

CHINA: NO PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Update No.1 to *Detained in China and Tibet*

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I. INTRODUCTION

In February 1994, Human Rights Watch/Asia (formerly Asia Watch) issued a 650-page survey of repression in China titled *Detained in China and Tibet: A Directory of Political and Religious Prisoners*. The report observed that 1993 had been the worst year for political arrests and trials in China since mid-1990 and the aftermath of the Tiananmen Square crackdown.¹ But since the report was issued, the human rights situation in China has deteriorated further, in a way that could have major implications for the decision President Clinton must make in early June about whether to renew China's Most Favored Nation trading status. Religious believers have been rounded up and sent to prison, and peaceful advocates of Tibetan independence have been imprisoned or had their sentences increased. In a far-reaching political clampdown on the arts, film directors, poets, and publishers have been harassed or banned from working. And the authorities have launched a frontal assault against the resurgent dissident movement in Beijing, Shanghai, and other cities, with dozens of activists having been either briefly detained or arrested and now awaiting prosecution for ideological "crimes."²

As if to flaunt their disregard of international public opinion, the authorities have again detained Wei Jingsheng, the undisputed symbol of China's peaceful opposition movement. After almost fourteen years in solitary confinement and less than six months of freedom, Wei has once again been silenced and now faces the possibility of further years behind bars. By way of justification, China's Foreign Minister even accused U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck of "violating China's Criminal Law" by having dinner with Wei during his March visit to Beijing.

Contrary to assessments expressed in recent weeks by several senior U.S. administration officials, significant progress has been made on virtually none of the seven items specified in the May 1993 Executive Order linking MFN renewal to human rights improvements.³

Thus far, the only concession of any real significance has been the release on April 23 of leading imprisoned dissident Wang Juntao. Human Rights Watch/Asia warmly welcomes this long-overdue humanitarian step, although it is concerned that charges against Wang have not been dropped and that it is unclear whether he will be permitted to return to China.⁴ For his release to be significant, however, it will have to be followed by releases of other prisoners with particular priority given to those with serious health problems such as former senior official Bao Tong and social scientist Chen Ziming.

¹ Asia Watch, *Detained in China and Tibet: A Directory of Political and Religious Prisoners* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994), p.xi.

² See, for example, Human Rights Watch/Asia, "China: New Arrests Linked to Worker Rights," Vol.6 No.2.

³ In his May 28, 1993 Executive Order, President Clinton stated that the Secretary of State "shall not recommend extension" of MFN to China unless he determines that such extension would substantially promote freedom of emigration, and that China has complied with the 1992 Sino-U.S. agreement banning export of prison-made goods to the United States. The order also made MFN renewal conditional upon the Chinese government making "overall, significant progress" toward: a) "taking steps to begin adhering to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights"; b) "releasing and providing an acceptable accounting" for Chinese citizens detained for the non-violent expression of their beliefs; c) "ensuring humane treatment of prisoners, such as allowing access to prison by international humanitarian and human rights organizations"; d) "protecting Tibet's distinctive religious and cultural heritage;" and e) "permitting international radio and television broadcasts into China."

⁴ The thirteen-year prison term handed down to Wang for his role in the 1989 protest movement has not been lifted, and by allowing him to travel to the U.S. "on bail for medical treatment," the authorities have reserved the option of reimprisoning him at any time upon his eventual return to China, should he be deemed (as in the case of Wei Jingsheng) to have committed "further offenses." In view of the forced expulsion from China last summer of dissident labor leader Han Dongfang and the subsequent cancellation of his passport, moreover, the question inevitably arises as to whether his release constitutes a form of permanent exile.

The two mandatory conditions listed in President Clinton's May 1993 Executive Order that China must meet before obtaining MFN were freedom of emigration and compliance with the August 1992 Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) banning the export of prison-made goods to the United States. As of early May, at least one Chinese dissident and relatives of several who are exiled were still being denied passports and exit visas by the authorities, and Beijing was continuing to stall on implementing the MOU. Inexplicably, administration officials were claiming that a "Statement of Cooperation" on the prison labor issue that Secretary of State Warren Christopher secured during his ill-fated trip to Beijing was a sign of progress. In reality, this follow-up agreement may prove to be just as flawed and ineffective as the original MOU. Although the new agreement provides some enhanced mechanism for inspections by the U.S. Customs Service of suspected prison labor sites, nothing short of unannounced visits will help ensure that prison labor goods are no longer being exported to the U.S.⁵

Similarly, on the question of releases and an acceptable accounting of prisoners, no significant progress has been made. The number of known releases of political or religious prisoners, including Wang Juntao, since the Executive Order was issued totals twenty-five. Of these, several, like worker Wang Bo, were freed simply because they had served their full terms. Others, like Wei Jingsheng, have since been re-arrested. The number of new arrests of peaceful political or religious activists since the Executive Order was issued is well over one hundred. In terms of accounting for detainees, the Chinese response to inquiries by the State Department has consisted largely of erroneous, misleading or redundant information. A detailed analysis of the Chinese response to a list submitted by the State Department in October 1993 appears in the next section; it was given to Assistant Secretary of State Shattuck on his February 1994 visit to Beijing.

On the question of access to Chinese prisons by international humanitarian and human rights organizations, negotiations were ongoing between the Chinese government and officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross, but ICRC negotiators left Beijing after the last round of talks in April without an agreement. According to press reports, the ICRC was pressing for access to all detainees, while the Chinese side was insisting that discussions center only on those prisoners convicted of a crime, excluding anyone administratively sentenced. Further talks were scheduled for May.

The Chinese leadership is clearly aware of the deep divisions within the U.S. administration over this linkage, which became particularly pronounced around the time of Clinton's meeting with Chinese leader Jiang Zemin at the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit meeting in Seattle last November. It is also increasingly confident that the growing attractions of China's trade and investment market for the U.S. business community will ultimately decide the issue. As a result, Beijing appears to have opted for a policy of conspicuous crackdown mixed with minimal, superficial concessions while at the same time intensifying and extending overall repression of dissent.

This report documents eighty-eight new arrests and trials and sheds new light upon numerous previously known prisoner cases. New and detailed information is presented about the indictment and trial of a group of "social democrats" from Gansu Province, about thirty-one members of a Protestant sect called the Jesus Family sentenced to work in clay mines in Shandong Province, and about extended sentences given a group of Tibetan nuns for singing nationalistic songs in prison. It complements another report, to be issued jointly by HRW/Asia and the New York-based Human Rights in China in early May, that provides details of as many as 500 hitherto-unknown cases of persons detained and sentenced in the Beijing area in connection with the May-June 1989 protest movement, of whom more than 200, including many alleged "counterrevolutionaries," are still behind bars. This sudden wealth of new prisoner information from a part of China more intensively scrutinized by foreign observers than any other, serves again to demonstrate that known cases of political and religious imprisonment in China are clearly only a fraction of the whole.

⁵ The 1992 MOU stated that the Chinese government would provide the results of their own investigations to the U. S. and would "promptly arrange" for U.S. inspections, but with no specific time-frame stipulated. This left a large loophole which the Chinese authorities used to stonewall. The March 1994 "Statement of Cooperation on the Implementation" of the MOU is a step forward in that it stipulates that requests for "relevant" records and information, and inspection of "necessary areas" of prison facilities, should be fulfilled within sixty days. But loopholes remain: it is unclear how it will be determined what is "relevant" and "necessary." In the past, the U.S. was told that certain prison facilities or portions of facilities were "not open to the public" and therefore inspections were not "necessary." Full compliance with all pending requests by the U.S. should be a minimal congressional requirement for testing whether the new agreement results in any better cooperation by China in ending prison labor exports.

On a more positive note, the report reveals the surprising vibrancy and resilience of the small but steadily growing dissident community in Beijing, Shanghai, and elsewhere. With increasing confidence, decreasing fear, and increasing awareness of their internationally recognized rights to freedom of expression and association, activists throughout the country, many of them recently released from prison, have been re-emerging and forming small, informal pro-democracy and human rights networks. One hallmark of these new groups has been their determination to test in practice the constitutional rights and freedoms nominally granted by the authorities by seeking to operate publicly and openly. Some have even applied for legal registration, although none has as yet succeeded.

Another hallmark of the re-emerging dissident movement has been its attempts to sink roots into the community and to give substance to the calls for democracy and human rights by articulating the more pressing concerns of the general public. As the government's economic reforms continue to engender a wide range of severe social and economic dislocations, in addition to increased prosperity, and as the problem of official corruption continues dramatically to escalate, such concerns have included, the need for increased protection of workers' rights and for effective legal remedies against predatory officials. According to numerous reports, wildcat industrial strikes and peasant protests or riots have become increasingly common features of China's social and political landscape over the past year.

In mid-March, in its boldest initiative to date, the Beijing-based dissident network, comprising a broad cross-section of student, intellectual and worker activists, announced the formation of a nationwide unofficial federation called the *PRC League for the Protection of the Rights of the Working People*. The development of such broad-based linkages between vocal dissident groups and grassroots sources of social discontent have clearly begun to unnerve the authorities, no doubt directly prompting the current government crackdown. But what is perhaps more significant in the longer term is that political dissent in China can no longer be dismissed as simply the isolated or marginal concern of a dissatisfied elite. Contrary to the government's accusations, the problem appears to stem not from the "bourgeois liberal" West but to be increasingly rooted in local concerns.

II. CHINESE RESPONSE TO STATE DEPARTMENT INQUIRIES

During the visit of Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck to Beijing in late February 1994, the Chinese government presented some information on prisoners in partial response to an official U.S. inquiry about 341 people believed detained or restricted in some way for their political or religious beliefs. The State Department had first requested information on the 341 in October 1993; the response that emerged five months later is so thin on detail and so inaccurate that it is virtually useless as a step toward accounting for prisoners as called for in President Clinton's Executive Order. It effectively provides minimal information hitherto unavailable on only five people.

Press accounts of the number of cases to which the Chinese responded are misleading. Of the 341 names, the Chinese government initially refused to even consider 106, all Tibetans. During Secretary of State Warren Christopher's visit to Beijing in March, China agreed to review the list of 106, but it was not clear when a response was expected. That left 235 names, divided into eight categories, but several people appeared in more than one category. The Chinese government claimed it was unable to identify some seventy names submitted by the U.S. (in two cases, because of errors on the original State Department submission), and it provided no information about a further fourteen, so the number of people acknowledged as having been detained or released is closer to 120. In no instance does the Chinese government provide information on whereabouts, charges or length of sentence. Instead, it simply groups the names into categories, such as "not yet criminally sentenced," which are so broad as to be utterly devoid of meaning.

The eight categories used by the Chinese government were as follows:

1. Persons serving criminal sentences

Of thirty-eight people officially confirmed as having been sentenced, one (Zhang Yunpeng) died in 1990, and one has probably been released. In only one case of the thirty-eight was confirmation of the sentence not available through other sources: HRW/Asia knew that a prisoner named Abduweli had been arrested, but we had no information that he had been tried and sentenced.

2. Persons who have not yet been criminally sentenced

This category contains people who were sent to re-education rather than prison; people indicted but not yet tried; people tried but not yet sentenced; people who were detained but never prosecuted, people who have been released, and people who were arrested but whose current whereabouts are unknown. The wording of the category makes it impossible to know the most basic fact of whether people concerned are in or out of detention.

