traditions cannot be incorporated in the one "post-denominational" church. For example, a sermon considered legitimate by the Chinese government, delivered to a passive urban congregation, is likely to be an intellectual exposition of scripture with a strong emphasis on morality. House church services, particularly those of fundamentalist sects such as the Little Flock, the Jesus Family, and the Whole Scope Church, may include evangelical components and a powerful emotionalism. Evidence of miracles and healing may be presented by active congregants⁹ and approach what the government would consider "superstition."

One example of the tension existing between house church leaders and Chinese officials is the case of Lin Xiangao (Samuel Lamb). Lin, a house church leader, has been detained numerous times for his determination to avoid joining the official church. When Liu Wenyan, Director of Religious Affairs in Guangdong Province, wanted to know why Lin had to practice religion on his own when there were already sufficient churches for him to attend, Lin replied that his faith was controlled by God, not the government -- joining the official church would cede control over what he may preach, what topics he must avoid, and how long his sermons may run.¹⁰

⁹Alan Hunter, *Bridge*, No.44, November-December 1990.

¹⁰*New York Times*, June 28, 1991.

III. The Campaign

A series of meetings at both the national and provincial levels held in 1989 and 1990 indicates the seriousness with which the government pursued this campaign. The first salvo was the issuing on February 11, 1989 of the confidential Party document referred to above (Appendix 3), which ordered a tightening up of control over the Catholic Church. "We must make an example," the document stated, "of those underground individuals who continue in their stubborn opposition despite the patient efforts the government has made to win them over, and who continue to stir up Catholic communities and disturb the social order. We must expose their crimes publicly and deal severely with them in accordance with the law." The document was transmitted from the Central Office of the Communist Party and the State Council to the United Front Department and the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council, then to Party committees and people's governments at the provincial level and from there to the counties, with instructions to implement in accordance with local conditions.

Hebei Province, where one of the largest concentrations of Chinese Catholics lives, was the target of the next round. Document No.26, issued on May 13, 1989 in Hebei, warned that religion could not be allowed to interfere with work, production, education, social life, and military activity. The document was issued at the height of the student protests in Tiananmen Square, and the government clearly saw religion and political protest as an explosive mixture. In fact, many religious leaders did support the students. Bishop K. H. Ting, senior leader of the official Protestant church and vice-president of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, writing on May 18, 1989, said "we wholeheartedly affirmed the student demonstrations in Beijing, Shanghai and other cities in recent days," called the "hunger-strikes...a patriotic activity" and called "upon the top-level leaders of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council to carry on a dialogue with the students as soon as possible." In another statement on May 23, Bishop Ting said he rejoiced that "Christians are making their presence felt in these demonstrations" and that "students in the Nanjing Theological Seminary are taking an active part." The following day, he signed an appeal for an emergency meeting of the Standing Committee.¹¹

The next evidence that the campaign was in full swing was an internal document, "Vigilance Against Infiltration by Religious Forces from Abroad" (see Appendix 4), probably written in mid-1990 and circulated to senior officials. The document implied that unlawful acts committed in the name of religion had escalated and commented on the increased seriousness of infiltration from Iran, the Vatican, South Korea, and the "Dalai clique" – that is, the Tibet government-in-

¹¹"We" refers to the two official Protestant organizations. *Bridge*, No.36, July-August 1989, pp.6-7, 12. A retraction followed some months later. In the end, the official Protestant leadership stood publicly behind the crackdown on the pro-democracy movement.

exile in Dharamsala, India. It called on officials to be particularly vigilant of certain methods of proselytization, including evangelical broadcasts using local dialects and powerful signals, academic exchanges, foreign teachers of English who while instructing also proselytize, scholarships as bait for conversion, funding of factories, hospitals and schools which are then used as centers of dissent, and direct importation of publications and audiovisual materials.

The campaign did not consist just of warnings and repressive measures. A major strategy for "winning over the majority and isolating the troublemakers" began in late 1990 when the Chinese government organized "study" sessions in small hotels or guest houses to which clergy of the Catholic underground and some laypersons were "invited." According to an Asia Watch source, as many as 150 people may have taken part in these sessions in Hebei and Shaanxi provinces.¹² Participation was not voluntary, and participants were allowed to leave only after agreeing to join the Catholic Patriotic Association. Some clergy who refused to renounce allegiance to the Pope have been held in these guesthouses since December 1990, a period long enough to constitute detention without trial.

Members of the "official" Catholic church were also called in for political education. In one case, religious personnel from seven northern provinces where Catholic underground activity is centered, were ordered to a "study" seminar held in Shunyi County outside Beijing, from November 15-30, 1990. Those attending included lay officials, bishops and priests. The Deputy Director of the United Front Work Department again warned those assembled that Catholics must give up their ties to Rome, that a way must be found to politically reeducate underground Catholic Church members and to reorganize the Catholic church, and that the Eastern European revolution against communism will not be exported to China.¹³ (Another meeting, this one primarily for Catholic religious personnel from southern China, was held in Beijing April 24 to May 10, 1991. The main themes did not differ; for example, Bishop Joseph Zong Huaide, China's official Catholic leader, accused some underground Catholics of taking advantage of the changes in eastern Europe to "launch illegal activities" in China.¹⁴

Then an extraordinary meeting took place. A National Religious Work Conference, the first of its kind since 1949, was convened by the State Council, the highest government body in China, and held in Zhongnanhai, the seat of government in Beijing, from December 5-9, 1990.¹⁵ Some two hundred people attended, including high ranking municipal, provincial and regional officials, and

¹²The indeterminate numbers point up the difficulty in obtaining any information on the detainees.

¹³The content of the seminar previewed the national non-sectarian meetings.

¹⁴ *UCANews*, April 1, 1991.

¹⁵ *Bridge*, January-February 1991, No.45, p.2.

leading cadres from central government agencies, relevant departments and units, and mass organizations. The keynote speaker was Premier Li Peng, who told participants:

By keeping a cool head, we see that imperialism and reactionary forces at home have never given up their strategy of 'peaceful evolution' to topple socialism. Therefore, the struggle between infiltration and anti-infiltration, subversion and anti-subversion, 'peaceful evolution' and anti-'peaceful evolution' will in the days to come be...in front of us for a long time."¹⁶

He called for a tightening of Party and government supervision of all aspects of religious practice and personally ordered the elimination of all unregistered places of religious activity. Other speakers focused on a corollary theme, accelerating the process of re-drafting religious law to bring under central authority the 70 percent of the nation's religious activities estimated to be "out of control."¹⁷

It was this conference which apparently led to the issuance of Document No.6 early in 1991. Before that document was circulated, however, Jiang Zemin, Secretary-General of the Chinese Communist Party, had a "heart-to-heart" meeting in January 1991 with leaders of each official religious body and with top Religious Affairs Bureau and United Front authorities. He reportedly said that religion can only proceed "within the scope stipulated by the Constitution, laws, regulations and policies,"¹⁸ a euphemistic rephrasing of an earlier statement about "increasing supervision over religious activity."

When Document No.6 was finally issued on February 5, 1991, it was sent to Party Committees and People's Governments of provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the central government (Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin), military areas, and various departments, ministries and commissions of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the military, and people's organizations. It was the first major statement of religious policy since 1982, and it went into great detail not only about principles of state control over religion but on the means of control as well. It contained an extensive section of regulations on acceptance of contributions from abroad, importation of religious publications

¹⁶ *Bridge*, No.49, September-October 1991, p.3. This view of religion as a subversive element was illustrated by the forceful reaction of the Chinese government to the announcement by the Vatican on May 28, 1991 that in 1979, Bishop Gong Pinmei, the Vatican-appointed Bishop of Shanghai, now living in exile in the United States, had been secretly named a Cardinal. Official Chinese announcements said that his elevation constituted "an interference in China's internal affairs and is thus unacceptable" and that the appointment proved that the Vatican was "trying to re-establish control over Catholic affairs in China."

¹⁷ *China News and Church Report*, September 27, 1991.

¹⁸ *Xinhua*, January 30, 1991; *FBIS*, January 31.

and visits from foreign religious figures. It made abundantly clear the Party's belief in collusion between outside forces and "criminal offenders who use religion to engage in disruptive activity." It called for registration of all places of religious activity, sharp limits on preaching and missionary work by self-styled preachers, bans on unauthorized seminaries, convents and Bible colleges, and controls on publications and donations. "Public security departments at all levels," it said, "must take forceful measures and resolutely curb those who use religion to stir up trouble."

This statement of national policy was soon followed by a series of provincial level meetings called during the first half of 1991.¹⁹ At each, the keynote speaker was the relevant party secretary or deputy secretary, who employed language almost identical to that used at the national meetings. Regulations have surfaced for Kunming City (see Appendix 5), Guangdong (see Appendix 6), Hebei and Yunnan provinces, the city of Guangzhou, and the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (see Appendix 7). Shaanxi reportedly has also issued harsh regulations.

It is worth noting that Premier Li's emphasis on the need to control religion contradicted the conclusions of a scholarly seminar, one organized by two task groups of the Contemporary Religious Research Office of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' World Religion Research Institute. At that November 1-3, 1990 meeting, about eighty theoreticians, religious affairs workers, and "patriotic" church personnel discussed "An Appraisal of the Present Situation of Religion in China," concluding that only a few "inimical elements" use religion as a cover for illicit acts. The majority are loyal Chinese and should not, according to participants, be subject to harsh treatment. Their views were ignored as the government engaged in its crackdown on the unofficial church.

The breakup of the Soviet Union in late 1991 further fueled the government's concern that religion could be used to further nationalist sentiment, particularly in Tibet and Xinjiang. (In December 1990, fifty mosques were closed in Xinjiang and the projected building of 100 more cancelled following a riot in the town of Baren by Muslims protesting a ban on the construction of a mosque near the local airport, and for the last two years, public celebrations of Tibet's Great Prayer Festival have been banned for fear they would lead to nationalist demonstrations.) In a speech on November 4, 1991, China's Public Security Minister Tao Siju told the 18th National Meeting on Public Security Work that in the coming decade the police should "effectively prevent and wage a struggle against nationalist splittists and criminals who carry out sabotage in the name of religion."²⁰

¹⁹For examples see reports on Yunnan Province, FBIS, April 19, 1991; Anhui Province, FBIS, May 3, 1991; Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, FBIS, February 25, 1991; Heilongjiang Province, FBIS, May 30, 1991; Hebei Province, FBIS, July 3 and July 11, 1991; Qinghai Province, FBIS, June 21, 1991; Henan Province, FBIS, June 6, 1991; Sichuan Province, FBIS, March 22, 1991.

²⁰ *Agence France Presse*, November 8, 1991.

IV. Restrictions on Religion

The 1989-91 campaign builds, as discussed, on a fundamental ideological antipathy toward religion, and numerous restrictions on religious practices have been in place for years. Those restrictions were spelled out in a general policy directive from 1982, Document No.19. It noted that religion would not be allowed to "meddle in the administrative or judicial affairs of the state...oppose the Party's leadership or the socialist system, or destroy national...unity." It could not "intervene in politics, education and marriage."²¹ Nor would it be permitted to "sabotage the social order, damage people's health or hinder the state education system."²² Numerous specific regulations -- national, provincial, and local -- impose restrictions on the recruitment and training of personnel, student activities, proselytization, construction and repair of church property, registration of meeting places, foreign assistance, and "superstitious" activities.

1. Registration of Meeting Places

The Religious Affairs Bureau maintains administrative control over all places of worship. All churches, mosques, temples, and "meeting points" must be registered, and to do so, they must meet official standards. For instance, espousing those parts of the Bible that deal with eschatology, such as the "second coming," are considered propaganda and cannot be mentioned in a sermon. Any preacher who violates this rule cannot have his church registered and may be subject to arrest and detention, together with members of the congregation. But a decision to apply for registration itself can expose an unofficial congregation to intense scrutiny by local authorities leading to the congregation's being restricted or even disbanded.

Registration is at the heart of the state's stepped-up campaign to regulate all religious activities, and it has affected in particular the underground Catholic church and the Protestant "house church" movement. According to a document from Guangdong, temples, churches, and "points of activities" must apply to the Religious Affairs Bureau for registration. In the city of Guangzhou, no church with more than 30 congregants can register. The person applying for registration must himself be approved by county and municipal level patriotic associations. The written application must be submitted to the municipal, county and village level patriotic associations for comment, then to municipal and county government Religious Affairs Bureau offices for examination.²³ Anyone wishing to

²¹Lei Zhenchang, "Why Must China Practice Freedom of Religious Belief?" *Red Flag*, no.5, March 1, 1981.

²² *Zhongguo Ribao*, September 22, 1990.

²³Letter from Bishop K.H. Ting, vice chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative

open a religious school or conduct any form of religious activity must apply to do so. Any changes in courses of study need approval as do changes in number of personnel.

Seminaries and convents without official approval are illegal and are routinely dissolved. According to an Asia Watch source, during the 1990 Christmas season, Catholic seminarians and novitiates were physically assaulted in police raids; superiors at a convent and seminary in Dingzhou (Hebei Province) were detained for more than a month until a fine of 7,000 *renmin bi* (\$1,344) was paid; and in Yixian, diocesan nuns were forced to disperse and to attend a local study seminar. Evangelical training courses have been suspended by some local authorities.²⁴ In March 1990, five imams in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region dissolved "of their own accord" a religious school set up without governmental approval.²⁵

A house church in Nanjing, with 600 to 1,000 congregants, and services characterized by healing and miracles, was shut down in mid-April 1991 after all attempts to pressure it to join the Three-Self Patriotic Movement failed. When, in March, the local government sent Three-Self pastors to officiate at the church, members sang during sermons and otherwise disrupted the proceedings. The church building itself, bought with donations from overseas, now houses a labor service company. Its ownership reportedly will be transferred, not to the house church, but to the TSPM.²⁶

Another case involved a house church in Beijing. On March 10, 1991, a Sunday, at 3 p.m., a communion service in a private house in Beijing was disrupted by the sudden appearance of six policemen. They ordered that the meeting stop. Each of the forty or fifty participants was interrogated. The pastor and an "elderly brother" in his eighties were taken to the local police station where the latter was ordered to report to the Public Security Bureau for further investigation. He was summoned for interrogation four times thereafter and had to write a statement of repentance for going to a church other than his own and for permitting an eleven-year-old to attend services. He also had to promise that there would be no future meetings of more than fifty attendees. According to the pastor, the elderly brother's real offense was failure to register with the Three-Self Patriotic Movement.

The pastor, after interrogation about the number of believers and admonitions to join the Three-Self, was informed that the church was closed and was warned that there would be severe consequences for him if the meetings

Council to the Religious Affairs Bureau, March 20, 1988.

²⁴ *China News and Church Report*, August 30, 1991.

²⁵ *Urumqi Xinjiang Television Network* April 12, 1990; FBIS, April 17, 1990.

²⁶ *China News and Church Report*, May 24, 1991.

continued. His work unit leader threatened to reduce his salary and fire him if he continued to preach.

2. Fiscal Management

The doctrine of "self-support" means in practice that tight controls are imposed on foreign funding for any religious institution or activity.

Again, to quote Document No.6,

China's religious bodies...must adhere to the principle of independence and run their churches themselves free from control by outside forces...Attempts by hostile forces beyond our borders to control China's religions must be resolutely resisted. No religious organizations or individuals from outside the country are allowed to interfere in China's religious affairs, establish offices in China, build monasteries, Daoist temples or churches...

No one is allowed to accept religious subsidies or missionary funds from foreigners whose aim is infiltration. Chinese religious organizations must first obtain approval from people's governments at the provincial level or the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council before they can accept significant donations from foreign religious organizations or religious believers. Similar approval is required of Chinese religious organizations, monasteries, Daoist temples or churches if they are to invite foreign religious organizations or personages to visit China or accept the latter's invitation for a visit abroad.

The Chinese government itself provides some financial assistance to registered organizations, but funding remains a perennial problem. Compulsory donations in cash, kind or labor are prohibited and fund-raising activities are restricted. Document No.6 suggests that local authorities should provide office space, operational expenses, and help in "tackling the difficulties in the livelihood of clergy in certain areas." Local officials are also encouraged to provide technical assistance, to help in setting up enterprises and to offer preferential tax and credit treatment.²⁷ The aim appears to be to turn religious institutions, such as monasteries in Tibet, into "productive" operations rather than what the Chinese view as a drain on resources and talent. Ironically, however, the confiscation of religious property that took place during the Cultural Revolution, much of which remains in state hands, means that many religious institutions do not have the land or resources to be self-sufficient.

²⁷See Appendix 7, "Provisional Regulations On The Administration of Religious Activities in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region," published in *Xinjiang Ribao*, September 16, 1990; FBIS, October 24, 1990.

Decisions as to the allocation of funds, including salaries of the clergy, are the prerogative of the person in whose name church property in a particular administrative district is registered. In the case of the Catholic Church, the applicable division is the diocese. Prior to 1949, titles to properties were in the names of the bishops. Even after the Catholic Patriotic Association was formed in 1957, there was little tension over titles and deeds, although some property was confiscated. Later, during the Cultural Revolution, not only was much religious property confiscated, but even patriotic association personnel went to jail. Only recently, as church properties have been returned by the government, concerns over who has fiscal power have surfaced. As bishops have died, the government has turned over deeds to patriotic associations. With those deeds goes the power to fund or not fund a program, hire personnel, purchase religious books such as Bibles and so on. That power is vested in the general-secretary who is usually a layworker, often a party member, and officially, therefore, an atheist.

While the 1982 document on religious policy (Document No.19) called for the restoration of temples and churches, especially in ethnic minority areas and places "which enjoy national and international prestige," it warned against going too far. In particular, "we must guard against indiscriminate building and repairing of temples in rural villages" and must channel voluntary contributions of believers intended for construction so as "to build as little as possible."

3. Recruitment and Training

The practice of religion in China is restricted by controls on recruitment and training of religious "professionals" -- that is, priests, pastors, monks, nuns and imams "who have the permission of the patriotic religious organization at the county level or above and who have reported for the record to the department of the people's government in charge of religion."²⁸ The problem is somewhat different for Christians in China and Buddhists in Tibet, although Document No.6 applies to both. The severity of repression during the 1950s and the total ban on religion during the Cultural Revolution created a shortage of Protestant and Catholic clergy. While the same factors destroyed all but a fraction of the monasteries in Tibet and resulted in the arrest, imprisonment and deaths of thousands of monks and nuns, there has been a dramatic rise in the number of young monks entering monasteries built or restored since the end of the Cultural Revolution. The outbreak of political unrest in Lhasa in 1987 brought a halt to the growth, with quotas set by municipalities for the number of monks officially allowed to register in the more important monasteries and government screening of senior teachers. But religious practice in Tibet was seen by Chinese officials more as a cultural curiosity than as a foreign implant as Christianity was. As a result, the problem of regeneration of the Christian clergy is more severe than for Tibetan Buddhists. Most of the clergy is old, and because of government restrictions and the fact that the priesthood offers no chance of upward social or economic mobility, the small pool of possible recruits is not growing.

²⁸See Appendix 6, Document No.44, "Regulations on the Administrative Supervision of Places of Religious Activity in Guangdong Province."

The only religious professionals permitted to "perform religious duties," according to Document No.19, are those who after examination are deemed "politically reliable, patriotic and law-abiding," who have been approved by a patriotic association and who are registered with the appropriate level of the Religious Affairs Bureau. This is the essence of the notion of "self-propagation" within the "three-self" policy. Training of religious personnel is strictly regulated. In approved seminaries, monasteries and religious colleges, class size is rigidly controlled, as is the curriculum, which contains heavy doses of political indoctrination. According to a Lhasa Radio broadcast, the aim of several Buddhist colleges set up in Tibet by the government since 1985 is, among other things, to "publicize the idea of placing patriotism first and love for religion second."²⁹ Only one seminary in all of China is permitted to employ overseas lecturers on a routine basis, and then only for short courses. A group of Chinese seminarians invited for graduate study in the West during the 1990-91 academic year was refused passports and exit visas.³⁰ Applicants for seminary education are routinely screened, and according to Document No.6, religious professionals are subject to ongoing education through patriotic associations and must accept the leadership of the party.³¹

Anyone who operates outside the religious bureaucracy is not considered a religious professional. Bishop Liu Guandong, now in a labor camp (see Arrests and Trials), is listed as unemployed on the official document detailing his "crime" and sentence (see Appendix 9). That Bishop Liu is trained in doctrine and theology, and that prior to his incarceration he worked full-time at his calling, is of no consequence. Should he, upon his release, recant, sever his ties to Rome, and join the Catholic Patriotic Association, he would immediately be certified a professional.

4. Dissemination of Religious Literature

A major issue is the dissemination of religious literature and audio-visual materials. Texts, which are subject to government censorship, cannot be purchased at the local bookstore; they are available only through official channels, and there are tight controls on bringing in materials from abroad.

In late April 1991, Three-Self Patriotic Association leaders in an eastern province were warned by officials from the Religious Affairs Bureau not to accept any more books or magazines from abroad.³² Under revised customs regulations,

²⁹ *Lhasa Radio*, December 13, 1988, quoted in *Law Asia* and in *Defying the Dragon*, Tibet Information Network, March 1991, p.16.

³⁰ *Tripod*, Vol.11, No.6, January-February 1991, pp.67-68.

³¹ Document No.6.

³² Additional details, including dates, names and more precise locations, unnecessarily jeopardize religious practitioners who retain their freedom. *China News and Church Report*,

effective July 10, 1991, travelers are forbidden to carry audiovisual and printed material into China beyond an amount deemed reasonable for personal use. Religious materials are included in the ban, and none may be mailed to China.³³ Asia Watch has obtained mailing envelopes that Chinese customs officials marked "entry forbidden" and returned to their senders. During one week in April 1991, pre-dating the revised regulations, nine such parcels containing religious materials were returned, primarily those mailed to Shanghai.

5. Proselytization

National and local regulations ban proselytization, including the distribution of "religious propaganda" in public places. Document No.6, for example, states that "preaching and missionary work by self-styled preachers and other illegal missionary work must be firmly curbed." The government appears to believe that such a ban will hasten the demise of religion. Since, according to informal local surveys, most Christian believers are elderly, female, and uneducated, and the number of new converts is low, the ban on proselytization will prevent the Christian population from replacing itself.³⁴ Religious conversion of and preaching to those under eighteen is strictly prohibited, and all religious activity on college campuses is banned. Regulations on the administration of religion in Xinjiang which banned the distribution of religious publications even forbade "the installation of tweeters in places of religious activities."³⁵

6. Superstitious Activities

The Chinese government makes a sharp distinction between religion and "feudal superstition." Sects, usually in rural areas, associated with traditional folk belief are banned. Divination, fortune telling, *feng shui*,³⁶ the exorcising of ghosts, prayers for rain and healing rituals are all illegal activities. Shamans and sorcerers are "swindlers" who defraud the public, impede the spread of science and scientific thinking, drain income and effort from modernization plans, hinder solidarity, and endanger physical and mental health.³⁷ They are subject to prison terms of up to seven years.³⁸ In fact, the small,

May 10, 1991.

