

CHINA IN 1993: ONE MORE YEAR OF POLITICAL REPRESSION

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The release in September 1993 of Wei Jingsheng, perhaps China's most famous political prisoner, was cause for rejoicing. The advocate of democracy and critic of Deng Xiaoping turned out to be just as feisty as he was when he had been jailed more than 14 years earlier. Other releases during the year were also welcome, including Xu Wenli and Wang Xizhe, both veteran dissidents from the Democracy Wall period; Wang Dan, the student leader of the 1989 pro-democracy movement; and Li Guiren, an editor and publisher in Xi'an, released on bail in February for medical treatment. But none of these people should ever have been arrested, and their releases were long overdue.

Important as these and other releases were, they were overshadowed by more than 200 arrests or trials that took place during the year of people who had engaged in peaceful political or religious activities. There was no indication that the economic reform offensive was leading to any political liberalization. In fact, Communist Party leader Jiang Zemin himself led the call for vigilance against enemies of the state when he said in mid-January, "We must continue to clamp down in our work to maintain social order....[We] cannot afford incursion of capitalist thought."

Arrests took place in Beijing, Gansu, Henan, Tianjin, Guangdong, Shandong, Inner Mongolia and Tibet. They involved students, workers, business persons, religious leaders, journalists and members of nationalist movements. There was no consistency in the way dissidents were treated. In June, four Shanghai dissidents went on a hunger strike in June to call for the release of a colleague, Zhang Xianliang; they were taken into custody and released several hours later. But the man accused of inciting the hunger strike, Fu Shenqi, a veteran of the Democracy Wall movement, was arrested and sentenced to three years in a "re-education through labor" camp. (The other four denied that Fu Shenqi was involved.)

Some 100 arrests took place in Tibet during the year, most of them related to pro-independence protests. One professor in Inner Mongolia was arrested in January for protesting the suppression of Mongolian culture. Dozens are believed to have been arrested in Qinghai following a clash with Muslim protestors in October, but no human rights organization has had access to the area to investigate.

Trials were believed to be imminent for about 16 of 20 detainees in the Beijing area who had been indicted for membership in underground pro-democracy groups. The Chinese government clearly made a decision to postpone the trials until after the International Olympic Committee decided on the site for the Olympic Games in the year 2000. (Beijing had been a major contender for the games.) A week before the decision was announced, families of the detainees were told that the trials would be held in secret and they would be barred from attending.

The following list of people detained, arrested, tried or sentenced during 1993 is not comprehensive. It is merely an indication of the scope of ongoing political repression in China.

1. Deaths in Prison or Under Restriction

Catholics and Protestants

Hebei Province

■ **Bishop Paul LIU Shuhe**, the second bishop of Yixian, Hebei Province, died at the age of 74 on May 2, 1993 and was buried on May 10 in his village, Chunmuyu, Xuhui County. Extremely ill with kidney disease, he had been in hiding after escaping from an "old-age home" in April 1992, but was unable to get medical attention without risking arrest or having severe restrictions placed on his movements. An earlier report, said to have originated with the Chinese authorities, claimed that he had been transferred from a "re-education through labor" facility to government care in an "old-age home," thus implying that he was free. At that time, however, neither his friends nor family were able to contact him.

Shaanxi Province

■ **In late March 1993, five Protestants, all from Shaanxi, were detained and severely tortured in Shaanxi Province's Taoyuan Village (in Lijia Township, Xunyang County.) One of the five, 22-year-old LAI Manping, died as a result of his wounds. According to a first-hand account by one of the victims, a 21-year-old woman from Ankang County named XU Fang, which was made available to Asia Watch by a Protestant church source, the police attacked a group of worshippers at a religious meeting in Taoyuan on March 27. Eight or nine Public Security Bureau officers broke into the gathering and "without a word of explanation began to beat us with rods and put handcuffs on the five who came from Ankang," three men and two women. (The five were reportedly singled out because the authorities suspected them of connections with foreigners.) According to the account,**

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

The two women from Ankang were also violently beaten and eventually passed out. On regaining consciousness, they found, "Two of us sisters had been placed on the stove and a large millstone of over 100 catties [130 pounds] placed on our backs while they continued to beat us with rods. They also...ripped open our pants...using the most cruel methods to beat our private parts."

The following morning, the five victims were taken first to the Taoyuan police station and then to the Public Security Bureau in Lijia. But the officers at Lijia refused to accept them, so they were sent back to Taoyuan and remained there for eight days "under the most primitive conditions." When the officers realized the full extent of Lai Manping's injuries, a doctor was summoned to give minimal medical treatment. However, "Realizing Lai was about to die, the guards ordered him to leave. He struggled along,

walking some and crawling some for ten kilometers....And then he collapsed. The local people found him and carried him to a small house, but after one day and night he died."

According to the Chinese government's subsequent account of the incident, Lai Manping had travelled from Ankang to Taoyuan on March 27 with "two accomplices." The three men had "seriously disturbed the public order by organizing an illegal meeting," which was later "stopped" by the police. "Local people, enraged by Lai's unlawful activities," said the authorities, "beat him up with bamboo sticks" and left him "slightly injured" on the back. Lai's death on April 6, concluded the official version, was "the result of a heart attack brought on by a lung ailment."

Xu Fang went on to report that by early May 1993, police had rounded up some 90 Christians in the area, both men and women, in an attempt to suppress all news of the incident. By the end of June, all but two had been released, but only after paying the police stiff fines of 500-700 *yuan* (\$90-\$130) each.

Shanghai

■ Jesuit Father Vincent **ZHU Hongsheng**, born July 17, 1916, died on July 6, 1993 of a heart ailment. Five months earlier, on February 17, *Xinhua*, the official Chinese news agency, had announced with much fanfare Father Zhu's "early release" from a 15-year prison term. What the official reports neglected to mention, however, was that Father Zhu, who was arrested on November 18, 1981 and sentenced on March 22, 1983, had actually been released on medical parole on February 6, 1988 and for the past few years had been living with relatives in Shanghai. (His original sentence, to be followed by five years' subsequent deprivation of political rights, had previously been reduced to twelve years in prison and subsequent loss of political rights. Another priest sentenced at the March 1983 trial, Father Chen Yunshang, received an 11-year prison term.) In reality, the Shanghai Intermediate Court had merely canceled the remaining months of Father Zhu's suspended sentence and restored his civil rights. In other words he was officially no longer under police surveillance and was technically free to vote, to travel around China and to apply for a passport.

The announcement also neglected to mention that Father Zhu had suffered a serious heart attack on Christmas Eve 1992, followed by another in January 1993 - that is, just weeks before the *Xinhua* announcement of his "release" - and that there was good reason to doubt even then that he would survive. He returned home in February, but as of late March 1993 was back in hospital. Father Zhu had been hospitalized once before, in 1987, suffering from heart problems and high blood pressure, and his release from prison to house arrest at that time apparently was a response by the authorities to his deteriorating health.

2. Psychiatric Incarceration

Shanghai

■ **WANG Miaoqun**, a leader of the Shanghai Workers Autonomous Federation (SWAF) during the 1989 pro-democracy movement, was forcibly committed on April 27, 1993 to a psychiatric hospital run by the police in Shanghai to ensure that he would not disrupt that city's East Asian Games. The 10-day event in May

1993 was to help showcase Beijing's ability to host the 2000 Olympics (*AP*, May 19, 1993). Before his commitment, Wang, 41, reportedly was beaten up by the police, kicked in the head, tied up and gagged with a sock on several occasions (*Agence France Presse*, June 4, 1993). He is not permitted visitors. Another dissident, Wang Wanxing, has been forcibly incarcerated in the Beijing PSB Ankang Psychiatric Hospital since June 1992, when he was seized after unfurling a protest banner in Tiananmen Square. (See also Xing Jlandong, below.)

Wang Miaogen had had his 1989 sentence remitted or he was "released after re-education through labor," according to the Chinese government's response to inquiries by the International Labor Organization (November 1990). He was one among a group of nine arrested on June 9, 1989 for holding secret meetings, spreading rumors, distributing leaflets, advocating strikes, chanting reactionary slogans, advocating the overthrow of the government, setting up roadblocks, and disrupting traffic (*Beijing Radio* in *RBIS*, June 12, 1989). Allegedly, "they also vilified the Shanghai Council of Trade Unions as being totally paralyzed."

■ **XING Jlandong**, a 28-year-old man from Shanghai who unsuccessfully sought political asylum while studying in Australia in 1991 and was then deported back to China in August 1992, was arrested on September 7, 1993 outside the Australian Consulate in Shanghai. Xing had been staging a series of peaceful sit-ins outside the consulate in protest at what he claimed to be his violent mistreatment at the hands of the Australian authorities during his detention in that country. Initially served with a seven-day administrative detention order, Xing was forcibly committed on September 13 to Shanghai's Ankang Psychiatric Hospital, a public security bureau-run detention facility for the criminally insane.

According to Amnesty International (ASA 17/WU 16/93), Xing's family were pressured by the Shanghai police to give their consent to his confinement in the psychiatric prison and were told that he would otherwise be sent to a labor camp for one to three years. Following his committal to Ankang Hospital, Xing is alleged to have been tied to a bed continuously for three days and nights. The Australian Embassy in Beijing was later reported as saying that it would approach the Chinese Foreign Ministry for information on Xing's case and that its Shanghai consulate had already sought clarification from the local authorities (*South China Morning Post*, October 21, 1993.)

3. Recent trials and sentences

Students, Intellectuals and Journalists

Beijing

■ **BAI Weiji**, 36, was sentenced on May 20, 1993 to ten years in prison for the alleged crime of "illegally providing national secrets to a foreigner." The foreigner in question was Lena Sun, Beijing bureau chief of the *Washington Post*. Bai's appeal was rejected on July 5. Moreover, his wife, **ZHAO Lei** (Lily), received a six-year term for the same offense. Bai was arrested at home after midnight on May 5, 1992, and Zhao almost a year later, on April 21, 1993. The couple were tried in secret, Bai reportedly on March 13, 1993.

Prior to his arrest, Bai had maintained friendly contacts with several foreign journalists, among them Lena Sun. On May 17, 1992, Ms. Sun's office was raided by five plainclothes security agents, who

opened her safe, searched through her notes and documents and confiscated a large quantity of material. *Xinhua*, the official Chinese news agency, subsequently claimed that ten secret government documents had been found in the safe.

Two friends of Bai and his wife were also tried and sentenced in connection with the case. One, reportedly named **TANG YI**, 36, assistant to Commerce Minister Hu Ping (*New York Times*, July 30, 1993), received a four-year sentence. Tang is said to have admitted that he showed documents to Bai Weiji but was unaware that they would be turned over to a foreigner. The other, **WANG Jun**, a journalist for the *People's Daily Overseas Edition* who reportedly was arrested around May 25, 1992, was sentenced to two years in prison. After June 1989, Wang was reportedly disciplined for his participation in the pro-democracy movement (*Committee to Protect Journalists*, July 29, 1992) and banned from continuing to work as a journalist. After Tang's arrest, his wife was passed over for a routine promotion at the hospital where she works, presumably on account of her husband.

Bai Weiji graduated from Beijing University in 1981 with a degree in political science and was assigned to work at the General Office of the Communist Party where he helped resolve complaints from the general public. Before going to work in the Foreign Ministry, where he monitored foreign news and wrote news summaries for ministry employees, he acquired a master's degree. During the 1989 pro-democracy movement, Bai reportedly organized a march of some younger ministry employees, for which he lost his job and was expelled from the party.

Zhao Lei graduated from the Beijing Foreign Affairs College and also worked for a time at the Foreign Ministry. She later did part-time translation work for Lena Sun, among other foreign residents of Beijing. Bai and Zhao have a one-and-a-half-year-old daughter, who is currently being cared for by a woman hired by their families.