Of the people in this category, HRW/Asia has independent information that fifteen are either serving terms in re-education camps or were recently released from these camps.⁶(Since re-education is an administrative punishment that does not involve judicial procedures, people can be sent to labor camps without being formally indicted, tried or sentenced.)

Another fifteen were detained but not yet indicted at the time the list was delivered to Mr. Shattuck.⁷ Ten have been formally indicted, although among them is one man, Kang Yuchun, about whom the Chinese government gave conflicting information to the United Nations. (It told the Working Group on Disappearances in October 1993 that he was already sentenced.)⁸ The trials of the others, scheduled for April 25, 1994, were postponed at the last minute, despite the fact that the men were arrested almost two years ago.

One particularly interesting group of prisoners in this category consists of eleven men from Gansu accused of having set up a political organization called the Chinese Social Democratic Party. Four are known to have been tried in July 1993, but over nine months later, they have not been sentenced; two others were indicted and are likely to have been tried. The whereabouts of one, referred to in the indictment but not himself indicted, and three others, are unknown; and the reported sentencing of one has not been confirmed.

The category also includes ten people whom HRW/Asia knows are released. Two Tibetans, Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten, were released in January 1994, but the response was almost certainly prepared before then. Others, like Catholic intellectual Zhang Weiming, were released much earlier in January 1993, and there is no reason why their names should be included here at all.

Finally, the list includes the names of nine Catholics whose status remains very unclear. We know from other sources that some, like Father Cui Xingang, Father Gao Fangzhen and Father Liu Heping were all taken into custody in 1991; the fact that their names appear in this category may mean they were sentenced to re-education through labor. Others, like Father Zhu Rici who was arrested in July 1990, seem to have been in detention too long for the standard three-year re-education sentence, although the sentence can be extended for a year.

3. Persons Who Have Already Been Released

Eleven people were included in this category. If accurate, the list would provide new information about two of the leading dissidents from Inner Mongolia, Bayantokh. The other, Wang Manglai (whose correct name probably is Wa Manglai), whom HRW/Asia lists in its 1994 report as still in prison.

4. Those Released on Medical Bail/Persons Given Suspended Sentences

Of the three cases, the response provides hitherto unknown information about only one: Abdurrezzak from Xinjiang.

⁶ Chen Zuman, Qi Dafeng, Fu Shenqi, Zhang Xianliang, Huang Shixu, Lu Gang, Monkhat, Zhang Lezhi, Father Wang Jiansheng, Wang Tongsheng, Father Wei Jingyi, Father Xu Guoxin, Zhao Zhongue and Zhang Guoyan. The latter five should be out by now but their status is unclear.

⁷ One, Gao Yu, was indicted by the time this report went to press.

⁸ It also includes Xi Yang who has been tried and sentenced since the Chinese response, but had been arrested before the list was submitted.

5. Unidentified Persons

The Chinese government said it was unable to identify about seventy people whose names had been submitted by the State Department. Many of those on the State Department list, however, are well known people about whom the Chinese authorities should have had no difficulty in gathering information. They include Zhang Yafei and Chen Yanbin who received eleven and fifteen-year terms respectively from the Beijing Intermediate People's Court. Chen was a student at Beijing Communications University when he was picked up in 1990; he is currently detained in Beijing No.2 Prison. Zhang, a graduate of Qinghua University, is serving his sentence in Shandong Province. One reason Chen may have been "unidentifiable" is that in its original submission, the State Department spelled his given name "Yanlin" instead of "Yanbin."

Likewise, three men in this category are members of the underground Catholic church. The Chinese government told American businessman John Kamm in March 1993 that all had been released; it is curious why they cannot be identified now. HRW/Asia knows for a fact that at least seven people in this category were arrested in mid-1992 and at least seven others were formally indicted.

Several names in this group appear elsewhere on the list. For example, one of the unidentified prisoners is listed as "Zheng X" but he is the same person as Father Zheng Xinzhong, who appears in category 3 as released.

6. Awaiting Exit Visas, according to U.S.

7. Health Problems, according to U.S.

8. Restricted Movements, according to U.S.

Some of the people in category 7 appear elsewhere on the list, and in no case is any information forthcoming. For example, eight people are listed as awaiting exit visas but there is no indication of whether the Chinese government intends to provide them or not. In the list of those with health problems, there is no indication of what their ailment is or what kind of medical care they are receiving.

III. CRACKDOWN SINCE JANUARY 1994

If anything, there has been a "significant, overall" deterioration in the human rights situation in China since the Executive Order was issued, as the following information on arrests, trials, sentences and restrictions on movement indicates.

In the following list, (*) means that the case appeared in Asia Watch, *Detained in China and Tibet: A Directory of Political and Religious Prisoners*; (+) means that the cases appeared in Human Rights Watch/ Asia, "China: New Arrests Linked to Worker Rights," published in March 1994. An index of the names mentioned here appears at the end of the report.

Sentenced

1-2. In secret trials that took place in either February or March, ***Xi Yang**, a reporter for the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Pao*, and ***Tian Ye**, a clerk at the People's Bank, were sentenced by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court for spying and stealing state financial secrets. Xi had published an article on planned Chinese government policies for bank savings, loan interest rates, and central bank gold strategies based on information which had not been officially released. Xi Yang's family was informed on March 31 that Xi had been given a twelve-year term and two years' deprivation of political rights. Tian, who was accused of helping foreigners steal and spy, and of illegally providing information about state secrets, received a fifteen-year sentence and a further three years' deprivation of rights. Xi, who according to official reports refused legal counsel at his trial, had his appeal rejected in exceedingly short order in a hearing on April 15; Tian, according to a spokeswoman for the court, did not appeal.

The case continued to resonate in Hongkong where it was widely viewed as a warning to the media to censor their reporting on human rights. Despite that, on April 17, some 2,000 people marched to the *New China News Agency*

(*Xinhua*), the de facto Chinese embassy in Hongkong, to protest Xi's arrest and sentencing, and the Hongkong Journalists Association registered protests and signed petitions demanding a full accounting of the case. Some journalists went on hunger strike, and 120 Hong Kong organizations have set up Operation for Saving Xi Yang.

Xi was indicted on December 14, 1993, and tried on December 22. But on January 27, 1994, the court returned the case to the Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate Branch requesting more information. On February 22, the procuracy responded and the trial reportedly resumed. Another account, however, stated that a trial "in the first instance" was held on March 28 and the verdict rendered in secret.

3. ***Yan Zhengxue**, a People's Congress delegate from Heilongjiang Province and a well-known painter, was sentenced to two years of re-education-through-labor on April 19, 1994. The Beijing Municipal Labor Education Department handed down the administrative verdict after finding him guilty of stealing a bicycle on September 17, 1993. The harsh punishment was accompanied by a *Beijing Daily* report (April 21, 1994) claiming that Yan was an "inveterate evil-doer." Two weeks before Yan was sentenced, a police officer who beat him after he reportedly caused chaos on a public bus earlier in 1993 was given a one-year suspended sentence. Yan brought the officer to court in July 1993 on charges of illegal detention and torture; the lawyer who helped him, Yuan Hongbing, was among those arrested in March 1994.

On Trial

1. ***Gao Yu**, indicted on March 28, 1994, went on trial in Beijing, probably *in camera*, on April 20. She had been arrested in October 1993, one day before she was to leave for the U.S. to begin a fellowship at the Columbia School of Journalism, for "providing information to organizations outside the border." The "secrets" the fifty-year-old Gao was accused of leaking were matters of common knowledge concerning wage reform and personnel re-shuffling linked to the 1993 National People's Congress session and the Second Plenum of the Fourteenth Party Congress. She was also allegedly charged with obtaining a copy of a top-secret speech by Jiang Zemin.

Arrested and Detained

1-2. On April 1, 1994, ***Wei Jingsheng**, China's best known dissident, was pulled out of a car by some twenty police officers traveling in a half-dozen official cars. on April 19, his family reported that he had been placed under police surveillance in a hotel in the Beijing suburbs, according to a dispatch from *Agence France Presse*. Wei had been returning to Beijing from enforced exile in Tianjin to prevent him from meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. After Wei's office was searched, his father was informed that Wei was being held incommunicado under a form of official supervision euphemistically labeled "house surveillance."

Just days before his arrest, officials imposed a three-year ban against Wei's meeting with foreign journalists. His outspoken espousal of democracy and support for human rights, the worldwide attention he has received, and his February 27 meeting with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs John Shattuck clearly alarmed China's leaders. On April 5, Chinese authorities announced that Wei "was being interrogated and placed under surveillance...because he violated the law on many occasions and is suspected of having committed new crimes when he was deprived of his political rights and on parole"(*Reuters*, April 7, 1994).⁹ In response to a U.S. State Department statement expressing concern over the detention, a Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said "it is China's internal affair that Public Security organs are interrogating Wei Jingsheng according to the law."

On April 6, following the disappearance the day before of **Tong Yi**, Wei's office assistant and translator, police confirmed they were holding her on suspicion of committing unspecified crimes.

A month earlier, on March 4, Wei was escorted from his office in Beijing by three plainclothes police. After some thirty hours, he called a friend to say he had been released and would return home from the Beijing suburb of Changping. He did return, but left almost immediately in the company of someone he described as a "friend," probably a police escort. That night, Wei called Tong Yi to say he was safe but could not say when he was returning or where he was. He resurfaced in Tianjin on March 9, 1994, five days after his initial detention but never regained his freedom.

3. **Xiao Biguang**, aged thirty-two, formerly an associate professor of comparative literature at Beijing University, was seized at his home by six officers from the ministries of Public Security and State Security on April 12, 1994. He had been under surveillance for about a week. Xiao's home was searched and books and manuscripts confiscated. At 9:20 P.M. that evening, four more agents came to the door and asked Xiao's wife, Guo Qinghui, who teaches at the Yanjing Seminary, to sign the paper informing her of her husband's detention in "shelter and investigation" for "illegal activities." They refused to supply any additional information and told her to inquire at the police and state security bureaus. Officers there stonewalled. A leading intellectual, sympathetic to the workers' rights movement and active in the "underground" Protestant church, Xiao was working at a trading company at the time of his arrest. He is a friend and colleague of Yuan Hongbing (see below), detained on March 3 in connection with his role in organizing a petition to secure workers' rights.

4. **Tang Ming**, from Shandong, a graduate student in the Legal Theory Institute at Beijing University, was arrested at her home on February 22, 1994. At the time of her detention, she was working at another institute at the university. No other information is available, but it is possible her arrest was in connection with that of Yuan Hongbing (see below).

5. **Song Xianke**, from Hunan, since 1990 a graduate student in constitutional law at Beijing University, was

⁹ Wei's parole ended on March 29, 1994. His political rights, suspended for another three years, deprive him of his theoretical rights to free speech, press, association, procession and demonstration. He cannot vote, stand for public office, hold a position in state organs or hold a leading position in any enterprise, institution or people's organization (*The Criminal Law of China*, Section 7).

arrested on March 9 or 10, 1994. During the week he was detained in Paoju Hutong Detention Center, he reportedly was badly treated. There is no information as to why Song was arrested, but he, too, may have been involved with Yuan Hongbing (see below). The report does not make clear whether Song was released or transferred after his seven days in Paoju.