³³ *UCANews*, July 15, 1991.

³⁴ Alan Hunter, *Bridge*, No.4, November-December 1990; *UCANews*, September 5, 1991.

³⁵ See Appendix 7.

³⁶ *Feng shui* or geomancy is the art of helping to insure well-being and fortune by placement of self in the natural environment. By analyzing natural laws, one can diagnose the prevalence of good or bad influences at any spot, thus efficaciously situating houses, tombs, etc. Stephen Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy* (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1982).

³⁷ Donald E. MacInnis, *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis

but flourishing, community-based traditional societies cement ties of kin and community that are anathema to a government insistent on loyalty to the center above all else.

The recent crackdown on the *Yiguan Dao* provides one example. In spite of its combination of elements of Daoism and Buddhism, both "official" religions, it is considered so potentially disruptive that its re-emergence commanded attention at the December 1990 national conference referred to above. Not only has the *Yiguan Dao* been classified as a superstitious, rather than a religious, sect, it was labeled counterrevolutionary; the Public Security Bureau has received orders for its elimination.³⁹ *Qi Gong*, an ancient healing and exercise art with alleged "counterrevolutionary potential," also has been condemned as a superstitious cult. Renewed interest on the part of millions has led to the banning of at least one such organization, The *Nature Center Association*, which promotes its practice.⁴⁰

Books for "spreading superstition," including the *Yi Qing* (*Book of Changes*), a classic Chinese text, and books on fortune telling, naming customs and reading character have been banned. Publishers were fined and administratively punished; and the press and publications administration warned people to "increase their vigil and absolutely do not allow this kind of publication to harm society and poison people's thought."⁴¹ The *Beijing Review* even printed testimony of a lapsed Christian, castigating as unscientific the religious practice of praying to a savior for better housing.⁴² The writer, an architect, documents how hard work, Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese Communist Party make dreams of social change come true.

Books, 1989).

³⁸See articles 165 and 99 of the *Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China*.

³⁹*China News and Church Report*, December 14, 1990.

⁴⁰*Shijie Ribao* [*World Journal*], August 27, 1990.

⁴¹*Renmin Ribao*, September 29, 1991; *Associated Press*, same day.

⁴²*Beijing Review*, Vol.34, No.5; September 2-8, 1991.

V. Arrests and Trials

Dozens of priests and layworkers, both Catholic and Protestant, have been arrested since the campaign began. The cases below may represent a fraction of the total. Information is sparse and fragmented and often imprecise, and it is frequently impossible to return to a source for updated information or to ask for details. Chinese authorities routinely refuse to confirm or deny accounts.

1. Catholics

a. Bishops' Conference: 1989

More than 32 bishops, priests and layworkers were arrested after a clandestine Bishops' Conference on November 21, 1989 at Zhangerce Church in Sanyuan County, Shaanxi Province. The meeting was called to establish a unified leadership that would, in defiance of Chinese policy, fully accept papal authority and would run parallel to the official Chinese Catholic Bishops' Conference. Those arrested were accused of spreading heresy and pandering to the superstitious beliefs of uneducated peasants. Liu Bainian, spokesman for the Catholic Patriotic Association, confirming that a number of those in attendance had been arrested, maintained they had not been detained for their religious beliefs but because they had founded an illegal organization.⁴³

■ **Bishop Paul Li Zhenrong**, the last of those wanted in connection with the conference, was finally arrested on November 20, 1991 at a bus station in Xianxian Township in Hebei, according to an Asia Watch source. He had eluded police searches for almost two years. Another account⁴⁴ reported Bishop Li was arrested in Tianjin on December 11, 1991 as he was recovering from surgery in a hospital there. According to that report, the surgeon, his wife, a young seminarian and a couple with whom the bishop had been staying were also arrested. Bishop Li, born September 29, 1919, was ordained a priest in 1951. He was first arrested in 1957 and sentenced to fifteen years in prison, but was not released until 1980. Three years later he was ordained a Vatican-approved bishop, serving clandestinely in Xianxian diocese.

The following five men are known to have been sentenced in connection with the Bishops' Conference.

■ **Bishop Peter LIU Guandong**, 72, the Vatican-approved bishop of Yixian diocese in Hebei who was elected de facto president of the clandestine Bishops' Conference, was arrested on November 26, 1989 when he appeared as requested at the Baoding (Hebei Province) Public Security Bureau. According to an Asia

⁴³ *South China Morning Post*, December 17, 1990.

⁴⁴ *Agence France Presse*, December 24, 1991.

Watch source, he was administratively sentenced on May 21, 1990 to three years' "re-education through labor" which he is serving at a "farm" near Tangshan in Hebei. He reportedly collects garbage. Charges against Bishop Liu included "planning, organizing and forming illegal organizations" and "taking part in illegal activities." Both accusations probably refer to his part in convening the Bishops' Conference. Between his arrest and sentencing, Bishop Liu's home was raided and books and money confiscated. According to a court document,⁴⁵ Bishop Liu's first arrest came in 1955. Released in 1957, he was convicted the following year as an "anti-revolutionary" and sentenced to life imprisonment, from which he was released in 1982. Bishop Liu finished his education in a monastery in Baoding in 1945; he was subsequently consecrated a bishop. There is an unconfirmed report he may be "released" shortly.

■ **Father SU Zhemin**, 60, accused of "organizing and taking part in illegal activities," was sentenced at the same time as Bishop Liu; their sentences are identical and both were issued by the Baoding City Labor Re-education Administrative Committee. As Vicar General of Baoding diocese, Father Su took part in the Bishops' Conference on behalf of Bishop Fan Xueyan (see below). Arrested on December 17, 1989, Father Su was initially held in Tangshan, where he reportedly was made to clean toilets, then moved to the northeast. According to an Asia Watch source, his family's efforts to visit him have, thus far, been unsuccessful. Father Su served two previous prison terms, the first from 1959 to 1975. The second was an administratively-imposed "re-education through labor" sentence.

■ **Bishop YANG Libo**, the 77-year-old Vatican-approved bishop of Lanzhou diocese in Gansu Province, was arrested in late December 1989 in Zhangye in northern Gansu; in mid-1990, he was administratively sentenced to three years' "re-education through labor" which he is serving somewhere in Lanzhou. Bishop Yang was accused of gathering a large number of worshippers for services in the Ganquanzi Church in Shandan County and of appointing twelve people as Catholic leaders. In addition, he "resisted reform." Bishop Yang was sentenced four times between 1952-1987 for counterrevolutionary crimes.⁴⁶ According to an Asia Watch source, there has been no recent news about Bishop Yang, who was ordained in 1949 and secretly consecrated in 1981.

■ The second bishop of Tianshui diocese in Gansu, **Bishop Mathias LU Zhensheng**, 72, arrested in late December 1989, has been sentenced to a yet unknown prison term. This is his second term; he was first sentenced in 1984 to ten years' imprisonment and four years' deprivation of political rights on charges of counterrevolutionary activities. The circumstances of his release from that sentence are unclear. Bishop Lu, ordained a priest in 1981 and secretly consecrated a bishop in 1983, is not approved as a cleric by Chinese authorities.

⁴⁵See Appendix 9.

⁴⁶*Amnesty International*, "China: Punishment Without Crime: Administrative Detention."

■ **Father WEI Jingyi**, a priest in his mid-thirties, who served in Qiqihar, Heilongjiang Province and was arrested in connection with the November 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference, was sentenced in March 1991 to three years' "re-education through labor." He was originally detained in Harbin in August 1990. Father Wei's ordination, in Baoding, Hebei Province in the early 1980's, is not recognized by the official Chinese church.

Four of those arrested in connection with the clandestine Bishops' Conference were in detention but had not been tried by late 1991.

■ **Father SHI Wande**, a priest from Baoding, reportedly was arrested on December 9, 1989 in Xushui County about 43 miles southwest of Beijing. Since then there has been no further news about him or his circumstances.

■ The whereabouts of four other people arrested in connection with the conference are unknown. They are **Father ZHANG Xiaochong** and **Father SUN Ximan**, from Tianshui diocese, Gansu Province; **Father PEI Guojun**, Yixian diocese, Hebei Province; and **WANG Tianzhang**, a deacon from Lanzhou diocese, Gansu, who was arrested on December 16, 1989.

An unknown number of clerics are listed as having "disappeared." They include:

■ **Bishop Bartholomew YU Chengdi**, 72, Vatican-approved bishop of Hanzhong diocese, Shaanxi Province, who according to an Asia Watch source, "disappeared" from his residence in early August 1991. All those who normally work for him also "disappeared," as did his younger brother, **Father YU Chengxin**, also from Hanzhong. There is speculation that all are confined in a "re-education" camp (see below). Bishop Yu was first arrested in December 1989 in conjunction with the clandestine Bishops' Conference; he was released from a Xi'an Prison in July 1990 and ordered not to leave Chenggu, his home village. Secretly consecrated in 1981, Bishop Yu had joined the church some twenty years earlier. Father Yu's fortunes have followed those of his brother. He was arrested and released at about the same time and under the same conditions.

At least six people are conditionally free, that is, under severe restriction of movement, house arrest or police surveillance; they probably have had their residence permits confiscated and are refused work permission. Included are:

■ **Bishop Joseph LI Side**, unofficial bishop of Tianjin since 1989, who has been released after spending 18 months in detention without charge. He returned to St. Joseph's Church in Tianjin on June 7, 1991 and has been openly presiding at masses since July 7. He remains under strict surveillance. Although Bishop Li's secret consecration in 1986, which he later openly acknowledged, was not approved by Chinese authorities, his ordination as a priest has never been questioned, accounting for his return to religious duties. Bishop Li's detention was in connection with his role as a vice-president of the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference. He was arrested in the early hours of December 9, 1989 by a large contingent of public security personnel as he left his home to administer

last rites. According to an Asia Watch source, Bishop Li was held in a city prison under very poor conditions, reportedly sharing a 30-square foot cell with 25 to 30 others. Food and sanitation were inadequate.

■ Two brothers of Bishop Wang Milu, Father **WANG Ruohan** and Father **WANG Ruowang**, both priests from Tianshui, Gansu Province, arrested in connection with the Bishops' Conference, were recently released from incarceration after completing their sentences. Father Wang Ruohan, arrested in December 1989, served one year of reform through labor. He is under severe restriction of movement. Father Wang Ruowang, arrested on December 9, 1989 in Xushui County, Hebei Province and charged with "illegal religious activities," served his sentence in Pingliang, Gansu Province.

■ Bishop **GUO Wenzhi**, 73, unofficial bishop of Harbin, Heilongjiang Province, cannot leave Qiqihar, his home village, according to an Asia Watch source. He was arrested there on December 14, 1989 and released in March 1990. Bishop Guo had been imprisoned twice before: between 1954 and 1964 and again from 1966 until 1985, when he was interned in a Xinjiang Autonomous Region labor camp. Bishop Guo, ordained in 1948 and consecrated a bishop in May 1989, is thought to have resided in Hebei Province after his second release and to have taught foreign languages there.

■ Bishop **HOU Guoyang**, an underground bishop from Sichuan province, is still being held under house arrest in connection with the November 1989 Bishops' Conference. According to an Asia Watch source, his arrest came in early January 1990. The May 1990 issue of the magazine *Catholic Church in China* accused the Vatican-approved Bishop Hou of inciting a small group to participate in demonstrations in Sichuan and of "collecting money to support the turmoil." He also was accused of publishing and distributing a "so-called Bible." A warning to Bishop Hou to cease his "illegal activities" marked the first time the Chinese government explicitly linked Catholics loyal to the Vatican to the pro-democracy movement.⁴⁷ Liu Bainian, a spokesman for the official Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, has labeled Bishop Hou a fraud.⁴⁸

■ Bishop **JIANG Liren**, from Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, secretly consecrated in late June 1989, was in prison from late 1989 until April 1990 in connection with the underground Bishops' Conference. According to an Asia Watch source, he is restricted to his own village.

h. Fujian Province, 1990

Some thirteen clerics are known to have been arrested in Fujian Province on July 27, 1990. At least two bishops and several priests were still in detention as of late 1991. The crackdown was part of an ongoing attempt by Chinese

⁴⁷ *Reuters*, June 29, 1990.

⁴⁸ *South China Morning Post*, December 17, 1990.

authorities to obliterate the clandestine movement in Fu'an City.

According to an Asia Watch source, **Bishop James XIE Shiguang**, the 74-year-old Vatican-approved bishop of Xiapu diocese, arrested in Fu'an City on July 27, 1990 while conducting a meeting on church affairs at Loujiang Church, is still being detained without trial. Of the nine priests arrested with him, **Father ZHU Rucl**, chancellor of Xiapu; **Father LIU Guangpin**, in charge of financial matters for the diocese; **Father ZOU Xijun**, director of studies for a non-official seminary; **Father XU [?]**; **Father ZHENG [?]**; and **Father ZHU [?]** were also still in custody at year's end. Three young priests, **GUO Qiusan**, **GUO Shichun** and **GUO [?]**, were released on bail for health reasons. They are confined to house arrest in their respective villages.

Bishop Vincent HUANG Shoucheng, Vatican-approved bishop of Fu'an diocese, arrested on the same day as Bishop Xie, was placed under village restriction in March 1991. According to an Asia Watch source, he was taken to Beijing to observe the official church there. Two deacons arrested with him, whose identities are unknown, were released shortly after their apprehension. The arrests were originally confirmed by the Director of the Fujian Religious Affairs Bureau who claimed those arrested had violated government regulations.

c. Hebei Province, 1989

■ The late November 1989 "disappearance" of **Bishop Joseph FAN Xuoyan** forecast a new crackdown on Catholic personnel in Hebei Province (see below). According to an Asia Watch source, until November 1991, he was in a "re-education camp" in the Shijiazhuang area instead of the church compound in Baoding where he was normally kept under a kind of house arrest. He reportedly has now been moved to the Baoding countryside.

Prior to this last "disappearance," Father Fan dropped from sight on March 11, 1989. Reports said he had gone on a "journey" from Baoding as required by government authorities after his conditional 1987 release from prison. Such journeys were apparently ordered by the local Public Security Bureau as a means of countering Bishop Fan's considerable influence and authority in Baoding. The 1989 journey took him first to Beijing and Chengde in northern Hebei for what authorities called "tourism," but during which he was kept under constant surveillance. He next was taken to Shijiazhuang, the capital of Hebei, for interrogation by officials from the provincial Religious Affairs Bureau.

Bishop Fan has been arrested twice. Detained in the summer of 1983, he was sentenced later that year to ten years' imprisonment for his Vatican links, ordination of priests and alleged receipt of foreign currency. An official comment on January 10, 1984 said he had "colluded with foreign forces to jeopardize the sovereignty and security of the motherland." He served part of his sentence in Shijiazhuang prison in Hebei, then was conditionally released on parole in November 1987 after Cardinal Jaime Sin of Manila, during a Beijing visit, intervened on Fan's behalf.

Bishop Fan's first arrest came in 1958 after he objected to the Chinese government's policy on "self-governance," i.e., severance of Vatican ties, for the Catholic Church in China. Although he received a 15-year sentence, part of which he served in a labor camp, Bishop Fan did not return to Baoding until 1979. Sometime later, he was placed under house arrest in a neighboring village.

Bishop Fan, one of the last Chinese bishops officially ordained by the Vatican, was born December 12, 1907. A bishop since June 1951, he reportedly named his successors and "resigned" as Bishop of Baoding sometime before November 1990 because of ill health and advanced age. He had been responsible for many of the more recent ordinations among the Catholic community in China. Bishop Fan was elected, in absentia, the honorary president of the November 1989 Bishops' Conference.

■ **According to an Asia Watch source, Father XIAO Shixiang, a priest from Yixian diocese, Hebei, was arrested on his way to Shandong Province on October 20, 1989 and has not been heard from since.**

■ **Father PEI Zhenping, a young Trappist priest in charge of Youtong village, Luancheng County, Shijiazhuang, Hebei, was arrested on October 12, 1989. An Asia Watch source has reported that he has been sentenced to an unknown term of detention.**

■ **Father PEI Ronggul, a 54-year-old Trappist priest from Youtong village, near Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province, was arrested on September 3, 1989 by the Public Security Bureau while administering last rites. According to an Asia Watch source he has been sentenced to five years in prison for allegedly instigating a group which tried to take over by force a primary school in Youtong in March 1989. Pei also allegedly ministered to demonstrators in Beijing during the 1989 demonstrations there. He reportedly is in Luancheng County Prison and is permitted monthly visits. Father Pei's name first appeared on a government wanted list in April 1989; he had refused to join the Catholic Patriotic Association.**

On April 18, 1989, in an early morning confrontation with police who came to destroy his church, a tent located in a schoolyard on property which had originally belonged to the church, over 300 people reportedly were injured, two died and 32 were arrested. The tent had been erected on March 17 to facilitate the Easter celebration, after a government decision to deny compensation for church property confiscated or destroyed in the Cultural Revolution was announced. The raid reportedly was carried out by at least 2,000 police and 270 military vehicles. The population of Youtong Village, between 3,000-4,000, has been fifty percent Catholic for generations.

d. Hebei Province, 1990

A series of arrests took place on December 13-14, 1990 in the Baoding and Yixian dioceses in Hebei Province. At least four bishops and 23 others, including clergy and lay people who have not been identified, were seized and taken for "study sessions" somewhere in Hebei Province. The numbers may be far

greater. One of those detained, Bishop Shi Chunjie, died recently (see below). Until reports of his death surfaced, his whereabouts, like those of many others, were unknown. As it is over one year since they were first apprehended, the "administrative detention" of those still held constitutes detention without trial.

■ **Bishop Paul SHI Chunjie**, auxiliary bishop of Baoding, died in police custody on November 3, 1991. Bishop Chen Jianzhang (see below) may have been with him at his death. According to one report, the bishop died in an old people's home under the supervision of the police.⁴⁹ Although reliable sources attribute Bishop Shi's death to a heart attack caused by maltreatment, the exact cause is still not known. Reports that he was beaten to death are unconfirmed. The bishop, who was almost blind, had a history of serious illnesses including heart disease and possibly diabetes. A lack of medication may have contributed to his death. Chinese authorities in Beijing ordered Bishop Shi's funeral held within two days after his death to avoid a large turnout once the word spread. In spite of precautions some 1,000 people attended.

Bishop Shi, who lived in Xinli Village Church in Qingyuan County, Hebei, and was in charge of young seminarians and novice sisters in Baoding and Yixian dioceses, was arrested December 15, 1990. Born in January 1920, he was ordained a priest on June 1, 1947 and an auxiliary bishop on April 29, 1989. The official church did not recognize his consecration.

■ An Asia Watch source has supplied information about three other bishops held in connection with the "study camp." **Bishop Paul LIU Shuhe**, 69, second bishop of Yixian, consecrated in 1982, was held in his residence by security officers on November 30, 1990. They said they wanted to take him to Baoding for a discussion and promised to bring him back once matters were settled. His relatives have not seen him since. The "second Liu," as he was called, had been filling in for the arrested Liu Guandong. Liu Shuhe had served a previous prison term. Arrested in Beijing on October 30, 1988, he had been administratively sentenced to three years' "re-education through labor." The charges were probably related to a meeting with a visiting Philippine cleric. On January 16, 1989, the sentence was commuted to house arrest, probably because of Bishop Liu's fragile health. Without having actually taken part, Bishop Liu was elected general secretary of the underground Bishops' Conference in November 1989. **Bishop Peter CHEN Jianzhang**, present bishop of Baoding, is paralyzed and in a wheelchair. He was apprehended on December 15 and is presumed to be with the others, as is **Bishop Cosmas SHI Enxiang**, ailing auxiliary bishop of Yixian diocese. Bishop Shi, ordained on June 1, 1947 and consecrated a bishop in April 1982, was initially held by the Xushui County Security Bureau. Bishop Chen was ordained in 1982.

■ **ZHANG Welming** and **HOU Chongyan**, husband and wife from Baoding, Hebei Province, were detained on December 14, 1990 at 7 p.m., according to a March 25, 1991 letter from Hou written after her release on February 11, 1991. She and Zhang, who as of August 31 was still incarcerated, were stopped on the street, forced into

⁴⁹ *South China Morning Post*, December 21, 1991.

a car and taken to a small motel. The following day, they were transferred to a western suburb of Baoding and kept for ten days in a boarding house owned by the No.604 factory. Six people guarded Hou, who by then was separated from her husband. Another transfer followed, this time for fifty days, to a boarding house owned by the No.543 factory. Guards were with Hou at all times. Nineteen other people, detained at the same time, were released almost immediately.

Two days after the couple was seized, members of the Public Security Bureau attempted a secret break-in of their apartment, but were discovered by a relative. The police, who were gloved, searched and photographed the apartment and confiscated eight categories of items, including religious books and magazines, photographs of a priest's funeral mass, letters and bank statements.

When Hou was released, she was warned by Shi Jianzheng of the Public Security Bureau not to write her children, who were studying abroad. She also was told, "You are not allowed to sue us. Even if you do, we are not afraid. You have to be prepared to report whenever we call you." She was later informed that her husband "was held not only for religious reasons, but for political reasons" as well. So far as is known, no charges have been formally filed. Hou has not heard from her husband since his arrest, nor can she collect his salary.

A recent letter from Zhang to his sons⁵⁰ adds the information that an "uncle and aunt" were also arrested. He goes on to say that he expects to be imprisoned for a long time because "I am a Catholic intellectual" and "I once wrote to President Bush." The method they are using, he says, is to keep him imprisoned secretly, neither declaring him guilty or innocent. He characterizes the prison conditions as wretched and goes on to say that in spite of severe medical problems, including a prior heart attack, severe ulcers and arthritis, it is extremely difficult to see a doctor. He is not permitted to write letters as other prisoners are, nor can he learn the condition of his elderly sister. Zhang warns his sons, who are studying in the U.S., not to attempt to come back to China since their letters to him were confiscated and the police questioned him intently about their contents.

■ **ZHANG Dapeng**, a Catholic layman from Baoding, was arrested in mid-December 1990. He is still detained without charge or sentence. His wife, **ZHANG Zhongyue**, arrested with him, was released after three months' detention; however, she is not permitted to return to work and must pay for her husband's food and for his lodging in police detention. Another lay leader **SNI Guohui** apparently has also been arrested.

■ **ZHANG Youshen** and his son **ZHANG Guoyan**, both laymen, were administratively sentenced to three years' "re-education through labor" sometime in 1991. The dates of their arrests are not known but it is possible they were arrested in connection with the 1990 crackdown. A leader of the Catholic community in

⁵⁰There are minor discrepancies between Zhang's and his wife's letters. He says their arrests came on December 9 and that his wife was imprisoned for three months.