■ **LIAO Jia'an**, 24, a graduate student in philosophy at People's University was sentenced by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court in August 1993 to a three-year prison term for, among other things, planning activities to mark the second anniversary of the June 1989 crackdown in Beijing. Arrested on June 8, 1992, he was tried on June 19, 1993. The trial notice did not go up until the day before the proceedings, preventing Liao's relatives from getting to Beijing on time. **WANG Shengli**, an alleged accomplice detained at the same time as Liao, was released in April 1993 after charges against him were withdrawn. According to an unconfirmed report, the men's families were unable to find lawyers willing to defend them, after judicial authorities warned law firms in Beijing not to serve as counsel (*Hua Qiao Ribao*, January 10, 1993, in FBIS, January 11).

On the morning of May 28, 1991, Liao and Wang, who was also a graduate student in philosophy, allegedly distributed on the Beijing University campus some 4,000 leaflets urging students to wear white shirts and black armbands commemorating the Tiananmen anniversary and to petition the government for political reform. In addition, the two men allegedly hung a large banner, "We have not forgotten June 4," from the upper story of Student Dormitory No.46.

The arrests in June 1992 were also related to Liao and Wang's role in distributing *Tides of History*, a book of essays by members of the reformist faction of the Communist Party which backed the drive for economic reform but also called for political change. The book, which was legally published in April 1992 by People's University Press, was later criticized by Chinese authorities and withdrawn from circulation. In

addition to staging a reading of *Tides of History*, Liao and Wang had earlier organized a student group called the *Study Club* (*Dushu She*) at People's University. Although the organization, which rapidly became the largest student association in all of Beijing, was founded in accordance with university regulations, it soon came under official scrutiny because of a series of public lectures that it sponsored on controversial topics and because of the reformist political commentary which appeared in the group's journal, *Dajia* (*Everyone*). Liao and Wang edited the journal, which was banned after four issues. In September 1992, the *Study Club* was also forced to disband.

Liao, an aesthetics major in the philosophy department, who worked part-time at Beijing's *San Wei Shushi* (*Three Flavors Study*), a privately-run bookstore, was called out from his dormitory room by university authorities at 9 P.M. on June 8, 1992 and arrested. Wang, also a philosophy major, was seized at 3 P.M. by the Beijing police while visiting his wife, who worked for the army in Tuan County, Hebei Province. Both men's dormitory rooms were searched and a printing machine and books and papers were reportedly confiscated. On June 9, the Beijing Public Security Bureau officially took Wang and Liao in for "shelter and investigation," an extra-judicial form of detention. On June 12, People's University officials announced to the assembled students and faculty that the two had been involved in distributing "counterrevolutionary leaflets" and would consequently be prosecuted on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement." Liao and Wang were initially held in Banbuqiao Detention Center in Beijing, where Liao contracted hepatitis for which he has reportedly received no treatment. While at Banbuqiao, Wang is said to have suffered severe physical ill-treatment from the common criminals with whom he shared a cell.

Prior to June 4, 1989, Liao was an undergraduate at Beijing Normal University; Wang, a CCP member, worked in a provincial justice department. At the time of their arrests, they had already successfully defended their master's theses and passed their doctoral examinations.

■ **WU Shisen** (Shishen), an editor in the domestic news department of *Xinhua* and a graduate of Fudan University's journalism department, was sentenced to life imprisonment in April 1993 by the Beijing People's Intermediate Court on charges of "leaking state secrets overseas." The charges referred to Wu's provision to a Hongkong reporter, **Leung Wai-man**, of an advance copy of Party leader Jiang Zemin's speech to the 14th Party Congress (*Washington Post*, August 31, 1993). **MA Tao**, an editor at the magazine *China Health Education News*, received a six-year sentence as an accomplice. According to a *Xinhua* report, on October 4, 1992, Wu secretly copied the "most confidential document" and gave it to Ma, who then gave it to the reporter in exchange for \$867. *Xinhua* further reported that Leung had confessed and that Wu and Ma had both pleaded guilty. But the account claimed that Wu "was the engineer of the crime and the principal culprit" and that he "should be punished severely for the vile nature of the crime and for the odious way it was committed and its serious consequences." The text of Jiang Zemin's speech was made public by the Chinese government only days after this allegedly serious offense took place.

Hubei Province

■ **YU Zhuo**, a 24-year-old former computer science student at Hubei University (1985-89), was sentenced on October 12, 1993, by the Wuhan Intermediate People's Court to two years' imprisonment on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement." According to an appeal letter issued by Yu's father, Yu had pasted up in Wuhan around June 4, 1992 more than thirty wall-posters commemorating the repression of June 4, 1989, demanding that the "murderers" responsible be brought to trial, that an amnesty for political prisoners be declared, that pro-democracy exiles be permitted to return to China and

that the families of June 4 massacre victims be given support. Two of the slogans read: "Blood debts must be paid for in blood" and "Put the chief murderers on trial."

Detained on September 3, 1992, Yu was held incommunicado for administrative "shelter and investigation" until May 27, 1993, when formal charges and arrest were made. He was indicted on July 5 and the trial began on August 16, but it was temporarily suspended when the public prosecutor failed to show up. His family was denied all access to him throughout the pre-trial period, during which he was held in Wuhan No.1 Detention Center, Hubei Province. Attempts by his father, Yu Mingchu, to gain information about Yu's whereabouts and condition were met with official stonewalling. The Wuhan Public Security Bureau chief insisted he had no responsibility for the case, although Yu was clearly his responsibility at the time. When Yu Mingchu tried to file an administrative lawsuit challenging his son's detention, Wuhan court officials referred him to a local government complaints office, despite the fact that the court had a clear obligation under the Administrative Litigation Law of 1990 to read the submission and decide whether the case should be tried.

Yu Zhuo had previously been detained for more than a year in connection with his involvement in the 1989 pro-democracy movement. After his release in 1990, Yu, under the pseudonym YANG Yujun, entered Wuhan Polytechnic's department of economic management as a graduate student.

Shanghai

■ **Fu Shenqi**, 40, a prominent veteran of the 1978-81 Democracy Wall movement, was sentenced without trial on July 4, 1993 to three years' "re-education through labor" for allegedly "inciting trouble" among Shanghai's dissident community and speaking to foreign reporters (*New York Times*, July 12, 1993). According to the authorities, Fu had instigated a letter-writing campaign on behalf of a detained workers' rights activist, Wang Miaogen and had incited a hunger strike outside police headquarters in early June following the arrest of fellow dissident Zhang Xianliang (*AP* July 11, 1993). The four activists involved in the hunger strike subsequently released a signed statement denying Fu Shenqi's involvement, and Fu's wife has likewise denied that he took part in the campaign on Wang Miaogen's behalf.

Imprisoned twice before for dissident activities, Fu was seized by the Shanghai police on June 26, 1993 in order to prevent him from speaking to foreign reporters during the visit of Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating. (A journalist from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Ali Moore, was detained for several hours in connection with the incident.) According to Fu's wife, Li Liping, it was not until mid-September that Chinese authorities informed her of the labor camp where he was being held - a "re-education" center near the coastal district of Yancheng in Jiangsu Province. She was then allowed to visit him, but only once every three months. On her first visit, Li found that Fu did not have enough to eat, that other prisoners were barred from talking to him and that some had been ordered to spy on him. Fu asked for an administrative review by the Labor Re-education Administrative Committee (LRAC) of Shanghai, but the committee upheld the original sentence. Li Liping then called upon the authorities to permit her husband an open trial. (According to current Chinese law, those sentenced administratively to "labor re-education" can appeal direct to the courts after an unsuccessful administrative review of the sentence by the LRAC.) In addition, Li expressed concern that her husband's Shanghai residency might be canceled and transferred to the administration of the labor camp.

Fu Shenqi had previously been detained between May 24, 1991 and February 26, 1993, at which time

he was released after being sentenced to two years' deprivation of political rights. Together with his codefendant, **ZHANG Rujun**, 38, also held since May 1991, Fu had been tried in secret by the Shanghai Intermediate People's Court in late March 1992. (Zhang received a sentence of one year's deprivation of political rights; nothing further is known about him.) During his two years in Shanghai No.1 Detention Center, Fu Shenqi was never let out of his cell. Visits from his wife were prohibited, and letters from family members often "got lost." According to an Asia Watch source, the charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" that were brought against Fu at his trial referred to his publication of four issues of *Fuxing* (*Renaissance*), an underground pro-democracy journal. (See also *Ming Bao*, February 27, 1993, in FBIS, March 1; and *South China Morning Post*, June 4, 1991.) The magazine appealed to the people of Shanghai to show concern for the condition of imprisoned dissidents and published the proceedings of the February 1991 trials of Wang Juntao and Chen Ziming together with a copy of Wang's letter to his lawyer. Speaking after his release, Fu argued that he had never committed counterrevolutionary activities or sought to overthrow the government. His magazine, he said, was not publicly circulated and only went out to about 100 intellectuals.

Originally a worker in a Shanghai generator factory and a member of the Communist Youth League, Fu Shenqi, who is from Nanchang city in Jiangxi Province, was first arrested in April 1981 in connection with two unofficial journals that he edited during the Democracy Wall movement. *Minzhu Zhisheng* (*Voice of Democracy*) was founded in 1979; and *Zeren* (*Responsibility*), the journal of the *National Association of Unofficial Magazines*, began publication shortly after the organization's founding in October 1980. Fu was charged with "counterrevolutionary offenses," both in connection with the case of Xu Wenli (a Democracy Wall activist who was released in May this year after serving 12 years of a 15-year sentence for "counter-revolution") and for his Democracy Wall-related activities in Shanghai. He was sentenced in 1981 to a seven-year prison term, much of it spent in solitary confinement in a Shanghai prison. After his release (two years before his term expired), Fu continued his pro-democracy activities, taking part in the 1986-87 student protests. Prior to his most recent arrest, he made a modest living running a private bookstall in Shanghai and was a frequent participant in an unofficial "Sunday salon" which met regularly in a Shanghai park.

■ **ZHANG Xianliang**, a 47-year-old veteran pro-democracy campaigner and former clothing store manager, was sentenced without trial in July or August 1993 to three years' "re-education through labor" for allegedly "inciting incidents." Family members, who had been barred from obtaining legal counsel, received formal notice of the verdict on August 21, but were not granted permission to visit him until late October. They are concerned that his Shanghai residency permit may be canceled and transferred to the administration of the forced labor camp near Shanghai where he is now being held. Arrested for the second time in five days on June 5, 1993, after he had given numerous interviews to foreign reporters calling, as he has since the late 1970s, for political reform, freedom of the press, freedom of speech and greater human rights, Zhang was then placed by the police under "domestic surveillance" at an undisclosed location prior to his trial. (On June 3, he had been detained for 24 hours to prevent him meeting with other dissidents at a teahouse in Shanghai People's Park, where Zhang had arranged a private commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the 1989 crackdown on the pro-democracy movement. At that time, he was freed "on bail to await trial.")

This was Zhang Xianliang's second sentence for dissident activities. In 1978, he founded a *samizdat*-style pro-democracy journal entitled *Science and Democracy*, and ever since then has used the pen-name "Shen Mo." In 1983, he was jailed in Anhui Province for four years on charges of "counter-

revolutionary propaganda and incitement." After his release, moreover, the Shanghai authorities began to harass and persecute his daughter, Zhang Bing. Denied a job allocation by the government for several years, despite holding excellent graduation certificates, she was finally granted a passport in the late summer of 1993 and in November was preparing to travel to the U.S. to begin college.

Workers

Beijing

■ **XIAO Delong**, whose name, address and photograph appeared on the Chinese government's August 19, 1989 secret compilation of "most wanted lists," reportedly has been sentenced to a three-year term in connection with his participation in the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation. A 45-year-old Beijing worker who lived on the Qinghua University campus, Xiao was arrested in September 1992 and was reportedly tried in early 1993. According to one account, he mutilated his face while on the run in an attempt to disguise his identity. No further details are currently available.