6. *+**Zhou Guoqiang** was picked up by the Public Security Bureau on March 3, 1994 and "detained for investigation." As of April 30, his whereabouts were unknown. Zhou was accused of "collaborating with hostile organizations and elements both inside and outside the country to carry out anti-government activities." These included "organizing illegal gatherings in October 1993," a reference to his role in drafting a "Peace Charter" calling for democratic reforms in China. He also was accused of writing anti-government articles and sending them to Hong Kong "by means of an unauthorized fax machine" and of planning to print up political T-shirts and distribute them during the sessions of the National People's Congress (NPC), which opened in Beijing on March 10.

A founding member of the outlawed Beijing Worker's Autonomous Federation (BWAFF), Zhou has been detained or held for interrogation six times since 1989 for activities related to labor organizing. He acted as the legal representative for Han Dongfang, the former leader of the BWAFF, after Han tried to return to China in August 1993 but was forcibly turned back. Zhou holds a B.A. in law and is a published poet.

7. +**Yuan Hongbing**, a lawyer and law professor, was being held, as of late April, on suspicion "of being involved in unlawful acts, inciting turmoil, and disrupting social order" or other unspecified "criminal acts," according to a Public Security Ministry report on March 8, 1994. He was arrested on March 2 in connection with his leadership role in a petition drive to secure workers' rights. Yuan's wife, Wang Jingna, said she had no details of his detention other than that he was being held in Guizhou Province.

Yuan helped write two documents, one a petition to the National People's Congress urging greater protection of the rights of rural and urban workers and more attention to the need to root out corruption. The second was the founding charter of the *League for the Protection of Working People of the People's Republic of China* calling for restoration of the right to strike and for the legalization of independent workers' and peasants' labor unions.¹⁰

In August 1993, Yuan became involved in a confrontation with the Public Security Bureau. That month, he helped organize a petition drive to protest the abuse of Yan Zhengxue (see above), a local People's Congress delegate from Heilongjiang Province, who in mid-July had been illegally detained and tortured in Beijing.

8. **Wang Zhixin**, a liaison for the Democracy Wall magazine *Masses Reference News (Qunzhong Cankao Xiaoxi)*, was detained on April 6, a day after he contacted foreign journalists in Beijing to arrange an interview. His whereabouts are unknown. It is unclear if he is the same person whose case is detailed in *Detained in China and Tibet*.

9. **Zhu Fuming**, an activist in his early thirties associated with the Shanghai-based Association for Human Rights, was detained early in March 1994 for taking part in pro-democracy activities. A college graduate and an employee of a company supplying information to Chinese looking to go abroad, he had been questioned by police at least twice in 1994. The first time came after Zhu taped a conversation he had with the police; the second followed his shouting out slogans on the dance floor of a Shanghai disco calling for overturning the verdict on the Tiananmen Square crackdown. Zhu's whereabouts are unknown.

10. *+**Li Gaotao**, president of the unofficial *China Study Group on Human Rights*, was detained in Shanghai on March 12, 1994 after he signed the "Blueprint for Democratization" (see Bao Ge). He had been picked up earlier, on October 13, 1993, for questioning, and he had served a two-year term for involvement in the 1989 pro-democracy movement.

11. There has been no further news about *+**Li Guiren**, aged fifty, an editor and publisher from Xi'an, Shaanxi Province, since his re-arrest on February 16, 1994. He had been out of prison almost exactly one year on medical parole after being sentenced to a five-year term for trying to organize a strike at the Hua Yue Publishing House in Xi'an during

¹⁰ See Human Rights Watch/Asia, "New Arrests Linked to Worker Rights."

the 1989 pro-democracy movement. The reason for Li's re-arrest despite his extremely serious medical condition, is unclear, but after his release from prison, he submitted articles for publication outside China detailing his prison experiences and clarifying his views about democratization and human rights protection in China. He also met with other Xi'an dissidents.

12-24. Two demonstrations in Lhasa, Tibet in March 1994 resulted in five arrests. On March 21, three young Garu nuns from Phenpo Lhundrup chanting independence slogans on the Barkhor in Tibet were immediately arrested and taken to Gutsa Detention Center. On March 27, two young monks carried the banned Tibetan flag around the Barkhor. Security forces arrested them "immediately" (*Tibet Information Network*, April 18, 1994).

A third protest took place in Kyimshi in late February 1994. According to an unconfirmed report, eight nuns were arrested in connection with a demonstration in or near the village. For additional information on a previous protest there see *Detained in China and Tibet*, pp.33-34.

25. *Father **Wei Jingyi**, a priest in his thirties, released from prison sometime in 1993, was taken into custody again on January 20, 1994 in Xushui County, Hebei Province. His previous arrest, for refusal to join the official Chinese church and for taking part in a 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference, came in August 1990 and resulted in an administrative sentence of three years' re-education through labor.

26-28. ***Zhang Yongliang**, **Tian Mingge**, and **Zheng Xintai** (see Dennis Balcombe, below.)

Died In Detention

1. **Zheng Muzheng**, a peasant who became a Christian in 1990 and was an active proselytizer, was rounded up along with twenty other Protestants in a police raid on a house church in Moyan Village on January 5, 1994. He died the next day from a beating allegedly administered by thirteen fellow-inmates in a jail in Dongkou County, Hunan Province. He reportedly was "disobedient" and "failed to keep up good cleaning work." According to a story in the Hong Kong newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*, authorities rushed Zheng to the hospital but it was too late, and the thirteen alleged perpetrators, were "arrested." The Public Security Bureau had investigated the case, "made arrests according to the law," and dealt "appropriately" with subsequent events, the story claimed. Those responsible for guarding the prisoners were dealt with "severely" and the management of the detention center was strengthened.

When family members viewed Zheng's body, however, they rejected the explanation. The rope burns around his ankles and neck and the numerous stab wounds on his torso indicated the presence of weapons forbidden in jail cells. Either Public Security Bureau (PSB) officials administered the beating themselves, or the prisoners beat Zheng at the behest of and in collusion with the officials in order to make him confess his "crimes." It has been established that Zheng was first taken to the Shanmen PSB station where the beating occurred, then transferred to the county office when his condition became acute.

Zheng's wife, Yan Dongxiu, did not learn of his death until twelve days after he was picked up for allegedly "stirring up social unrest" and "using superstitious methods to heal people." She and other family members were told Zheng was critically ill and that they should go to the PSB. When they arrived, officials refused to let them see him, then finally admitted he was really in the hospital. Not until they arrived there did they learn that he was dead. On January 19, the PSB sent fifty officers to stand guard at the hospital while had the body was secretly transported to a crematorium. The police offered the family compensation money; instead, in April, Zheng's wife filed a lawsuit against the Shanmen district police station and the Dongkou Public Security Bureau. Three officers were cited by name.

Escaped

1. +**Wang Jiaqi**, a thirty-four-year-old post-graduate law student at Beijing University, was abducted by some seven plainclothes policemen at his fiancée's dormitory at 11 P.M. on March 2, 1994, the same day Yuan Hongbing (see above) was arrested. Both men were similarly charged. After a bag was placed over Wang's head, he was transported to the Changping Bureau of Electrical Supplies Training Center, in the Beijing suburbs, probably a Public Security Bureau "guest house." Two plainclothes men slept with him during his entire stay there.

The following day, the police produced a fax copy of a "shelter and investigation" order from Tangshan, Hebei Province, for Wang. That evening, he began a hunger strike which lasted until noon on March 6. Two days later, on March 8 at 5 P.M., Wang was transferred to the Tangshan Iron and Steel Company's Public Security Bureau Section, probably a "residential surveillance" unit. On March 14, he was again transferred, this time to the Tangshan Detachment of the Hebei People's Armed Police (PAP) battalion. Two PAP officers guarded him at all times in his locked four-bedded room. When Wang developed an ear infection on March 17, doctors at the Public Security Bureau hospital to which he was taken urged that he be allowed to remain, but the PAP guards refused. Instead, he was escorted to the hospital each morning for intravenous glucose and antibiotics. On March 27 at 6 P.M., Wang managed to escape and is now safely in a western country.

In addition to his work on labor rights, Wang was involved in "Peace Charter" activities, and he provided legal services to citizens and groups pursuing rights violations lawsuits against government departments. He was legal co-signatory to the administrative law suit filed on behalf of exiled labor leader Han Dongfang, and was active in the attempt to obtain justice for Yan Zhengxue (see above). At the time of his arrest, Wang was representing some 2,000 citizens in a civil lawsuit against a supermarket alleged to have engaged in massive pollution of the homes of local residents. He had planned to bring family representatives of the Duoyigou "Jesus Family" prisoners (see Section IV) to Beijing, but before he could do so, Public Security Bureau officials issued an order to detain them.

A resident of Tangshan, Wang spent several years in the countryside during the 1970s as a "sent down youth." After obtaining a degree in coal science, he worked for three years as a technician in a coal mine. Then, in the mid-1980s after he was admitted to the Police Academy, he worked for six years as a pre-trial investigator (*yushenyuan*) in the Tangshan Public Security Bureau; later he was attached to the legal system division (*fazhi chu*). By 1992, Wang was enrolled in the Law Department at Beijing University and by the time he was arrested had successfully defended his Masters thesis, "The Presumption of Innocence in China's Legal System." He has not yet officially graduated.

Status Unknown

1. *+**Ma Shaofang**, a native of Jiangdu County, Wujian Township, Jiangsu Province, was picked up by the police in Tianjin on March 6 and transferred to Nanjing, the Jiangsu provincial capital. There has been no further word as to his whereabouts. A former student at the Beijing Film Academy, Ma has been in custody three times since he turned himself in to authorities in June 1989 after he was named tenth on the "most wanted" list after the Tiananmen Square crackdown.

2. A Chinese student who tried to lay a floral wreath in Tiananmen Square on *Qingming*, April 5, 1994, was immediately taken away by armed police. *Qingming* or tomb-sweeping day, is a traditional Chinese festival during which graves are cleaned and the dead honored. It has become a politically sensitive day in China. Families have even been prohibited from burning incense out of officials' fear that accompanying laments could turn into anti-government slogan chanting. The student's name is not known.

Briefly Detained and Released

1. *+**Xu Wenli**, the former Democracy Wall activist who was released in May 1993 after serving twelve years of a fifteen-year sentence, was held for questioning three times between February and April, most recently from April 7 to 12. According to the Foreign Ministry, Xu was accused of violating his parole. Police in Beijing seized him on April 7, held him for twenty-four hours, released him for five minutes and detained him again, supposedly for another twenty-four hours. After the April 12 release, Xu told his family via telephone not to expect him for another day or two but did not explain why. He reportedly did return to Beijing. Between the two arrest incidents, Xu's wife, Kang Tong, was manhandled by the police and physically prevented from meeting foreign journalists interested in interviewing her about her husband's detention. A hand was clapped over her mouth and she was forcibly dragged into her house. The reporters were briefly detained, questioned, and told they were in violation of Chinese law.

On or about February 26, Xu was questioned for some eight hours before being released. Like Wei Jingsheng (see above), Xu was a Democracy Wall activist and editor of the dissident journal *April Fifth Forum*. He publicly protested the arrests of Wei Jingsheng and fellow activist Liu Qing and was himself arrested in October 1981.

2. *+**Zhai Weimin**, twenty-three, held in solitary confinement in Yeshugou Prison, near Xinan in Henan Province, was released on March 29, 1994, the day friends and relatives set out in an attempt to see him. He is banned from returning to Beijing, and his political rights, due to be restored on September 13, have been suspended for an additional ninety-four days. Sent back to his hometown under police escort on March 7, Zhai managed to smuggle out a note saying, "I am being investigated by public security officers in Yeshugou. Estimate must wait at least three months until after June 4" (*Eastern Express*, March 29, 1994). On March 6, four men, two in uniform, jumped out of a red Volkswagen Santana, forced Zhai, who had been walking in Beijing's university district, into the car and drove off. That same evening, Zhai's girlfriend was called in for questioning and made to sign a statement about her relationship with him and about his activities in Beijing.