Baoding, Zhang Youshen had refused to accept the mediation of the Catholic Patriotic Association and had written his own views, uncomplimentary to the government, about the situation of the Catholic church in China. His son had also refused to join the CPA.

At the end of December 1990, others in Hebei, numbers unknown, were arrested in Handan (formerly Yongnian) and Daming dioceses and "invited" to a "study camp" organized for their "re-education." The facility is part of an "Anti-Pornography, Evil-ridding, Anti-Covert Activities Campaign," but it is unclear if it the same "camp" as that mentioned above or if there is a series of "camps." As of January 1991, more than 20 Catholics from the area were being held. There is no information as to how many of those originally detained were still "participating" or if new "recruits" have been sent to "camp" since the December arrests.

Father AN Shi'an, 77, and Father HAN Dingxiang, 55, are two priests from the area who, according to an Asia Watch source, are believed to be undergoing "re-education." Father An, the Vatican-recognized Vicar General of Daming diocese, ordained in 1942, was arrested a few days after December 26, 1990. No additional details are available. Father Han, clandestine Vicar General of Handan diocese, was arrested on December 26, 1990 after saying mass, and served a summons by Public Security officers to attend a study seminar on anti-pornography. Earlier, while still a layman, Father Han was imprisoned for his defense of the church. Upon his release, after 19 years in prison, 1960-1979, he was finally ordained. Later in 1979, Father Han was re-arrested and held for several months.

In a related development, Bishop SONG Weili, the underground bishop of Langfang diocese, Hebei Province, was arrested in late December 1990 or early January 1991. According to an Asia Watch source, an additional "26 priests and many lay people have been recently arrested" and 30 seminarians and 50 young novice sisters have been sent to a political "study camp," the location of which has not been reported. There is no additional information.

e. Other Trials and Arrests

■ Bishop Casimir WANG Minu, 52, legitimate as well as Vatican-approved "black bishop of Tianshui" diocese, Gansu Province, was arrested in 1983; he was sentenced in 1985 by the Tianshui Intermediate Court to ten years in prison, four years' deprivation of political rights and confiscation of part of his property. An appeal to the Gansu High People's Court on April 29, 1985 failed, and on May 24 Bishop Wang was sent to a correctional facility, possibly a labor camp in Gansu in northwest China, to start serving his sentence. According to an Asia Watch source, he is now in Pingliang Prison in Gansu.

Bishop Wang, a native of Ganggu district in Gansu, was accused of counterrevolutionary activities, including propaganda and incitement, passing a list of twelve imprisoned priests to a visiting clergyman from Taiwan in November 1980 and visiting Bishop Fan Xueyan in Baoding in October 1980 and January 1981 in order to be secretly consecrated. Bishop Wang then received recognition of his

consecration from the Vatican. He was further accused of secretly ordaining priests (four reportedly were named in the verdict); openly opposing the constitutional article prohibiting foreign domination of religious institutions; criticizing the Patriotic Catholic Association; and, after a 1981 article in *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*) on Vatican interference in the internal affairs of China appeared, condemning government interference in religious practice.

Although he did not become a priest until 1980, Bishop Wang, born in 1939, was imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution for professing his faith. He was pardoned in 1979, but allegedly continued his counterrevolutionary activities "under the guise of religion." Bishop Wang reportedly has been penalized several times since his imprisonment for preaching the Gospel to inmates in the facility in which he is incarcerated; since November 1988, he has been forbidden to see his family. Bishop Wang is due to be released on April 5, 1994.

■ According to an Asia Watch source, **Father Joseph JIN Dechon**, the 72-year-old Vicar General of Nanyang diocese, Henan Province, arrested in December 1981 and sentenced on July 27, 1982, is serving a 15-year prison term at the Third Provincial Prison in Yuxian, near Zhengzhou in Henan. He reportedly objected to abortion and birth control. Father Jin was first arrested in 1958, then released in 1973.

■ **Father Francis WANG Yijun**, the 75-year-old Vicar General of Wenzhou diocese in Zhejiang Province, was sentenced on February 5, 1990 to three years' "re-education through labor" for failure to reform while serving a previous prison term. This new administrative sentence followed immediately upon his release from imprisonment which began with his arrest on May 19, 1981 and culminated in an eight-year sentence. According to the official notice, Father Wang was re-sentenced because he "refused to repent...continued to maintain illegal ties to the underground Catholic Church in Wenzhou...and instigated Christian believers against the religious policy and lawful decrees of our People's government." This is Father Wang's third prison term; another ran from 1955 to 1957. To date, he has been interned for 13 years.

■ **Father HUO Bingzhang**, 74, former Vicar-General of Baoding diocese, arrested in 1981, was sentenced in 1983 to ten years in prison on a charge of "colluding with foreign forces to jeopardize the sovereignty and security of the motherland." According to an Asia Watch source, his reported release in 1987 and subsequent house arrest has not yet been confirmed. In the late 1960's or early 1970's, Father Huo spent three years in prison.

f. Under Surveillance

■ Jesuit Auxiliary Bishop **Joseph FAN Zhongliang**, 73, acting bishop of Shanghai, and his assistant **QIAN Zhiqing**, a layman in his sixties, have been released from detention. Bishop Fan's release to house arrest on the outskirts of Shanghai came on August 19, 1991; Qian's came one month earlier. Both men were apprehended by public security officials on or about June 11, 1991 at a bus station. According to an Asia Watch source, they had been on their way to the coastal city of Wenzhou in eastern Zhejiang Province. Following Bishop Fan's detention, some of his

belongings, including books, religious items and furniture, were confiscated. Qian's family was made aware of his detention one week after the fact when members were requested by authorities to send him clothes. Permission to visit was denied. There has been speculation that the arrests were "a comment" on the announcement that the former bishop of Shanghai, Bishop Ignatius Gong Pinmei, had been secretly named a cardinal 12 years ago. Bishop Gong, 90, who lives in the U.S., was formally elevated in Rome on June 28, 1991.

During an 18-month period just prior to his arrest, Bishop Fan was interrogated repeatedly, possibly in connection with his role as a vice-president of the November 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference. This last detention was not his first. He had spent 15 years, from 1967 to 1982, in a labor camp in western Qinghai Province.⁵¹ Bishop Fan, who joined the Jesuit order in 1938, became a priest in 1951 and was secretly ordained a bishop in 1985.

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

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

■ **Bishop Julius JIA Zhiguo**, 55, Vatican-approved bishop of Zhengding diocese, Hebei Province, was last arrested on April 7, 1989 in Beijing. According to an Asia Watch source, he was released to the village of Wuqiu on September 11, 1989 and served with an order restricting his movements for three years. A native of Luan County in Hebei, Bishop Jia was secretly consecrated in February 1981.

■ According to an Asia Watch source, **Father Mark YUAN Wenzai**, 69, of Haimen diocese, Jiangsu Province has been placed under the custody of the patriotic bishop of the area, Monseigneur Yu Chengcai, and permitted to live at the church in Longshan. Father Yuan, underground Vicar General of Haimen diocese, was seized in early 1990 by the local police.

■ **Father Anthony ZHANG Gangyi**, an 84-year-old Shaanxi Province native, is confined to a village in Sanyuan diocese, Shaanxi Province, according to an Asia Watch source. He was released from prison on June 6, 1990 because of his deteriorating health. Since his return to China in 1949, Father Zhang has spent more than 30 non-consecutive years in prison. He was last detained for "political reasons" - he allegedly said "something wrong" at a religious meeting - at 2 a.m.

⁵¹ *Reuters*, June 23, 1991.

on December 11, 1989; briefly released, then re-arrested on December 28 and incarcerated in a Xi'an municipal prison. Prior to his work as a parish priest at Zhangerce Church, a regional pilgrimage center in Sanyuan County, Shaanxi Province, Father Zhang was a chaplain in Italy in World War II. When he re-visited there in 1987, he received a Heroes of the Resistance medal.

■ **Father ZHANG Shontang**, a priest from Nanyang diocese in Henan Province, arrested in the early 1980s and sentenced to a 17-year prison term for printing religious books without permission, is not now in prison, according to an Asia Watch source. His deteriorating health may have precipitated a transfer to house arrest.

■ **Father ZHU Baoyu**, of Nanyang diocese, Henan Province, reportedly has been released and may move about the district "with caution," according to an Asia Watch source. Arrested in December 1981 for taking Catholics on a pilgrimage to Sheshan, near Shanghai, he was sentenced in 1982 to ten years' imprisonment.

2. Protestants

Numerous unnamed Protestant leaders, pastors, elders, evangelists and lay persons from all over China have been arrested, imprisoned and fined, according to unconfirmed reports. Many of those detained are released after interrogation and harassment; others are detained indefinitely without trial. Some have been tried and sentenced; some have been administratively sentenced. In most cases, the whereabouts of the detainees and the dispositions of their cases are unknown. The following list probably represents only a fraction of those Protestants imprisoned at any one time.

a. Trials

■ **LIU Qinglin**, a traveling house-church evangelist from Zalantun, Inner Mongolia, who was administratively sentenced to three years "re-education through labor," apparently died in prison shortly after sentencing. He was 58 years old at the time. According to an Asia Watch source, Liu was arrested in mid-July 1989 for allegedly carrying out "unbridled witch-doctor activities," which included healing, and was responsible for the death of a child, a charge the child's parents disputed. He was also accused of being an untrained evangelist who should not be permitted to preach. At his arrest, Liu was questioned by 47 agents from the Public Security Bureau who brought him in for a "conversation."

There had been two other arrests, first in August 1987 when Liu was jailed for 15 days to correct his "mistaken perspective," and again in 1988. Meetings of his followers were disturbed by the Public Security Bureau, bibles were confiscated and Liu's application for land on which to build a church was ignored. From the time Liu began preaching in 1984, he reportedly converted over 3,000 people and established some 20 house churches.

■ According to an Asia Watch source, **LIU Huanwen**, a seminarian in his late twenties, was sentenced without trial in November 1990 to two years' "re-

education through labor," which he is probably serving in a labor camp. He was arrested during the height of the 1989 pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square during which he reportedly carried a six-foot crucifix.

■ There have been reports of the sentencing of two Protestants. **DING Hai**, a female lay leader in Henan Province, arrested before June 1990; and **XU Guoxing**, a house church leader in Shanghai, born March 16, 1955, were both sentenced administratively to three years' "re-education through labor." In addition to evangelizing activities, Ding was in possession of video equipment donated by someone who did not have the requisite license.

Xu, arrested first on March 14, 1989, released without charge on June 16 after intensive interrogation, then re-arrested on November 6, 1989 by the Shanghai municipal Public Security Bureau and sentenced that same month, was accused of setting up illegal churches in Anhui, Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces and in and around Shanghai. He also "broke social order by stirring up trouble and creating conflicts," "interfering with and damaging the regular order of religious activities." Xu is at Da Fung Labor Farm in northern Jiangsu Province.

According to an Asia Watch source, family members were told by prison camp officials to petition for his release. The family has refused. They do not want it to appear as if he is repentant and will forego preaching. It is, the source continued, Xu's life work which he refuses to have restricted by government prohibitions on the content of sermons. Rather, they said, he will preach the Gospel according to the Bible. Xu's father, mother and brother have been permitted prison visits. During the two years, 1980-82, Xu spent in language school in the U.S., he was baptized in a Baptist church. However, he has no denominational or foreign affiliations.

■ **SHA Zhumei**, born May 12, 1919 in Nantong, Jiangsu Province, a former primary school teacher and an active member of an independent Protestant church, is experiencing increasing health problems as a result of prison conditions. She has been incarcerated in Shanghai Prison No.1 since her arrest on June 3, 1987. On November 1987, Zhu was sentenced in secret by the Shanghai Intermediate Court to five years' imprisonment for "harboring a counterrevolutionary element," probably her son, whom she had encouraged to escape. He was wanted for demonstrating for religious freedom in November 1986 and for publishing a family history which included a record of involvement in freedom of religion issues. Zhu was imprisoned once before, during the Cultural Revolution, for religious activism. Reports of Zhu's ill-treatment have surfaced several times. She allegedly was beaten at the time of her arrest, then on different occasions in 1987 for failing, while ill, to complete her work assignments.⁵²

■ **ZHANG Yonglan**, a house church leader from Fangcheng, Henan Province, was

⁵² *Amnesty International*, ASA 17/24/91.

sentenced in late August 1991 to three years' "re-education through labor" for allegedly maintaining contact with international Christian organizations and receiving unauthorized religious literature from overseas. According to an Asia Watch source, he was arrested by the Public Security Bureau in September 1990.

■ **SONG Yude**, a 37-year-old evangelical minister from Baimiao village in the Yuehe district of Tongbo County, Henan Province, was convicted on January 29, 1986 and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment and three years' deprivation of political rights under Article 102 of the Criminal Code. He allegedly distributed reactionary religious publications, conducted illegal religious meetings and slandered the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, which, according to the charges, constituted "counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation." In April 1986, Song's appeal was rejected. Arrested on July 16, 1984 for refusing to join the official TSPM, he was held in Tongbo Detention Center until his trial. His present whereabouts are unknown.

■ **PEI Zhongxun (CHUN Chu)**, a 71-year-old ethnic Korean from Shanghai, was arrested in August 1983 on charges of spying for the Taiwanese government. He received a 15-year sentence which, according to an Asia Watch source, he is serving in a facility near Shanghai.

■ According to an Asia Watch source, two women preachers in their late twenties have been sentenced to three years in prison for preaching "illegally." They are held in a large woman's prison in Zhengzhou, Henan Province. A "relative" who spent several hours visiting, reported that one had been threatened many times and beaten on several occasions for refusing to identify the preachers in photographs confiscated when believers' homes were searched. He also reported that the two have been labeled "political prisoners." It is unclear if the two women are the same two reportedly arrested in a raid in a central Chinese city (see below).

■ The last confirmed (though fragmentary) information about a group of seven imprisoned Protestants from Lushan County dates back to 1986. Six of the men are evangelical elders: **WANG IP**, 36, from Zhandeum Village, Fuling Brigade, Xinji Commune, was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment; **ZHANG IP**, 65, from Zhaozhuang village, Houying Brigade, Zhanian Commune, received a 14-year sentence; **CUI IP**, 42, sentence unknown; **XUE IP**, 35, from Linzhuang Village, Xinhua Brigade, Zhangdian Commune, sentence unknown; **GENG IP**, 63, from Sunzhuang village, Malon Commune, sentence unknown; and **WANG IP**, 64, of Second Street, Chengguan Township, sentence unknown. Another whose sentence is unknown is **QIN IP**, a 54-year-old evangelical deacon from Xinji Commune. According to an Asia Watch source, all were accused of membership in an evangelical group outside the aegis of the TSPM, planning to overthrow the government, links to overseas forces, receiving and distributing foreign materials and disturbing normal religious activities.

h. Arrests

■ Several itinerant evangelists reportedly were arrested in a southern province

in January or February 1991. Their situations are considered particularly threatening since all those detained have arrest records.

■ In the north, in late 1990, a group of eight underground pastors were detained at two o'clock in the morning through information provided by the local TSPM committee. Several have been sentenced to three year's imprisonment in a labor camp; as of September 20, 1991, the others had not been released.⁵³

■ Two female house church leaders were arrested during a raid in a central Chinese city during the last week in May 1991 through information provided by the local TSPM Committee. Apparently the two women attracted a large number of believers from both the underground and the official churches to their unapproved meeting places. Four members of several unregistered "meeting points" in the same province, detained since January 1991, are still in prison.⁵⁴

■ According to an Asia Watch source, two preachers from Zhejiang Province have been detained since September 1990; as of May 1991, they had not been charged.

c. Status Unclear

■ **LIN Xiangao (Samuel Lamb)**, the 65-year-old Baptist pastor of Damazhan Church in Guangzhou, was arrested on February 22, 1990 and released two days later. He had undergone 24 hours of continuous interrogation during which he agreed to close his church. According to an Asia Watch source, as of December 1990, he was still under house arrest and subject to periodic interrogation by public security officials. Between February and December 1990, he was questioned at least ten times.⁵⁵ Another report maintains that Lin preaches every Sunday to over 1,000 believers. During his brief period of incarceration, Lin's house was searched, religious publications and video and recording equipment were confiscated, and membership lists seized. Lin was first detained in September 1955. Released after 16 months, he was rearrested and sentenced to a 20-year term; his release came on May 29, 1978. Lin taught English before resuming preaching a year later. In 1988, he was warned by the Public Security Bureau to stop his activities.

As in Lin's case, repeated interrogations of church leaders reportedly are common and churches are frequently closed. Although his church was re-opened after alleged violations of Guangdong provincial regulations were corrected, it remains in danger of imminent closure.

■ **SUN Ludian**, 67, of Shantou in Guangdong Province, who was sentenced in January 1986 to nine years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation," has reportedly been released on administrative orders from the

⁵³ *China News and Church Report*, September 20, 1991.

⁵⁴ *China News and Church Report*, June 7, 1991.

⁵⁵ *China News and Church Report*, December 14, 1990.

Ministry of Justice in coordination with the Ministry of Public Security. Until his unexpected release on bail in December 1990,⁵⁶ he was incarcerated in a labor camp in Mei County Prison in northern Guangdong. Charges against Sun, who is very ill, related to his maintenance of illegal overseas connections, including membership in the *Shouters*, a Protestant evangelical group. He was arrested in September 1983.

■ **MAI Furen**, in his late seventies, was unexpectedly released from prison in April 1991, according to an Asia Watch source. Another account⁵⁷ reports he actually was released on bail, having won his freedom through an administrative order from the Ministry of Justice in coordination with the Ministry of Public Security because of his advanced age. Mai was sentenced in January 1986 to 12 years in prison for his connection to the *Shouters*, an evangelical sect, for having illegal foreign connections and for distributing Bibles. A native of Shantou, Guangdong Province, he was arrested in September 1983 and incarcerated in a labor camp.

■ In addition to arrests and imprisonment of individuals accused of specific violations, some local authorities make a practice of detaining house church members, sometimes whole congregations, until exorbitant fines have been paid. Often the considerable effort it takes to raise the required monies is sufficient to discourage further religious participation. In January 1991, in a central Chinese province, ten members of a number of house churches were detained as they gathered to attend the wedding ceremony of a sister. As of June 1991, four were still held; the others were released after payment of fines ranging from 300 to 500 *yuan* (\$57-\$97). One leader, released after seven months, reported that he was severely beaten. He attributes his treatment to the fact that this was not his first detention for unapproved religious activity.⁵⁸ In May 1991, more than ten members of a house church in central China were arrested, fined 300 *yuan* each and released upon payment.⁵⁹ In Henan, in June 1991, about twenty people were arrested in a raid. All were fined before release; the leaders had to pay between 500 to 1,500 *yuan* (\$90-\$270). The average monthly income for a farmer in Henan is 100 *yuan*.⁶⁰

d. Recently Released

■ **Sister CHEN**, leader of a mission team in Shaanxi Province, was arrested on December 28, 1989, detained for three months and then released.

⁵⁶ *Associated Press*, October 24, 1991.

⁵⁷ *Associated Press*, October 24, 1991.

⁵⁸ *China News and Church Report*, June 7, 1991.

⁵⁹ *China News and Church Report*, July 12, 1991.

⁶⁰ *China News and Church Report*, September 20, 1991.

■ **SONG Tianying**, the daughter of a famous evangelist, was arrested for "vagrancy" on July 27, 1990 while addressing a religious meeting in Zhangzhou, Fujian Province. The charges related to an itinerant mission she undertook in order to instruct house church leaders. Song, who had already spent over 20 years in prison, reportedly was released after 44 days. During her incarceration, prominent house church leaders in the area had their homes searched. Two were detained briefly; several hundred bibles were confiscated; and 20 churches were closed.⁶¹

■ **XU Yongze**, 51, from Nanyang, Zhenping County, Henan Province, was released after completing his sentence.⁶² On April 26, 1991, he was taken to a local Public Security office and detained an additional month. Sent home in May, he is under close surveillance. According to an Asia Watch source, the release came when a guarantor agreed to be responsible for keeping Xu from resuming his religious activities. Arrested on April 16, 1988 in Yuetan Park in Beijing reportedly by the Ministry of State Security, he was subsequently sentenced to three years' imprisonment. In spite of serious illness, he was detained in Zhenping County Prison. In addition to his preaching, which he began in 1968, Xu trained young evangelists to preach and to establish home churches. The group, many of whose members reportedly have been arrested or detained, has expanded to other provinces over the years. They reportedly established over 3,000 house churches from the end of the Cultural Revolution to the present. Xu was first arrested in August 1982 and was held without trial in a labor camp. He reportedly escaped sometime that year and immediately resumed his rural missionary work, managing to evade arrest until he journeyed to Beijing in the hopes of meeting Billy Graham.

3. Sect Members

■ **Zhang Xiangyu**, a *Qi Gong* master, was arrested sometime before August 27, 1990. Her current whereabouts are unknown. Zhang founded *The Nature Center Association*, one of many Chinese organizations promoting *Qi Gong*, an ancient healing and exercise art. Chinese authorities, concerned with its attraction for millions and its alleged "counterrevolutionary potential," have branded the art as superstitious and, therefore, illegal.

⁶¹ *Amnesty International*, "China: Punishment Without Crime: Administrative Detention."

⁶² *China News and Church Report*, September 12, 1991.

APPENDIX 1

DOCUMENT NO. 6

**Circular
Issued by the
Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party
and the State Council
On
Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion
(February 5, 1991)**

TO: Party committees and people's governments of the various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central People's Government, Party Committees of the various greater military areas, the various departments, ministries and commissions of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the various general headquarters of the military commission, Party Committees of the various armed services and the various arms of the services, and the various people's organizations.

The Party's policy toward religion has been implemented step by step and our work on religion has achieved remarkable successes since the Third Plenum of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee, as a result of the concerted efforts of the Party committees and governments at the various levels. We have opened and made arrangements for sites for religious activities, restored or established patriotic religious organizations, citizens' rights to freedom of religious belief, their normal religious activities and the legitimate rights and interests of religious organizations have been protected by the law and policy, criminal activities that violated the law perpetrated in the name of religion have been dealt with according to law, and religious activities in most areas have been normal. The patriotic sentiments and socialist consciousness of religious figures have been enhanced. They support the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system. They have energetically helped the Party and government implement their policy towards religion, and done much useful work in upholding social stability and national unity, in promoting the unification of the motherland and in conducting friendly international intercourse. The patriotic United Front of the religious circles of the various nationalities led by the Party has become further consolidated and strengthened. Religious believers of the various nationalities have actively participated in the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilization. Practice has demonstrated the correctness of the Party and government policy towards religion, and the overall situation in our work on religion is good.