Hubei Province

■ **ZHANG Minpeng**, a 37-year-old worker arrested on July 16, 1992 in Wuhan, Hubei Province for his alleged leadership of an underground dissident organization, was sentenced on August 5, 1993, under Articles 51, 52 and 98 of the Criminal Law to a five-year prison term and two year's subsequent deprivation of political rights. Twelve other members of the dissident group were arrested at the same time and were due to be tried separately. Formally arrested on April 30, Zhang, a veteran pro-democracy activist, was tried on June 21 by the Wuhan Intermediate People's Court. According to the official court verdict (which, however, contained no allegations of violent activity by the dissident group), there was "solid" evidence that from April 1991 until his arrest Zhang had formed and led an underground organization called the Republican Party (*Gong He Dang*). According to the verdict, Zhang had arranged meetings, printed material and drafted the party's bylaws and also a manifesto calling for the "eradication of autocracy and re-establishment of the republic." In addition, he gave various speeches including one entitled "The Fate of Chinese Intellectuals" in which he "blasphemed against the Chinese Communist Party." Moreover, he had allegedly "failed to reform himself" while serving a previous administrative sentence of three years' "re-education through labor," imposed in April 1981 for publishing so-called "illegal" materials. (This almost certainly means that Zhang was an editor-activist during the Democracy Wall period.)

According to the August 6, 1993 verdict against Zhang, the twelve other members of his "counter-revolutionary clique" arrested at the same time would "be dealt with in separate cases." Their names are **WANG Yangli**, **ZHANG Hanjiang**, **LIU Bangming**, **HU Gang**, **DING Hancong**, **LIU Gui**, **WU Yingling**, **LU Zhonghua**, **LIU Chongyun**, **WANG Yuqing**, **ZENG Dazhao** and **ZHANG Woldong**. The outcome of the court proceedings against these twelve are not known, although according to one report Liu Gui received a two-and-a-half-year sentence.

Shanghai

■ **GAO Xiaoliang**, a 22-year-old former member of the banned Shanghai Workers Autonomous Federation (SWAF: formed in May 1989); **YAO Tiansheng** and **HAN Lifa**, both arrested in Shanghai on May 26,

1993; and YAO Kaiwen, a 52-year-old high school teacher, missing since May 1, were all charged on June 5, 1993 by the Shanghai People's Procuratorate with forming a "counterrevolutionary organization" known as the *Democratic Front - China Branch*. The arrests were apparently prompted by the men's plan to hold commemorative activities on the fourth anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown. Han, a motorcycle mechanic and a former SWAF member, and Yao Tiansheng, a factory worker, were released on September 5 for lack of evidence. As of late October 1993, neither of the two had been told he had been cleared of his "crimes," and both demanded that the Chinese authorities publicly declare their innocence.

Gao Xiaoliang and Yao Kaiwen, however, went on trial on September 24, 1993 (one day after the International Olympics Committee awarded the 2000 Summer Olympics to Sydney instead of Beijing), Gao for allegedly demanding the abolition of "rule by the communist spies" and Yao for issuing "counter-revolutionary" slogans calling for the overturning of the official verdict on the 1989 pro-democracy movement, the holding of a plebiscite, greater freedom of speech and a purge of the Communist Party. Yao allegedly also called for people to take over the state-run radio station and to stage demonstrations objecting to Communist rule. As of late October 1993, the outcome of the proceedings against Gao and Yao had not been made public, although dissident sources in Shanghai expected the two men to receive heavy sentences. Both had earlier served one-year "re-education through labor" sentences, Gao Xiaoliang for taking part in the 1989 workers' protests, and Yao Kaiwen after he was repatriated from Hongkong where he had unsuccessfully sought political asylum in June 1989. All four men were initially held at the Shanghai No.1 Detention Center. Gao and Yao's current place of detention is not known.

Tianjin

■ **HUANG Shixu**, a member in May-June 1989 of the *Tianjin Democratic Revival Association (TDRA)*, was arrested sometime after meeting with the US-based dissident student Shen Tong in Tianjin in August 1992. In the summer of 1993, he was sentenced without trial to a three-year term of "re-education through labor" for "counterrevolutionary" offenses. First detained after June 1989 on account of his involvement in the *TDRA*, Huang spent several months in Tianjin No.1 Prison before being released.

■ **LU Gang**, 30, was administratively sentenced in summer 1993 to a second three-year term, this one a "re-education through labor" sentence for alleged "counterrevolutionary offenses." He was arrested on or about September 13, 1992 on account of his involvement with Shen Tong, a U.S.-based student dissident who returned to China in August. (Another dissident caught up in the Shen Tong return, **QI Dafeng**, was sentenced in late 1992 to three years' "labor re-education.") At the time, Lu was working in the home appliance section of the Tianjin Far Eastern Department Store, having been out of prison less than two months. He was first arrested in June 1989 and sentenced to three years' imprisonment on charges of "counterrevolution" for his activities as a Standing Committee member of the Tianjin Workers Autonomous Federation, a dissident labor group formed during the May 1989 protests. Prior to that arrest, Lu had worked at the Tianjin No.2 Woolen Thread Factory.

Business persons

■ **WAN JIanguo**, from Shijiazhuang in Hebei Province, was sentenced to a four-year prison term for re-printing some 60,000 copies of *Golden Lotus*, a 400-year-old Chinese erotic classic (*South China Morning Post*, March 19, 1993). The book is banned from public sale in China but is available to the

Communist Party leadership and other members of China's elite in "restricted circulation" editions.

■ **WANG Shuxiang**, 29, from Hubei Province, was sentenced to death with a two-year reprieve by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court for allegedly selling pornography and illegally trading in publishing quotas (*Reuters*, April 14, 1993). Some of the "low taste" titles he allegedly published included *A Dark Massage House*, *Sex Desire*, and *An Elementary Course on Marriage*. According to the official newspaper *Beijing Wanbao* (April 13, 1993), Wang's assets, amounting to some \$603,500, would be confiscated by the state. In addition, *Li Dasheng*, a 40-year-old resident of Beijing, was charged with illegal publishing and distribution of more than 600,000 copies of similar works, including such titles as *Sex Swindling Cases* and *A Flesh Deal*, and received a 12-year prison sentence.

■ **ZHANG Xianliang**

4. Trials Imminent

Students and Intellectuals

Beijing

■ In late May 1992, **CHEN Wol**, a 24 or 25-year-old native of Suiming County in Sichuan Province and a former student of applied science at the Beijing University of Science and Engineering (*Ligong Daxue*), was secretly arrested in Beijing. Chen is one of several dozen students, intellectuals and workers who have been held by the authorities in Beijing and elsewhere since mid-1992 for their alleged involvement in various peaceful underground pro-democracy groups that were formed the previous year.¹ In September

¹ The government crackdown of mid-1992 succeeded in virtually eliminating a number of underground pro-democracy groups, among them the *China Progressive Alliance* (CPA), the *Free Labor Movement of China* (FLUC) and the *Liberal Democratic Party of China* (LDPC), all of which were based in Beijing, together with the Lanzhou-based *Social Democratic Party of China* (SDPC) and the Hunan-based *All-China People's Autonomous Federation* (ACPAF). The groups had called for greater democracy and human rights and advocated peaceful, non-violent opposition toward the one-party system. By September 1993, some sixteen of at least 20 detainees in the Beijing area had been indicted and were awaiting trial, together with three activists in Henan Province. The charges varied from "organizing and leading counterrevolutionary cliques" to "engaging in counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement." Other activists were picked up in mid-1992 in Gansu, Hunan and Anhui provinces, and also in Tianjin and Shenzhen. (The Hunan detainees were released in late 1992, while those in Anhui are thought to have been released on medical parole in early September 1993.) State-run law firms were reportedly directed not to defend the Beijing prisoners, most of whom are believed to be held in Banbuqiao Detention Center. The families have thus had to bear the high costs of hiring private attorneys. Some families, moreover, none of whom had been allowed to see their detained relatives prior to trial, were informed that the trials would be held in secret and that they would be barred from attending (*Reuters*, September 17, 1993). In addition, families were made to pay up to 500 yuan (approx. \$60) to cover their detained relatives'

1993, Chen - along with 15 other codefendants from the Beijing area - was formally indicted by the Beijing Municipal Procuracy on charges of organizing and belonging to "counterrevolutionary organizations."

Chen Wei's latest detention is his fourth since June 1989, when he was imprisoned for more than 18 months in Qincheng Prison for having led the student movement at his college in May-June of that year. At Qincheng, he shared a cell with Xiong Yan, one of the 21 "most wanted" student leaders of the 1989 movement. (Following his release, Xiong escaped from China in mid-1992, shortly before the government crackdown descended upon an underground network in Beijing which he had recently helped organize.) Chen, who is single, was expelled from college after his release from Qincheng in early 1991 and then sent back to his hometown in Sichuan Province. He soon returned to Beijing, however, and continued living there as an unauthorized resident. Chen was detained for the second time in early June 1991, apparently as a preventive measure in advance of the June 4 anniversary; no specific reason was ever given. His third arrest was in connection with the funeral of student activist Wen Jie in December of that year (see Wang Guoqi, p.17.) The reason for Chen's latest incarceration was probably his close relationship with Xiong Yan, although it is not known if he was active in Xiong's group.

By March 1993, Chen's family had reportedly received no information from the police about his conditions of detention or even where he was being held. Chen is a short, thin young man, extremely bright and said to be an excellent ping-pong player. As of early November 1993, the trials of Chen and his 15 codefendants in the Beijing area, together with those of three others in Beijing (see An Ning p.16), were reported to be imminent.²

■ **GUO Shaoyan, a Beijing University graduate student; LI Ji (possibly a pseudonym) and WANG Qishan, an employee at the Institute of Geology in Beijing; and WANG Xiaodong, a former student at the Beijing Institute of Technology, were all reportedly arrested in connection with the 1992 roundup of alleged underground dissident group members. It is not known if they are also scheduled to face trial.**

■ **HU Shenglun, a 38-year-old lecturer at the Beijing Languages Institute, Chinese-Western Comparative Literature Department, was arrested at the home of a friend on May 27, 1992, together with GAO Yuxiang, a street-stall owner at the Hongqiao Agricultural Products Market in Beijing's Xuanwu District. Both men were detained in connection with the government's mid-1992 crackdown on peaceful underground pro-democracy organizations. The police reportedly found a large quantity of pro-democracy literature in the two men's possession, and on June 6, 1992, officers from the No.7 Department of the Beijing Public Security Bureau searched their homes without warrants and confiscated notebooks, name cards, photographs and a shortwave radio.**

daily necessities. Trials of the underground party activists detained in other Chinese provinces in mid-1992, including at least ten in Lanzhou, Gansu Province, were reportedly scheduled to take place in early winter 1993.

² **For additional information on 40 of the activists detained during the mid-1992 crackdown on underground pro-democracy groups, see Asia Watch, *Economic Reform, Political Repression*, Vol.5, No.4, March 2, 1993.**

Nothing further was heard of either Hu Shenglun or Gao Yuxiang until September 1993, when their names appeared on a joint bill of indictment issued by the Beijing Municipal Procuracy charging them and 14 others with involvement in "counterrevolutionary groups." Hu was singled out in the indictment as being one of the groups' "leaders." He and his codefendants in the case are thought to be currently detained in Beijing's Banbuqiao Detention Center, and as of early November, 1993, the trial was reported to be imminent.

■ **KANG Yuchun**, 28, a medical researcher in the Department of Psychiatry at Beijing's Anding Hospital and a 1991 master's graduate of the Beijing College (or Institute) of Chinese Medicine, was secretly arrested in Beijing on May 6, 1992. The authorities then searched his home and reportedly confiscated a quantity of pro-democracy leaflets. Officials of the Anding Hospital told Kang's relatives that the State Security Ministry was involved in his arrest and it would therefore be best if they made no further inquiries. In September 1993, Kang was formally indicted on charges of "counterrevolution" for alleged involvement in underground pro-democracy organizations. As of early November, 1993, when Kang's trial was reported to be imminent, the authorities had failed to inform his parents (a peasant couple living in the outskirts of Beijing) of either the reason for his arrest or his place of detention. (The location is probably Beijing's Banbuqiao Detention Center.)