Zhai, ranked sixth on the Chinese government's list of "21 most wanted" students after the Tiananmen Square crackdown, went on the run in 1989, but was arrested in mid-1990 after he returned to Beijing and told reporters about his underground organization, the *Democratic Front for the Salvation of China*. He served three-and-a-half years in Qincheng Prison near Beijing and Henan Provincial Prison No.1 on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement."

3. +**Liu Nianchun**, a worker and veteran activist, and one of the principal sponsors of the *League for the Protection of the Rights of the Working People*, was released on March 18, 1994 after a day in custody at a local Beijing police station, but as of late April, remained under virtual house arrest. At one point, as many as thirty security people surrounded his apartment house to make certain he did not leave and to monitor his visitors. And on April 7, Liu was warned he would be re-arrested if he did not comply with the order to stay home. Three foreign journalists who tried to talk with him in March were detained briefly. Liu's bid to formally register the League as an unofficial union with the Ministry of Civil Affairs failed.

A participant in the Democracy Wall movement, the forty-six-year-old Liu became one of six editors of the unofficial literary magazine, *Today*, closed down by the authorities at the end of 1979. In 1981, Liu started a three-year prison term on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" for writing and publishing articles that appeared in Taiwan and Hong Kong discussing the case of his imprisoned brother, Liu Qing. He also had given his brother's prison manuscript to foreign journalists. During the 1989 Democracy Movement, Liu Nianchun took part in demonstrations, and he was one of the original signers of the "Peace Charter" in October 1993. In November 1993, he was held for five days.

4. *+**Bao Ge**, a Shanghai dissident, was picked up as he left home on April 16, 1994 and released that afternoon. A week earlier, on April 9, he had been roughed up by some ten policemen when he refused to leave his home. Taken into custody, he was released some twenty-four hours later and ordered to stay at home. Six plainclothes men were stationed outside his door to ensure compliance. The incident took place in advance of the visit of French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur. During his detention, Bao was questioned about a petition signed by fifty-four Shanghai activists and sent to the National People's Congress during their March meeting. The nineteen-point "Blueprint for the Political Democratization of the State and Society in 1994," demanded democratic change including constitutional amendments to introduce a multi-party system, a free press and independent unions, and an official review of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, an end to legal measures against counterrevolutionaries, and reforms in the penal system including abolishment of "re-education through-labor." In an attempt to extend the movement, copies of the petition, signed by intellectuals, academics, artists, peasants, workers, and private businessmen, were sent by mail to intellectuals in China's larger cities. Wang Fuchen and Yang Zhou (see below), were connected with the same petition drive.

Bao, who had been leading a battle for compensation from Japan for wartime crimes against China and had written an open letter to then Japanese Prime Minister Hosokawa, was detained earlier, on March 21, 1994, and held for twenty-four hours during Hosokawa's visit to Shanghai. Plainclothes police had shadowed him continuously for several days, warning that he "would have to take responsibility for whatever happened" to him unless he ceased protesting. (See below for further information on anti-Japanese protests).

A teacher and researcher at the Shanghai Medical School, Bao had also been picked up in a round-up of Shanghai activists on March 3-4 (see below, Yang Zhou) and in June 1993 had been held briefly for participating in a

hunger strike (see below, Yang Qinheng). On October 19, 1993, he was informed by his superiors at school that he was being suspended from his duties for a three-month period, ostensibly because of a lack of teaching work. It is not known whether he has been reinstated.

5. *+**Wang Fuchen** was last detained on April 9, 1994 in connection with the visit of French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur. He returned home the next day to find his telephone line cut. During his time in detention, Wang reportedly was beaten for some twenty minutes by three plainclothes policemen. The day before, on April 8, he had been briefly detained for questioning about a petition by Shanghai activists to the National People's Congress (see Bao Ge, above). A month earlier, on the morning of March 11, he had been picked up for questioning by two plainclothesmen. Later that day, he revealed that he was being held in a hotel and would be "unavailable" for the next few days. Three days later, March 14, he was released. Wang was one of seven Shanghai dissidents who in March 1993 formally applied to register an unofficial human rights group with the city authorities (see Yang Zhou, below). The thirty-nine-year-old Wang, twice imprisoned, is a signer of the "Blueprint for Political Democratization" (see Bao Ge above). He is also Secretary General of the *Shanghai Human Rights Association*, whose application for legal status was rejected by Shanghai authorities in April 1994 because it was not a "mass organization." The application had been pending for over a year. Association leaders were told that to be recognized, the new body had to affiliate with an organization such as the government controlled All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

6-11. *+**Yang Zhou**, detained four times between March 1-17, 1994, was detained again on April 16 for several hours; and a week earlier, on April 9, he was held briefly (see Bao Ge, above). Part of a group of Shanghai-based activists rounded up by police on March 3-4, 1994 during a visit to Shanghai by John Shattuck, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, he was released within twenty-four hours. The others, including *+**Yang Qinheng**, *+**Gong Xingnan**, +**Dai Xuezhong**, *+**Han Lifa**, and +**Ma Wei**, also were released within a day. Only Bao Ge (see above) was held two days. On March 4, just as he was expected at a meeting with Shattuck, Yang Zhou found his home surrounded by plainclothes police. Later that same day, uniformed police entered the house and took him to a local police station. He said he was warned then that there would be harsher action taken against him if he continued his dissident activities.

Dai Xuezhong and Ma Wei, the only members of the group not listed in *Detained in China and Tibet*, were detained in Shanghai on March 4, 1994 and held for about twenty-four hours. Other than that they are local Shanghai activists, there is no information available about either of them.

12. *+**Wang Dan**, twenty-four, left Beijing "hastily" on March 11, 1994 at the "repeated persuasion of friends" and "of his own volition" to prevent graver consequences for other dissidents. He reportedly "chose the place [Xiamen] and means of travel himself." ***Zhou Duo**, who helped negotiate the withdrawal of students from Tiananmen Square on June 3-4, 1989 and was subsequently arrested, and ***Min Qi**, formerly a researcher at the Social and Economic Sciences Research Institute who was never arrested but claimed he was forced to live as a social outcast because of his pro-democracy activities, accompanied Wang. The movements of all three were closely monitored during their enforced vacation. With government permission, they returned to Beijing on March 16. A day or two later, Zhou and Min, together with ***Liu Xiaobo**, who also was one of the last to leave Tiananmen Square the night of June 3-4, were subject to six hour of questioning in relation to a letter sent to the Public Security Bureau on March 17. On March 29, a cordon of police in the reception area of Wang's apartment house prevented his attendance at a party to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the imprisonment of Wei Jingsheng (see above). Invitations to some 200 1989 pro-democracy activists to help celebrate Wang's own birthday party on February 27 were rescinded on orders of the authorities.

Despite the fact that Wang's political rights were restored on February 16, he was warned that he would be further investigated regarding pieces he had written for the overseas media. Then in March 1994, he was picked up three times, once on March 2 for some twenty-four hours, on March 8 for one hour and again on March 9. The first time, he was urged to leave Beijing but refused. The second time, police took him from his home in Beijing and threatened him with reimprisonment and harsh treatment if he persisted in his pro-democracy activities. In an interview with *ABC Television* about the sweep against dissidents, he had said, "If the government continues their widespread arrests then we will at least have to engage in collective protest." Wang also disclosed that the public security officers gave him five "strongly worded" warnings during his interrogation. He was told:

1. Your words and deeds have overstepped the limit set by rules and regulations for a socialist citizen.
2. The rules and regulations require every socialist citizen to uphold the socialist system and no citizens or organizations are allowed to oppose the socialist system.
3. Some of your words are groundless and sheer fabrication. You must pay the price if what you say tarnishes the country's image.
4. China is a sovereign country and no interference in its internal affairs is allowed.
5. You have violated the criminal law. If you do it again, you will be punished without leniency.

Wang reportedly replied that he would hold to his own views and accept the consequences. On March 10, Wang announced he was starting an open and legal campaign for human rights, then delivered an open letter to the National People's Congress (see Section VI) urging them to discuss human rights and claiming that "upholding human rights is not subverting the government's powers."

13. **+Ma Wendu** was picked up on March 6, 1994 and held in Beijing until March 8. During his detention, he was asked about the "Peace Charter" and warned to watch his behavior. According to unconfirmed reports, Ma was an associate of Wei Jingsheng during the Democracy Wall period and received a lengthy sentence for his activities at that time. He also was involved in the 1989 pro-democracy movement.

14-16. On March 18, some 100 Sino-Japanese war victims were detained for attempting to peacefully protest outside the Japanese Embassy in Beijing. On March 20, they were released from police custody to authorities from their home provinces, and reportedly were to be sent home "later." Only the names of three protestors are known: **Tong Zeng**, a researcher who had been leading the movement for compensation in Beijing as head of the unofficial "Victims of Japanese War Crimes Reparations Committee," who was arrested from his home on March 18 and released on March 22; **Gao Xiongfei**, an associate professor from Zhejiang Education College; and **Gao Minke**, an 82-year old hospital worker from Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province. On March 21, some 500 intellectuals circulated a petition demanding the immediate release of all involved.

17. **Gao Hongmin**, a government employee, underwent four hours of questioning on March 21 before being released and permitted to return to work. He had been grabbed by security agents and thrust into a car after visiting the office of a western television network to show them copies of a leaflet he planned to distribute in Tiananmen Square. The flyer called for a free market economy, gradual steps toward democracy, and a reversal of the official verdict of "counterrevolutionary rebellion" applied to the 1989 pro-democracy movement.

18. ***+Qian Yumin**, thirty-four, was held from March 2-5, 1994 by police attached to the railway ministry. In an interview at his home after his release, he said he was warned to put China's national interest above all and that "there were things better left unsaid." He told the police that all his actions, including signing the Peace Charter, were done in the country's interest. Qian, a railway worker and leading member of the outlawed Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation, and a signatory of the Peace Charter, has been detained four times since May 1989.

19. ***Shao Jiang**, twenty-four, was detained on March 2, 1994 in Beijing and released after twenty-four hours. Ten days later, on March 12, he wrote an open letter to the Chinese leadership calling for press freedom, release of political detainees, and respect for the rights of China's citizens. Deng Xiaoping, President Jiang Zemin, Premier Li Peng, and delegates to the National People's Congress were all sent copies. A student leader during the 1989 pro-democracy movement, and a mathematics major at Beijing University before his arrest and expulsion, Shao was detained from September 1989 to February 1991. As of May 1993, Shao was working as a salesman in a computer company in Guangzhou.

20. ***Liao Yiwu**, thirty-four, a poet from Chongqing and a member of the Sichuan Branch of the Writers' Association, Sichuan Province, who was released on January 31, 1994 by the Dachuan City Intermediate People's Court after serving most of his four-year term, was detained for eight hours on April 2, 1994. He allegedly was the intended recipient of a package of pro-democracy materials mailed within China by an "overseas contact."