But we must realize that hostile forces beyond our borders have all along been using religion as an important means to carry out their strategy of bringing about "peaceful evolution" in our country. They have continuously engaged in

infiltration and disruptive activities against us. The national splittists have also used religion to stir up trouble, attack Party leadership and the socialist system, undermine the unification of the motherland and national unity. In certain places, a few hostile elements run rampant. They establish illegal organizations and try to wrest leadership of the monasteries, Taoist temples and churches from us. Some of them illegally opened bible colleges, convents and theological seminaries, trying to compete with us for the hearts and minds of young people. Some monasteries restored their feudal religious privileges, oppression and exploitation that had been abolished. At the grassroots level in some places, some people used religion to interfere with government administration, the judicial process and education in schools.

At the same time, we must also realize that there are quite a few problems in the implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief. Certain local authorities violate the citizens' right to freedom of religious belief, the legitimate rights and interests of the monasteries, Taoist temples and churches, interfere with normal religious activities of religious groups and procrastinate in restoring religious real estate, monasteries, Taoist temples and churches to their rightful owners. Social conflicts touched off by religious problems or the improper handling of religious issues broke out from time to time. Party committees and governments at all levels must soberly realize the complexity and seriousness of these problems and attach great importance to work on religion.

The correct handling of the question of religion constitutes an important task in China's socialist construction, an important substance in the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It is of great significance and allows no negligence that we perform our work on religion successfully, so as to maintain social stability, promote national unity, the unification of the motherland and the building of the four modernizations. "The Basic Viewpoint and Basic Policy of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Religious Question in the Period of Socialism in China" (Document No. 19 issued by the Party Central Committee in 1982) is an important document that provides the guideline for work on religion. It must continue to be carried out conscientiously. Continuity and stability of the policy towards religion must be maintained. In the days to come, the basic task of the Party and government work on religion is conscientiously to implement the Party's policy toward religion, safeguard citizens' right to the freedom of religious belief, step up the education of the religious believers and figures in patriotism and socialism, bring their initiative into play, support them in their useful work, consolidate and develop our patriotic United Front with the religious circles, regulate religious affairs according to law, curb and crack down on illegal criminal activities perpetrated in the name of religion, resolutely curb the infiltration of hostile religious forces beyond our borders, and work for the safeguarding of stability, the promotion of unity, the unification of the motherland and bring prosperity to China. We now issue a circular on some problems concerning further improving our work on religion as follows:

I. Implement the policy of freedom of religious belief accurately and in

an all-round manner.

Respect and protect the freedom of religious belief -- this is a basic long-term policy of the Party and state concerning the question of religion. Freedom of religious belief is a right laid down in the Constitution for citizens. Citizens are free to believe or not to believe in religion. No state organ, social organization or individual is allowed to force a citizen to believe or not to believe in religion. Citizens must not be discriminated against on the ground that they are religious believers or non-believers. Religious activities must be conducted within the framework of law and policy. The state protects normal religious activities. Citizens, in exercising their rights to the freedom of religious belief, must at the same time fulfill their obligations. No one is allowed to use religion to oppose the leadership of the Party and the socialist system, to harm the unification of the country, social stability and national unity, to encroach on the interests of society and collectives, or the legitimate rights of other citizens. No one is allowed to use religion to interfere with government administration, the judicial process, school education or public social education, to obstruct the practice of compulsory education, to restore the abolished system of feudal religious privileges, oppression and exploitation. Believers and non-believers, believers in different religions and sects should respect and unite with each other. In places where the majority of people are non-believers, attention should be paid to respecting and protecting the rights of the believers who are in a minority. In places where the majority are believers, attention should be paid to respecting and protecting the rights of the non-believers who are in the minority, so that believers and non-believers could unite and work together in the cause of the building of socialist modernization.

In implementing the policy of freedom of religious belief, it is necessary firmly to correct the actions that violate the citizen's right to freedom of religious belief and the legitimate rights and interests of the religious circles. In places where there are not enough sites for religious activities, such sites should be provided for normal religious activities. The religious real estate problem left over from history should be handled prudently, so as to unite with the masses of religious believers and promote state and social stability.

II. Regulating religious affairs according to the law.

Regulating religious affairs according to law means that the government administers and oversees the enforcement of the laws, regulations and policies concerning religion. The government protects the legitimate rights and interests of religious bodies, monasteries, Taoist temples and churches according to law; it protects the clergy and lay believers in their normal religious activities; it prevents and curbs the lawless elements who use religion and religious activities to stir up trouble, violate the law and commit crimes; it curbs the hostile forces beyond our borders who use religion for infiltration purposes. The objective of regulating religious affairs is to channel religious activities into the framework of laws, regulations and policy, and not to interfere in the normal religious activities or the internal affairs of religious bodies.

All sites of religious activities must be registered according to law (the specific procedures will be laid down separately). Those registered sites of religious activities are protected by law. They are administered according to the democratic principle by the patriotic religious organizations and the clergy under the administrative leadership of the government departments in charge of religious affairs. The opening of new sites for religious activities must be approved by people's governments above the county level. Preaching and missionary work by self-styled preachers and other illegal missionary work must be firmly curbed. Those bible colleges, convents and theological seminaries that had been opened illegally must be banned.

China's religious bodies and religious affairs must adhere to the principle of independence and run their churches themselves free from control by outside forces. International religious exchanges should be conducted actively and correctly on the basis of equality and friendship. Attempts by hostile forces beyond our borders to control China's religion must be resolutely resisted. No religious organizations or individuals from outside the country are allowed to interfere in China's religious affairs, establish offices in China, build monasteries, Taoist temples or churches, or engage in missionary work. Religious publications, audio and video tapes and other propaganda materials from abroad must be strictly controlled according to rules laid down by the government departments concerned. Those materials that incite people against the four basic principles or the government, or contain other reactionary contents should be confiscated according to law. No one is allowed to accept religious subsidies or missionary funds from foreigners whose aim is infiltration. Chinese religious organizations, monasteries, Taoist temples and churches must first obtain approval from people's governments at the provincial level or the Bureau of Religious Affairs of the State Council before they can accept significant donations from foreign religious organizations or religious believers. Similar approval is required of Chinese religious organizations, monasteries, Taoist temples or churches if they are to invite foreign religious organizations or personages to visit China or accept the latter's invitation for a visit abroad. Activities that are especially important and involve foreigners must be reported to the State Council for approval. Non-religious organizations must report to the Religious Affairs department when they invite or receive [foreign] organizations with a religious background or very influential religious personages who come for a visit and tour in China. When they engage in exchanges and cooperation with foreigners that involve religious organizations outside the country or their affiliated institutions or individuals, the cooperation agreements signed by the economic and trade, scientific and technological, cultural, educational, health, sports or tourist departments must not contain stipulations about missionary work, the establishment of religious institutions, or the building of monasteries, Taoist temples or churches, or any other religious matter.

Legislation of laws governing religion should be speeded up. The Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council should, in real earnest, draft the administrative regulations governing religious affairs. The provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government may also lay down local administrative rules governing religious affairs in

accordance with the relevant laws and regulations of the country and in the light of actual local conditions.

People's political power at the grassroots level should strengthen their leadership over work on religion, conscientiously carry out the Party and government policy towards religion, help the clergy and lay believers manage their places of religious activities successfully and engage in religious activities according to law.

III. Let the patriotic religious organizations play their role to the full.

The patriotic religious organizations serve as a bridge by which the Party and government unite with and educate religious personages. Letting these organizations play their role to the full is an important organizational guarantee for the successful implementation of the Party's policy towards religion and the normalization of religious activities. In certain places, the patriotic religious organizations have not received sufficient encouragement to play their full role, and this failure of the local authorities must be corrected. These authorities should support and help the patriotic religious organizations strengthen their own building, carry on their activities independently according to their own characteristics and rules, and bring their initiative into full play. They should be encouraged and supported to run their production, service, and public welfare undertakings successfully in order to become self-supporting. Help should be given in providing them with office space and operational expenses, and in tackling the difficulties in the livelihood of the clergy in certain areas so as to provide the necessary conditions for them to go ahead with their work. All patriotic religious organizations must accept the leadership of the Party and the government, abide by the law of the land, carry forward the tradition of self-education and constantly educate their religious staff in patriotism, socialism, the policy on current developments, laws and regulations of the country, and steadily enhance their consciousness in defending the interests of the state and the nation and upholding the principle of independence and managing their religious undertakings themselves.

The overwhelming majority of the Chinese religious personages are patriotic and law abiding. They have over a long period of time cooperated with the Party and the government and constitute an important force in maintaining state and social stability, keeping in touch with the lay believers and successfully running their religious affairs. Party and government leading organs at all levels must always listen to the opinions and suggestions offered by the patriotic religious organizations and personages, and fully consult them on important matters concerning religion. They must support and assist the patriotic religious organizations in successfully running the theological seminaries to foster in a planned and organized way a corps of religious staff who love the motherland, accept Party leadership, are resolute in taking the socialist road, uphold the unification of the motherland and national unity, versed in religious learning and capable of keeping in touch with the masses of lay believers. At the present moment, training should be stepped up for those who are in charge of the monasteries, Taoist temples, churches and other places of worship.

IV. Resolutely curb those who use religion to engage in criminal activities.

At the same time as we protect the right of citizens to freedom of religious belief and their normal religious activities, we must firmly crack down according to law on those counterrevolutionary elements and other criminal offenders who use religion to engage in disruptive activities. Public security departments at all levels must take forceful measures and resolutely curb those who use religion to stir up trouble, undermine public safety and weaken the unification of the country and national unity. Those who violate the Criminal Code must be dealt with according to law. Those chief culprits who collude with hostile forces outside the country to endanger China's security must be severely punished. Illegal religious organizations must be firmly outlawed. Those places of worship that engage in illegal activities should be criticized, educated, and asked to amend their ways within a stated time if the case is not so serious. Repeat offenders and serious cases should be dealt with according to law.

In our work, we must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly, have a correct grasp of policy, unite with and rely on the patriotic forces of the religious circles, divide and disintegrate the hostile forces, win over those under their influence and control, and isolate the few principal culprits.

The law enforcement departments of the country must make judicial explanations according to law when punishing those who use religion to engage in criminal activities. The public security and procuratorial departments and the courts should coordinate their efforts in curbing criminal activities according to law.

V. Strengthen the organ of work on religion and step up the building of a corps of cadres working on religious matters.

In order to improve our work on religion further, it is necessary to strengthen the government organs for work on religion. The governments of provinces (autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government), municipalities (regions and prefectures) and those counties (districts) that carry a heavy load of work on religion should establish organs to handle work on religion as part of the government setup. The other counties (districts) should keep their organs for work on religion provided these are already in place. Those counties without such organs may share offices with the relevant departments, staffed by person(s) specially assigned to handle work on religion full time. Those townships facing the task of handling religious affairs should have someone in charge of such work, on a full-time basis if the task is a serious one.

Special importance should be attached to the training of cadres who would handle religious affairs, and their competence must be constantly improved. Those who handle religious affairs must fully realize the significance

and responsibility of their job, make a serious study of Marxist philosophy, religious theories, the Party's principles and policies, be versed in the relevant laws and knowledge in work on religion, good at uniting with religious personages and lay believers, so as to turn oneself into a cadre that handles religious affairs with good political qualities, a fine work style and highly knowledgeable in religious matters. Party committees and governments at all levels should show solicitude for cadres handling religious matters, politically and in their work and livelihood.

VI. Strengthen Party leadership in work on religion.

Party leadership in work on religion is primarily political leadership. The Party is in charge of political orientation and the major principles and policies. Party committees and governments at all levels must place work on religion on their agenda, study and analyze the situation in work on religion at regular intervals, seriously check on the implementation of the policy towards religion, promptly solve any problem, mobilize the entire Party, government at all levels and all social forces and have them attach importance to and show solicitude for successful work on religion, so as to make religion fit into the socialist society.

Responsible comrades of the Party and government at all levels and the United Front departments of the Party committees should work successfully with the representative religious figures, improve their contacts with these figures, explain the Party's principles and policies to them and inform them of relevant matters, listen to their opinions with an open mind, and help them solve problems in their work.

Party committees and governments at all levels must strengthen their political and ideological work, instruct the propaganda departments to educate the broad masses in patriotism, socialism and national unity, educate the masses, youngsters in particular, in dialectical materialism and historical materialism (including atheism) and foster the youngsters to become a generation of new people with high ideals and moral standards and who are well educated and disciplined. Instructions and assistance should be given the trade unions, the Communist Youth League and women's federations and have them launch healthy and useful activities, show solicitude for and give assistance to employees, young people and women in solving difficulties in their work and livelihood, inculcate them with a correct view of birth, old age, sickness and death as well as good or ill luck, disasters and good fortune, so that they can acquire a scientific world view and outlook on life. The publication of works that touch on religion must neither run counter to the Party and government policy toward religion, nor hurt the religious feelings of the believers, nor distort history by the use of religion to undermine the unification of the country and national unity.

Communist Party members are allowed neither to believe in religion, nor participate in religious activities. Those Party members who take part in religious activities should be subjected to patient education so that they can acquire a correct world outlook and draw a line of demarcation between atheism and theism and strengthen their faith in communism. Those who refuse to amend

their ways should be persuaded to leave the Party. Those who take part in inciting religious fanaticism and lend support to the indiscriminate building of monasteries, Taoist temples or churches should be sternly criticized and educated. Those who refuse to repent should be expelled from the Party. In those minority areas where virtually everyone is a religious believer, Communist Party members working at the grassroots level may take part in certain traditional mass activities with a tinge of religion in accordance with the relevant guidelines laid down by the Central Committee of the Party.

Upon receipt of this circular, Party committees and governments throughout the country should conscientiously sum up their experiences in handling religious matters in recent years, draw the necessary lessons on the basis of an overall review of the implementation of the policy towards religion, draw up specific measures in the light of local realities, and conscientiously carry them out. The Party committees and governments of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government should send written reports of their review and summation to the Central Committee of the Party and the State Council.

**The Central Committee of
the Chinese Communist Party
The State Council
February 5, 1991**

APPENDIX 2

Document 19: The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question During Our Country's Socialist Period⁶³

TO: All provincial and municipal Party committees; all Party committees of autonomous regions, greater military regions, provincial military regions, field armies, ministries, and commissions within State organs and the general headquarters of the Military Commission of the Central Committee; all Party committees within the armed forces and within all people's organizations:

The Secretariat of the Central Committee has recently studied the religious question and has drawn up a document entitled The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question during Our Country's Socialist Period. This document sums up in a more systematic way the historical experience of our Party, positive and negative, with regard to the religious question since the founding of the People's Republic, and clarifies the basic viewpoint and policy the Party has taken. Upon receipt of this document, Party committees of all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, as well as those of the ministries and commissions of the Central Committee and State organs concerned, should undertake conscientious investigation and discussion of the religious question, and should increase supervision and prompt inspection of the implementation of each item related to this policy.

It is the belief of the Central Committee that following from this summation of the religious question, our Party needs to make further progress in summarizing its experience in all other aspects of its work, as well as of its work in each region and department. It should be affirmed that since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, our Party has achieved significant results from the summing up of its own historical experience. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic" passed by the Sixth Session of the Eleventh Central Committee is a distillation of this kind of result, marking the completion, in terms of ideological leadership, of the Party's task of restoring order. Viewed from another aspect, however, that is, taking our Party's work on all fronts, all regions and departments, the work of summing up our historical experiences is quite insufficient.

It is the hope of the Central Committee, therefore, that Party committees at all levels, most importantly at the provincial, municipal, and autonomous region levels, will, together with the first-level Party committees and organizations of the Central Committee and ministries and commissions of State organs, concentrate

⁶³In *Religion in China Today...*

their main efforts within the coming two to three years on doing well the task at hand. They should undertake conscientious investigation of the work in those regions and departments for which they are responsible, systematically summing up their historical experience, positive and negative, shaping this into a set of viewpoints and methods in which theory and practice are intimately combined and which are suitable to conditions in their regions and departments.

It is the belief of the Central Committee that we need only earnestly grasp this key link and expand painstaking efforts in order to achieve new results and effectively raise the ideological and theoretical level of all Party members, who will then adopt correct and effective methods of work and open up a brand new era as our country goes about the great task of building socialism in the remaining twenty years of this century.

**Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China
31 March, 1982**

1. Religion as a Historical Phenomenon

Religion is a historical phenomenon pertaining to a definite period in the development of human society. It has its own cycle of emergence, development, and demise. Religious faith and religious sentiment, along with religious ceremonies and organizations consonant with this faith and sentiment, are all products of the history of society. The earliest emergence of the religious mentality reflected the low level of production and the sense of awe toward natural phenomena of primitive peoples. With the evolution of class society, the most profound social roots of the existence and development of religion lay in the following factors: the helplessness of the people in the face of the blind forces alienating and controlling them in this kind of society; the fear and despair of the workers in the face of the enormous misery generated by the oppressive social system; and in the need of the oppressor class to use religion as an opiate and as an important and vital means in its control of the masses. In socialist society, the class root of the existence of religion was virtually lost following the elimination of the oppressive system and its oppressor classes. However, because the people's consciousness lags behind social realities, old thinking and habits cannot be thoroughly wiped out in a short period. A long process of struggle is required to achieve great increases in production strength, great abundance in material wealth, and a high level of socialist democracy, along with high levels of development in education, culture, science, and technology. Since we cannot free ourselves from various hardships brought on by serious natural and man-made disasters within a short period of time; since class struggle continues to exist within certain limits; and given the complex international environment, the long-term influence of religion among a part of the people in a socialist society cannot be avoided. Religion will eventually disappear from human history. But it will disappear naturally only through the long-term development of Socialism and Communism, when all objective requirements are met. All Party members must have a sober-minded recognition of the protracted nature of the religious

question under socialist conditions. Those who think that with the establishment of the socialist system and with a certain degree of economic and cultural progress, religion will die out within a short period, are not being realistic. Those who expect to rely on administrative decrees or other coercive measures to wipe out religious thinking and practices with one blow are even further from the basic viewpoint Marxism takes toward the religious question. They are entirely wrong and will do no small harm.

II. The Religions of China

There are many religions in China. Buddhism has a history of nearly 2,000 years in China, Taoism one of over 1,700 years, and Islam over 1,300 years, while Roman Catholicism and Protestantism achieved most of their development following the Opium Wars. As for the numbers of religious adherents, at Liberation there were about 8,000,000 Muslims, while today there are about 10,000,000 (the chief reason for this is growth in population among the ten Islamic minorities). At Liberation there were 2,700,000 Catholics; today there are over 3,000,000. Protestants numbered 700,000 in 1949 and are now at 3,000,000. Buddhism (including Lamaism) numbers almost the entire populations of the ethnic minorities of Tibet, Mongolia, and Liaoning among its adherents. Among the Han race, Buddhism and Taoism still exercise considerable influence at present. Naturally, out of the total population of our country, and especially among the Han race, which accounts for the largest number of people, there are a considerable number who believe in spirits, but the number of those who actually adhere to a religion is not great. If we compare the number of religious believers at the time of Liberation with the present number overall, we will see that overall there has been somewhat of an increase in absolute numbers, but when compared with the growth of the population there has been a decline.

But in our appraisal of the religious question, we must reckon fully with its definite complex nature. To sum up, we may say that in old China, during the long feudal period and the more than one hundred years of semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, all religions were manipulated and controlled by the ruling classes, with extremely negative results. Within China, the Buddhist, Taoist and Islamic leaderships were mainly controlled by the feudal landowners, feudal lords, and reactionary warlords, as well as the bureaucratic capitalistic class. The later foreign colonialist and imperialist forces mainly controlled the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.

After Liberation there was a thorough transformation of the socioeconomic system and a major reform of the religious system, and so the status of religion in China has already undergone a fundamental change. The contradictions of the religious question now belong primarily to the category of contradictions among the people. The religious question, however, will continue to exist over a long period within certain limits, will continue to have a definite mass nature, to be entangled in many areas with the ethnic question, and to be

affected by some class-struggle and complex international factors. This question, therefore, continues to be one of great significance which we cannot ignore. The question is this: can we handle this religious question properly as we work toward national stability and ethnic unity, as we develop our international relations while resisting the infiltration of hostile forces from abroad, and as we go on constructing a socialist civilization with both material and spiritual values? This, then, demands that the Party committees on each level must adopt toward the religious question an attitude in accord with what Lenin said, "Be especially alert," "Be very strict," "Think things through thoroughly." To overestimate the seriousness or complexity of the question and so panic, or to ignore the existence and complexity of the actual question and so let matters drift, would be equally wrong.

III. The Party's Handling of the Religious Question Since Liberation

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, there have been many twists and turns in the Party's work with regard to the religious question. In general, although there were some major errors, after the founding of New China, and for the seventeen years up to the Cultural Revolution, the Party's religious work achieved great results under the direction of the correct guiding principles and policies of the Party Central Committee. We did away with imperialist forces within the churches and promoted the correct policy of independent, self-governed, and autonomous churches, as well as the "Three-Self Movement," (self-propagation, self-administration, and self-support). The Catholic and Protestant churches ceased to be tools of the imperialist aggressors and became independent and autonomous religious enterprises of Chinese believers. We abolished the special privileges and oppressive exploitative system of feudal religion, attacked and exposed those reactionaries and bad elements who hid behind the cloak of religion, and made Buddhists, Taoists, and Muslims break away from the control and manipulation of the reactionary classes. We proclaimed and carried out a policy of freedom of religious belief, enabling the broad masses of religious believers not only to achieve a complete political and economic emancipation alongside each ethnic minority but also enabling them to begin to enjoy the right of freedom of religious belief. We carried out a policy of winning over, uniting with, and educating religious personages, and thus united the broad masses of the patriotic religious personages. We also assisted and supported religious people to seek international friendship and this has had good, positive effects.

Since 1957, however, leftist errors gradually grew up in our religious work and progressed even further in the mid-sixties. During the Cultural Revolution especially, the anti-revolutionary Lin Biao-Jiang Qing clique had ulterior motives in making use of these leftist errors, and wantonly trampled upon the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought concerning the religious question. They totally repudiated the Party's correct policy toward religion, in effect since the founding of the People's Republic. They basically did away with the work the Party had done on the religious question. They forcibly forbade normal religious activities by the mass of religious believers. They treated patriotic religious personages, as well as the mass of ordinary religious

believers, as "targets for dictatorship," and fabricated a host of wrongs and injustices which they pinned upon these religious personages. They even misinterpreted some customs and practices of the ethnic minorities as religious superstition, which they then forcibly prohibited. In some places, they even repressed the mass of religious believers, and destroyed ethnic unity. They used violent measures against religion which forced religious movements underground, with the result that they made some headway because of the disorganized state of affairs. A minority of anti-revolutionaries and bad elements made use of this situation and, under cover of religious activities, boldly carried out illegal criminal activities, as well as destructive anti-revolutionary movements.