■ **LI Yan**, a graduate student in the geology department at Beijing University, was reportedly arrested in June 1992. Other than that as of August 1993 he was still imprisoned for allegedly trying to form an "illegal" organization, no further information on Li's status is currently available.

■ **LU Mingxia**, a former student at People's University who served as head of finance in the 1989 *Beijing Students Autonomous Federation*, was arrested sometime between mid-1992 and mid-1993 in connection with the government's crackdown on peaceful underground pro-democracy groups. Lu was formally indicted by the Beijing Municipal Procuracy in September 1993 on charges of "counterrevolution," and as of early November his trial was reportedly imminent.

■ **LU Zhigang**, an undergraduate at Beijing University, arrested some time in mid-1992, was indicted by the Beijing Municipal Procuracy in September 1993 on charges of "counterrevolution" for allegedly leading an underground pro-democracy organization. As of March 1993, Lu was said to be held in Pinggu County jail, but by November 1993 he is believed to have been transferred to Beijing's Banbuqiao Detention Center in readiness for his imminent trial.

■ **REN Jun**, a lawyer and former student at Beijing University, has disappeared, according to an Asia Watch source. No additional information is available, but Ren may be one of several students from the Beijing University law department thought to have been detained since early 1991 in connection with the case of Wang Tiancheng.

■ **WANG Peizhong**, a Beijing University graduate student arrested in mid-1992 in connection with the authorities' crackdown on alleged underground dissident group members, was formally indicted on charges of involvement in "counterrevolutionary organizations" in September 1993. As of early November, Wang's trial was reportedly imminent.

■ **WANG Tiancheng**, 29, a law lecturer at Beijing University and editor of the college journal *Zhong-Wai Faxue* (*Chinese and Foreign Jurisprudence*), was secretly arrested on November 2, 1991 in

Beijing, just prior to leaving for Germany to take up a visiting scholarship. He was formally indicted in September 1993 on charges of involvement in "counterrevolutionary" underground political groups, and was still awaiting trial as of early November.

Wang is reported to have been the chief secretary of two underground political groups, the *Young Marxism Party* and the *Democratic Freedom Party*. According to an Asia Watch source, the Public Security Bureau was aware of both groups as early as October 1991, but for reasons unknown waited until after the visit to China of the Japanese emperor to make the arrests. There have been several unconfirmed reports that a number of other students at the law faculty, possibly as many as seven, were detained around the same time as Wang, but officials at Beijing University have denied all knowledge of the cases (*South China Morning Post*, November 18, 1992).

Wang Tiancheng's major academic interest is administrative law, and at a 1988 conference on the Chinese constitution (another interest of his) he described the current state of administrative law in China as "feudal" (a comment which reportedly brought down party censure upon Wang's mentor, Luo Haocai, a vice-president of Beijing University.) Wang is said to have written an article, "Constitution and Human Rights," for the Beijing University law journal based on the theories of the 18th century philosopher Montesquieu, whom he much admires.

■ The names of **ZHANG Chunzu**, **RUI Chaohua**, **LI Quanli**, **LI Guojun** and **XU ____ling** (the full given name is not known) also appear on the September 1993 joint indictment against underground pro-democracy group members in the Beijing area. No additional information about any of these defendants is available.

■ **ZHAO Xin**, a former student at the Beijing University of Science and Engineering who was imprisoned for 15 months following the June 1989 government crackdown, was detained again in early June 1992, together with three others (names unknown) at the Beijing University of Agriculture and Trade. Although he was later released and sent back to his hometown in Yunnan Province, there are unconfirmed reports that Zhao was subsequently detained again in connection with the government crackdown on underground pro-democracy groups. His present circumstances are unknown.

Gansu Province

■ During April and May 1992, around twenty members of the dissident *Socialist Democratic Party of China* (SPDC), a peaceful underground organization based in the northwestern province of Gansu, were reportedly arrested in and around the provincial capital Lanzhou. According to Asia Watch sources, as of September 1993 at least ten of the detainees had been formally indicted and were awaiting trial on charges of "counterrevolution." They include six activists associated with Lanzhou University, namely **LIU Wensheng**, 24, a former history major from Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, and **LIU Baiyu**, a 25-year-old former philosophy major; **GAO Changyun**, a 28-year-old management studies teacher; **LU Yanghua**, 25, a graduate student in physics and a participant in the 1989 pro-democracy movement; and **XING Shimlin** (Ximan), 22, and **DING Mao**, 25, both philosophy students.

Ding, Liu Baiyu and Liu Wensheng were all active during the 1989 pro-democracy movement and were arrested following the June 4 crackdown. Ding and Liu Baiyu - who was listed as "already arrested" on a September 1989 Ministry of Public Security "most wanted" notice - were jailed for nine and 19 months respectively, and after his release, Liu was expelled from Lanzhou university. Prior to his arrest in mid-1992,

Liu Wensheng, whose name also appeared on the September 1989 secret "most wanted" list, had eluded capture for almost three years.

Also detained in April and May 1992 were **ZHANG Jian**, 25, a worker at the Gansu Provincial Library; **XU Zhendong**, 25, a cadre in the Tianshan Boiler Factory in Urumqi, capital of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region; **LU Yalin**, a 24-year-old teacher at the Yancheng Institute of Light Industries in Jiangsu Province; and **CAO Jianyu**, a staffer at the Gansu Public Relations Association. All ten were reportedly secretly arrested, and subsequent requests from family members about their whereabouts went unanswered (*South China Morning Post*, August 15, 1992.)

According to an Asia Watch source, the SDPC is headquartered in Lanzhou but also has cells in other parts of China. According to its manifesto, the organization was founded in 1991 and its membership comprised students, entrepreneurs, workers and cadres "opposed to the one-party dictatorship." In April 1992, when the SDPC first surfaced, it called upon China's National People's Congress to implement democratic reform and to release all political prisoners.

Henan Province

■ **AN Ning**, a former graduate student in Beijing University's archaeology department, was seized by police at the Beijing Railway Station in early September 1992 on suspicion of involvement in underground pro-democracy organizations. Subsequently, a pile of political leaflets was found in his home in Zhengzhou, capital of Henan Province. An Ning was formally indicted one year later, in September 1993, together with numerous other alleged underground Beijing activists (see *Hu Shengjun et al*, p.13), and as of early November his trial was reportedly imminent. According to his friends, the immediate cause of An's arrest were his contacts with Shen Tong, a U.S.-based student dissident who returned briefly to China in August 1992. This was An's second arrest. He spent time in prison for his role in the 1989 pro-democracy movement, and after his release the only job he could find was as an office boy in Zhengzhou.

■ **MENG Zhongwei**, formerly a chemistry student at Zhengzhou University and a friend of An Ning (see above), was detained in Guangzhou by the State Security Bureau sometime in September, also reportedly on account of his contacts with Shen Tong. Meng, who was also involved in the 1989 pro-democracy protests, was subsequently transferred by the police to Zhengzhou, Henan Province, for questioning. There has been no further news about him since then.

■ The name of **WANG Jianping** also appears on the joint indictment of those soon too be tried for organizing underground pro-democracy groups. There is no further information on Wang available at present.

Tianjin

■ **CHEN Qinglin**, 25, a government cadre from Tianjin working at the Hangu Salt Farm weather forecasting station and a 1987 graduate of the Beijing Meteorological Institute, was arrested on June 7, 1992 in connection with the government's roundup of alleged underground dissident group members. Initially held at Banbuqiao Detention Center (Dept. No.7 of the Beijing Public Security Bureau), Chen was formally indicted for trial in September 1993 along with 15 activists from Beijing (see *Hu Shengjun et al*, p.13.) During the 1989 pro-democracy movement, Chen served in a minor liaison capacity for the now-

banned Beijing Students Autonomous Federation. Born and raised in Inner Mongolia, Chen, who is in his early twenties, is an ethnic Han. According to an Asia Watch source, Chen's father, **CHEN Mingxin**, was arrested along with his son.

Workers

Beijing

■ **GAO Yuxiang** - See p.13

■ **LIU Jingsheng**, 38, a veteran pro-democracy activist and a worker at the Tongxian Machinery Factory, Tongxian County, Beijing, was arrested on or around June 1, 1992 at his home in connection with the government's crackdown on "counterrevolutionary groups." So-called reactionary leaflets found at his home were later confiscated by the police. Together with many other suspected underground pro-democracy group members (see **Hu Shenglun et al**, p.13), Liu was formally indicted in September 1993, and as of early November his trial was reported to be imminent. During the 1978-81 Democracy Wall movement, Liu was co-editor with Wei Jingsheng (just released after serving all but a few months of a 15-year sentence for "counterrevolution") of *Explorations (Tansuo)*, a well-known dissident journal of that period. Arrested along with Wei in March 1979, Liu was called upon to give evidence at Wei's trial that October. After his release later that year, Liu resumed his job as a bus driver and nothing further was heard of him outside China until his arrest in mid-1992. His wife has not been allowed to see him since his latest arrest, but he is thought to be held at Beijing's Banbuqiao Detention Center.

■ **WANG Guoqi**, 31, formerly a worker at the printing plant of the Beijing Languages Institute, was detained for the fifth time on June 22, 1992 for planning activities to commemorate the third anniversary of the crackdown in Tiananmen Square, and also for his alleged membership in underground pro-democracy organizations. Wang was seized at his ex-wife's home in Beijing by police, who (rather unusually) produced a formal warrant, but he was not formally indicted until September 1993. Together with 15 other defendants named in the joint bill of indictment (see **Hu Shenglun et al**, p.13), Wang was charged with "involvement in counterrevolutionary groups." As of early November 1993, his trial was reported to be imminent.

Wang served two years in prison after June 1989 for printing leaflets protesting the Tiananmen crackdown. After his release, he was briefly detained again for questioning along with five former students (all of whom had spent time in Qincheng Prison for involvement in the 1989 democracy movement) on suspicion of having co-organized the funeral of **WEN Jie**, a former teacher at Beijing University who was imprisoned for 18 months after June 1989 and who died of cancer on December 20, 1991. The others briefly held included **ZHANG Qianjin**, **ZHAO Xin**, 24, **Li Xiang** and **CHEN Wei** - who was also formally indicted in September 1993 for alleged involvement in underground pro-democracy groups and was awaiting trial as of early November (see p.12.) Another activist, **WANG Tao**, and former Beijing student leader **LU Mingxia** (also indicted in September 1993 and awaiting trial as of November - see p.14) are also thought to have been detained after the funeral, together with the deceased's sister **WEN Ning**. The security authorities are said to have been particularly concerned about a white wreath with six black and four red paper roses - symbolizing June 4, 1989 - which appeared at the funeral.

Wang Guoqi was detained for a third time on February 29, 1992, while hosting a birthday party for

fellow dissident Zhang Qianjin, a former student leader from Hunan who had studied at the Beijing Languages Institute. Zhang was released on January 5, 1991 after completing a two-year prison term on charges of assembling crowds, undermining public order and impeding the advance of martial law troops in Beijing in early June 1989. At least eight others, including Zhao Xin (see p.15) and LIU DI, a veteran democracy activist in his late thirties, were also detained in connection with the birthday party. Plainclothes police followed them to Wang's apartment at Beijing's China Geological University, and when the dissidents asked why they were being followed, the police promptly laid into them and bloodied their noses (*South China Morning Post*, March 2, 1992). In addition to these various earlier detentions, Chen, Zhao and Wang Guoqi were briefly detained in early June 1991, apparently as a government precaution against June 4 anniversary celebrations.

Business Persons

Shaanxi Province

- **XING Hongwei**, a businessman from Weinan, Shaanxi Province, who worked with a fertilizer factory, was arrested in Beijing shortly before June 4, 1992 in connection with alleged pro-democracy activities. Xing has now been indicted, reportedly in Beijing (see Hu Shenglun *et al*, p.13.) No further information on the case is available.