21. **Xin(g) Hong**, taken from her home by eight policeman on March 12 after she wrote a letter to the national legislature supporting direct elections and human rights, was released after a day in custody. Despite her release, she was told she would have to report all her activities to the police. At the time she was seized, her home was searched and several documents confiscated. In the days before she was picked up, Xing spoke with several foreign journalists including a Dutch reporter who was later questioned. Other than that Xin(g) is a friend of Zhai Weimin (see above), no further information about her is available.

22. **Bei Ling** (also known as **Huang Beiling**), a Chinese poet holding a U.S. green card, was detained in Shenzhen for three days of intense questioning before being allowed to leave China on January 26, 1994. Some 1,000 copies of *Tendencies (Qingxiang)*, an underground Chinese literary and humanities quarterly which is an independent cooperative effort between Chinese living abroad and those in China, were confiscated. After copies of the first edition of the magazine, printed in Hongkong in December, ran out, a second run was reproduced in Shenzhen. As publisher and editor-in-chief, Bei was queried about the magazine's financing, its allegedly counterrevolutionary contents and reputedly "underground" editors and writers, and about his own activities while in China. This had been Bei Ling's first trip back to China since his 1988 departure.

23-29. Seven missionaries, among them three Americans, **Dennis Balcombe**, **Daughin Chan**, and **Paul Star**; two Indonesians, **Bambang** and **Ina Yang**; and two from Hongkong, **Kok Fai Kwok** and **May Chong**, accused of "conducting illegal religious activity," in violation of a new government regulation effective January 31, 1994, were detained on February 11 in Henan Province, held four days and released. It is not clear if the three local Chinese in the group, *Zhang Yongliang, forty-three; Tian Mingge, fifty-nine; and Zheng Xintai, thirty-nine, remain in custody. As of February 11, they were still being held. Zhang Yongliang had been imprisoned at least twice before. The foreigners had to sign a statement admitting they had come to Henan to visit Christian friends and happened upon a Christian New Year's meeting at which they "gave out a few innocent pamphlets about the Bible and prayer" (*New York Times*, February 18, 1994). All ten, who had taken part at a large prayer gathering during Chinese New Year in a private house in the Tongzhuang village area of Fangcheng County, were asleep when "several dozen" policemen burst in. The three Chinese were separated from the others and according to those released, they heard screams coming from the kitchen where the three were held. One of the Hongkong Chinese claimed to have been beaten and pulled by the hair. The foreigners were taken to a guesthouse in Fangcheng reserved for interrogation. They were denied the right to contact their respective embassies or to have legal representation. After his release, Mr. Balcombe, pastor of the Revival Christian Church in Hongkong, said \$5000 in cash and additional property, including a video camera, a portable cassette player, and a laptop computer, had been confiscated, the total loss amounting to some \$12,500. He was told the money went for lodging expenses during interrogation and for the replacement cost of a car smashed during the arrest process. Balcombe, forty-eight, had his visa revoked. Ten young women also were reported to have been arrested in connection with the incident, but it is not known whether any remain in custody.

Under the new January 1994 central government "Regulations on the Administration of the Religious Activities of Foreigners" (Order No.144), foreigners may not set up religious organizations or offices, run religious places or schools, cultivate disciples or appoint clergy. Attendance at religious gatherings is permitted if the parties have been "properly invited."

30-32. *Father **Pei Ronggui**, *Bishop **Su Zhimin** and *Bishop **Jia Zhiguo** were released from detention in late January 1994 after having been held since early in the month. The three underground Catholics had met with and said Mass for a U.S. Congressman and other members of his delegation. Both bishops were picked up again in February, released again in mid-March and permitted to return to their duties. Bishop Jia, who is Secretary-General of the clandestine Bishops' Conference, was invited in for questioning on February 9 and taken to an unknown location; no further details about the other latest detentions were available. Bishop Su had been released on parole, date unknown, but was not free to move about. Father Pei was also on parole.

Restricted Movement And Surveillance

1-7. After seven leading intellectuals wrote "An Appeal to Perfect Our Country's Human Rights Situation" to President Zhang Zemin and to Chairman of the National People's Congress Qiao Shi on March 10, 1994, several were

placed under virtual house arrest. The eminent historian from the Chinese Academy of Sciences, seventy-four-year-old **Xu Liangying**, who translated Albert Einstein's works into Chinese, led the group in protesting against the detention of dissidents just prior to the arrival of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, and in appealing for an end to repression of free speech and for the release of all political prisoners. A *New York Times* reporter who tried to visit him on March 12 was prevented from entering by four uniformed Public Security officers. Surveillance eased temporarily after Christopher left China, but on April 7, Xu, who was involved in an earlier petition effort in February 1989, was prevented from taking an evening walk. On April 8, more than eight police officers were camped outside his home.

Ding Zilin and **Jiang Peikun**, philosophy professors at People's University whose son was killed during the crackdown in Beijing on June 3-4, 1989, were also confined at home for two weeks, their telephone line disconnected, their students and associates monitored. Twenty police and campus security guards, including members of the State Security Ministry, the National People's Congress Security Department, and the Family Dependents Commission, kept watch. Even when Ding suffered a stress-induced heart attack, she was "accompanied" to the hospital by security personnel. The other signatories of the March 10 petition included **Shao Yanxiang**, a poet; **Zhang Kangkang**, a writer; **Lu Liao**, a physicist; and Xu's wife, the historian **Wang Laili**.

Ding was repeatedly interrogated, then removed from her teaching position for campaigning for release of the names of those killed in connection with the events of June 3-4 and for compensation to their families. Her husband, who spoke out on *Voice of America*, was investigated. His students and colleagues were pressured to denounce him, and the government ordered closed the aesthetics program he headed.

8. Father **Li Zhixin**, a thirty-eight-year-old Catholic priest in Xining, the capital of Qinghai, has been a prime target of a crackdown on religious groups, according to his own report. Following Muslim protests in the province in the fall of 1993, "an order was sent down for rectification of all religious groups in Qinghai" (*South China Morning Post*, March 8, 1994). Since then, Father Li, branded a counterrevolutionary, has been watched by local police and by agents of the State Security Bureau. He has been warned to stop celebrating mass and ordered to hand over all money collected from followers. In November 1993, he barely escaped detention when police raided a convent where he had just celebrated Mass. Another priest was arrested and five nuns returned to their homes in handcuffs. In the spring of 1993, Father Li, a priest since 1982, was detained in Jiangsu Province, during which time he was repeatedly interrogated and mistreated.

Released

1. ***WANG Juntao**, sentenced in 1991 as one of the black hands behind the 1989 pro-democracy movement, was released on medical parole on April 22, 1994 and left immediately for treatment in the U.S.

2. ***Xiao Bin**¹ forty-six, an aluminum window salesman from Dalian. Liaoning Province sentenced to ten years' in prison for publicly discussing the number of deaths and injuries in Beijing on June 3-4, 1989, was released on parole on February 2, 1994. According to the Chaoyang City Intermediate People's Court, parole after only four-and-a-half years resulted from Xiao's good behavior in prison.

3. ***Ding Junze**, formerly a philosophy lecturer at Shaanxi University, sentenced in June 1992 to a twelve-year term, was released on medical parole on February 2, 1994. The fifty-two-year-old Ding is severely ill from heart disease.

4. ***Zheng Xuguang**, twenty-six, was released in Xi'an on February 26, 1994 after being arrested in early December 1993 for his involvement with the "Peace Charter." No charges were filed against him during the three months he was held. Earlier, Zheng, No.9 on the 1989 "most-wanted" student list, served a two-year term in connection with his pro-democracy activities.

5. ***Li Jiayao**, thirty-one, was released from Chek Li Prison in Guangdong on March 9, 1994, six months before his sentence expired. For every day he hauled ten tons of stones from a quarry instead of the requisite nine, his sentence was reduced by one day. Li had been sentenced on May 1992 to three years' hard labor for distributing bibles and religious material obtained from overseas.

6. *Dr. Philip H. **Cheng Wai-wo**, an American-Chinese businessman, detained by the Changsha (Hunan Province) Eastern District Court on August 26, 1993, was finally permitted to return to Hongkong on March 24, 1995. The Hunan Intermediate Court determined that he had been wrongly arrested. Dr. Cheng plans to file two counter charges, a criminal charge against two Changsha judges for "illegal detention" and withholding his U.S. passport, and a civil suit against his Chinese business partner for economic losses. The sixty-two-year-old former head of the Journalism and Communications Department of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, had been held incommunicado in Hunan for six days. The head of the detention center was the brother-in-law of Dr. Cheng's partner. After Dr. Cheng was conditionally released, he was forbidden to leave Changsha until October, when through intervention by the U.S. Embassy, he was permitted to go to Zhuhai. As chairman of Zhuhai Golex, a bicycle-helmet factory, Dr. Cheng had been accused by his partner, the Hunan Arts and Crafts Import-Export Company, of misappropriating funds. They demanded the return of their \$165,000 investment. Despite his willingness to return the money, he was arrested from a hotel room in Changsha. At one point, Dr. Cheng was offered his passport back on condition he forget his "ordeal" and pledge not to sue. He refused.

IV. THIRTY-ONE PROTESTANTS SENT TO LABOR CAMP

Human Rights Watch/Asia (HRW/Asia) has obtained the names, sentences and places of imprisonment of thirty-one members of the Duoyigou (Shandong Province) branch of the Jesus Family, an indigenous Protestant sect. Most are doing hard labor in a mining operation known for a high rate of industrial accidents. Only three of the names were known in June 1993 and February 1994 when HRW/Asia, in its accounts of the Chinese government's repression of religious freedom, reported on the May-June 1992 crackdown against Jesus Family congregants.¹¹ At that time, the Public Security Bureau broke up a sect meeting, arrested participants, and bulldozed the church building. They also confiscated furniture, long-haired rabbits raised by the group, and cobblers' tools through which members earned a living. At the time of the initial accounts, it was reported that in September 1992, the local sect's top leaders were handed stiff prison sentences, and an additional group of church members were arrested and sentenced, all on charges of holding illegal religious gatherings, leading a "collective life," disturbing the

¹¹ See *Continued Religious Repression in China*, Asia Watch, June 1993 and *Detained in China and Tibet*, Asia Watch, February 1994.

social order, resisting arrest, and beating up police. The latter charge probably referred to an attempt on May 21, 1992 by a crowd of believers to prevent their church from being razed.

As reported, **ZHENG Yunsu**, the local leader, was sentenced to twelve years in prison. He is serving his sentence in a labor camp near Jinan, the provincial capital. His four sons are imprisoned in the Duoyigou region. His oldest son, **ZHENG Jipin**, and his third son, **ZHENG Jike**,¹² were, as previously reported, sentenced to nine years' imprisonment. The names of Zheng Yunsu's two other sons who, as reported earlier, received five-year terms, are **ZHENG Ji-e** and **ZHENG Jiyong**.

Twenty-five others are still imprisoned. Eight men and seven women are serving three-year "re-education through labor" sentences; all are working in mines. Ten women received two-year re-education sentences; one other, who received a one-year re-education sentence, has been released (see Appendix I).

There are a total of sixty labor reform detachments in Shandong Province. Some are *laojiao* and house those serving administrative sentences (re-education through labor); and some are *laogai*, labor camps for those sentenced by the courts. In addition, there are at least four high-security prisons (*jianyu*) and a juvenile offenders institute. The total convicted prisoner population for the province is unknown, but the compilation of incomplete official statistics from several municipalities suggests that the figure is in the region of 70,000 to 80,000 persons. In addition, there is an unknown number of pre-trial detainees and those awaiting re-education sentences.