After the smashing of Jiang Qing's anti-revolutionary clique, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee, the correct guiding principle and policy toward the religious question of our Party was restored step by step. In implementing and carrying out our religious policy, we have opened both Buddhist and Taoist temples, as well as churches and religious sites. We have restored the activities of the patriotic religious associations. We have won over, unified, and educated religious personages. We have strengthened the unity between believers and non-believers in each ethnic group. We have righted wrongs and have launched a movement for friendly relations internationally among religious believers as well as resisting infiltration and like doings from hostile religious forces from abroad. In all this, we have undertaken a large number of tasks and have obtained remarkable results.

In this new historical period, the Party's and government's basic task in its religious work will be to firmly implement and carry out its policy of freedom of religious belief; to consolidate and expand the patriotic political alliance in each ethnic religious group; to strengthen education in patriotism and socialism among them, and to bring into play positive elements among them in order to build a modern and powerful socialist state and complete the great task of unifying the country; and to oppose the hegemonism and strive together to protect and preserve world peace.

In order to implement and carry out the Party's religious policy correctly and comprehensively, the main task now at hand is to oppose "leftist" erroneous tendencies. At the same time, we must be on our guard to forestall and overcome the erroneous tendency to just let things slide along. All Party members, Party committees on all levels, especially those responsible for religious work, must conscientiously sum up and assimilate the historical experience, positive and negative, of the Party in religious work since the founding of the People's Republic. They must make further progress in their understanding and mastery of the objective law governing the emergence, development, and demise of religion. They should overcome every obstacle and difficulty and resolutely keep the religious policy of the Party on the scientific course laid out for it by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

IV. The Party's Present Policy Toward Religion

The basic policy the Party has adopted toward the religious question is that of respect for and protection of the freedom of religious belief. This is a long-term policy, one which must be continually carried out until that future time when religion will itself disappear. What do we mean by freedom of religious belief? We mean that every citizen has the freedom to believe in religion and also the freedom not to believe in religion. S/he has also the freedom to believe in this religion or that religion. Within a particular religion, s/he has the freedom to believe in this sect or that sect. A person who was previously a non-believer has the freedom to become a religious believer, and one who has been a religious believer has the freedom to become a non-believer. We communists are atheists and must unremittingly propagate atheism. Yet at the same time we must understand that it will be fruitless and extremely harmful to use simple coercion in dealing with the people's ideological and spiritual questions – and this includes religious questions. We must further understand that at the present historical stage the difference that exists between the mass of believers and non-believers in matters of ideology and belief is relatively secondary. If we then one-sidedly emphasize this difference, even to the point of giving it primary importance – for example, by discriminating against and attacking the mass of religious believers, while neglecting and denying that the basic political and economic welfare of the mass of both religious believers and non-believers is the same – then we forget that the Party's basic task is to unite all the people (and this includes the broad mass of believers and non-believers alike) in order that all may strive to construct a modern, powerful socialist state. To behave otherwise would only exacerbate the estrangement between the mass of believers and non-believers as well as incite and aggravate religious fanaticism, resulting in serious consequences for our socialist enterprise. Our Party, therefore, bases its policy of freedom of religious belief on the theory formulated by Marxism-Leninism, and it is the only correct policy genuinely consonant with the people's welfare.

Naturally, in the process of implementing and carrying out this policy which emphasizes and guarantees the people's freedom to believe in religion, we must, at the same time, emphasize and guarantee the people's freedom not to believe in religion. These are two indispensable aspects of the same question. Any action which forces a non-believer to believe in religion is an infringement of freedom of religious belief, just as is any action which forces a believer not to believe. Both are grave errors and not to be tolerated. The guarantee of freedom of religious belief, far from being a hindrance, is a means of strengthening the Party's effort to disseminate scientific education as well as to strengthen its propaganda against superstition. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the crux of the policy of freedom of religious belief is to make the question of religious belief a private matter, one of individual free choice for citizens.

The political power in a socialist state can in no way be used to promote any one religion, nor can it be used to forbid any one religion, as long as it is only a question of normal religious beliefs and practices. At the same time, religion will not be permitted to meddle in the administrative or juridical affairs of state, nor to intervene in the schools or public education. It will be absolutely forbidden to force anyone, particularly people under eighteen years of age, to become a

member of a church, to become a Buddhist monk or nun, or to go to temples or monasteries to study Buddhist scripture. Religion will not be permitted to recover in any way those special feudal privileges which have been abolished or to return to an exploitative and oppressive religious system. Nor will religion be permitted to make use in any way of religious pretexts to oppose the Party's leadership or the socialist system, or to destroy national or ethnic unity.

To sum up, the basic starting point and firm foundation for our handling of the religious question and for the implementation of our policy and freedom of religious belief lies in our desire to unite the mass of believers and non-believers and enable them to center all their will and strength on the common goal of building a modernized, powerful socialist state. Any action or speech that deviates in the least from this basic line is completely erroneous, and must be firmly resisted and opposed by both Party and people.

V. The Party's Work with Religious Professionals

To win over, unite and educate persons in religious circles is primarily the task of religious professionals. It is also the essence of the Party's religious work and most important condition and prerequisite for the implementation of the Party's religious policy. Throughout the country at present, there are about 59,000 professional religious, with affiliation as follows:

Buddhist monks and nuns, including lamas about 27,000

Taoist priests and nuns over 2,600

Muslims about 20,000

Catholics about 3,400

Protestants about 5,900

Due to many years of natural attrition, the present number of professional religious has greatly decreased when compared to the number at Liberation. Their class origin, experience, beliefs and political ideology are quite diverse, but, in brief, we can say that by far the great majority of them are patriotic, law-abiding, and support the socialist system. Only a very small minority oppose the constitution and socialism to the extent of colluding with foreign anti-revolutionaries and other bad elements. Many of these professional religious not only maintain intimate spiritual ties with the mass of religious believers, but have an important influence over the spiritual life of the masses which should not be ignored. Moreover, as they carry out their more formal religious duties, they also perform work which serves the people in many ways and which benefits society. For example, they safeguard Buddhist and Taoist temples and churches and protect historical religious relics, engage in agriculture and afforestation, and carry on the academic study of religion, and so on. Therefore, we must definitely give sufficient attention to all persons in religious circles, but primarily professional religious, uniting them, caring for them, and helping them to make progress. We must unrelentingly yet patiently forward their education in patriotism, upholding the law, supporting socialism, and upholding national and ethnic unity. In the case of Catholics and Protestants, we must strengthen their education in independence and self-government of their churches.

We must make appropriate arrangements for the livelihood of those professional religious and conscientiously carry out the pertinent policies. This is especially true regarding the well-known public figures and intellectuals among them, for whom we should speedily implement our policy to supply them with appropriate remuneration. We must pay very close attention to and reexamine those injustices perpetrated against persons in religious circles and among the mass of religious believers which have not yet been redressed. These must be redressed in accordance with the facts, especially those more serious ones which may have grave consequences. These must be firmly grasped and speedily resolved.

We must foster a large number of fervent patriots in every religion who accept the leadership of the Party and government, firmly support the socialist path, and safeguard national and ethnic unity. They should be learned in religious matters and capable of keeping close links with the representatives of the religious masses. Furthermore, we must organize religious persons according to their differing situations and capabilities, respectively, to take part in productive labor, serving society, and in the scholarly study of religion. They should also take part in patriotic political movements and friendly international exchanges. All this is done in order to mobilize the positive elements among religious circles to serve the socialist modernization enterprise.

With regard to those older religious professionals whose term of imprisonment has been completed or whose term at labor reform has ended, as well as those who have not yet been approved to engage in professional religious activities by the religious organizations, each case must be dealt with on its own merits, according to the principle of differentiation. Those who prove to be politically reliable, patriotic, and law-abiding, and who are well-versed in religious matters, can, upon examination and approval by the patriotic religious organizations, be allowed to perform religious duties. As for the rest, they should be provided with alternative means to earn a living.

Marxism is incompatible with any theistic worldview. But in terms of political action, Marxists and patriotic believers can, indeed must, form a United Front in the common effort for socialist modernization. This United Front should become an important constitutive element of the broad patriotic front led by the Party during the socialist period.

VI. Restoration and Administration of Churches, Temples and Other Religious Buildings

To make equitable arrangements for places of worship is a means of implementing the Party's religious policy, and is also an important material condition for the normalization of religious activity. At the time of Liberation, there were about 100,000 places of worship, while at the present time there are about 30,000. This figure includes Buddhist and Taoist temples, churches, and meeting places of simple construction as well as places of worship build by religious believers themselves. The present problem is that we must adopt effective

measures, based on each situation, to make equitable arrangements for places of worship. We must systematically and methodically restore a number of temples and churches in large and mid-size cities, at famous historical sites, and in areas in which there is a concentration of religious believers, especially ethnic minority areas. Famous temples and churches of cultural and historical value which enjoy national and international prestige must be progressively restored as far as is possible, according to conditions in each place. But in those places where believers are few and have little influence or where churches and temples have already been demolished, we must work out measures which suit the conditions and do things simply and thriftily according to the principle of what will benefit production and the people's livelihood. After consultation with the mass of religious believers and important persons in religious circles, and with the voluntary support of the believers, we should set aside rather simply constructed places of worship. In the process of restoring places of worship, we must not use the financial resources of either country or collective, outside of government appropriations. And we must particularly guard against the indiscriminate building and repairing of temples in rural villages.

We should also direct the voluntary contributions of the mass of religious believers for construction work, so as to build as little as possible. Much less should we go in for large-scale construction lest we consume large sums of money, materials, and manpower, and thus obstruct the building up of material and spiritual socialist civilization. Of course we should not demolish existing structures, but fully consult with believers and important persons in religious circles concerning them in order to reach a satisfactory solution based on the actual situation.

All normal religious activities held in places so designated, as well as those which, according to religious custom, take place in believers' homes – Buddha worship, scripture chanting, incense burning, prayer, Bible study, preaching, mass, baptism, initiation as a monk or nun, fasting, celebration of religious festivals, extreme unction, funerals, etc. – are all to be conducted by religious organizations and religious believers themselves, under protection of law and without interference from any quarter. With approval of the responsible government department, temples and churches can sell a limited quantity of religious reading matter, religious articles, and works of religious art. As for Protestants gathering in homes for worship services, in principle this should not be allowed, yet this prohibition should not be too rigidly enforced. Rather, persons in the patriotic religious organizations should make special efforts to persuade the mass of religious believers to make more appropriate arrangements.

All places of worship are under the administrative control of the Bureau of Religious Affairs, but the religious organizations and professional religious themselves are responsible for their management. Religious organizations should arrange the scope, frequency, and time of religious services, avoiding interference with the social order and the times set aside for production and labor. No one should go to places of worship to carry on atheist propaganda, nor to incite arguments among the believing masses over the existence of God. In like

manner, no religious organization or believer should propagate or preach religion outside places designated for religious services, nor propagate theism, nor hand out religious tracts or other religious reading matter which has not been approved for publication by the responsible government department. In order to ensure further normalization of religious activities, the government should hereafter, in accordance with due process of law, consult fully with representatives from religious circles in order to draw up feasible religious legislation that can be carried out in practice.

Major temples and churches famous for their scenic beauty are not only places of worship, but are also cultural facilities of important historical value. Responsible religious organizations and professional religious should be charged with making painstaking efforts to safeguard them by seeing that these monuments receive good care, that the buildings are kept in good repair, and the environment fully protected so that the surroundings are clean, peaceful and quiet, suitable for tourism. Under the direction of the responsible government department and religious organization, the income derived from alms and donations received by these temples and churches can be used mainly for maintenance. A part of this income can even be used as an incentive and reward for professional religious in charge of such places who have been outstanding in this regard.

VII. The Patriotic Religious Organizations

To give full play to the function of the patriotic religious organizations is to implement the Party's religious policy and is an important organizational guarantee for the normalization of religious activities. There are a total of eight national patriotic religious organizations, namely: The Chinese Buddhist Association, the Chinese Taoist Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, the Chinese Catholic Religious Affairs Committee, the Chinese Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Chinese Protestant "Three-Self" Patriotic Movement, and the China Christian Council. Beside these, there are a number of social groups and local organizations having a religious character. The basic task of these patriotic religious organizations is to assist the Party and the government to implement the policy of freedom of religious belief, to help the broad mass of religious believers and persons in religious circles to continually raise their patriotic and socialist consciousness, to represent the lawful rights and interests of religious circles, to organize normal religious activities, and to manage religious affairs well. All patriotic religious organizations should follow the Party's and government's leadership. Party and government cadres in turn should become adept in supporting and helping religious organizations to solve their own problems. They should not monopolize or do things these organizations should do themselves. Only in this way can we fully develop the positive characteristics of these organizations and allow them to play their proper role and enable them, within constitutional and lawful limits, to voluntarily perform useful work. Thus they can truly become religious groups with a positive influence, and can act as bridges for the Party's and government's work of winning over, uniting with, and educating persons in religious circles.

Furthermore, in order to enable each religion to meet expenses under a program of self-support and self-management, we must conscientiously carry out the policy stipulations governing income from house and property rentals. As for the contributions and donations made by believers, there will be no need to interfere as long as they are freely offered and small in quantity. But professional religious should be convinced that private possession of religious income from temples and churches is not allowed and that any action that forces contributions to be made is forbidden.

VIII. Educating a New Generation of Clergy

The training and education of the younger generation of patriotic religious personnel in a planned way will have decisive significance for the future image of our country's religious organizations. We should not only continue to win over, unite with, and educate the present generation of persons in religious circles, but we should also help each religious organization set up seminaries to train well new religious personnel. The task of these seminaries is to create a contingent of young religious personnel who, in terms of politics, fervently love their homeland and support the Party's leadership and the socialist system and who possess sufficient religious knowledge. These seminaries should hold entrance examinations and admit upright, patriotic young people who wish to devote themselves seriously to this religious profession and who have reached a certain level of cultural development. They should not forcibly enroll persons unwilling to undertake this profession or lacking in the necessary cultural educational foundation. Those young professional religious personnel who prove unfitted for this profession should be transferred elsewhere.

All these young professional religious should continually heighten their patriotic and socialist consciousness and make efforts to improve their cultural level and their religious knowledge. They should loyally implement the Party's religious policy. They should show respect to all those upright, patriotic professional religious of the older generation, and conscientiously study and imitate their good qualities. These older and upright patriotic religious professionals should, in turn, cherish these younger patriotic professional religious. In this way the younger ones will become integrated into the patriotic progress elements of the religious world, and, under the leadership of the Party, will become the mainstay ensuring that religious organizations follow the correct direction in their activities.

IX. Communist Party Members and Religion; Relations with Religious Ethnic Minorities

The fact that our Party proclaims and implements a policy of freedom of religious belief does not, of course, mean that Communist Party members can freely believe in religion. The policy of freedom of religious belief is directed toward the citizens of our country; it is not applicable to Party members. Unlike the average citizen, the Party member belongs to a Marxist political party, and there can be no doubt at all that s/he must be an atheist and not a theist. Our Party has clearly stated on many previous occasions: A Communist Party member

cannot be a religious believer; s/he cannot take part in religious activities. Any member who persists in going against this proscription should be told to leave the Party. This proscription is altogether correct, and, as far as the Party as a whole is concerned, its implementation should be insisted on in the future. The present question concerns the implementation of this proscription among those ethnic minorities whose people are basically all religious believers. Here, implementation must follow the actual circumstances, and so make use of proper measures, not oversimplifying matters.

We must realize that although a considerable number of Communist Party members among these ethnic minorities loyally implement the Party line, do positive work for the Party, and obey its discipline, they cannot completely shake off all religious influence. Party organizations should in no way simply cast these Party members aside, but should patiently and meticulously carry out ideological work while taking measures to develop more fully their positive political activism, helping them gradually to acquire a dialectical and historical materialist worldview and to gradually shake off the fetters of a religious ideology. Obviously, as we go about expanding our membership, we must take great care not to be rushed into recruiting devout religious believers or those with strong religious sentiments. As for that very small number of Party members who have shown extreme perversity by not only believing in religion but also joining with those who fan religious fanaticism, even to the point of using this fanaticism to oppose the four basic principles, attack the Party line and its aim and policy, and destroy national integrity and ethnic unity, persons such as these have already completely departed from the standpoint fundamental to Party members. If, after having undergone education and criticism, they continue to persist in their erroneous position or feign compliance, then we must resolutely remove them from the Party. If they have committed any criminal acts, then these must be investigated to fix responsibility before the law.

Even though those Party members who live at the grass-roots level among those ethnic minorities where the majority believe in religion have already freed themselves from religious belief, yet if they were to refuse to take part in any of those traditional marriage or funeral ceremonies or mass festivals which have some religious significance, then they would find themselves cut off and isolated from the masses. Therefore, in applying those precepts which forbid Party members who live among these ethnic minorities from joining in religious activities, we must act according to concrete circumstances, according to the principle of differentiation in order to allow Party members to continue to maintain close links with the masses. Although many of the traditional marriage and funeral ceremonies and mass festivals among these ethnic minorities have a religious tradition and significance, they have already essentially become merely a part of ethnic custom and tradition. So long as our comrades, especially those living at the grass-roots level, mark clearly the line between ideology and religious belief, then they can show appropriate respect to and compliance with these ethnic customs and traditions in their daily lives. Of course, this does not mean that those customs and traditions which prove harmful to production or to the physical and mental health of the masses should not be appropriately reformed in accordance with the desire of the majority of the people. But to lump

these ethnic customs and traditions together with religious activities is not right and will be harmful to ethnic unity and to the correct handling of the religious question.

All Party members must come to the profound realization that our country is a socialist state made up of many ethnic minorities. Each minority and each religion is differently situated with regard to this question of the relationship between religion and the ethnic minorities. There are some ethnic minorities in which nearly all the people believe in one particular religion, Islam, or Lamaism, for example. Among these peoples, the question of religion and ethnicity is frequently intertwined. But within the Han race, there is basically no relationship between ethnic background and Buddhism, Taoism, Catholicism or Protestantism. Therefore, we must become adept in distinguishing very concretely the particular situation of each ethnic group and of each religion, and in sizing up the differences and relationships between ethnicity and religion, that we may proceed correctly in our handling of them. We must certainly be vigilant and oppose any use of religious fanaticism to divide our people and any words or actions which damage the unity among our ethnic groups. If our Party cannot with clear mind and firm step master this particular question in the present great struggle as we strive to lead such a great nation of so many ethnic groups as ours forward to become a modern socialist state, then we shall not be able with any success to unite our peoples to advance together toward this goal.

X. Criminal and Counterrevolutionary Activities under the Cover of Religion

The resolute protection of all normal religious activities suggests, at the same time, a determined crackdown on all criminal and anti-revolutionary activities which hide behind the facade of religion, which includes all superstitious practices which fall outside the scope of religion and are injurious to the national welfare as well as to the life and property of the people. All anti-revolutionary or other criminal elements who hide behind the facade of religion will be severely punished according to the law. Former professional religious, released upon completion of their term of imprisonment, who return to criminal activities will be punished again in accordance with the law. All banned reactionary secret societies, sorcerers, and witches, without exception, are forbidden to resume their activities. All those who spread fallacies to deceive and who cheat people of their money will, without exception, be severely punished according to the law. Party cadres who profit by these illegal activities will be dealt with all the more severely. Finally, all who make their living by phrenology, fortune telling, and geomancy should be educated, admonished, and helped to earn their living through their own labor and not to engage again in these superstitious practices which only deceive people. Should they not obey, then they should be dealt with according to the law.

In dealing according to the law with all anti-revolutionary and other criminal elements who lurk within religious ranks, Party committees on each level and pertinent government departments must pay very close attention to cultivating public opinion. They should make use of irrefutable facts to fully expose the way in which these bad elements use religion to further their

destructive activities. Furthermore, they should take care to clearly delineate the line dividing normal religious activities from criminal ones, pointing out that cracking down on criminal activities is in no way to attack, but is rather to protect, normal religious activities. Only then can we successfully win over, unite with, and educate the broad mass of religious believers and bring about the normalization of religious activities.

XI. The International Relations of China's Religions

Buddhism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism, which occupy a very important place among our national religions, are at the same time ranked among the major world religions, and all exercise extensive influence in their societies. Catholicism and Protestantism are widespread in Europe, North America, and Latin America, and other places. Buddhism is strong in Japan and southeast Asia, while Islam holds sway in several dozen countries in Asia and Africa. Some of these religions are esteemed as state religions in a number of countries. At the present time, contacts with international religious groups are increasing, along with the expansion of our country's other international contacts, a situation which has important significance for extending our country's political influence. But at the same time there are reactionary religious groups abroad, especially the imperialistic ones such as the Vatican and Protestant foreign-mission societies, who strive to use all possible occasions to carry on their efforts at infiltration "to return to the China mainland." Our policy is to actively develop friendly international religious contacts, but also to firmly resist infiltration by hostile foreign religious forces.

According to this policy of the Party, religious persons within our country can, and even should, engage in mutual visits and friendly contacts with religious persons abroad as well as develop academic and cultural exchanges in the religious field. But in all these various contacts, they must firmly adhere to the principle of an independent, self-governing church, and resolutely resist the designs of all reactionary religious forces from abroad who desire to once again gain control over religion in our country. They must determinedly refuse any meddling or interfering in Chinese religious affairs by foreign churches or religious personages, nor must they permit any foreign religious organization (and this includes all groups and their attendant organizations) to use any means to enter our country for missionary work or to secretly introduce and distribute religious literature on a large scale.

All religious organizations and individuals must be educated not to make use of any means whatsoever to solicit funds from foreign church organizations, and religious persons and groups in our country as well as other groups and individuals must refuse any subsidy or funds offered by foreign church organizations for religious purposes. As for donations or offerings given in accordance with religious custom by foreign believers, overseas Chinese, or compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao to temples and churches within our territory, these may be accepted. But if it is a question of large contributions or offerings, permission must be sought from the provincial, urban or autonomous-area governments or from the central government department responsible for

these matters before any religious body can accept them on its own, even though it can be established that the donor acts purely out of religious fervor with no strings attached.

We must be vigilant and pay close attention to hostile religious forces from abroad who set up underground churches and other illegal organizations. We must act resolutely to attack those organizations that carry out destructive espionage under the guise of religion. Of course, in doing so, we must not act rashly, but rather investigate thoroughly, have irrefutable evidence at hand, choose the right moment, and execute the case in accordance with lawful procedures.

The new task we now face is that of developing friendly relationships with foreign religious groups while maintaining our policy of independence. The correct guiding principles and policies of the central government and the Party provide the essential basis for doing this type of work well. We should handle the domestic religious question realistically and effectively, strengthen our study of the history of world religion and its present situation, and make efforts to train talented people able to engage in international religious activities. Facts have proven over and over again that if we handle the domestic situation well, then all hostile religious forces from abroad will have little or no opportunity to exploit the situation to their own advantage. Then the international contacts undertaken by religious groups will make smoother and sounder progress and the positive function they should have will be given full play.