5. Recent Arrests

Students, Intellectuals, Journalists and Officials

Beijing

- **BAO Liangqing**, the first Chinese procuratorial official known to have been detained in connection with pro-democracy activities, was arrested in April 1992. (The PRC procuracy's duties include conducting state prosecutions and monitoring law-enforcement by the police and courts.) On August 19, 1991, eight months prior to his arrest, Bao had reportedly participated in a celebration of the failure of the Soviet coup to oust Mikhail Gorbachev. No further details of the case are currently available.
- **GAO Yu**, 49, a former deputy chief editor of *Jingjixue Zhoubao* (*Economics Weekly*, the banned newspaper formerly run by leading dissidents Chen Ziming and Wang Juntao), was arrested by police in Beijing on October 2, 1993, two days before she was due to arrive in Hong Kong on her way to New York to take up a one-year fellowship at the Columbia School of Journalism. Gao was formally charged eleven days later with "illegally providing state secrets to people outside the borders" (*wei jingwai ren yuan feifa tigong guojia mima*). As of November 1993, she was being held incommunicado at the Beijing Municipal State Security Detention Center (*Beijing Anquanju Kanshousuo*). Gao suffers from heart trouble developed during a previous period in detention between June 1989 until August 1990, but she has reportedly been denied proper treatment or medication. Chinese government officials have declined to comment on her case, beyond confirming that she has been detained.

Although Gao was never formally arrested or charged during her first period of imprisonment, her interviews with reformist intellectuals Wen Yuankai and Yan Jiaqi, published in Hong Kong's *Mirror* magazine, were characterized by Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong in his June 1989 "report on the turmoil" as having been part of "laying the foundations in public opinion" for the so-called counterrevolutionary rebellion of May-June that year. Prior to her latest arrest, Gao had continued to suffer harassment by being denied a new job assignment (her former newspaper was closed down after June 1989), having her phone tapped and being periodically threatened by the authorities for writing for the Hongkong media. Gao's earnings from her part-time journalism were her only source of income.

Before joining *Jingjixue Zhoubao* in 1988, Gao worked for *Xinhua*, the official Chinese news service. Prior to that, she was a student in the language and literature department at People's University, and during the Cultural Revolution she was sent to Datong, Shanxi Province. Upon her return to Beijing she worked for the Beijing Municipal Department of Culture.

■ **Xi Yang**, a reporter for the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Pao*, was detained by the Beijing Municipal State Security Bureau on September 27, 1993. According to an official report in *Xinhua* (September 27, 1993), Xi had "stolen and spied on financial secrets of the state in violation of the State Security Law." On September 28 (according to Xi's editor at *Ming Pao*), Beijing Public Security Bureau officials searched his hotel room in Beijing and confiscated all his materials and those of his roommate, and took a fax machine used by Xi from the room of another *Ming Pao* reporter. Formal arrest followed on October 7. According to the government, Xi, who had been based in Hong Kong for several years, later pleaded guilty to the charges against him. The Chinese authorities' definition of "state secrets" is extremely elastic and over-inclusive, however, and Xi has been held incommunicado ever since his initial detention. There thus remain firm grounds for skepticism as to the validity of the charges.

A clerk at the People's Bank, **TIAN Ye**, was also detained in connection with the case. He was later accused of being the "main culprit" for having allegedly provided Xi Yang with confidential documents concerning the government's plans for interest rate changes and its policy on international gold transactions. Tian reportedly has also pleaded guilty.

■ On July 8, 1993 in Tiananmen Square, police seized a man (name unknown) who had thrown ink at the massive portrait of Mao Zedong which hangs in the square. A foreign witness was also detained, and film of the incident taken by a Chinese news photographer was reportedly destroyed by the authorities. No further information on the case is currently available.

Gansu Province

■ **ZHANG Jian** - See p.16

Hubei Province

■ **FANG Junjie**, a pro-democracy activist in Wuhan, was arrested sometime during the third week of September, 1993, according to Qin Yongmin (see p.30), a fellow dissident from the same city who was detained on several occasions this year on account of his opposition to Beijing's bid to host the 2000 Summer Olympics. It is not known if Fang was also opposed to the Beijing bid, and there has been no further news on his situation since the time of his arrest. (*South China Morning Post*, September 25, 1993.)

Shandong Province

- On October 12, 1992, two youths from Shandong Province threw eggs at Mao's portrait overlooking Tiananmen Square. Plainclothes public security personnel immediately hustled them away. An official press report (*Jingji Ribao*, October 13, 1992, in FBIS, same date), claimed that the youths were angry about business losses they had incurred and that they were not politically motivated.

Sichuan Province

- **XIANG Wenqing**, a Sichuan farmer, and his "followers" were arrested for allegedly "inciting riots" after a combination of high local taxes and severe drought led to widespread unrest in Renshou County, Sichuan Province in June 1993. Their arrests then provoked large-scale anti-government protests. Residents claimed that Xiang was no troublemaker. Rather, they said, he was arrested for showing others government documents which revealed how local officials had abused their authority by levying unreasonable taxes (*South China Morning Post*, July 10, 1993.) Xiang's whereabouts are currently unknown and there is no information as to how many others were arrested with him.

Business persons

Guangdong Province

- **LI Guohen**, **LIANG Weimin** and **WU Songfa** were arrested on April 6, 1993 at Baiyun Airport in Guangzhou for allegedly planning to distribute handbills calling for the gradual introduction of democracy and political freedom to accompany economic reform (*AP*, May 25, 1993). The three were part of a loosely organized group whose other members, all workers or traders, reportedly fled Shunde, their home county, after the arrests. Li, Liang and Wu had planned to fly from Guangdong where they lived, to Shanghai, and were carrying several hundred copies of a flyer entitled "Letter to the Citizens of Shanghai." After the arrests, Li Guohen's home was searched and a letter, notebook and papers were confiscated. According to family members, the men were being held in a detention center in Shunde, Guangdong Province. Li is reportedly in poor health and has been badly beaten. In a letter to his wife, he wrote, "If I die you must not be sad," and asked for painkillers and medication to treat broken bones (*South China Morning Post*, June 23, 1993, and July 7.) The 31-year-old sales manager and former teacher also reportedly participated in the 1989 democracy movement.

Ethnic Nationals

Tibet

- Eighteen monks, **SONAM CHOEPHEL**, 12, **JAMPAL DORJE**, 15, **PHURBU TASHI**, 15, **LOBSANG**, 22, **TASHI CHUNGCHUNG**, 17, **TSERING DONDEN**, 26, **CHIME**, 25, **MIGMAR TSERING**, 20, **LHAKPA TSERING**, 20, **MIGMAR**, 17, **DRADUL**, 23, **PASANG**, 24, **PENPA**, 19, **CHOEPHEL**, 20, **DORJE**, 15, **NORZANG**, 15, **THAPHKE**, 17, and **MIGMAR**, 27, from Donphu Choekor Monastery were arrested on or about May 30, 1993. Their offenses are unknown, but the arrests took place at about the same time pro-independence protests erupted in nearby Kyimshi, a group

of villages in the Upper Chideshol valley, Gongkar County, Lhokha Prefecture, 45 kilometers south of Lhasa, and at Sungrabling Monastery, also in the upper valley. Donphu Choeker is in the lower reaches of the Chideshol valley. As a result of the unrest, hundreds of Chinese troops took over the villages, dug gun emplacements into the mountains overlooking the site, set up guards at each house, and conducted house-to-house searches. By July 5, 35 people from the three sites had been arrested; some had been tortured.

The initial demonstrations reportedly were started by Sungrabling monks on May 29 at the time of local elections. Their call for a boycott on the grounds that the election was pointless, in that it would only return a Chinese appointee to office, rapidly turned into calls for Tibetan independence. Local police were unable to handle the incident and on June 1, one day after they were denied access to Sungrabling Monastery, 200 police in twelve trucks reportedly showed up to make arrests. Villagers set up a road block and denied the newly-arrived police access to the monastery. On June 2, a "work team" was dispatched to the Sungrabling Monastery to conduct political re-education. Four weeks later, on June 28, 1,700 soldiers in 57 trucks reportedly surrounded the village and began the arrests.

Among those arrested on June 28 in the upper Chideshol valley were YESHE JINPA (lay name PEMA SAMDRUP), 20; TSULTRIM TOPGYAL (lay name PENPA), 20; and NGAWANG LAMCHEN (lay name SHILOK), 23, three monks from Sungrabling; TSERING, a 28-year-old monk from Lhodrak Monastery; and NGAWANG CHOEDRON (lay name CHIME CHOEDRON) and TENZIN CHOEKYI (lay name WANGDEN CHOEKYI), nuns at Choebup Nunnery, originally from Drongshur Village. Farmers arrested from Upper Chideshol included PHURBU NAMDROM (also known as PHURBU GYEN); SONAM, GYALTSEN NORBU, NORBU, NYIMA; and TSERING. Those arrested on July 5 included DAWA TSERING (also known as TENNUP), a farmer; and three monks from Sungrabling, TSULTRIM GYALTSEN (lay name BUCHUNG DAWA), 23; TSULTRIM ZOEPA (lay name PENPA), 23; and TSULTRIM SHERAB (lay name PENPA or PENDOR), 19. NGAWANG DONYO, a monk and former elected leader at Sungrabling was arrested sometime after July 5. His room was searched and a camera found in his pillow. Concern has been expressed about his welfare in custody. Later in July, the villagers, still under intense security, issued an appeal for help to the international community and the United Nations, declaring that "we Tibetans have no human rights and are at risk of being exterminated."

- **LOBSANG DONYO** (lay name JAMPA TASHI), 19, and **NGAWANG SONAM** (lay name JAMPA SONAM), 22, monks from Drepung Monastery, picked up on "suspicion and doubt," were detained on March 4, 1993 and sent to Gutsa.

- **NGAWANG TSONDRU** (lay name TSONDRU) and **PASANG** from Drepung Monastery, were detained in June 1993. No further information is available.

- There are unconfirmed reports that six monks from Ga Lakhang Monastery were arrested in early June 1993 after demonstrating in the town of Tsethang, the capital of Lhokha, 40 kilometers south of Lhasa (*Tibet Information Network*, July 31, 1993).

- **NGAWANG LOSEL** (lay name TENZIN), 23, from Medro Gyama Trikhang; and **NGAWANG TOPCHU** (lay name PALJOR), 22, from Medro Gyama, both Ganden monks, were arrested on June 4, 1993. No further information is available.

- **NGAWANG SANGYE** (lay name TSUNPA JOWA), 20; **TENZIN DRADUL** (lay name TENZIN CHOEPHEL) 18;

LOBSANG SAMTEN (lay name **TOPJOR**), 18, from Medro Jara; **JAMPA GYATSO** (lay name **THUBTEN SHERAB**), 20, from Medro Gyama; **JAMPA GELEK** (lay name **KELSANG YONTEN**), 18; **YESHE GYALPO** (lay name **DONDRUP YUGYAL**), 23, from Gyama in Medro County; **NORBU**, 20, from Taktse Dargye; and **PENPA**, 20, from Medro Dushi, were arrested on March 9, 1993 at a pro-independence demonstration in Lhasa. All eight, unofficial monks at Ganden Monastery, were taken to Gutsa Detention Center; one, who was carrying a Tibetan flag, reportedly was beaten by the police at his arrest. Of the eight, two, Norbu and Penpa, are known to have been sentenced to four and three year's imprisonment respectively and transferred to Drapchi Prison.

- **PHUNTSOG WANGDU**, 25, from Taktse, expelled from Ganden in 1988, was arrested sometime in 1993. No further information is available about either of the men.

- **GYALTSEN TSULTRIM** (lay name **MIGMAR TSAMCHOE** or **MIGMAR CHOEKYI**) and **NGAWANG YANGKYI** (also known as **NGAWANG YANGDROL**; lay name **KUNSANG**), 22-year-old Garu nuns from Ngangra Shang or Nyara, were arrested around noon on June 4, 1993 on the Barkhor in Lhasa, while attempting to lead a small demonstration. There was an unconfirmed report the nuns were taken to Gutsa Detention Center. It is not known what happened to four men - unnamed - who were taken away with them.