Each of Shandong's prisons, labor reform camps, and labor re-education centers is a forced labor enterprise whose output is important to the economic viability of the province. Many facilities run highly successful export operations; some have done so for over thirty years. They have "exported machinery, steel forging, printing, mining and construction equipment and materials, and also meat, eggs, bristles, hides, oil and other agricultural products, to a total of eighty-one countries and regions in five different continents."¹³

According to information received by HRW/Asia, Zheng Yunsu is held at the Shengjian Motor Factory. Most probably that name refers to the Shengjian Motorcycle Factory which produces the Shandong Model 750cc Motorcycle. There is a large *laogai* mining center at Huancheng at the southern tip of Shandong near the border with Jiangsu and Anhui provinces. Zheng Yunsu's four sons are at work there. Zheng Jipin is assigned to the Daizhuang Labor Reform Detachment; Zheng Ji-e and Zhang Jiyong are at the Qiwu Labor Reform Detachment which was honored by the Ministry of Justice with the prestigious title of Ministry Level Standardized Mine; and Zheng Ji-ke is at Sanhekou Labor Reform Detachment. Daizhuang and Sanhekou were each awarded the title National Advanced Safety Production Collective.¹⁴

¹² Note name corrections.

¹³ *Shandong Nianjian*, 1988, World Knowledge Publishing House, Beijing, February 1989, p.301.

¹⁴ *Shandong Yearbook*, 1989, p.343.

The Shandong Province No.1 Labor Education Center, commonly known as the "August 3rd Shengjian Plant," is where most of the Jesus Family members from Duoyigou are held. The facility is primarily involved in the manufacture of graphite electrodes and the mining of a rare type of calcinated hard-grog (flint) clay (*jiaobaoshi*) for export to Japan, the U.S. and other markets.¹⁵ According to a December 1989 official PRC publication, the enterprise, which housed 2,636 "workers" in 1989, is highly profitable. Two "research institutes" attached to the "August 3rd Plant" had by 1989 "developed twenty-one key products which were produced nowhere else in China." Together with the production facilities, they played a crucial high-technology role in the development of China's military-industrial complex.¹⁶ The Ministry of Justice was so pleased with the operations at the "August 3rd Plant" that it was designated a model for re-education units throughout China.

The profitability of the plant, however, was insured by the treatment of its inmates. A former prisoner, now in the U.S., has attested to conditions there, including the exhausting work, the numerous industrial accidents, rudimentary medical care, and the beating of prisoners who failed to meet production quotas or who were insubordinate.

There is another large mining operation in Zibo Municipality, the Shandong Province Hutian Shengjian Coal Mine, located in the Zhangdian District of Zibo. It is possible that some Jesus Family members are held there rather than at the "August 3rd Plant."

Although it is known that the two Jesus Family members held in Jining are at work in the mines, it is unclear to which *laojiao* they are attached. Other than the mines near Huancheng, there are at least two other facilities in Jining, the Shandong Labor Re-education Center which produces prefabricated cement items and cardboard boxes and does casting work, and the Shandong Jining Labor Reform Detachment which does not appear to be a *laojiao* facility and about which there is no other available information.

According to a HRW/Asia source, the situation in Duoyigou was still tense at the end of March 1994. The church building and the place where members of the Jesus Family, some of whom live communally, lived and worked are in ruins. Meetings of the sect are officially forbidden. Members have been ordered not to participate in common meals even within a single household.

V. TRIAL IN GANSU

Four young men from Lanzhou University, Gansu, accused of "organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary group" known as the Social-Democratic Party of China (SDPC), were awaiting sentencing in early April after having been tried and convicted by the Lanzhou Intermediate People's Court on July 30, 1993. Human Rights Watch/Asia obtained a copy of the indictment against **Liu Wensheng, Liu Baiyu, Gao Changyun** and **Ding Mao**, attached as Appendix II. Five others indicted with them, **Zhang Jian, Lu Yanghua, Li Xing, Shen Zijun, and Yang Jianxi**, are also believed to have been tried. Of the five, "four were placed under surveillance at home" and one was released on bail pending trial." Other members of the party, all of whom were referred to in the indictment and who may have been tried include **Rao Kezhi, Liu Bo, Du Jiangtao, Xu Zhisong, Du Kekuan, Xu Zhendong, Li Gewei, Yang Kui, Liu Huixiang, Guo Dansheng, Lu Gang**² and **Li Chaohui**. The whereabouts of three others, reportedly arrested in April and May 1992 for their membership in the SDPC, **Xing Shimin, Lu Yalin** and **Cao Jianyu**, are unknown.

As of March 4, 1994, Liu Wensheng, Ding Mao and Cao Changyun were being held in the Lanzhou Detention Center (*Lanzhou Xiguoyuan Kanshousuo*), Branch No.11. Liu Baiyu was held in Yuzhong County in Gansu. All four men reportedly were tortured. They were permitted court-appointed defense lawyers, but at least one defendant refused to use his assigned lawyer because he found the latter had done no work to prepare a defense. Family members reportedly have seen the defendants only once, at their trials.

It is noteworthy that authorization for the arrest of one leader, Liu Wensheng, came as early as November 1,

¹⁵ "A discussion of product management in labor re-education industrial production," in *Theoretical Studies in Labor Reform and Labor Re-education (Laogai Laojiao Lilun Yanjiu)*, No.2 1989, pp.42-45.

¹⁶ See footnote No.5.

1991, even though he was not picked up until April, 26, 1992. At least twenty SDPC members were detained at about the same time. Formal arrests came in August 1992. Although the Public Security Bureau worked quickly, by the time of the indictments on December 29, 1992, many of the detainees' time in "shelter and investigation," a form of administrative detention designed for investigation of those whose "real identities are unclear" or those who "roam around from place to place committing crimes," exceeded the authorized three-month limit. In fact, not one of the defendants in the indictment fits any of the requirements in the 1980 State Council proclamation, Document No.56, for being taken into shelter and investigation. For example, the identities of all were clearly known to the police, and they were local people.

The indictments set out in detail the so-called counterrevolutionary activities in which the nine defendants allegedly engaged. In addition to being charged with setting up a counterrevolutionary organization, they were accused of "viciously attacking the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system, claiming that 'the Chinese people have lost the basis for obtaining freedom, justice, and equal rights'"; "plotting to hook up with enemy forces outside the country"; recruiting members; and "printing and distributing counterrevolutionary documents." One group member was charged with "hiding a counterrevolutionary propaganda tool," a Stone MS-2403 typewriter.

VI. HUMAN RIGHTS PRESSURE FROM WITHIN

As the Chinese government does its best to combat international human rights pressure, it faces more and more pressure from its own citizens, as evidenced by the number of public appeals that appeared in March. Some of these were described in the Human Rights Watch/Asia report, "New Arrests Linked to Worker Rights." Three others appear here. Wang Dan, No.1 on the government's "most wanted" student list, released on parole in February 1993, has continued to speak out about human rights; Shao Jiang, a member of the Standing Committee of the Beijing Student's Autonomous Federation, released from prison in February 1991, has been prevented from continuing his schooling. The letter from the seven senior intellectuals is their first joint public statement on the issue of human rights.

1. An Appeal from Wang Dan

Respectful Representatives,

According to the constitution of the People's Republic of China, a Chinese citizen has a right to hold opinions and make suggestions to government agencies. As an ordinary citizen of the People's Republic of China, I am writing to you for your reference, some of my opinions about some domestic political issues.

I support the reform and open door policy of the Chinese government, and recognize that the Chinese people's living standard in comparison with the past, has generally improved. Precisely for the above reasons, I think the problem of the "right of survival" has been solved in today's China and the protection of the political rights and the fundamental human rights of every individual should be on the agenda of this meeting. Respecting human rights is the obligation of a socialist country, but it is undeniable that there are problems in the process of implementing those rights. I do not deny that I hold different opinions than the government on many aspects of human rights. I am not imposing my own view on the government. I am only hoping that the government respects its own law in practice, and ensures the legal rights of Chinese citizens (including those who are in prison). I am willing to [declare] openly my own activities: I will do investigatory work on some individual rights violations cases in my personal capacity. With permission from victims and their families, I also will take on their cases and negotiate with the relevant authorities, and if the problems are not solved, I will make appeals and publicize those cases openly and legally. All of my activities are based on the two following principles: 1. that they will be within the existing law; 2. that they will be conducted openly.

Respectful representatives, I would also like to take this opportunity to express my basic position about human rights. To continue the economic reform and to maintain society's stability are the main theme of your conference. It is also mine and the government's common desire. I think, that to maintain social stability and to promote human rights are not conflicting interests. Furthermore, to protect human rights is to follow people's will, and at the same time to improve China's image in the world. This is a very important precondition for ensuring social stability. I understand that to promote human rights and democracy is a gradual process. I am not asking the government do anything immediately, but rather not do something, such as stopping the massive violation of human rights. I think this fits in with the primary

development period of socialism. It can be done now.

I want to emphasize the following:

The democracy movement is not an anti-government movement.
To protect human rights is not to overthrow the government.

Everything I do for individual rights abuse cases is from my humanitarian concern and belief in fundamental human rights. My ultimate goal is to promote the stability of society as well as democratic development. What I will do is to focus on the specific problems rather on the government. I hope my goodwill will be understood by all of you and by the government. In the meantime, I am responsible for all my actions.

I do understand that in the current political environment, to hold a dissident opinion involves risk. I am prepared to be cracked down on by the security bureau or other governmental agencies. But I have no regrets. I believe in what I do is for justice. It is consistent with the three principles I committed myself to just after I was released from prison in February 1993. Those three principles are: not let down the people, history and my own conscience.

My sincere hope for a successful meeting!

Wang Dan
March 10, 1994

2. Appeal from seven Chinese intellectuals

AN APPEAL TO PERFECT OUR COUNTRY'S HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION

Lately there have been many incidents in which people have been arrested or detained in Beijing and Shanghai for interrogation because of their ideas and their exercise of free speech. World public opinion has reacted strongly. People of insight who are concerned with the fate of the nation and who are dedicated to the cause of our country's modernization are shocked, upset and worried.

In looking at history, we find that modern civilization began when humans awoke to eliminating the ideological confinement of ancient and medieval dictatorship, and to becoming aware that humans should have independent personalities and dignity and enjoy inalienable and inviolable basic rights, the first of which is freedom of ideas and speech.

To talk about modernization without mentioning human rights is like climbing a tree to catch a fish. Two hundred and five years ago, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man stated clearly that being ignorant, neglectful and disdainful of human rights is the sole cause of the general public's misfortunes and corruption in government. China's history and reality have verified that longstanding truth.

In the 1940s, with the victory over the fascists, it became common thinking for people the world over to seek diligently and to safeguard human rights. In 1948 the United Nations adopted the Declaration of Universal Human Rights, which said:

- * Everybody enjoys life, freedom and personal safety.
- * Nobody shall carry out unreasonable arrests, detentions and deportations.
- * Everybody has the right to freedom of ideas, conscience and religion.
- * Everybody has the right to enjoy the freedom of advocacy and expressions of views.

China was a founder of the United Nations and is a member of the Security Council. It should be a pioneer in abiding by all United Nations conventions instead of a target of international blame because of the issue of domestic

human rights.

For this reason, we appeal to the authorities to bravely end our country's history of punishing people for their ideas, speeches and writings, and release all those imprisoned because of their ideas and speeches.