XII. The Role of the Party and State Organs in Handling the Religious Question

The basic guarantee for the successful handling of the religious question is the strengthening of the Party's leadership. The Party's religious work is an important constituent of the Party's United Front and of its work among the masses since it touches upon various aspects of social life. This demands that Party committees on each level must vigorously direct and organize all relevant departments, which include the United Front Department, the Bureau of Religious Affairs, the Bureau of National Minorities, the Department for Politics and Law, the Departments of Propaganda, Culture, Education, Science and Technology, and Health, as well as the labor unions, the Youth League, the Women's Federation and all other mass organizations, in order to unify ideology, knowledge, and policy. The departments must each take responsibility for their own work, but act in close coordination and take a realistic grasp of this important task in order to conscientiously and unremittingly carry it through to a successful conclusion.

We must strengthen the government organs responsible for religious affairs, to enable all cadres who give themselves to this particular work to study the Marxist theory of religion in a systematic way, to thoroughly understand the Party's fundamental viewpoint and policy on the religious question, to maintain close relationships with the mass of religious believers, and to consult on equal terms with persons in religious circles in order to cooperate and work together.

An important constituent of the Party's theoretical work on religion is the

use of the Marxist viewpoint and method to carry out scientific research on the religious question. An important task for the Party on the propaganda front is the use of Marxist philosophy to criticize idealism (which includes theism), and to educate the masses, especially the broad mass of young people, in a dialectical and historical materialist and scientific worldview. To do this, we must strengthen our propaganda in scientific and cultural knowledge as these relate to an understanding of natural phenomena, the evolution of society, and of human life, with its old age, sickness, death, and ill and good fortune. An indispensable aspect of the Party's theoretical foundation is the establishment of theoretical research teams armed with Marxist ideology for the study of religious theory which would strive to set up organizations for religious research and make use of related university disciplines. Of course, when we publish articles in newspapers and magazines on the religious question, we should adopt a prudent attitude so as not to violate the present policy nor to offend the religious sensibilities of the mass of believers. Those in academic circles should respect the religious mentality of those in religious circles, whereas those in religious circles should also respect the research and propaganda activities carried on by academia in its Marxist interpretation of religion.

The central authorities of Party and State emphasize once again that all Party members must clearly understand that the Party's religious policy is not just a temporary expedient, but a decisive strategy based on the scientific theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, which takes as its goal the national unification of the people for the common task of building a powerful, modernized socialist state. Under socialism, the only correct fundamental way to solve the religious question lies precisely in safeguarding the freedom of religious belief. Only after the gradual development of the socialist, economic, cultural, scientific, and technological enterprise and of a socialist civilization with its own material and spiritual values, will the type of society and level of awareness that gave rise to the existence of religion gradually disappear. Such a great enterprise naturally cannot be accomplished within a short period of time, nor even within one, two, or three generations. Only after a long period of history, after many generations have passed, and after the combined struggle of the broad masses of both believers and non-believers will this come about. At that time, the Chinese people, on Chinese soil, will have thoroughly rid themselves of all impoverishment, ignorance, and spiritual emptiness, and will have become a highly developed civilization of material and spiritual values, able to take its place in the front ranks of mankind in the glorious world. At that time, the vast majority of our citizens will be able to deal with the world and our fellowmen from a conscious scientific viewpoint, and no longer have any need for recourse to an illusory world of gods to seek spiritual solace. This is precisely what Marx and Engels have predicted -- that there will be an age when people will have freed themselves from all alienating forces controlling the world and will have come to the stage when they will consciously plan and control the whole of social life. This is also what Comrade Mao Zedong meant when he said that the people, relying on themselves alone, will create a new age both for themselves and for the world. Only when we enter this new age will all that shows a religious face in the present world finally disappear. Therefore, each of us Party members, from generation to generation, must put forth all our best efforts in the struggle to bring about this

brilliant future.

APPENDIX 3

**Central Office Document
1989 No. 3**

**The Central Office of the Communist Party
and of the State Council
Transmitted to the Central Government's United Front
and the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council**

**Circular on
Stepping up Control Over the Catholic Church
to Meet the New Situation**

To: The party committees and people's governments of each province and autonomous region, the party committees in the military districts, all ministries and commissions of the Central Government and State agencies, party committees in general headquarters, all party committees on all military levels, all people's organizations:

The Central United Front and the Religious Affairs Bureau of the Council of State with the approval of the Council of State and the Central Committee of the Communist Party transmit to you this document on "Stepping up Control Over the Catholic Church to Meet the New Situation." In the light of conditions existing in each local area and department please proceed to implement this document.

**The Central Office of the
Communist Party Central Committee
The Central Office of the
Council of State
February 17, 1989**

(This document should also be transmitted to the county party committees, the county governments and their respective departments.)

Report on Stepping Up Control Over the Catholic Church to Meet the New Situation.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Council of State:

The religious question is quite complex precisely at the present moment when reform is under way. It is very important to handle this question very carefully, emphasizing positive factors while eliminating those elements with potential for creating instability. This question also has consequences for furthering our reform movement and enabling our socialist modernization program to proceed without a hitch. Recently with the approval of the Party's Central Committee and the State Council we have given the concrete situation of the Catholic Church in China full study as it relates to the principle of handling Sino-Vatican relations. We now report our findings and present our opinions as follows:

The Catholic Church has a 400-year history in our nation. It developed more rapidly after the Opium War with the incursions of the imperialist powers. In the opening years of the Liberation, China had altogether 2,700,000 Catholics. Now there are more than 3,300,000. Before the Liberation, imperialist powers and the Vatican⁶⁴ completely controlled the Catholic Church in China. Once the New China was established, the party and the government motivated and encouraged patriotic clergy and the Catholic community to break free from the Vatican's control and set up the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association. Under the aegis of this Association, Catholics were to manage their own church independently and autonomously so that the Catholic Church truly became an enterprise over which Catholics themselves had full say. This indeed had been a major change for the Catholic Church in China. After the Party's Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee Meeting, both the party and government continued to emphasize its control over the Catholic Church, urging it to go on maintaining the aim of independent and autonomous administration of its own affairs. The Catholic Church in China has to stay firmly on this road.

But the Vatican is once again trying to wrest control over the Chinese Catholic Church. During these past few years the Vatican has vilified and attacked the Chinese patriotic clergy. It has made use of its international status and the faith that the clergy show towards the Pope to send agents into China. It has also used other clandestine means to appoint bishops secretly and has conspired to stir up underground groups. It wants to divide the Chinese Church but its efforts will be in vain. According to the Facts we have at hand, the Pope had already appointed 15⁶⁵ underground bishops. These bishops in turn have ordained more

⁶⁴The original text uses the term "*Roman Curia*."

⁶⁵This may be an error in transcription and should read "25."

than 200 priests who are dispersed through 17 provinces and cities. Underground church groups have been organized in Hebei, Fujian, Shaanxi, Wenzhou in Zhejiang, and Tianshui in Gansu provinces respectively. They are a political force defying the government and an element that can seriously affect public security.

In the past we have had some problems in our work dealing with the Catholic Church. The main problems are: we have not fully developed the function of the Patriotic Church organization. The number of patriotic clerics is too small and there again the problem is very serious. We have not been successful in either winning over or demoralizing underground groups. We have been unable to control their activities. We have been negligent in implementing policies dealing with the Catholic Church. A notably large number of church buildings and other real estate have not been returned to their rightful owners. The church's financial situation is, as a result, beset with difficulties and it is short on means of self support. Therefore we must adopt effective measures to augment and improve our work dealing with the Catholic Church.

I. We must firmly implement the policy of independent and autonomous administration of church affairs and intensify ideological education of the clergy and the Catholic Community

In the opening years of the liberation, the Central Government had decided to permit Catholics who had to break ties with the Vatican to keep those which were purely spiritual. Priests who were selected to become bishops in China could still seek the Pope's approval. The Vatican, however, not only did not approve the selection of these Bishops but it "excommunicated" them. After 1958 the Chinese Catholic Church could do nothing else but cut all ties with the Vatican. This was the only correct thing to do.

In recent decades the Vatican has brought its influence to bear on the Chinese Catholic Church. Some clergy and Catholics have not accepted the policy of independent and autonomous administration of church affairs. Their thinking is very muddled. We must, therefore, adopt various ways to explain clearly to the clergy and the Catholic community the present situation. We must teach them that fully upholding the policy of independent and autonomous administration of its own affairs is the only correct way for the church to go. We must further fully affirm the past contributions made by patriotic clergy and innumerable Catholics in defending China's sovereignty when they implemented this policy of independent and autonomous administration of church affairs. We must explicitly state that now as in the past and for the future we shall continue to rely upon them to administer their own church affairs. We should state once again that the two principles that regulate Sino-Vatican relationships will never change. These two principles are:

1. The Vatican must break off so-called "diplomatic ties" with Taiwan and recognize that the People's Republic of China is the only legal government of China.
2. The Vatican must not interfere with China's internal affairs. This

includes not interfering with religious affairs as well.

No matter how China-Vatican relationships might develop, the Chinese Catholic Church must firmly adhere to and not deviate from the aim of independent and autonomous administration of church affairs. It must continue to choose and consecrate its own bishops and make independent decisions on all its own interior affairs. This includes church and financial administration and supervision of the clergy.

II. Help the Catholic Patriotic Association Reorganize Their Structures And Build Up a Well Knit Organization

If the Chinese Catholic Church wants to avoid Vatican control over their religious activities and have their own people administer their own church affairs, it will be necessary to take practical measures to strengthen the organization of the Catholic Patriotic Association. The party and the government will strengthen and increase its effectiveness as well as actively search out patriotic Catholic intellectuals and send them to work at all levels of the patriotic organizations. We must choose suitable candidates as soon as possible and have them consecrated as bishops and assigned to those places lacking bishops. This will insure that the leadership of the Catholic Church will remain in the hands of the patriotics.

There is also need to reorganize the structures of the present Catholic Patriotic Organizations in an appropriate manner. Before 1980, the Catholic Church had only one Patriotic Organization. It was very effective in maintaining the principle of independent and autonomous church administration. It upheld China's sovereignty and warded off hostile religious forces from abroad that sought to undermine our autonomy. At the 1980 national meeting of the Patriotic Association, the members decided to create the Chinese Catholic Church Administrative Commission and also established the Bishops' Conference which was to consist of legally chosen bishops from each diocese. The Catholic Church had now three national and parallel patriotic organizations. Although each of these three religious patriotic organizations had their own function, yet as far as practical work was concerned the Bishops Conference and the Church Administrative Commission did not develop all their potentialities. The system does not effectively meet the present situation and the needs demanded by work on the domestic and international levels. In line, therefore, with the special characteristics of the Catholic Church, we must consolidate the democratic spirit in the church and readjust church structures. To proceed further we must clearly outline each organization's function and regulate their mutual relationships. The important points which must be readjusted are these:

- 1. The Bishops' Conference must be strengthened enabling it to become the essence of the Chinese Catholic Church. Its basic function will be to uphold the Chinese Church's independence and autonomy, supervise its administration, govern it (this will include explaining theological teaching, formulating church**

rules, examining and approving bishops to be in charge of dioceses, etc.), as well as be the official representative to other churches abroad.

2. The Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association is the national organization made up of clergy and laity. Its basic function is to assist the party and the government implement the policy of freedom of religious belief, help the church enforce the principle of independent and autonomous administration of church affairs, continue to be the bridge between the Catholic community and the government, actively promote social service, initiate self-supporting enterprises and projects for the common good and encourage all clerics and lay persons to take part in these two social works.
3. The Chinese Catholic Church Administrative Commission is no longer a national organization but will become a specialized committee under the Bishops' Conference in charge of implementing church projects.
4. The supreme authoritative body in the Chinese Catholic Church is the National Congress of Representatives. It has the power to elect the executive committee of the Bishops' Conference, its chairman and vice chairman and the executive secretary, the leadership structure of the Patriotic Association and draft the work reports for the Patriotic Association and the Bishops' Conference.

The Catholic Patriotic Associations on the provincial level should also reorganize themselves following the spirit of what is said above. The provincial Patriotic Associations and the Church Administrative Commissions are to be elected by the Provincial Congresses of Representatives. The activities will be directed by what the National Patriotic Association and the Bishops' Conference determine.

III. We must continue to make serious efforts to implement our policy of helping the Catholic Church solve its problems of self support

Before 1958 the Catholic Church relied upon its rentals from real estate for self support. But owing to the many political campaigns in the past, but especially to the "Cultural Revolution," most if not all of the church's real estate was confiscated. The resulting decrease in revenues was on such a scale that self-support became almost impossible. Although in recent years the situation has taken a turn for the better, yet the implementation of this policy has proceeded at a snail's pace. For the moment national and provincial patriotic associations need to rely upon government subsidies in order to operate. The grass root churches have for the most part no way to support themselves while members of the Patriotic Association live in desperate circumstances. If this situation continues on in this way not only will it affect the relationships of the

party and the government with the Patriotic Association, but the association itself will find it very difficult to organize the Catholic community to implement the policy of independent and autonomous administration of the church.

Each locality, therefore, must seriously see to it that churches and church properties are returned. (These properties include churches, seminaries and the properties that these structures use.) There will be no need to proceed further in case this matter has already been satisfactorily dealt with in accordance with the State Council and the Party Central Committee's regulations. It is precisely those cases where nothing has been done that require our immediate attention. Those buildings which the church in fact needs must be returned without question. If it is impossible to return them at the moment, a contract must be made stating the fact of their eventual return and the reasonable price fixed by national standards must be paid to the church by the unit which presently occupies the property in case the original building has been torn down, changed to another use or sold. If the military is occupying the buildings or property the matter must be resolved in accordance with Document No.46 issued by the Central Government in 1988.

All local areas must actively help the Catholic Church develop its own self-support projects. They can permit Catholic Patriotic Associations, in accord with pertinent government regulations, to take initiatives and freely set up enterprises and social welfare projects that will provide self support. Local governments should give these efforts preferential treatment offering credit, technological assistance and tax rebates. Finance ministries can provide subsidies to pay for the necessary expenses. These subsidies will be given on a temporary basis and will cease once the patriotic organizations reach the stage of self-support. The subsidies will gradually decrease in proportion as the ability of the patriotic organizations increase to provide for their own needs.

IV. Catholic Underground Forces must be dealt with by adopting methods to win over or isolate their adherents

We designate the underground as consisting of those bishops secretly consecrated by the Vatican and those priests that these bishops have in turn ordained as well as those they control. These people are the backbone of the movement. Most of them believe in the Pope and disapprove of the independent and autonomous administration of the Church. Only very few of them use religion as a pretext to oppose the party and the government, create disturbances and incite others to do so. We must make use of all reliable means to increase our control over them. We must try to win over the majority and isolate the trouble makers, putting constant pressure on reactionaries. The present task at hand is to make known government and party policies on this matter and organize our educational methods and apply them to those Catholics who have been deceived. In the case of underground bishops and priests we must treat each case individually winning them over if possible or isolating them if not. Those who wish to accept the government's leadership and show themselves to be patriotic and law abiding, providing they have the necessary qualifications, can be examined by the local Patriotic Association. Once their clerical status has been approved by

the Bishops' Conference, arrangements can be made for their employment. Those whose attitude towards the government is not so clear or who lack sufficient theological knowledge, can take part in training courses or be sent to seminaries for further training. Once their status and their religious knowledge have been certified, arrangements then can be made for them. We must make an example of those underground individuals who continue in their stubborn opposition despite the patient efforts the government has made to win them over, and who continue to stir up Catholic communities and disturb the social order. We must expose their crimes publicly and deal severely with them in accordance with the law.

V. Strengthen our Leadership Over the Catholic Church

This matter of the Catholic Church involves the struggle we are engaged in with the Vatican as it attempts to control the Chinese Catholic Church and our resistance to such attempts. It is a very complicated situation. We should be paying close attention at the present moment to trends taking place in some areas. Underground groups in these areas are running wild; they deceive people and incite them to resist the government. In some places these "underground groups" even publicly proclaim that they have received the Vatican's special appointment to be "the only legitimate hierarchical bishops." They attempt in this way to wrest control of the leadership authority of the church. The Party and the government must strengthen our own leadership over the Catholic Church. We must take full account of the problems and difficulties that will arise as we go through each phase of this work so that it will produce solid results. All of our leaders must be of one mind fully realizing the necessity and urgency of this task which this new situation presents us.

The United Front, the Religious Affairs Bureaus, the Public Security Agencies and other pertinent government departments as well as labor unions, the Communist Youth League and women's organizations must all coordinate their effort and share responsibility using all means to unite and educate the Catholic Community.

The Party, of course, will offer its unified leadership in this task. In this way we shall gain a more solid control over the church. We need to enhance the role which the Patriotic Association and the patriotic clergy play. We must allow them to carry out those tasks which they can do on their own, such as winning over the underground clergy, restructuring their organization, etc. We must continue to win over and unify the majority of the clergy and this includes the middle-of-the-roaders as well. We must be careful to differentiate among the various underground forces, i.e., those clergy that follow the Pope and are opposed to us and those key members of the underground and Catholics whom they influence and control. We must make many patient and meticulous efforts to unite the greatest number of them as possible. Each place must pay close attention to tendencies at work among the underground and use effectively measures to prevent them from making any trouble. As soon as any problem arises each department's forces must be mobilized, under the unified leadership of the party and government, to meet and resolve these problems immediately

and in a satisfactory manner.

Unless this report needs further refinement, we propose that it be sent to each department for implementation.

**The United Front of the Communist Party
The Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council
February 24, 1988**

Promulgated on February 20, 1989 by the Central Secretariat of the Central Government

APPENDIX 4

Vigilance Against Infiltration by Religious Forces from Abroad⁶⁶

According to reports from related departments, the infiltration of foreign religious forces into our country has become more serious in the past few years. We should take note that some of the activities have also included obvious political ends: some are interfering with our independence and autonomy in managing religious affairs, while others are using religious activities as a pretext to build up anti-motherland, anti-government forces. We should therefore heighten our vigilance against these overseas religious forces.

The major methods by which foreign [religious forces] carry out religious infiltration into our country are as follows:

(1) Using radio broadcasting stations to evangelize, and the smuggling of religious literature into the country. The number of Protestant broadcasting stations surrounding the southeastern and northeastern parts of our country has reached twenty six. Some of these stations, such as the "Far East Broadcasting Company" in the United States, the "Bring Christ to the Nations Evangelistic Broadcasting Company" in Taiwan and the "Asia" and "Far East" broadcasting stations in Korea use Mandarin, the Minnan dialect, the Chaozhou dialect, Korean and English in their broadcasts to our country. Because their broadcasting signals are powerful, the areas they can reach are extensive and they can broadcast for long periods of time. Most areas [in our country] can tune into these broadcasts.

In the past few years, the amount of religious literature imported into our country by foreign religious organizations through such means as posting and hand-carrying has increased day by day. According to Customs' statistics, 240,000 pieces of religious literature have been seized, detained, or returned in 1989, which is 1.6 times higher than the year before. Also in 1989, 3,332 audio-visual aids were seized, which is 1.7 times higher than the years before. In the first two months of this year (1990), the amount of religious literature and audio-visual products seized, detained or returned has already reached 38,000 and 1,061 pieces respectively.

(2) Using academic exchange, the sending of foreign teachers to China,

⁶⁶A hand-written copy of the internal document, "Vigilance Against Infiltration..." written in mid-1990 and circulated by the Chinese Government to officially-recognized religious bodies and to high officials of relevant departments, reached the Chinese Church Research Center from a Hong Kong-based source. Appendix 4 is a translation of the whole document (*China News and Church Report* March 15, 1991).

and the granting of scholarships to win over our overseas students, with the focal point on evangelizing young people. "The Chinese English Society" in the United States specializes in recruiting Christians who are zealous to preach in China and sending them to teach English here. We understand that among the English teachers sent by that Society to more than 50 colleges in our country's nineteen provinces (regions), quite a number of foreign teachers have been found preaching the Gospel. Foreign religious organizations believe that if "some of the Chinese overseas students can be converted to their religion, or have a good impression of it, this will become a strong driving force in spreading the religion in China and will influence one entire generation." Based on that intention, such religious organizations as the "Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation" in Belgium and the "Schall von Bell Association" in West Germany help [Chinese students] solve their problems of accommodation and food and grant them scholarships and free tours in an attempt to bait, rope in, and bribe our country's overseas students so that they will join their religion. These organizations even arrange for overseas students to visit the Vatican and be received by the Pope.

(3) Providing funds for establishing factories, schools and hospitals as a cover for setting up strongholds for evangelism. A Christian missionary society in the United States once volunteered to invest ten million US dollars to establish a hospital for treating cardiovascular diseases in Fuzhou. However, an attached condition was that the hospital must have a prayer room and that Chinese patients must be allowed to join religious activities. We rejected the offer. Also, in some joint ventures or wholly foreign-owned enterprises, people have been found distributing "Bibles" to our cadres and staff members and organizing activities such as Bible studies and prayer meetings.

(4) Using tourism or visits to relatives as a pretext for conducting illegal religious activities. Li Yongguang, an American who claimed to be a teacher in Hong Kong, has been visiting the Mainland frequently in the past few years under the pretense of tourism. By making use of the young people's zeal to learn English, he has publicly distributed religious propagandist materials and conducted religious propaganda at stations, harbors, and parks in Shanghai, Qingdao, and other places. He has also established a communications network with more than 400 young people in Shanghai.

(5) Interfering with our independence and autonomy in managing religious affairs, and using religious activities as a pretext to build up anti-motherland, anti-government underground forces and to set up illegal organizations. In 1986 and 1988 the Roman Catholic Church twice issued the "Eight General Decrees," which support our country's underground Catholic forces in carrying out anti-government, anti-autonomous Catholic Church activities. The Vatican has secretly ordained a number of underground "bishops" in our country, and through these "bishops" several hundred priests have been promoted and dispersed over seventeen provinces and cities. It has become an organized underground Catholic force, and it is emerging as a political power to oppose our government.

(6) Providing funds to our country's clergy in an attempt to win them over

and cause divisions. According to our investigations, about 300 people in Fuzhou diocese alone have received this underground subsidy [from religious organizations based abroad]. Over the past two years at least 300,000 *yuan* (about \$57,693) has been given.

(7) Infiltrating our country's border areas and minority regions. South Korean churches, through Christian radio broadcasts, conduct propaganda on "the reunification of the Republic of Korea" to the Korean masses living in the northeastern region of our country. The president of the South Korean "Far East" broadcasting station, Song Chongbi, has come to our northeastern region several times to observe the effects of the broadcasting first-hand, and he has given [to the people] miniature directional transistor radios as gifts. South Korean churches have also set up special "reception centers" in Hong Kong, in an attempt to publicly educate our country's Korean masses about "loving earnestly the mother country" (which refers to the Republic of Korea) while they are on their way to visit their relatives in South Korea. A considerable number of people have become believers and have been sent back into China to evangelize and promote their reactionary propaganda.