- Twelve nuns from Garu Nunnery were arrested on June 14, 1993 and taken to Gutsa Detention Center. According to a report in the *South China Morning Post* (July 22, 1993), the nuns may not have been demonstrating at the time, but were seized as part of a crackdown, including a "re-education campaign," at Garu, whose members have been active leaders and participants in the Tibetan pro-independence movement. **PHUNTSOK CHOEKYI** (lay name **DEKYI**), 22, and **NGAWANG CHENDROL** (or **NGAWANG PELDROL**; lay name **PHURBU DROLKAR**), 19, are from Phenpo Lhundrup. **NGAWANG DEDROL** (lay name **RINCHEN CHOEDRON**), 25, and **NGAWANG CHIME** (lay name **PHURDROL**), 19, are from Medro Gongkar. **NGAWANG KELDRON** (lay name **GOEKYI** or **GORKYI**), in her early twenties, and **GYALTSEN PELSANG** (lay name **NYIMA** or **MIGMAR**), 14 or 15 years old, are from Medro Gongkar Gyama. **NGAWANG PEMO** (or **NGAWANG CHOEDRON**; lay name **TSERING**), 22, **NGAWANG CHOEKYI** (lay name **CHELMO** or **CHOENGA**), 22, and **PHUNTSOG CHENGA** (lay name **SONAM ZOMPA** or **CHENGA**), 22, are from Lhundrup Phodo. **GYALTSEN SANGMO** (lay name **ACHOK ZOMPA**), 24, is from Kongpo Gyada Krugla district; **GYALTSEN KUNGA** (lay name **YANGKYI**), 23, is from Nyemo Thonchue, and **GYALTSEN KELSANG** (lay name **KELSANG DROLMA**), 23, is from Ngangdren or Nyara.

- **NGAWANG SHERAB** and **SHENYAN LOBSANG**, monks from Kyomolung Monastery, were arrested on June 16, 1993. No additional information is available.

- **TENZIN DEKYONG**, a 17-year-old novice from Michungri Nunnery and a native of Medro Gongkar Gyalayok; **NGAWANG DROLMA**, an 18-year-old from Toelung Dechen Norluk; and **JAMPA DEDROL**, 15, from Medro Gongkar Thompogang, were arrested during a demonstration on the Barkhor in Lhasa on March 13, 1993. Taken to the South Barkhor Police Station, they were severely beaten, then removed to Gutsa Detention Center.

- Four nuns, **DAKAR**, 20, **JAMPA DROLKAR**, 21, **PEMA OESER**, 16, and **TSAMCHOE**, 19, from Nagar Nunnery in Chegar Township, Phenpo Lhundrup County, 45 kilometers north of Lhasa, were arrested by plainclothesmen on the Barkhor at 6 P.M. on August 17, 1993. Their protest, encircling the Jokhang Temple shouting pro-independence slogans, lasted only a few minutes before they were seized.

- **LOBSANG GYALTSEN**, a monk and chantmaster (*lunpa*) from Nyemo Gyaltsen Monastery, was detained

in June 1993. No additional information is available.

- **NGAWANG CHOEDRAK**, a monk and chantmaster at Nyemo Gyaltsé Monastery, from Nyemo County, was arrested sometime between April and June 1993 for alleged involvement in political activities. No other information is available.

- **NGAWANG KELSANG** and **PEMA YESHE**, two nuns affiliated with the Nyemo Gyaltsé Monastery in Nyemo County, were arrested in early June 1993 following a "very active" demonstration. No further information is available.

- One unnamed monk from Sangrikor Monastery in Nyemo County, previously a student at the Nechung Buddhist Institute in Lhasa, reportedly was arrested in May 1993 for distributing nationalist literature (*Tibet Information Network*, July 31, 1993).

- **TENPA DARGYE** and **THUBTEN TSERING**, monks from Sera Monastery, were arrested in June 1993.

- **NYIMA PHUNTSOG** and **SONAM GYALPO**, monks from Tashilhunpo, were arrested in July 1993 and detained in prison in Shigatse. Another monk from the same monastery, **PHURBU TSERING**, detained on June 15, was also sent to Shigatse.

- **DAMCHOE PEMO**, a 26-year-old trader and native of Nyemo, was arrested reportedly by members of the State Security Bureau on May 20, 1993 on suspicion of being a member of the *Snowland Youth Association*, a pro-independence organization. Five months pregnant at the time of her arrest, Damchoe Pemo miscarried after nine days during which she was forced to stand for a 12-hour stretch, denied sleep for a period of 48 hours, tortured with electric batons and deprived of food. A nurse was permitted to visit her following the miscarriage, but at most, Damchoe Pemo visited a hospital only briefly even though her condition was described as critical. As of August 1993, she was in Seitru Detention Center. Damchoe Pemo's arrest came five days after that of her uncle **LOBSANG GYALTSEN** (see p.), also suspected of belonging to a pro-independence organization. Although her home, in the Barkhor area of Lhasa, was searched by 17 police officers after his arrest, no incriminating evidence was believed to have been found. According to Amnesty International (*ASA 17/35/93*, August 13, 1993), **TASHI TOPGYAL**, Damchoe Pemo's husband and also a trader, was detained on June 23, 1993. Nothing further is known about his arrest or place of detention.

Damchoe Pemo reportedly was arrested once before, probably in March 1989 for involvement in a demonstration. She was held for two years.

- **DODRONG NGAWANG DORJE**, 41, a mason from Lhasa; **LOBSANG CHOEDRAK**, a 43-year-old worker at the Tromsigang meat market from Lhasa Kyedrong Khansgar; and **SISHIYI (SEGSHING) TSETEN DORJE**, 50, a trader from Lhasa Jamyang Tara, were detained in June 1993, Lobsang Choedrak on June 17. Other than that Lobsang Choedrak is in Seitru Prison, no further information is available.

- **DROLMA**, a 53-year-old woman, **JAMPHEL**, 25, and **KUNCHOG TENZIN**, 27, were three of eight peasants arrested for participating in a series of small pro-independence demonstrations in rural central Tibet between late February and April 1993. As of mid-May they were held in the county prison in Medro Gongkar. The three were seized between April 21 and April 28 in Rinchenling, a group of villages in the Draklok

district of Medro Gongkar County, after round-the-clock interrogation in the nearby village of Tashigang. They allegedly lead an April demonstration during which they shouted slogans and interrupted an official meeting.

■ **GENDUN RINCHEN** and **LOBSANG YONTEN** (lay name **TSASUR CHOEZEY**), were arrested in May by State Security officials, apparently for planning to present a visiting European Community delegation with a list of Tibetan political prisoners. Lobsang, a 61-year-old former monk at Loseling College at Drepung monastery, was detained on May 11, 1993. He had previously been imprisoned from 1959 to 1986. Gendun Rinchen, 46, a Tibetan tourist guide for China International Travel Service (CITS), was arrested on the night of May 13. Both men are believed to be in incommunicado detention in Seitru, part of the Sangyip Prison complex on the outskirts of Lhasa. On May 25, the Chinese Foreign Minister denied that the arrests were related to the delegation's visit. He insisted instead that the two had "stolen a large amount of state secrets." In August, the Deputy Party Secretary in Lhasa reiterated the accusation to a visiting American senator, adding that Gendun Rinchen had "coaxed people to overthrow our present system" and "favored the independence of Tibet." The minimum penalty for stealing state secrets is ten years in prison; the maximum is death. Passing state secrets to foreigners is considered an act of espionage.

■ **LHAKPA**, a school teacher at a school established by the villagers in Nemo, Tsondoe Township, Lhundrup County, was arrested on June 21, 1993 for alleged involvement in political activities. Reportedly taken to Lhundrup County Jail, he was so severely beaten that as of a July 31 report (*Tibet Information Network*), he was in critical condition.

On June 26, farmers from the village overturned a police car and freed two monks from Nemo Monastery who were being driven to the Lhundrup County Jail. They had been arrested earlier that day after a police search of the monastery in connection with Lhakpa's arrest turned up pro-independence literature. On June 27, 200 soldiers surrounded the village and arrested four Tibetans including two farmers, **NGAWANG TSERING** and **TSEWANG** (also listed as **TSERING**). According to unconfirmed reports, all four were tortured.

■ **LHAKPA**, a 28-year-old builder from Lhasa Sector 1, and **YANGCHEN**, a female from Lhasa Shardo, were detained on June 20, 1993. No further information is available.

■ In Tsolho (Hainan Prefecture) in Qinghai Province, in an effort to prevent incidents during the July visit of President Jiang Zemin to the prefectural capital Gonghe (Chabcha in Tibetan), as many as sixty people suspected of preparing pro-independence leaflets were arrested, some from as far away as the provincial capital Xining. Among the nine whose names are known, are Tibetan intellectuals, students, and officials. **LHATRIGYA** (**LHATRUGYAL**) (lha-'phrug rgyal), from Tsolho, reportedly was severely tortured and injured after confinement in a Xining prison. **MENLHA KYAB** (**MENLHA CHA**) (smen-lha-skyaba), a 35-year old native of Gonghe is a comedian and writer widely known for radio broadcasts featuring "cross-talk," the art of comic dialogue and for his articles in the magazine *Qinghai People's Art*. A member of the Tsolho Theater Company, he worked in the Xining Film Company dubbing films into Tibetan. **SHAWO DORJE** (sha-bo rdo-rje) and **HUACHEN KYAB** (dpal-chen skyabs), 27, are officials at the Nationality Languages Committee in Tsolho, a government-sponsored body dedicated to promotion of the use of Tibetan (see also Tenpa Kelsang p.). **SAMDRUP TSERING** (bsam-grub tshe-ring), a 26-year-old 1988 graduate of the Qinghai Nationalities Institute in Xining and a native of Rongbo village, Tongren County, worked as a translator in his home county until 1991. He then returned to the institute to do post-graduate research. **DUNGKAR TSO** (dung-dkar 'tsho), was

studying at the Xining Teachers' Training College at the time of her arrest. She is from Tsolho. **PALJOR TSERING** (dpa-'byor tshe-ring), is a minor official in Gonghe. At the time of his arrest he was taking a two-year refresher course at the Qinghai Nationalities Institute in Xining. **LHASHAMHUA (LHACHO LHAWA)** (lha-byams dpal), 43, is a senior member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Tsolho. The arrest of **TSERING THAR** (tshe-ring thar), a student from Tsolho, has not been confirmed.

- **LOBSANG GYALTSEN**, a 33-year-old farmer from Nyemo Sangri, was arrested on May 20, 1993 on suspicion of belonging to a pro-independence organization. He is the uncle of **DAMCHOE PEMO** (see p.). No additional information is available.

- **LODROE**, 53, a Communist Party member who worked as a security guard at the Public Hospital in Lhasa, was arrested May 23, 1993. No details are available.

- **PALDEN CHOEDRAG**, a 42-year-old carpenter from Lhasa Garu Shar, arrested June 6, 1993, was in Seitru Prison as of August 1993.

- **PEMA TSAMCHOE**, a 31-year-old female from Lhasa, was arrested in July 1993. No further information is available.

- **PE-NGOE**, a 45-year-old carpenter from Lhasa Kashali, was arrested on May 25, 1993. No further information is available.

- **RABGYAL**, a 45-year-old mason, and **TENPA**, 35, a laborer, both from Lhasa, were arrested on June 6, 1993. No further information is available.

- **SONAM TASHI**, a draftsman from Lhasa Phunkhang, was arrested on May 27, 1993. No further information is available.

- **SONAM TSERING**, 27, and **BAGDRO**, 25, were arrested on May 6 or 7, 1993 for writing pro-independence slogans on the walls of government buildings. It is unclear if the men, from Gyama Trikhang Village, Medro Gongkar County, 40 kilometers east of Lhasa, are monks or farmers. Sonam Tsering is the son of Tsering Dhondup (father) and Rigzin Choedron (mother); Bagdro's father is Kunchog.

- **TENPA KELSANG**, a 30-year-old Tibetan academic, was arrested at the University of Tibet in Lhasa on August 6, 1993. A 1985 graduate of the university, he worked for the Lhasa branch of the Tibetan Language Committee and his arrest may have been in connection with the crackdown in Tsolho Prefecture (see Shawo Dorje p.).