We believe that only after human rights are respected and all rights of citizens are secured will society achieve true stability. Otherwise contradictions will intensify, causing unmanageable turmoil.

Xu Liangying, Wang Laili, Ding Zilin
Jiang Peikun, Shao Yanxiang
Liu Liao, Zhang Kangkang
March 10, 1994

3. Appeal from Shao Jiang

AN APPEAL TO THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Dear People's Representatives:

Despite some development in the economy in the last few years, there are many problems and potential crises. Corruption is getting worse everyday. Crime and moral corruption have significantly increased. Unbalanced development between the coastal areas and the Chinese hinterlands are causing the migration of unemployed people. As a consequence, there are many social problems. The majority of the state-owned enterprises are experiencing losses and the unemployed population is growing. Inflation in the cities is very bad. The peasants are overloaded [with fees and taxes] and the ethnic and religious problem is getting worse. I think a good social environment is very important for the current situation and for the future of China.

1. Give a just, objective explanation about those who died in the "June 4th" event.
2. Grant a nationwide amnesty to those imprisoned just because they expressed their thoughts.
3. Stop persecuting the dissidents. Guarantee those people's basic human rights.
4. Repeal those items which treat freedom of speech and freedom of thought as crimes under existing Chinese law.
5. Publicize the personal properties and real incomes of Party and national leaders.
6. Grant freedom of expression and freedom of information. Allow independent newspapers.
7. Hold dialogues with other groups inside and outside China who have different views on social, political, economic, environmental, legal, ethnic conflict, religious, consumer rights and war compensation issues.

To solve the above problems early is crucial for the development and stability of China. It also will be important to create a positive interaction between different sectors of society. We Chinese people have paid an enormous price in this century! Those who are producing terror are the real producers of social turmoil; they are the criminals within history and within China. It is the responsibility of every Chinese citizen to solve the problems through rational, peaceful means.

Shao Jiang
March 12, 1994

APPENDIX I: TABLE OF NAMES AND WHEREABOUTS OF JESUS FAMILY MEMBERS

JINAN

IMPRISONED

Name		Sentence
Zheng Yunsu	cCy d2p ?	12 years

HUANCHENG

IMPRISONED

Name		Sentence
Zheng Ji-e	cCy c4i c1n	5 years
Zheng Ji-ke	cCy c4i cJw	9 years
Zheng Jipin	cCy c4i cCm	9 years
Zheng Jiyong	cCy c4i bGk	5 years

WANGCUN, ZIBO

Name		Sentence
Chen Dayong	b4x aGv c1t	3 yrs re-education
Chen Xurong♀	b4x ? ?	3 yrs re-education
Fan Xueying♀	aLf cHf aLn	2 yrs re-education
Guo Ruben	bUy c8t aGi	3 yrs re-education
Hao Zhenxiang ?	a3g cle	3 yrs re-education
Li Qihua♀	a0e aLc aLg	3 yrs re-education
Liu Chuanling	cKz cOt cEb	3 yrs re-education
Liu Cuiling♀	cKz eGu cFo	3 yrs re-education
Liu Limin♀	cKz cJv d2g	2 yrs re-education
Liu Ping♀	cKz ?	2 yrs re-education
Lou Shuhua♀	? ? aIx	2 yrs re-education
Qin Xingcai♀	aGe cJb cMb	3 yrs re-education
Sun Faxia♀	b6g b4o cTd	2 yrs re-education
Sun Fuqin♀	b6g c9f aYb	2 yrs re-education
Sun Jingxiu♀	b6g bAn cIl	2 yrs re-education
Sun Zhifeng	b6g b3m aMo	3 yrs re-education
Wang Guiqin♀	aXk a8c aYb	3 yrs re-education
Wang Qinghua♀	aXk bXk aIx	2 yrs re-education
Wu Xiuling♀	b7g cTx cFo	3 yrs re-education
Xu Qinian♀	cUi aMc ali	3 yrs re-education
Zhang Hongxue	bJk c7i cHf	3 yrs re-education
Zhou Wenxia♀	bGm bQw cTd	2 yrs re-education
Zhu Peixiu♀	a0j b5n cIl	2 yrs re-education

RELEASED

Name

Liu Jing♀ cKz aBo 1 yr re-education

JINING

Name

Xu Jingbin cUi aMj ? 3 yrs re-education
Yang Chuanyuan a9o cOt aDq 3 yrs re-education

APPENDIX II: INDICTMENT IN THE GANSU CASE

Lanzhou Prosecution [Document] No.2 (1993)

Defendant Liu Wensheng, a.k.a. Lin Tao, Lin Jiong, and Lin Yi'ou, male, Han nationality, currently twenty-four years old, of Hanyang County, Hubei Province, university education, originally a student in the history department of Lanzhou University, family living at No.188, Jiefang [Liberation] Road, Yinchuan City, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region; arrest authorized by this Procuracy on November 1, 1991; captured by public security organs on April 26, 1992 for the crime of organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary group.

Defendant Liu Baiyu, a.k.a. Jiang Shan and Zheng Hua, male, currently twenty-five years old, Han nationality, of Ning County, Gansu Province, university education, unemployed prior to arrest, living at No.202, Mudan [Peony] Building, Lanzhou University; taken in for shelter and investigation [*shourong shencha*] on May 1, 1992; arrest for the crime of organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary group authorized by this Procuracy on August 14, 1992.

Defendant Gao Changyun, a.k.a. Hua Nan and Liu Nan, male, Han nationality, currently twenty-seven years old, university education, of Gongan County, Hubei Province, prior to arrest an instructor in the management science department of Lanzhou University, living at No.459, Student Building No.3, Lanzhou University; taken in for shelter and investigation on April 30, 1992; arrest for the crime of organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary group authorized by this Procuracy on August 13 of the same year.

Defendant Ding Mao, a.k.a. Li Lengping and Li Wen, male, Han nationality, currently twenty-five years old, of Pengxi County, Sichuan Province, university education, prior to arrest a student in the philosophy department of Lanzhou University, living at No.202, Mudan Building, Lanzhou University; exempted from prosecution by the Lanzhou City Chengguan District People's Procuracy on May 3, 1990 for the crime of gathering a crowd to disrupt traffic order;¹⁷ taken in for shelter and investigation on April 29, 1992; arrest for the crime of organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary group authorized by this Procuracy on August 13 of the same year.

Defendant Zhang Jian, a.k.a. Wu Wei, male, Han nationality, currently twenty-five years old, of Langzhong County, Sichuan Province, university education, a cadre in the Gansu Provincial Library, living at No.20, Ligong Alley, Chengguan District of this city; detained according to law on April 26, 1992; taken in for shelter and investigation on May 2 of the same year; released on the following July 29 and placed under surveillance at home.

Defendant Lu Yanghua, a.k.a. Zhou Bin, male, Han nationality, currently twenty-five years old, of Xiushui County, Jiangxi Province, university education, graduate student in the physics department of Lanzhou University, living at No.520, Graduate Student Building No.1, Lanzhou University; taken in for shelter and investigation on April 30, 1992; released on the following July 29 and placed under surveillance at home.

Defendant Li Xing, a.k.a. Su Limin, male, Han nationality, currently thirty-six years old, of Xi'an City, Shaanxi province, junior college education,¹⁸ lawyer at the Lanzhou City No.3 Lawyers' Office, living at No.45, Hongshan'gen No.1 Village, Chengguan District of this city; taken in for shelter and investigation on May 1, 1992; released on the following July 28; placed under surveillance at home on the following July 29.

¹⁷ Ding Mao was probably arrested in connection with the events of June 1990 under Article 159 of the *Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China*. "Exempt from prosecution" (*mian yu qisu*) is distinct from a decision not to prosecute (*bu qisu*). In the former case the prisoner does not go to trial, but he is considered guilty, has a criminal record and encounters all the attendant problems, such as dismissal from previous employment and loss of housing.

¹⁸ Junior college is a translation for *da zhuan*, a two or three-year post-secondary educational institution.

Defendant Shen Zijun, a.k.a. Bai Sen, Han nationality, currently twenty-seven years old, of Yongdeng County, Gansu Province, university education, no profession, living at Qi Li [Seven Mile] Village, Heqiao Town, Yongdeng County; sentenced to one year and six months' imprisonment on August 9, 1991 for the crimes of disrupting social order and gathering a crowd to disrupt traffic order;¹⁹ released on completion of sentence on August 8, 1991 [sic];²⁰ taken in for shelter and investigation on July 6, 1992 and released on August 27; free on bail pending trial since November 11 of the same year.

Defendant Yang Jianxi, a.k.a. Xu Kangtai, male, Han nationality, currently thirty-nine years old, of Tianshui City, Gansu Province, junior college education, no profession, living at No.333, Tielu Xin Cun [Railroad New Village], Chengguan District of this city; exempted from prosecution by the Lanzhou City Chengguan District People's Procuracy on April 12, 1990 for the crime of gathering a crowd to disrupt traffic order; placed under surveillance at home on November 11, 1992 for the crime of actively participating in a counterrevolutionary group.

The investigation of this case was completed by the Lanzhou City Public Security Bureau and submitted to this Procuracy for review and prosecution. Upon review it has been verified that the above defendants have committed the following crimes:

The defendants Liu Wensheng, Liu Baiyu, Gao Changyun, and Ding Mao from 1991 on secretly linked up and plotted to establish a counterrevolutionary organization, the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. From September 15, 1991 to March 26, 1992, the four defendants met secretly four times at the home of defendant Zhang Jian (No.20, Ligong Alley, No.313, Tianshui Road in this city) to hold sessions of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party* provisional executive committee and extraordinary sessions of its provisional committee.

[At these meetings] they established the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*, took minutes of the four meetings, and confirmed the establishment of a counterrevolutionary organizational structure: the "Provisional Committee of the Chinese Social Democratic Party," as well as a provisional executive committee and general secretary comprising the above four defendants. They established subordinate organs such as a secretariat, a department of organizational development, a department of economic work, a department of theory and propaganda, and a department of social mobilization. They formulated a ceremony for entering the party, a membership oath, aliases and numbers for party members, and measures for security and communications.

At the same time they concocted and printed up a counterrevolutionary program, the "Declaration of Principles and Policies of the Chinese Social Democratic Party," and other counterrevolutionary documents such as the "Provisional Organic Regulations of the Chinese Social Democratic Party," the "Provisional Work Regulations of the Chinese Social Democratic Party," "The Tasks of Members of the Chinese Social Democratic Party in the Current Stage," "Some Suggestions Concerning Organizational Development Under Present Circumstances," and "Supplementary Rules Concerning the `Provisional Organic Regulations of the Chinese Social Democratic Party,'" which confirmed the nature, purpose, principles, goals, and tasks of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. They viciously attacked the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system, claiming that "under the system of one-party dictatorship by the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people have lost the basis for obtaining freedom, justice, and equal rights"; "the fundamental cause of the ever-increasing backwardness and decline of the Chinese people is the establishment of and continued grip on political power by the Chinese Communist Party"; the basic task of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party* is to "abolish one-party dictatorship of the Chinese Communist Party"; and "it is necessary as soon as possible to end the dictatorial rule of the Chinese Communist Party in China."

The defendants Liu Wensheng, Liu Baiyu, Gao Changyun, and Ding Mao also actively expanded their

¹⁹ See Article 158 of the *Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China*.