The Dalai clique also tries to entice Tibetan young people to emigrate illegally, offering them opportunities to study or work abroad as bait. The clique instills in these people the mindset of "the independence of Tibet" and selects some from among them to be staff, cultivating and training them to become the backbone of anti-socialism and anti-motherland activities. They are later sent back to their ancestral homes to engage in sabotage. According to our investigations, in the Tibetan region of Sichuan province alone, the number of people leaving the country without permission has increased from 600 per annum in the past to more than 1,000 [in recent times].

Most of the Muslims in our country belong to the Islamic Sunnis. In recent years, however, a certain country in the Middle East as well as its embassy in China is trying to expand the influence of the Shi'ite sect of Islam, exporting to our country "an Islamic revolution."

APPENDIX 5

Provisional Regulations Governing Places for Religious Activities in Kunming

Religious Affairs Bureau Kunming August 1990

Provisional Regulations Governing Places for Religious Activities in Kunming

To: County and (District) Governments, all executive agencies on the city and national level and all committee officers.

The Religious Affairs Bureau in Kunming has formulated "Provisional Regulations Governing Places for Religious Activities in Kunming." They did this after they had made a serious investigation and study of the matter and had consulted all the pertinent departments and organizations for their opinions. The principle was that they were to be thoroughly discussed and approved by the Party Standing Committee of Kunming. Once this approval was had, they were sent out for printing and distribution. The purpose of these regulations is to implement thoroughly the Party's policy on religion in accord with the law and the Constitution, to protect normal religious faith and activities, to suppress all illegal activities and to tighten control over places for religious worship.

All sections of the Religious Affairs Bureau must closely supervise the implementation of these regulations and see that they are fully carried out. If any problems arise the Religious Affairs Bureau should be informed.

**The Kunming City Government
March 16, 1990**

Chapter I General Principles

Item 1: In order to protect citizens' freedom of religious belief and normal religious activity and to strengthen supervision over religious activities, and based on the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and other related laws and policies, and integrated with the actual situation in our city, these provisional regulations have been drafted.

Item 2: All citizens have freedom of religious belief. No one should coerce citizens either to believe or not to believe in religion. Nor should anyone discriminate against citizens who believe in religion or against those who do not believe.

Item 3: No one should use religion to oppose the leadership of the Communist Party or the socialist system. No one should use religion to destroy national or

ethnic unity. Nor should religion interfere in government, the law courts, education, marriage, birth control or other social enterprises.

No foreign influences should have any control over religious organizations or affairs.

Item 4: All sections of the Religious Affairs Bureau should exercise administrative authority over places for religious activities.

Chapter II Places for Religious Activities

Item 5: By places for religious activities are meant: Buddhist temples, Buddhist retreats for lay persons, Taoist temples, Moslem mosques, and Catholic and Protestant churches, including the areas enclosed by these places. Simple structures used for religious activities are also included here.

Item 6: Permission must be obtained from government entities (above the county or district level) in order to establish places for religious activities. These places must also be registered with the Religious Affairs Bureau on the similar government level. No individual or organization should establish or repair places for religious activities without this permission and registration. Once this has been done these places enjoy the protection of the law.

Those places which were established before the present regulations were promulgated must get permission and register in accordance with these regulations. They will not enjoy the protection of the law if they do not obtain permission and register before the period of time set for registration expires.

Item 7: Those places for religious activities, which have duly received permission to exist, must be under the administrative authority of the local Religious Affairs Bureau. The Patriotic Association and professional religious personnel should be responsible for their regulation. Those agencies in charge should act according to democratic principles.

Item 8: The responsibilities of these agencies which exercise democratic control over places for religious activities are as follows:

(1) teach their members to be patriotic and love their church, support the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system, safeguard national unity, promote ethnic solidarity, respect the rights of citizens to believe in religion as well as not to believe in it, and to live in harmony with believers of different religions or sects;

(2) organize those normal religious activities permitted by the nation's Constitutions, laws and policies;

(3) maintain the principle of independent, autonomous self rule over the church and implement self propagation, self government and self support;

(4) relying on one's own resources operate social projects of benefit to society;

(5) manage the accounts of places for religious activities; these accounts must be made public at stated times for public inspection;

(6) be responsible for public safety, the terrain and fire prevention at places for religious activities; preserve historical relics, buildings and installations, famous old trees, and properties from damage.

Item 9: Members of those bodies who manage places for religious activities in a democratic way should support the Communist Party and the socialist system. They should be patriotic and law abiding, upright in character, just in their dealings, and have a sufficient level of religious knowledge and managerial ability. They should enjoy a good reputation among their religious adherents and be permanent residents of the area.

Item 10: Places for religious activities should carefully observe "The Law for Preservation of Cultural Relics," the "Law for Environmental Planning" and other pertinent laws and regulations. Permission must be obtained from those government entities (above the county or district level) in order to maintain, rebuild or enlarge temples or churches. They must also make a report to the pertinent department on the capital outlay needed for these works in order to get a permit to proceed.

No unit or individual may presume to occupy or damage those places for religious activities which have permission to exist.

Item 11: Permission must be had from the city's Religious Affairs Bureau in order to make movies, television programs and video tapes on the premises of temples or churches. If these places fall under the jurisdiction of the department for the preservation of cultural relics, then its permission must also be obtained.

Item 12: Those places for religious activities which have been examined and approved for operating commercial or industrial enterprises can publish and sell religious books and tapes which have passed the censors as well as other religious articles and religious art. They can also run small stalls offering food and drink as a social service. They can also operate farms and engage in forestry and tend herds as a side operation.

No unit or individual can set up stalls or operate other businesses on the premises of temples or churches. Permission must first be obtained from the authorities of these temples and churches as well as the Religious Affairs Bureau.

Item 13: Places for religious activities can receive voluntary donations, subsidies and offerings from believers. But professional religious personnel and believers should not solicit contributions from the public.

Non-religious organizations and individuals should not make use of places for religious worship and religious organizations to solicit contributions from the

public.

Item 14: Places for religious activities within our country can, according to religious custom, receive voluntary donations, subsidies and offerings from religious compatriots from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, as well as from overseas Chinese, Chinese with foreign citizenship, and other foreigners.

In order to receive contributions offered by religious organizations from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and other foreign religious organizations, places for religious activities must get the approval of the Religious Affairs Bureau (above the county and district government level).

Chapter III Religious Personnel

Item 15: By religious personnel is meant the following: Buddhist monks and nuns, Taoist priests and nuns, Muslim imams, Catholic bishops, priests and nuns, Protestant ministers, catechists and those others who take religion as their profession and who have been approved by the Patriotic Association (above the county or district level) as well as have been recorded in the files of the Religious Affairs Bureau.

Item 16: Religious professionals on the whole must be chosen from believers with residence permits from the local district. They must be accepted into the ranks of these professional religious personnel in accordance with Church regulations and be approved by the Patriotic Association (above the county and district level). They must also register with the appropriate Religious Affairs Bureau at the county or district level. Only after fulfilling these regulations can they officiate at religious functions and hold religious office. If under special circumstances there is need to receive an individual religious personnel with a residence permit from another district, then permission must be had from the Religious Affairs Bureau (above the county or district level).

Item 17: Permission must be obtained from the city's Religious Affairs Bureau for religious personnel to go outside the city to perform religious activities. Those who function in both the city and the county or district must have the agreement of the Religious Affairs Bureau of both places. If any religious personnel stay for a while at a temple or church, they must report in accordance with the pertinent regulations to the local security officials and present their residence permits for inspection.

Chapter IV Religious Activities

Item 18: All normal religious activities carried out in those places for religious activities which have obtained permission to exist enjoy the protection of law.

Item 19: Religious activities should not interfere with normal social activities, production, work, study, or the daily order of life.

Item 20: No one should practice fortune telling, palm reading and other

feudalistic superstitious practices in places for religious activities.

Item 21: Religious personnel can, with the permission of their superiors, according to their religious customs perform simple religious ceremonies for their adherents at graveyards, funeral parlors, hospitals and in the homes of believers.

Item 22: Apart from officially approved places for religious activities and those other areas designated in Item 21, no one is allowed to perform religious activities or propagate religion or hand out religious tracts in public areas.

Item 23: Only officially approved and registered religious professional personnel can perform religious activities and carry out religious duties in places approved for religious activities. If religious professionals come from other places to officiate at religious activities, to preach or explain Scriptures, they must first report to the Religious Affairs Bureau (above the county or district government level). Those who are not professional religious personnel should not exercise religious activities.

Item 24: Permission for operating seminaries to train religious personnel must be had from the Religious Affairs Bureau (above the county or district government level). They must be operated under the unified direction of the Patriotic Association (above the county or district level). Moslem mosques are allowed to operate these seminaries in accordance with the conditions obtaining in each mosque. They must have the approval of the Religious Affairs Bureau in order to recruit a definite number of "aspirants."

Item 25: Those religious personnel who have obtained the approval of and been sent out by the Patriotic Association can exercise religious functions and authority in those places for religious activities which have been approved and which belong to their jurisdiction.

Item 26: Permission must be had from the Religious Affairs Bureau (above city government level) in order to print and publish religious books and video tapes. All the regulations regarding publishing must also be observed.

Item 27: Compatriots from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and overseas Chinese, Chinese with foreign citizenship as well as foreign believers can go to officially approved places for religious activities, temples and churches to take part in religious activities. They must, however, observe the Constitutions, laws, these provisional regulations as well as those regulations which each place for religious activities has ordained. They should not on their own preach religion or pass out religious tracts.

Chapter V Supplementary Articles

Item 28: The Religious Affairs Bureau should see to the criticism and education of any who break these regulations in small matters. Those who transgress the "penal regulations of the Public Security" should be dealt with by the Public

Security in accord with these regulations. Those who violate criminal law should be dealt with by the judicial agencies in accordance with the law.

Item 29: The Religious Affairs Bureau of Kunming is responsible for the official interpretation of these regulations.

Item 30: These regulations take effect from the day of promulgation.

APPENDIX 6

Guangdong Regulations No. 44

Regulations on the Administrative Supervision of Places of Religious Activity in Guangdong Province

Chapter I: General Principles

Article 1: These regulations have been enacted in order to protect normal religious activities according to the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and relevant national laws and statutes, in keeping with the actual situation in our province.

Article 2: Citizens have freedom of religious belief. No one is allowed to force others to believe or not to believe in religion. There should not be any discrimination against either citizens who believe or citizens who do not believe in religion.

Article 3: The religious affairs departments of the governments at every level exercise administrative leadership over places of religious activity.

Chapter II: Places of Religious Activity

Articles 4: The term, "Places of Religious Activity," refers to Buddhist monasteries and temples, Taoist monasteries and temples, Islamic mosques, Catholic and Protestant churches and meeting grounds (hereafter abbreviated to temples and churches), religious schools and simple religious activity points where the believing masses meet together.

Article 5: Both reopened temples and churches and newly-established simple religious activity points must apply for registration to the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government at county level or above.

To run religious training classes, application for registration must be made to the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government at city level or above.

The opening of a religious school must be reported to the Religious Affairs Department of the Provincial People's Government.

When the above-mentioned applications have been approved and registered, their legal rights and privileges come under the protection of the law; those which have yet to be approved must not conduct religious activities.

Article 6: Places of religious activity which have been permitted to open by the

people's government before the promulgation of these regulations, if they have not yet gone through a registration procedure, must undergo registration procedures with the department of the people's government in charge of religious affairs.

Article 7: Places of religious activity and religious training classes which want to alter the approved registered content of a course of study, must inform the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government at the county level or above for ratification.

Article 8: Construction of new temples or churches must be approved by the Religious Affairs Department of the Provincial People's Government.

Chapter III: Supervision of Religious Venues

Article 9: Places of religious activity which have been approved and opened should form, under the guidance of the patriotic religious organizations, a supervisory body consisting of both religious professionals and religious believers to implement democratic supervision.

Article 10: Places of religious activity must respect the national constitution, laws and policies, safeguard national sovereignty and unity, safeguard ethnic cooperation, and uphold the principles of independent self-government and self-management [of religion]. They are not to engage in activities which oppose the socialist system, disrupt social stability, or cause damage to the physical or mental health of citizens.

Article 11: Places of religious activity should accept the direction of the departments of cultural relics, urban planning, public security and parks and gardens in protecting the cultural relics, buildings, facilities, grounds, etc. of that place. They should also do the work of security and fire prevention.

Article 12: Any renovation, reconstruction or extension of churches and temples must be approved by the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government at the county level or above.

Requisitions of any temple, church or its monument, pagoda, tomb, walls, garden or compound should be fully negotiated with the religious body in possession of the ownership or usage rights, and reported to the Religious Affairs Department of the Provincial People's Government for approval.

Maintenance of temples and churches should be reported to the government department in charge of religious affairs for the record.

Any actions under the above provision which involve the departments of cultural relics, urban planning and parks and gardens should at the same time be reported as provided by the regulations to the relevant responsible departments for approval.

Article 13: No unit or individual is allowed to occupy or destroy a place of religious activity. Without the permission of the supervisory body of the temple or church and the department of the people's government in charge of religious affairs, no unit or individual is allowed to set up a place of business or of a service trade or to conduct exhibitions or display wares and so on.

Article 14: The shooting of films and videos within the property of a temple or church must have the consent of the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government at the city level or higher. If they are units classified as protected cultural relics, the filming should also be reported to the cultural department for approval.

Article 15: The finances of churches and temples should be managed by democratic supervision, and a comprehensive budgetary system should be established and perfected. No person is allowed to appropriate to themselves the income of a temple or church.

Article 16: Approved and opened temples and churches may operate social services such as guest houses, snack bars and kiosks, and may manage sideline agriculture, forestry and husbandry industries. However, they must be run according to the relevant policies and regulations of the government.

Chapter IV: Religious Professionals

Article 17: "Religious professionals" refers to Catholic bishops, priests and nuns, Protestant pastors and evangelists, Buddhist monks and nuns, Taoist monks and nuns, Islamic imams, and other people of religious occupation who have the permission of the patriotic religious organization at the county level or above and who have reported for the record to the department of the people's government in charge of religion.

Article 18: Taoist and Buddhist temples should set a personnel quota in line with their concrete needs. The personnel quota for those classified as prominent national temples must be reported to the Provincial People's Government for approval. Personnel quotas for other temples will be approved by the people's government at the county level or above. Additions to personnel within the quota limits must be agreed to by the government department in charge of religious affairs.

Article 19: Religious professionals and graduates of religious schools may, after receiving the consent of the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government at the city level or above, be allocated by the patriotic religious organization of the province or city, according to the need, to work in a relevant place of religious activity.

Article 20: Religious professionals who go out of the province to conduct religious activities must gain the consent of the Religious Affairs Department of the Provincial People's Government. Those who go beyond their own city or county must have the consent of the department in charge of religious affairs of their city

or county people's government. Religious professionals who take up temporary residence in a church or temple must declare their temporary address to the public security organ of the place, according to the relevant regulations.

Chapter V: Religious Activities

Article 21: The normal religious activities of approved and opened places of religious activity are under the protection of the law. No unit or individual is allowed to spread atheistic or anti-religious propaganda within places of religious activity.

Article 22: No one is allowed to conduct feudal superstitious activities falling outside the definition of religious, such as divination, sorcery, fortune-telling or interpreting omens, within a place of religious activity.

Article 23: With the consent of the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government, religious professionals may, according to the custom of the religion, conduct the necessary religious rites for believers in cemeteries, funeral parlors, hospitals or believers' homes.

Article 24: No person is permitted to engage in propagating religion or in religious activities, or to distribute religious propaganda, in any public place other than opened places of religious activity and the places mentioned in Article 23.

It is not permitted to make use of religion to conduct activities which hinder the state education system or the educational order in schools.

Article 25: Religious activities in places of religious activity should be presided over, and religious duties performed, by religious professionals checked and ratified at the time of their application for registration. Whoever receives religious professionals coming from other places to lead any religious activities or to preach or to expound scripture must first apply to the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government at the county level or above. People who are not religious professionals are not allowed to perform religious duties.

Article 26: The patriotic religious organizations at every level can send out personnel to conduct religious activities in places of religious activity under their jurisdiction.

Article 27: Any printing or publishing of religious literature, audio or pictorial materials, must have the consent of the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government at city level or above, and be handled in accordance with the relevant regulations of the Publications department.

Article 28: Religious organizations may sell or distribute approved religious literature, audio or pictorial materials, religious utensils and religious art in their own temples and churches.

Article 29: Compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao, Taiwan compatriots, overseas

Chinese, Chinese with foreign nationality and foreigners, who are religious believers, may practice their religious lifestyle in opened temples and churches in our province, but they must abide by our national constitution, laws, and the relevant regulations of the particular place of activity. They are not to propagate religion or distribute religious propaganda materials without authorization.

Article 30: Voluntary offerings and donations made within the country to places of religious activity according to religious custom by compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao, Taiwan compatriots, overseas Chinese, Chinese of foreign nationality and foreigners, who are religious believers, can be accepted.

Religious organizations and places of religious activity which receive contributions from religious bodies or individuals in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan or foreign countries, must, after gaining the consent of the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government at the county level or above, report it for approval to the relevant provincial departments according to the regulations.

Chapter VI: Supplementary Articles

Article 31: Concerning violations of these regulations: light offenders will undergo criticism and education by the department in charge of religious affairs of the people's government; violations of the "Penal Ordinance for the Control of Public Order of the People's Republic of China" will be dealt with by the public security organs; violations which constitute a crime will be investigated for criminal responsibility by the judicial organs.

Article 32: Those who on their own initiative and without permission construct temples or churches or organize religious activities will be ordered to cease by the department of the people's government in charge of religious affairs. Those who do not comply with this order will be dealt with by force by the public security organs according to the seriousness of the case.

Article 33: The above rules will be effective from May 1, 1988.

APPENDIX 7

Provisional Regulations on the Administration of Religious Activities in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region⁶⁷

Article 1. These provisional regulations are formulated in accordance with the Constitution, the law on autonomy for regions inhabited by minority nationalities, and the relevant rules and regulations of the state for the purpose of guaranteeing freedom of religious belief and normal religious activities for citizens and safeguarding the unity of the motherland, unity among all nationalities, and social stability.

Article 2. Citizens have freedom of religious belief and participation in religious activities. They are free to choose not to believe in any religion or participate in any religious activity.

No organ of the state, mass organization, or individual is permitted to coerce citizens to believe or not believe in any religion and to participate or not participate in any religious activity. No one is permitted to discriminate against, slander, oppress, or retaliate against citizens who either believe or do not believe in any religion and who either participate or do not participate in any religious activity.

Article 3. All religious activities must be conducted within the limits permitted by the Constitution, laws, government decrees, and policies of our country and must subject themselves to the administration and supervision of the government department in charge of religious affairs.

Article 4. The masses of religious believers are permitted to conduct all normal religious activities, such as reciting scriptures, giving a sermon on scriptures, conducting religious services, practicing abstinence from meat as a religious exercise, saying prayers, burning incense, worshipping Buddha, celebrating mass, and celebrating religious festivals in their own houses and in the places for religious activities. These activities are protected by law; no one is permitted to interfere with them.

Article 5. No organization or individual is permitted to use religion to conduct activities aimed at opposing the leadership of the CPC, the socialist system, the people's democratic dictatorship, Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, splitting the motherland, and destroying unity among all nationalities. None is permitted to use places for religious activities to organize secret ties, to instigate people to create disturbances, or to conduct counterrevolutionary activities.

⁶⁷Reprinted in *Xinjiang Ribao*, September 16, 1990.

Article 6. All abolished systems that give religions feudal privileges to oppress and exploit the people, such as imposing religious taxes, forcing believers to labor without pay, imposing financial apportions, compelling believers to donate, trying civil cases of disputes between believers, discriminating against and insulting women, (*fang "kou huan" (pai a hong)*, and bullying believers must not be restored.

No one is permitted to collect grain, livestock, and properties from the masses under the pretext of sharing burdens of any religion.

Article 7. Religion is not permitted to interfere with administration, adjudication, culture, education, marriage law, family planning policy, and public health undertakings by the state.

Religious activities are not permitted to disturb public order, production order, work order, and the order of the life of the masses.

Article 8. No religious activity is permitted to be conducted outside its locality without obtaining approval. Such activities, if conducted inside the boundary of jurisdiction of a township (town) must be reported to the township (town) people's government for approval; if conducted inside the boundary of the jurisdiction of a county (city, district), they must be reported to the department in charge of religious affairs of the county (city, district) government; if conducted in other county (city), they must be reported to the department in charge of religious affairs of the local prefectural, autonomous prefectural, and city government; and if conducted in other prefecture, autonomous prefecture, and city, they must be reported to the autonomous regional bureau in charge of religious affairs. The responsible person of the group that takes charge of such activities is required to submit an application and report one month in advance.

The masses must subject themselves to the administration by government department in charge of religious affairs when they follow the custom of conducting religious activities by paying homage to *ma zha*.

Article 9. No religious organization or believer is permitted to preach, do missionary work, or publicize theism in places other than those prescribed for religious activities. No one is permitted to distribute religious leaflets, books, publications, cassette tapes, or videotapes which have not been approved by the responsible government department.

Installation of tweeters in places of religious activities is not permitted.

Article 10. Feudal and superstitious activities, such as fortunetelling, using exorcism to cure illness, summoning gods and ghosts to appear, lot-drawing and practicing divination, practicing geomancy, pretending to be gods and ghosts, spreading fallacies to deceive people, and swindling people of their money and causing them harm, are banned.

Article 11. Professional religious personnel are not permitted to travel to other

prefectures, autonomous prefectures, cities or counties to do missionary work without having obtained the approval of the government department in charge of religious affairs.

Missionary work by self-styled preachers is banned. Religious personnel from other provinces, municipalities and regions are not permitted to do missionary work in our region without authorization.

Article 12. Patriotic religious groups in the autonomous region are entrusted with the job of training young patriotic professional religious personnel.

Patriotic religious groups in every prefecture, autonomous prefecture, and city shall be responsible for sponsoring scripture classes and deciding on training locations, professional religious personnel who will take charge of the training, the scale of training and courses of study to provide oriented training.

No private sector is permitted to run a school offering courses on scriptures, open scripture classes or keep trainees studying religion.

Article 13. People in charge of scripture classes must support the leadership of the CPC and socialist system, safeguard unity among all nationalities and unification of the motherland, be patriotic and abide by the law, practice good conduct, and acquire a higher level of academic knowledge of religion.

Those who nurse a grievance against and are hostile to the leadership of the CPC and socialist system must not be permitted to take charge of scripture classes and become teachers.

Article 14. Preaching and broadcasting of the "history of the holy war" to stir up national hatred are prohibited.

Listening to, making copies of and spreading reactionary religious broadcasts abroad are prohibited. The receipt from abroad of reactionary religious publications and other propaganda material is prohibited.