- Two farmers, **TENPA SONAM**, a 26-year-old Communist Party member from Medro Gyama Trikhang, **DORJE** (also known as **KHANGSAR DORJE**), 25, from Medro Gyama Dashar, and **LODROE**, a 24-year-old nomad and former farmer, were among fourteen arrested on May 4, 5 or 7, 1993 in Medro Gyama. Along with eleven others, they allegedly participated in a February 22 demonstration shouting pro-independence slogans and calling for the return of the Dalai Lama. The protests were said to have sparked off a series of local incidents, the nature of which is unclear, but may have included a demonstration in a neighboring town. In that incident, a crowd which had surrounded the house of a known police informer, was dispersed by

police fire.

- **TOPGYAL**, a tailor from Lhasa Jamangkyl, was arrested on July 5, 1993. No further information is available.
- **TSENYI**, a 22-year old female from Lhasa Kyirey Lane 4, arrested on June 18, 1993, was in Seitru Prison as of August 1993.
- **TSETEN DORJE**, who worked at the Religious Affairs Bureau in Lhasa, was arrested from his home at 2 A.M. on May 9, 1993.
- On August 18, 1993, two or three Tibetans in lay clothes staged a brief protest at the Norbulingka, former summer palace of the Dalai Lama. At least two of the three were arrested *Tibet Information Network* (September 12, 1993).

Inner Mongolia

- **DELGER**, 32, and his brother-in-law, **HE Quan**, 30, were formally arrested and charged with "counter-revolutionary propaganda" in January 1993. At the end of April or the beginning of May 1992, Delger, a teacher in the Mongolian literature department at Inner Mongolia University wrote a letter addressed to his department chairman saying that the suppression of Mongolian culture and people was wrong. The letter went on to say, that the department head, because of his position, bore some responsibility for the lack of progress in educating Mongolians about their own culture. Delger further suggested that the chairman was, thus, serving the authorities. Having written the letter in the evening, Delger posted it on the department head's office door, where it was seen by the Party Secretary of the department. He immediately called the chairman; the police were called; and Delger was detained. He Quan, a policeman, was not seized until shortly before his formal arrest.
- According to an Asia Watch source, three or four men from Inner Mongolia were seized on the border between China and Mongolia at the end of April or beginning of May 1993. It is still not clear if they were seized in Mongolia and forcibly repatriated or if they had not yet crossed the border. The only identifying information available is that one of the men graduated from Northwest Minorities College.

Catholics and Protestants

- **MA Shuishen**, one of between 120 and 160 Chinese and three foreigners arrested on September 8, 1992 during a raid on a church meeting in Guofa Village, Wuyang District, Henan Province, was reportedly re-arrested at the beginning of January 1993. All those rounded up and accused of taking part in illegal religious activities, were attending a training seminar held at Ma's house. Some escaped, while others, primarily the older participants, were released by the authorities after several weeks. The last eight were released in January 1993. Some who were released, however, were told they would be subject to re-arrest in their home provinces. The meeting place itself was unregistered, technically a breach of the government regulations restricting religious practice.

Some 40 Public Security Bureau officers armed with walkie-talkies conducted the raid. All those

present were ordered to "get down on the floor" while the village was searched for some house church members who were not present and while a long harangue was delivered by one of the PSB cadres. According to numerous reports, some participants were handled very roughly. They were tied with rope and electrical wire and hit in the face and head. At the Wuyang PSB office, those detained were ordered to empty their pockets of money. Some were interrogated every day. Others, including one woman whose legs were all black and blue, were beaten severely. Some were removed to other detention centers in Shipo District, Xiping District, Fangcheng, and to detention centers in Anhui, Shandong, Hubei and other parts of Henan. Many of those released were made to pay steep fines, ostensibly for room and board.

While they were in detention, some of the worshippers' homes were searched, family members beaten and everything of value confiscated. The family which hosted the meeting had its home stripped bare. Furniture, clothes, blankets and cooking materials were taken. Handmade prayer mats and stools were burned. Bibles and other religious literature was destroyed. Even farm equipment and animals were removed.

■ Several Catholic and Buddhist clerics were arrested in Shanghai during October 1993, according to one of the city's leading dissidents, Yang Zhou (see p.29.) In addition, reported Yang, a number of junior army officers who had tried to form a protest group in the city were detained in a separate case around the same time. (*South China Morning Post*, October 20, 1993.) Neither the detainees' names nor the reason for the various arrests is known, although they may have been part of a general tightening up on dissent by the Shanghai authorities following Beijing's failed bid to host the 2000 Summer Olympics.

6. Short-term Detentions

Intellectuals, Journalists and Students

Beijing

■ **GUO Baosheng**, 21, a third-year philosophy student at People's University; **LIN Jianhua**, 25, a worker in an advertising company; **HUANG Jingang**, a Beijing University student and a rock-and-roll singer active in the 1989 pro-democracy movement; and possibly other students from Beijing University and People's University were arrested around June 4, 1993 for allegedly trying to organize a petition advocating the overthrow of Premier Li Peng (*Ming Bao*, June 21, 1993, in FBIS, June 22). Some of those arrested, including Guo, Lin and Hua, also were accused of printing and wearing T-shirts featuring three footprints linked by a chain. By June 22, all those involved were thought to have been released, although uncertainty remained as to the status of Guo Baosheng.

■ **LI Minqi**, 24, an economics major in his junior year at Beijing University at the time of his first arrest on June 4, 1990, was detained again on June 2, 1993 at his home in Beijing and held three days for printing an underground magazine entitled *Bi An (Other Side of the River)*. One hundred copies of the magazine's second issue were confiscated by the authorities (*Kyodo*, July 17, 1993, in FBIS, July 19.) Li had been released on June 14, 1992 after completing a two-year sentence for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement." His political rights remained suspended for another year and he was not allowed to resume his studies.

Shanghai

■ **SUN Lin**, 36, formerly a cameraman for *Shanghai Television*, and **FU Jiqing**, a 47-year-old engineer, were detained in Shanghai on or around March 1, 1993 and reportedly taken into criminal custody (*South China Morning Post*, March 9, 1993). The incident followed attempts by Sun and Fu to communicate with senior Chinese dissident Wang Ruowang, who had been allowed to leave for the U.S. some months earlier.

On the day of her arrest, Fu Jiqing, formerly Wang Ruowang's translator, went out to mail some letters from him to his friends in China but failed to return home. Later that evening, Public Security Bureau officers searched her house, confiscating newspaper clippings and magazine articles about Wang and taking away copies of his writings. The police initially informed Fu's son that she had been detained on a gambling charge. According to the son, however, his mother didn't ever gamble. Later, the charge was altered to one of "colluding with hostile overseas groups." After more than a month, Fu was finally released, but her work unit, the Shanghai Reform Electrical Machinery Factory, demoted her from cadre to ordinary worker for having allegedly committed "a grave political error." Fu had suffered harassment from the authorities ever since the 1989 pro-democracy movement. Her telephone line was cut several times and her house searched on three occasions. In 1989, her plans to study in Australia were ended when the police confiscated her passport and visa.

Sun Lin was formally arrested at the end of May 1993 but later "exempted from prosecution" by the authorities and released in late July.

■ Four Shanghai dissidents, **YANG Qinheng**, **WANG Yonggang** and **GONG Xingnan**, all active since the 1978-81 Democracy Wall period, and **BAO Ge**, a teacher and researcher at the Shanghai Medical School, went on a hunger strike in June 1993 outside the Petitions Office of the Shanghai Public Security Bureau to call for the unconditional release of Zhang Xianliang (see p.9). They were taken into police custody on June 7 and released some hours later. Gao reported that the police went to his school on June 4 and threatened to send him to a mental institution if he did not cooperate (*South China Morning Post*, June 11, 1993). After the protest, his phone line was cut. On October 19, 1993, Bao Ge was informed by his superiors at the Shanghai Medical School that he was being suspended from duties for a three-month period, ostensibly because of a lack of teaching work at the school.

Yang Qinheng, a private entrepreneur, was co-editor of the unofficial journal *Responsibility* during the Democracy Wall period and was imprisoned from 1983-85. Gong Xingnan, also a private businessman, was jailed for at least four years starting in March 1979. Wang Yonggang, who works at a wool factory, was co-editor of the unofficial journal *Voice of Democracy*.

In an attempt to prevent any activities marking the fourth anniversary of the June 4 crackdown, some 50 Shanghai dissident intellectuals reportedly had to appear at the police station. They were held for 24 hours under the guise of "improving communications with the city's intellectuals" and released. Among those who had to report were **WANG Fuchen**, the 38-year-old secretary-general of the *Zhongguo Renquan Wenti Yanjiuhui* (*Study Group on Human Rights in China*); ten of the group's members; and most of those who had received a letter from Zhang suggesting the commemorative meeting. Wang, a businessman, was picked up again on June 9 and held for several hours to prevent a protest against the detention of the hunger-strikers.

On the same day, a colleague of Wang Fuchen's, **YANG Zhou**, who also had been held on June 4, was forbidden to leave his apartment. The association has written to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress protesting interference in its members' civil rights. Yang Zhou and Wang Fuchen were detained again on June 26, during the visit of Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating (see Fu Shenqi p.8). The three and Bao Ge had planned to meet with a journalist traveling with the Prime Minister. Bao escaped detention, fleeing when he saw plainclothesmen outside his house. The journalist was detained for three hours. In addition to the detentions, Yang's telephone line was cut and plainclothesmen surrounded his house around the clock. ***Yang Zhou was taken into custody for questioning on November 14, 1993 after taking part in a meeting in Beijing to discuss a "Peace Charter" promoting non-violent political reform in China.***

Yang Zhou's wife, **Li Guoping**, a practicing lawyer for five years, had her lawyer's license revoked and confiscated by the Shanghai Judicial Department on February 28, 1992 for her activities on her husband's behalf. She responded by appealing to the Ministry of Justice for a review. After the Ministry upheld the Shanghai decision on May 14, Li again initiated legal action, this time in the Intermediate People's Court in the Xuhui District of Shanghai. The suit was accepted, but according to an Asia Watch source, she was disbarred for life.

After Yang was detained, Li wrote an article for a Hongkong newspaper asking that Yang be released. She also wrote herself a letter of introduction from the Nanpu Law Firm where she worked, to the Public Security Bureau's Political Security Unit, so as to be able to find out her husband's situation. Only when she was permitted an interview, did Li tell the unit she was a family member. At the time of the license revocation, the authorities informed her that publishing abroad and "using deceit" to visit the PSB is a "serious matter."

Yang served a three-year prison term, 1979-81, after he tried to start a human rights organization during the Democracy Wall period (*Ming Bao*, in *Shijie Ribao*, June 4, 1991).

■ **LI Gaotao**, president of the unofficial, Shanghai-based *Chinese Association of Human Rights (CAHR)*, was detained for 24 hours on October 13, 1993 by the Shanghai police and badly beaten, according to fellow CAHR organizer Yang Zhou (see above.) A former teacher at the Institute of Mechanical Engineering in Shanghai, Li had already served a two-year jail sentence for his role in the 1989 pro-democracy protests in the city.

Workers

Beijing

■ **ZHOU Guoqlang**, a leading member of a dissident labor group in Beijing, was detained and interrogated for four hours on April 10, 1993 after he and other group members sought to provide legal services to taxi drivers who wanted to stage a demonstration in the Chinese capital to protest their working conditions. Police succeeded in intimidating most of the drivers and breaking up the demonstration. While being interrogated, Zhou reportedly argued that not only did he have an obligation to provide legal services but the workers had a constitutional right to obtain them.

A few weeks later, on May 1, 1993, Zhou was placed under house arrest for 16 hours for arranging an outing on May 2 by members of the dissident labor group to celebrate May 1, International Labor Day. The Chaoyang branch of the Public Security Bureau first took him to the police station, warned him that the gathering would be an "illegal activity" and told him to cancel it. When he protested that the event had been organized by word of mouth and would therefore be difficult to cancel, he was made to call foreign journalists to tell them he was calling it off. Song, Zhang and Qian were also temporarily detained again at this time.