Article 15. Christian and Catholic activities will practice the "three fixations" (namely, fixing on an area, a point and a person). Responsible persons in religious organizations and their activity areas are required to register with their local county (city) government department in charge of religious affairs and cannot conduct religious activities until they have obtained approval.

Article 16. Professional religious personnel and the masses of believers of all religious sects in our region must abide by the Constitution, laws, government decrees and policies, respect each other, seek common ground while reserving differences, and live in harmony on the basis of patriotism and socialism. They must not impose their views on others, attack each other, or disturb social stability.

Article 17. Our region shall adhere to the principle of maintaining independence

and keeping the initiative in our own hands with respect to the administration of religious groups and the handling of religious affairs. Our region shall maintain autonomy, missionary work and religious groups by ourselves and not permit our religious groups and their activities to be controlled by foreign forces.

Professional religious personnel and the masses of believers must abide by the relevant regulations governing foreign affairs and maintain national dignity.

Religious groups and academies and places for religious activities must not have contacts with foreign religious organizations or put up foreigners for the night without authorization.

Article 18. Foreign religious believers are permitted to participate in normal religious activities in places for religious activities open to foreigners; however, they are not permitted to accept local people's worship or give a sermon on the scriptures.

Foreign religious organizations and religious personnel are not permitted to do missionary work or distribute religious propaganda material.

Article 19. Local patriotic religious groups and the masses of religious believers have the right to resist and expose those who violate these regulations; the relevant departments shall deal with each of them according to the seriousness of his case and according to relevant state laws and regulations. Those whose cases are deemed insignificant shall be educated through criticism and urged to correct their mistakes by local patriotic religious groups or the department in charge of religious affairs; those whose cases are found comparatively serious shall be separately served with a disciplinary warning, fined, have their illegal properties confiscated, and be detained by the local public security organ; and those who break criminal laws shall be investigated and assigned responsibility for their criminal offenses according to the law.

Article 20. Those foreigners who violate these regulations shall be dealt with by the public security organ according to the seriousness of their cases and according to the relevant laws and regulations.

Article 21. The autonomous regional bureau in charge of religious affairs is responsible for explaining the regulations.

Article 22. These regulations shall go into effect the day they are promulgated.

**96th Executive Meeting
of the Seventh Autonomous Regional People's Government**

APPENDIX 8

Notice on the Prevention of Some Places Using Religious Activities to Hinder School Education⁶⁸

...in recent years in a few locations, the phenomenon of religion interfering with and opposing education has occurred frequently. In some specific locales, [the situation] has actually become quite serious. Some examples of this are as follows:

(1) Recruiting believers among students. According to a survey conducted in three individual townships, out of 8,419 secondary and primary students, 871 were believers, which accounted for 19.6 percent of the total school population. Among these student believers, 444 were regular believers, making up 51 percent of the total. Secondary students constituted 26.24 percent of the total number of student believers, while the percentage of primary students was 73.76 percent. The trend toward students becoming believers at a younger age is increasingly obvious.

(2) Propagating religious ideology at school. [It was discovered that] some individual school buildings hang horizontal boards which carry inscriptions with religious overtones, such as "Bethel Science Building"⁶⁹ and "Grace Teaching Building." Some religious personnel publicly warn students not to attend lectures given by teachers who "do not wear hats," "do not wear scarves" and "do not practice Namazi."⁷⁰ These religious personnel even forced teachers to change

⁶⁸The entire document, of which this is the main part, was circulated to the Education Commissions and Education Bureaus of each province, autonomous region and municipality, the Education Commission of the Xinjiang Regiments of Production and Construction, and all colleges directly under the State Education Commission (*China News and Church Report*, November 29, 1991).

⁶⁹"Bethel" means the house of Jesus.

⁷⁰Namazi is the transliteration of the Persian word for "worship" as practiced by Muslims.

materials which include the saying "labor creates mankind." Due to the interference of religion with education, students in some places read "scriptures" in class, sing "sacred songs" after school, and attend religious meetings in the evening.

(3) Setting up illegal religious schools and enrolling young people in these schools. A few places have been swamped by illegal religious schools which enroll a large number of students under the age of 18 and seriously challenge school education.

(4) Some foreign teachers take advantage of their work to propagate religious ideology and distribute religious propaganda materials to the students. In the name of teaching a foreign language, they presumptuously teach religious classics which are outside the teaching plans and teaching materials.

(5) Overseas religious organizations use [broadcasting] stations to carry out religious propagation and infiltration activities. They also send religious books and journals by post to schools and students.

(6) Certain overseas religious organizations or individuals, without the authorization of our government, provide funds to set up schools which carry religious overtones.

(7) In the name of studying abroad, young people are lured to study in overseas religious institutes. Some young men have already stayed in overseas seminaries.

Though the above situations occur in only a few places and some [problems] have already been dealt with, the facts indicate that in some locations the interference and opposition of religion against education have affected local schools' teaching programs, academic results and the physical and psychological well-being of the students, as well as the implementation of the nine-year compulsory education and education policy. Even stability and unity have been affected in some areas, with harmful consequences.

The phrase means not to attend lectures given by teachers who are non-believers.

There are various factors which contribute to the influence of religion on teenage students. Though the majority (of these factors) may not have political intentions, (we) should not let religion hinder education. At the same time, (we) should note that hostile forces both inside and outside the country are trying to use religious activities in the realm of political ideology to win successors away from us. (These forces) even provoke incidents and create division, destroying the unity of nationalities and state unity. Therefore, both the government and education administrative departments at all levels should attach great importance to the issue of religion interfering with education and should never lower our guard and let it do as it pleases. In order to prevent the use of religious activities to hinder school education, some suggested measures are as follows:

(1) Upholding the principle of separating religion from education...Our education is socialist education. The basic task of a school is to cultivate constructors and successors of socialism, who have all-round moral, intellectual and physical development. Therefore, (we) should reiterate that no one is allowed to use religion to interfere with school education and social public education, or to use religion to conduct activities which hinder the implementation of compulsory education. Except for those religious schools which have been set up with government approval, no religious activities or subjects are allowed in schools at any level or of any type. Students should not be indoctrinated with religious ideology, which interferes with and obstructs the school in carrying out ideological, moral, scientific and cultural education among students. Students should not be forced or lured to believe in religion. Furthermore, it is forbidden to carry out any activities in schools for the recruitment of believers.

Teaching materials used by schools at or below middle level should not contain anything which propagates religious ideology. Certain subjects at the university level which use texts with religious content should have the materials examined and approved by the education department at provincial level or above.

(2) Schools at all levels and of different types should strengthen education on the Marxist view of religion and scientific thinking. Atheist education should be conducted in all relevant teaching subjects so that the students will gradually develop a correct outlook on life and a proper world view. Varied and colorful extra-curricular activities should be developed to enrich students' lives after

class. [We need to] occupy the after-school positions.

(3) Tightening the examination and approval as well as management of religious schools. Before being set up, all proposed religious schools should be approved by the people's government in accordance with state regulations. Religious schools which have been set up without authorization are illegal and should be banned by the relevant government departments. Government-approved religious schools are not allowed to recruit children of secondary and school age who should receive compulsory education, nor should they recruit secondary and primary students who are already studying at another school. Schools which violate these rules will be stopped from operating or be banned, depending on the seriousness of the case. "Language schools" which use religious classics as teaching materials should be handled in accordance with the above regulations set for religious schools.

(4) Strengthening the education and administration of teachers. Teachers' freedom to religious belief should be respected and protected, but no one is allowed to force teachers to believe in religion, nor should non-believing teachers be discriminated against. Teachers should observe discipline and abide by the law. They should not take advantage of their work to violate the regulations, such as bringing their students to join in religious activities. Foreign teachers are strictly forbidden to propagate religion at school, and this regulation should be stated beforehand in their employment contracts.

(5) Associations and individuals are strictly forbidden to act as agencies or agents in China on behalf of foreign and international organizations, presumptuously handling such matters as the recruitment of self-supported religious students studying abroad. The practices of any outside organization or individual which violate our country's regulations and presumptuously recruit self-supported religious personnel in China to study overseas should be banned. Students should not receive funds from foreign missions to study religion in other countries.

(6) Education departments and schools at all levels are not allowed to receive donations from outside religious organizations and individuals who have the intention of infiltration or religious propagation. All donations from religious organizations and individuals to the school have to be examined and approved by

the government at provincial level or above, and then be reported to the SEC who will make a record of it. Education departments and schools at all levels are not allowed to receive [donations] without authorization, nor to use [the donations] for propagating religious ideology among the students.⁷¹ The acceptance of outside donations by religious schools should be handled according to relevant rules and regulations.

(7) In ethnic regions where the majority of people are believers, [we] should start with the local situation and work to stimulate and arouse the enthusiasm of patriotic religious people in mobilizing teenagers and children to enter school and raising funds for education.

(8) In places where the situation of religion interfering with education is acute, comprehensive administration should be carried out under the united leadership of the government, relying on the strength of society as a whole. Education departments and schools have to seriously implement the party education policy and religious policy, seriously implement the "law on compulsory education," and strengthen the work on ideological political education. [We] should provide teenage students with more healthy spiritual food, organize cultural and physical activities, and create favorable conditions for them, so as to protect the healthy development of the youngsters.

**State Education Commission
August 5, 1991**

⁷¹Propagating religious ideology includes the naming of religious names.

APPENDIX 9

Bao Ding City People's Government Re-education Through Labor Management Committee⁷²

Decision on Re-education Through Labor

Baoding Labor Order Serial Number⁷³

Name: Liu Guandong; Sex: male; Age 71; Place of Origin: Qingyuan County; Nationality: Han; Educational Level: Shen Zhi University; Current Residence: Hebei Province, Qingyuan County, Dongge Xiang, Weige Village; Workplace or Profession: no job - illegally pastoring.

Brief Personal History: In 1945, he studied in a monastery in Xuanhua County. He was ordained a pastor the same year. In 1955, he was arrested and released in 1957. In 1958, he was convicted as an anti-revolutionary and sentenced to life in prison. He was released in 1982. Since then, he has become an underground bishop and has been engaged in illegal activities.

Now it is clear that for Liu Guandong we have the following facts about his crime:

organizing, planning and establishing an illegal organization and engaging in illegal activities.

In accordance with Provisional Regulations on Re-education Through Labor issued by the State Council of the People's Republic of China, it has been decided to re-educate Liu Guandong through labor for three years.

⁷²The document carries the seal of the committee.

⁷³The number has been left blank.

The work unit, the reporting unit, the Re-education Through Labor school, the defendant and his family each receive a copy of this document. Three other copies are filed.

May 25, 1990

APPENDIX 10

Stipulations for the Villagers Regarding Normal Catholic Church Activities⁷⁴

Based on the "Constitution," laws, regulations and policies of the People's Republic of China, and integrating them with the actual situation of this village, these village stipulations have been especially formulated to protect, in accordance with the law, normal Catholic Church activities.

1. Each provision of Decree No.26 (1989) of the Hebei People's Government must be firmly and conscientiously implemented, and must not be violated. Violators will be criticized, educated and punished in accordance with each one's circumstances.

2. The religious work leadership committee (headed by the village Party secretary) will positively begin its work, deal with problems according to the law, cooperate with the government in completely implementing the policy of religious freedom, and protect the legal rights of the believing masses in accordance with the law.

3. The great mass of believers must conscientiously obey the leadership of the Party and government, support the socialist system, and become a model of loving the country, loving the church and observing the law.

4. The church must accept the leadership of the Baoding Diocese, follow the instructions and supervision of the village religious work leadership committee, administer church affairs well according to the law and supervise the parish well. The church must promptly report the situation, and the opinions and

⁷⁴As a precaution against recrimination, these regulations "from a certain village in Baoding District of Hebei Province" do not bear the name of the village or the source of the document.

requests of the believing masses. It must cooperate well with the village religious work leadership committee and conscientiously bear their responsibilities.

5. Normal religious activities must be carried out in the government approved church. No one is permitted to gather believers in his own home and establish an activity center. Once such is discovered it will be suppressed and penalized in accordance with the law.

6. Everyone has the responsibility to struggle against the Catholic underground forces. Support and rewards will be given to those who daringly expose them. Once discovered, there will be an investigation, an affixing of responsibility and punishment in accordance with the law to those who knew of the matter but did not report it and to those who masterminded the scheme.

7. Believers and clergy from other areas, if not yet approved or registered in accordance with the law, must not enter the village church to worship. Even more must they not be in charge of, or help take charge of, sacramental activities. Once discovered, the person from outside, in accordance with the circumstances, will be criticized, educated, punished and dealt with according to the law. Moreover, an investigation will take place into the responsibility of concerned persons in the village, and these likewise will be punished.

8. Neither religious organizations nor any person is permitted to stir up the masses, muster them to parade on the streets, and to create disturbances. Nor are they permitted to create, spread or listen to rumors. Violators will be punished in accordance with the law.

9. During the busy agricultural seasons, religious activities should be planned and arranged ahead of time. Big activities should be scaled down; they should be performed less and performed in less time. It is absolutely impermissible to obstruct planting and harvesting times and the peoples' production.

10. No activities of the church are permitted to obstruct social order, the order of production, the order of life of the masses, nor the normal rest of the masses.

11. It is not permitted for church activities to influence or disturb the order of school teaching. It is not permitted to celebrate or to set off fire crackers for those activities which have not received the village's permission. Violators will be punished.

12. Young people and students in school are just in their period of growth. Their main subjects of study should be scientific and cultural knowledge. Parents should not force them to participate in religious activities, which would influence the healthy growth of their bodies and minds. Once discovered, in accordance with each one's circumstances, criticism, education and penalties will be meted out.

13. The schools should teach the students to study hard, to make progress everyday, to strive to become "three goods" students, and not to participate in religious activities. Even more they should not bring religious books into the school, and they should wear the red scarf. Once discovered, they should be dealt with in accordance with school regulations.

14. Believers must live in harmony with non-believers. They should positively respond to the Party's policy of enriching the people. They should use their time, energy and money to develop and raise the level of production. They should work hard to raise the standard of living, practice well the establishment of the two civilizations, and strive to make our village, each one's household and each individual person advanced practitioners of the "double civilizations."

15. Non-believers must respect the religious freedom of believers, and not discriminate against them. It is not permitted to propagate atheism in a place of religious activity, and harm the thoughts and feelings of religious believers; otherwise the grave and harmful results created by this will be the object of serious criticism, education and punishment.

16. Religious believers must respect the freedom of religion of non-believers. It is not permitted to use any method or means to force, suggest or lure non-believers to enter the church. It is not permitted to propagate theism outside the places of religious activities. Once discovered, it will be subject to criticism, education, and punishment.

17. Church organizations will maintain a normal religious income based on the policy of "self support." It is not permitted to apportion expenses among the Christians, nor in a disguised way to extort money or materials from them. Violators will be dealt with in accordance with the law.

18. These village stipulations take effect from the day of promulgation. It is hoped that the broad masses will observe and carry them out.

**Village Party Branch
Village Party Committee
Stipulated on January 8, 1991**

APPENDIX 11

A Regulation Concerning the Protection of Normal Religious Activities in Hunan Christian Church⁷⁵

To thoroughly clarify and put an end to all confusion, to resolutely resist and prevent infiltrations from outside, to consolidate and develop the achievements of the Three-Self, to run the church well, and to correctly carry out the policy of religious freedom of the Party, we formulate the following regulation after discussion in the enlarged meeting of the *liang hui*.

1. All churches in our province were united in 1958. Churches or meeting points in various places are now called "___ Christian ___ Church (Meeting Point)," for example, "Changsha Christian South Church." All brothers and sisters in the Lord should worship, serve and glorify God with one heart under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

2. All churches and meeting points which have had the support of the department concerned (RAB, ed.) and have been conducting religious activities must uphold the Three-Self principle, love the country and abide by the law. They should practice the three-fixes in line with local conditions: fix the point of meeting, fix the area in which evangelists perform their duties and fix the persons who evangelize.

3. Each church (point) should select from among the believers three to five people who support the Three-Self Patriotic Movement and are pure in faith,

⁷⁵The regulations in Hunan were first passed on October 2, 1981. In an enlarged meeting of the *liang hui* (Three-Self Patriotic Association and the Chinese Christian Council) on October 31, 1990, they were revised in order to deal with the "confused" church situation in the province. This translation was published in *Bridge*, No.45, January-February 1991.

law-abiding and willing to be responsible for church ministry to constitute the administrative committee of the church (point) and to make an administrative pledge to be jointly responsible for church work, and to work with the assistance and support of the local department concerned.

4. Evangelists begin their church activities only after the said church (point) administrative committee has reported to and gotten the approval of the *liang hui*, and with the support of the local department concerned. Evangelists who conduct religious activities outside their fixed areas must be approved by the local *liang hui* and contact and get the support of the local department concerned in advance. At the same time, no outside evangelist is allowed to engage in church work in a local church (point) without the approval of the local *liang hui*.

Where there is no (ratified) evangelist in the church (point), (the congregation) is allowed to sing, pray and read the Bible, but not engage in preaching.

To have any other meeting than the normal (ratified, ed.) worship services and meetings, the church (point) must inform the local *liang hui* and the local department concerned in advance. Only after it is approved can it be held.

5. Any evangelist who is punished or deprived of his/her political rights because of violation of law forfeits his/her qualification as an evangelist immediately.

6. Any person who has not been approved by the provincial *liang hui* and the local church (point) administrative committee is not allowed to exercise the function of ministering.

7. No meeting and sermon should run counter to the four cardinal principles, engage in propaganda which opposes Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, or interfere in politics, education or marriage.

8. All illegal activities which are conducted in the name of evangelization but in fact are aiming at healing and exorcism, jeopardizing personal health, extorting money, spreading fallacies to deceive people and swindling by false pretenses must be resolutely prevented. Religious activities

should not hinder social and work order, apportion money and food among the masses of believers or draw on collective goods.

9. The evangelization of China is the jurisdiction and duty of the Chinese church. We do not approve any person from abroad nor from the churches in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan (regardless of the color of their skin) to carry on religious activities within our boundaries. Still least we allow any person from abroad or from the churches in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan to create division among us or distribute religious books, magazines or tracts. Once such activities are discovered, they should be checked. All religious books, magazines and tracts which have been brought in, including those religious books and magazines as gifts, must be delivered to and dealt with by the church organization.

10. We must be highly vigilant against infiltration. We should expose in time those who smuggle Bibles, religious tapes or publicity materials, and deliver the brought-in items to the local department concerned. We must consciously refuse to tune in to the religious broadcasts from abroad or from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan.

Anyone who violates the above regulations and proves to be recalcitrant after education should be barred from performing his/her function of ministering and participation in religious activities by the church (point) administrative committee and the provincial *liang hui*. (If in addition) he/she violates the criminal law, (we would) report (him/her) to the government to be punished according to the law.

Hunan *Liang Hui*
October 31, 1990

APPENDIX 12

A Report on the Development of Christian Sects in China

Illegal religious organizations within Protestantism that have been banned are flourishing again in some places, and several new illegal religious organizations have also appeared. Reactionary organizations such as the "shouters" sect and the illegal "whole scope church," which have been established under the banner of Christianity, were effectively banned in a crackdown some time ago. However, in recent years the "shouters" sect (in a few villages of 81 counties in the following eight provinces or autonomous regions – Henan, Fujian, Zhejiang, Anhui, Hebei, Shanxi, Inner Mongolia and Heilongjiang), as well as the "whole scope church" (in a few relatively poor villages and mountainous areas of 72 counties in twelve provinces and autonomous regions such as Henan, Hebei and Shanxi) have revived secret meetings and conspiratorial activities. The "wilderness sect" and the "disciple society" which have emerged in Ankang of Shaanxi, Yunyang of Hubei, and Yuncheng of Shanxi, have recruited more than 30,000 followers in the Ankang district and more than 10,000 in the Yunyang district. Many times they create disturbances during their meetings, attack the local government, and beat up public security officials and members of the working group. They seize firearms and cause serious casualties. The "liangliang jiao" which has emerged in the Huaiyin district of Jiangsu has 15,000 followers. Moreover, there are criminal groups which make use of religion to rape women and defraud people of money and property.

There has emerged within Protestantism a large number of self-proclaimed evangelists who wantonly recruit believers. According to statistics from thirteen provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions such as Zhejiang and Anhui, there are at present more than 7,700 self-proclaimed evangelists. They are mainly active in the villages and mountainous areas. Some of them have turned to preaching as their occupation and have become "specialized households" who rely on preaching to build up family fortunes. They flee hither and thither and trick the masses into joining their group by saying that "believing in the religious can heal sickness." The 180 self-proclaimed

evangelists in the 33 counties of Sichuan Province have recruited more than 30,000 believers and have set up more than 300 meeting points. In recent years, Protestantism has developed rapidly, [with the number of Christians increasing] from about 700 thousand in the early stages of the liberation (i.e., in the early 1950's) to five million. This is largely due to the activities of the self-proclaimed evangelists. These evangelists, except for those who have been punished according to law because of their criminal activities, are basically in a state of non-interference and are allowed to drift from one place to another.

Hostile forces outside the border have, by means of religion, sped up the pace of their activities, and the scale of infiltration has become greater and greater.

The existence of the above problems seriously affects our society's security. It is necessary to adopt effective measures; that is, to crack down on elements who use religion to commit crimes, to increase supervision of religious activity, and to curb the abnormally enormous development [of Protestantism]. On one hand, it is necessary to implement the religious policy of protecting citizens' freedom of religious belief. On the other hand, it is necessary to ban illegal religious organizations, in order to safeguard the security of our society. It is necessary to insist on resisting foreign religious infiltration, while at the same time not to affect the open reform.

Human Rights Watch

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Addresses for Human Rights Watch

**485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017
Tel: (212) 972-8400
Fax: (212) 972-0905**

**1522 K Street, NW, #910
Washington, DC 20005
Tel: (202) 371-6592
Fax: (202) 371-0124**

**10951 West Pico Blvd., #203
Los Angeles, CA 90064
Tel: (213) 475-3070
Fax: (213) 475-5613**

**90 Borough High Street
London, UK SE1 1LL
Tel: (071) 378-8008
Fax: (071) 378-8029**

Since 1989, the Chinese government has engaged in a campaign to curb religious activities. The campaign escalated after the June 4, 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen Square and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. These events intensified government fears that "unofficial" Catholic and Protestant churches, Tibetan monasteries and mosques in Xinjiang would become vehicles for "hostile infiltration" from abroad and "splittist activities" from within. Through the use of official documents, records of state and provincial meetings and case studies of harassment, intimidation and arrests of those who practice religion outside the official religious bureaucracy, this report reveals the emptiness of China's claim that the free expression of religious belief is permitted. A series of appendices graphically illustrates the detailed restraints on places of worship, religious education, training of religious personnel and the reproduction and distribution of religious publications.

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