In August 1993, Han Dongfang (see p.33), former leader of the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation (BWAf), an independent trade union banned after June 4, 1989, was forcibly ejected from China back to Hong Kong a day after he had returned there from the U.S. A week later, his PRC passport was cancelled by the Chinese government. When Han then brought an administrative lawsuit against the Chinese Ministry of Public Security for violating his rights in this way, Zhou Guoqiang acted as his legal representative. In early November, however, the case was rejected by the Beijing Intermediate Court.

Originally arrested in July 1989 and charged with counterrevolutionary propaganda and instigating workers to go on strike, Zhou had, in fact, led the only successful strike in his factory's history and was instrumental in forming the BWAf. Released on January 10, 1990 without charge, Zhou was eventually allowed to resume his old job at the Beijing Broadcasting Facilities and Equipment Company, an acoustical equipment factory, although the Public Security Bureau pressured his former employer not to give him any work. Zhou, who as an army recruit, served in Tibet, probably in the late seventies, is also a poet. In 1987, under his pen name, AQUQIANGBA, he edited and helped publish a poetry collection, *Sixteen Young Beijing Poets*. The Lijiang Publishing House in Guilin, Guangxi Province, which published the volume, in 1989 also published a collection of Zhou's own work.

Hubei Province

■ On August 11, 1993, QIN Yongmin, 44, a Wuhan Democracy Wall participant who spent seven years in prison, protested for the third time against Beijing's bid to host the 2000 Olympics and was then detained by police for the next six weeks. Unfurling a banner, "Oppose the Beijing Olympics," outside the China Olympic Committee meeting on August 11, he said to the crowd of foreign and Chinese journalists following him that the country was too poor to host the games. He also demanded the release of three Shanghai dissidents and protested the treatment he had received for his previous acts of opposition. Surprised committee members quickly arranged a meeting between Qin and the committee's vice-chairman, Wu Zhongyuan, who later accused Qin of "discriminating against the right of developing countries to host the Olympics." Qin was detained upon his return to Wuhan and held in a police detention center until September 24, the day after the International Olympics Committee announced its decision on the host city for the 2000 Olympics.

Qin had been arrested on April 23, 1993 in Beijing for similar activities. Escorted back to Wuhan, Hubei Province, and held for two weeks for "shelter and investigation," he was released after signing a paper accusing him of committing the crime of "incitement" (*South China Morning Post*, May 13, 1993). Earlier, on March 26, after Qin returned from another trip to Beijing, he was held for 40 hours and then released "under supervision." His home was searched and personal papers, including a draft of his autobiography and some of his poems, were confiscated. According to Qin, after his second release, the police came to his home "many times" to intimidate him; his phone was tapped and his mail stopped. Qin,

who operates a street stall, was warned not to talk about his opposition to the games with foreign journalists, not to form any anti-Olympic bid organization and not to distribute anti-Olympic bid literature.

Originally arrested in November 1979 for selling unofficial pro-democracy magazines, Qin was released some time later, then re-arrested in April 1981 when the government carried out its final crackdown on those involved in Democracy Wall activities. He was subsequently administratively sentenced to "re-education through labor," which technically carries no formal criminal charges. A former worker in the Wuhan Steel Mill, Qin edited and wrote articles during the Democracy Wall movement for the unofficial journal *Sound of the Bell* and managed the *April Fifth Study Society*.

Catholics and Protestants

■ Bishop Julius JIA Zhiguo, the 58-year-old clandestine bishop of Zhengding diocese, Hebei Province, was detained on April 5, 1993 to prevent him from saying an anniversary Mass for Bishop Fan Xueyan, who had died in April 1992. He was later released, as were eight other priests detained with him at the same time. The 58-year-old Bishop Jia was first arrested on April 7, 1989 in Beijing, then released back to his village, Wuqiu, on September 11 the same year, reportedly without having been charged but with an order restricting his movements for the next three years. In November 1991, in response to requests for information by the U.S. government, Chinese authorities listed Bishop Jia as having "never been accused of any offense." (This is a misleading, non-legal term which does not preclude detention without trial, administrative detention or restrictions on movement.)

On December 11, 1991, Bishop Jia was again detained, although news of this did not surface until April 1992. According to an Asia Watch source, the bishop had been taken on a "compulsory tour" by the authorities as a way of keeping him under surveillance. He was arrested yet again in November or December 1992 at his home, released just before Christmas, and then picked up again shortly after the holiday and held for a further month before being released under restrictions.

A native of Luan Xian in Hebei, Bishop Jia was secretly consecrated in February 1981. After the death of Bishop Liu Shuhe in May 1992 (see p.3), Bishop Jia became Secretary-General of the clandestine Bishops' Conference, first organized in November 1989.

■ Bishop SONG Weili, the 76-year-old underground bishop of Langfang diocese, Hebei Province, was detained twice between December 1992 and the beginning of March 1993, each time for several weeks. During his detention, he was reportedly forced to study government religious policy and the role of the official "patriotic associations," engage in self-criticism, examine his attitude toward the Vatican and "learn how to be patriotic." As of April 21, 1993, Bishop Song, despite continued restrictions on his movements, was reportedly back in charge of the reformed Langfang diocese. It is unclear, however, if the official Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association has sanctioned his recent activities.

Bishop Song was earlier detained in late December 1990 or early January 1991. An official Chinese response to requests for information on that detention by the U.S. State Department (November 1991) listed him as having "never been accused of any offense" - a misleading, non-legal term which does not preclude detention without trial or restrictions on movement. According to an Asia Watch source, Bishop Song, who was ordained by Bishop Fan Xueyan in 1981, had been sent for "re-education in a study camp" and then later

released.

7. Barred from Leaving China

Beijing

■ **YU Haocheng**, former chief editor of Masses Publishing House (an organ of the Ministry of Public Security), was barred by the authorities from leaving China in mid-October 1993 - the eighth occasion in two years that he has been denied permission to travel abroad. A leading expert on constitutional law, Yu was imprisoned without trial for more than one year after the June 1989 crackdown on the pro-democracy movement. Since his release in 1990, he has continued to speak out on the need for fundamental legal reforms and to publish dissident-style views in the foreign media. His latest denial of permission to travel was in connection with an invitation to attend a seminar at the Chinese University of Hong Kong entitled "Symposium on the Concept of Human Rights in Asia and Europe." Yu was to have spoken at the conference on the topic "Human Rights and their Guarantee by Law." The Beijing public security authorities, however, failed to provide him with any reason for their refusal to allow him to attend the meeting. Previous such denials to travel have been in connection with other conferences and research fellowships in Europe and the U.S.

Hunan

■ On August 26, 1993, Dr. Philip H. **CHENG Wai-wo**, an American-Chinese businessman, was detained in Changsha, Hunan Province and held for four days by the local public security authorities. For three of those days, Dr. Cheng, a diabetic, was interrogated constantly and not permitted to sleep. He was then conditionally released, but his passport was confiscated and he was forbidden to leave Changsha. In early October he was allowed to travel to the Zhuhai Special Economic Zone in southern China, where he owns a manufacturing company, Zhuhai Golex Ltd., but as of early November he was still barred from leaving the country, pending resolution of a lawsuit currently being waged against him by the Hunan Arts and Crafts Import-Export Company. Dr. Cheng's detention and ill-treatment by the Hunan police followed a claim by Hunan Arts and Crafts that he had reneged on a joint venture contract with their company. In fact, the Hunan company officials had suddenly - following orders issued nationwide by the central government in Beijing in July to recall all unauthorized bank loans and clamp down on further investment projects - demanded that Cheng return to them the sum of US\$165,000 which they had earlier, under contract, invested in his Zhuhai-based manufacturing facility. Dr. Cheng's arrest and detention appear to have been a blatant attempt by local police to extort the money from him in disregard of the terms of his contract with Hunan Arts and Crafts.

Shanghai

■ **XU Keren**, a senior editor at Shanghai's *Xinmin Evening News*, was prevented from leaving China on October 1, 1993. When Xu checked in for his flight to Tokyo to visit his wife and daughter, his passport and other documents were confiscated. According to the *South China Morning Post* (October 3, 1993), Xu had been under scrutiny ever since publishing a story about alleged ties between public security officials and nightclub owners in Shanghai. As of October 5, Xu whereabouts were unknown.

8. Denied Entry to China

■ On November 11 and 13, 1993, **HAN Dongfang**, was stopped from returning to China, first by air and then by land from Hong Kong. It was the third time he had tried to return. On August 13, 1993, Han, the 29-year-old founder and leader of China's first post-1949 independent labor union, returned to China on a valid Chinese passport. The following day, he was seized in Guangzhou by the Public Security Bureau, roughed up and forced back across the border to Hongkong. \$1600 of Han's money was confiscated and, since he had a still valid visa for Switzerland, an air ticket for travel there was purchased for him by police officials. In Hongkong on an emergency seven-day transit visit, Han insisted he wished only to return to his country, that he had no intention of trying to overthrow its government but wanted to establish a free trade union to help the average worker bargain for his rights in China's new economic climate. He refused to apply for a visa to any other country.

On August 21, before Han's visa expired and before the Hongkong government unilaterally extended it for another 30 days, Chinese officials invalidated his passport on orders from "concerned government departments." He effectively was rendered stateless. What had appeared as a humanitarian gesture - to permit Han to travel abroad for one year, starting in September 1993, to seek medical treatment for prison-contracted drug-resistant tuberculosis - became instead permanent exile. In so doing, Chinese officials flouted Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - everyone has the right of return to his or her country - which every member of the United Nations is pledged to uphold by virtue of its membership.

According to a Chinese spokesperson, Han was aware of the conditions under which he was permitted to travel abroad, which included a promise not to engage in activities harmful to the Chinese state. Instead, he allegedly "opposed and attacked China, betraying it and his Chinese citizenship, undermining the interests of the country and harming its international prestige," all of which violated Article 51 of the Chinese constitution which states that citizens "may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society or of the collective..." The Ministry of Public Security also said Han was in violation of Article 4 of a new state security law, issued some four months after he left China. Should Han ever be convicted under its provisions, which include "conspiring to subvert the government and dismember the state and overthrow the socialist system" and "undertaking tasks for foreign espionage organizations," he could receive a life sentence. And in an attempt to rebut the charges of violating international law, *Wen Wei Po* (August 19, 1991), a Hongkong newspaper which mirrors the Chinese government position, cited the 1961 UN *Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness*. The article not only ignored the fact that China never ratified the Convention but chose selectively from its provisions to bolster the Chinese position.

Among the "subversive" activities cited in support of China's decision were Han's acceptance of the National Endowment for Democracy Award, a speech he made in which he said he asked President Clinton to support a free trade union in China, his attendance in June 1993 at the UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, a speech to the International Labor Organization on June 21, 1993 in which he called on governments to recognize the right of workers to organize and join independent unions. He also was said to have "fanned activities against the Chinese government and besmirched China's international prestige, colluded with and controlled from a distance illegal domestic organizations which he provided with financial backing, incited people to go on strike and made preparations to set up illegal

organizations."

In reply, Han has said he has no desire to embarrass or insult the Chinese government nor to promote chaos. Rather, he wishes to educate workers about their lawful rights and duties so they can benefit from economic growth.

■ **Lü Jinghua**, a U.S.-based dissident and formerly a small private entrepreneur active in 1989 with the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation in Tiananmen Square, was prevented from returning to China to visit her mother and small daughter. According to Lü's own account, on June 13, 1993 in the airport in Beijing, 18 Chinese officials including police and border patrol officers, many in plainclothes, handcuffed and interrogated her for over an hour, then forcibly put her on a Hong Kong-bound plane. She was traveling at the time on a U.S. government-issued travel document stamped with a valid Chinese tourist visa. Lü, 32, who now works in New York for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was placed on a secret "most wanted" list by the Chinese government after June 4, 1989 and escaped from the country shortly thereafter.

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