²⁰ Shen Zijun was probably sentenced in connection with the June 1989 pro-democracy movement. From the indictment it appears as if he was released before his sentence actually was officially pronounced. One possibility was that Shen was in some form of administrative detention and finally sentenced to a lesser term than the time he had already served.

organization. From September, 1991 to March, 1992 they recruited twenty-six persons into the *Chinese Social Democratic Party* in Gansu, Sichuan, and Henan, including Zhang Jian, Lu Yanghua, and Li Xing. They also plotted to hook up with enemy forces outside the country, concocting a "news release" announcing the establishment of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. In April 1992, defendant Liu Wensheng transmitted this [document] outside the country through a certain foreign reporter in Beijing, creating an extremely bad influence.

The defendant Liu Wensheng secretly linked up with Liu Baiyu, Gao Changyun, Ding Mao, and others; took an active part in plotting the establishment of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*; was a member of the Provisional Executive Committee and the head of the departments of organizational development and social mobilization; called and took part in meetings of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*; took part in formulating the minutes of two meetings of the said party; wrote the "Provisional Work Regulations"; added material to the "news release"; and from September, 1991 to March, 1992 recruited Zhang Jian, Yang Jianxi, Rao Kezhi and others into the party. In addition, he supplied a Stone MS-2403 typewriter to the party as a propaganda tool.

The defendant Liu Baiyu took an active part in plotting the establishment of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. He was a member of the Provisional Executive Committee and was the General Secretary and head of the Secretariat. In his capacity as General Secretary, he called meetings of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party* and drafted "The Tasks of Members of the Chinese Social Democratic Party in the Current Stage." He also amended and made additions to the "Provisional Organic Regulations" and other counterrevolutionary documents. From October 1991 to January 1992, he recruited Liu Bo, Du Jiangtao, Xu Zhendong and others into the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*.

The defendant Gao Changyun took an active part in plotting the establishment of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. He was a member of the Provisional Executive Committee and the head of the departments of theory and propaganda and of economic work. He drafted and printed the "Declaration of Principles and Policies of the Chinese Social Democratic Party" and took part in formulating the minutes of the first meeting of the said party. In addition, from October 1991 to 1992 he recruited Li Gewei, Yang Kui, Liu Huixiang and others into the party.

The defendant Ding Mao took an active part in plotting the establishment of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. He was a member of the Provisional Executive Committee and the head of the department of recommendations and plans. He wrote the "Provisional Organic Regulations of the Chinese Social Democratic Party," the "Provisional Work Regulations," and the "news release." In addition, he took part in the printing of some of the counterrevolutionary documents, formulated the minutes of four meetings of the said party, and made up the registry of party members' aliases and numbers, to wit, the "Registration Book of Employees of the Min Hua Company." From October, 1991 to March, 1992 he recruited ten persons into the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*, including Lu Yanghua, Li Xing, Shen Zijun, and Guo Yansheng. In November and December of 1991, he dispatched Guo Yansheng and Li Xing to Chengdu in Sichuan and Zhengzhou in Henan to recruit Lu Gang and Li Chaohui, and sent counterrevolutionary documents, instructing Lu and Li to take charge of organizational work in Sichuan and Henan respectively.

The defendant Zhang Jian acted as a liaison and made secret link-ups to aid the defendants Liu Wensheng, Liu Baiyu, Gao Changyun, Ding Mao, and others in plotting the establishment of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party* and organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary group. He made his residence a base for holding counterrevolutionary meetings, printing and distributing counterrevolutionary documents, hiding a counterrevolutionary propaganda tool, the Stone MS-2403 typewriter, and caching counterrevolutionary documents. From September 1991, he actively participated in the *Chinese Social Democratic Party* and was a member of its Provisional Executive Committee. He also recruited Xu Zhisong and Du Kekuan into the said party.

The defendant Lu Yanghua from November 1991 actively participated in the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. In early April 1991, he was appointed acting head of the department of organizational development by Liu Wensheng, and later wrote the counterrevolutionary document "Some Suggestions of the Chinese Social Democratic Party Concerning Organizational Development Under Present Circumstances."

The defendant Liu Xing in October 1991 actively participated in the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. In

November of the same year, having been dispatched by Ding Mao, he recruited Li Chaohui into the *Chinese Social Democratic Party* in Zhengzhou, Henan. He brought Li counterrevolutionary documents and transmitted Ding Mao's "instructions."

The defendants Shen Zijun and Yang Jianxi had previously been sentenced to imprisonment and exempted from prosecution respectively for the crimes of disrupting social order and assembling a crowd to disrupt traffic order, but with no thought of repentance, they again in March 1992 and December 1991 actively participated in the counterrevolutionary organization, the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*.

The above crimes are evidenced by [1] documentary evidence found with the defendants and others -- four copies of minutes of meetings of the *Chinese Social Democratic Party* as well as drafts and typewritten copies of the "Declaration of Principles and Policies," the "Provisional Organic Regulations," the "Provisional Work Regulations," "Tasks in the Current Stage," "Some Suggestions Concerning Organizational Development," "Supplementary Rules Concerning the Provisional Organic Regulations," the "news release," the "Registration Book of Employees of the Min Hua Company," etc.; [2] the physical evidence of the Stone MS-2403 typewriter and typewriter parts; and [3] the testimony of witnesses. The statement of each defendant in the record is corroboration. The facts are clear and the evidence is solid and complete.

The defendants Liu Wensheng, Liu Baiyu, Gao Changyun, and Ding Mao actively plotted and actively took part in plotting [sic] to establish, organize, and lead the counterrevolutionary organization, the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. They acted energetically to develop the organization. Their acts violated the provisions of Article 98²¹ of the *Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China* and constitute the crime of organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary group. The defendants Zhang Jian, Lu Yanghua, Li Xing, Yang Jianxi, and Shen Zijun actively participated in the counterrevolutionary organization, the *Chinese Social Democratic Party*. Their acts violated the provisions of Article 98 of the *Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China* and constitute the crime of actively participating in a counterrevolutionary group. The defendant Shen Zijun is a repeat offender. In order to uphold and consolidate the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system and to strike severe blows at counterrevolutionary elements, this Procuracy, in accordance with the provisions of Article 100 of the *Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China*, brings suit in this Court and requests judgment according to law.

Intermediate Level People's Procuracy, Lanzhou, Gansu

Procurator: Su Peiqin

[Seal reading "Gansu Province Lanzhou City People's Procuracy"]

December 29, 1992

Attachments:

1. Indictment, 20 copies
 2. Case file, 15 volumes
 3. Physical evidence -- see list
- [End of indictment]

²¹ Article 98 provides for a term of no less than five years fixed-term imprisonment for those who organize or lead a counterrevolutionary group; and no more than five years of "fixed term imprisonment, criminal detention, control or deprivation of political rights" for active participants in such an organization.

APPENDIX III: CASE UPDATES

UPDATES ON CASES FROM BEFORE FEBRUARY 1994

a. Sentenced

1. **Ma Deliang**, thirty-eight, a worker in a horticultural farm, was arrested in 1989 and sentenced to thirteen years in prison on two charges, counterrevolutionary organization and incitement. A resident of Hangzhou, Zhejiang, Ma was the founder of the *Labor and Democracy Party* in Hangzhou.
2. **Guan Jian**, a forty-five-year-old Beijing native, was sentenced to a twenty-year prison term and three years' subsequent deprivation of political rights for allegedly disclosing state secrets to outsiders and for spying. The first charge carried a fifteen-year sentence, the second a ten-year term, but five years were to run concurrently. According to a *Xinhua* report (April 29, 1993), Guan, formerly a journalist, stole the top-secret government documents in 1986 and sold them to a "foreign spy." The report also accused him of "working for a Taiwan-based spy network" for which he recruited others.
3. ***Zhou Shaowu** (also known as **Zhou Yigong**), a young worker from Anhui Province who was imprisoned after June 4, 1989 and again for over a month in 1992 for pro-democracy activities, was re-arrested on a train sometime between September 1993 and March 1994. He is serving an unknown prison term at the Yangzishan No.2 Labor Reform Unit in the Nanhu district of Xuanzhou Municipality, Anhui.
4. As of late 1993, **Long Jinping** was serving a five-year term in Yuanjiang Prison (Hunan Provincial No.1) on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement." During the June 4, 1989 period, he distributed "reactionary" materials and shouted out slogans including "Down with the Communist Party" and "The Communist party is worse than the nationalists" for which he was sentenced by the Xiangxi Autonomous District Court.

b. Re-tried and Sentences Extended

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Phuntsog Nyidron, a Michungri nun accused of being a ringleader in a demonstration on October 14, 1989, must now serve a total of seventeen years, eight years having been added to her original nine-year sentence. Before her arrest, she served in the semi-official position of chant mistress, leading daily prayers at her nunnery.

Two other Michungri nuns and two Garu nuns, originally sentenced on charges on counterrevolution on December 2, 1990, for disrupting a state-run festival on August 21, had their sentences lengthened. **Tenzin Thupten** had a five-year term increased by nine years, for a total of fourteen. **Lhundrup Sangmo** had a four year-term increased by five years for a nine-year total. **Gyaltsen Drolkar**, from Garu, probably had eight years added to an original four-year sentence for a total of twelve years. **Gyaltsen Choezom**, also from Garu, had a four-year sentence increased to nine years. There had been reports that at one time all three nuns had their original sentences reduced by a year, but those reductions probably have been cancelled. Alternate accounts for Lhundrup Sangmo and Gyaltsen Drolkar reported less stringent re-sentencings.

Ngawang Sandrol, also from Garu, arrested for demonstrating on June 17, 1992 probably had her three-year sentence increased to nine years, although another report said it had only been increased to six years.

Three of six nuns from Samdrup Drolma Lhakhang, a temple in a monastery called by the name of the local village, Toelung Nyengon, were each sentenced to five years' imprisonment for taking part in a demonstration on May 13, 1992. **Ngawang Tsamdrol** and **Ngawang Lochoe** must now serve ten years; and **Ngawang Choekyi**² had eight years added for a total term of thirteen years.

Jigme Yangchen and **Palden Choedron**, from Shungsep Nunnery, received seven-year terms for "shouting independence slogans" and demonstrating on October 1, 1990. They probably had their sentences increased to twelve years, although there are reports that Jigme Yangchen's sentence was increased only to ten years and Palden Choedron's original sentence may have been less than seven years and her total term may only be eight years.

Rigzin Choekyi¹, also from Shungsep, sentenced to a seven-year term for shouting slogans and demonstrating, either in 1989 or 1990, had a seven-year term increased probably to twelve years, although a second account recorded a three-year extension to ten years.

Namdrol Lhamo, no nunnery listed, arrested on May 12, 1992 and sentenced to six years for demonstrating, must now serve twelve years.

Ngawang Choezom, from Chubsang Nunnery arrested in connection with a demonstration on March 21, 1992, had a five-year term increased to eleven years.

c. Status Unknown

1. **Wang Xudan**, a student at Siping Teachers College, Jilin Province, and **Wu Dazhou**, a resident of Ma'an Township in Yintong County, Jilin, were arrested by Public Security Bureau officers in connection with two separate "reactionary poster-sticking incidents" around the time of the June 4, 1989 crackdown (*1989 Siping Yearbook*, p.577). There is no information about what subsequently became of either man.

2. ***Tenzin Dekyong** a novice nun from Michungri Nunnery, arrested March 13, 1993, may have been released after a few months' detention, according to one report. A pre-December 1993 account reported she was still imprisoned but not yet sentenced. Neither version can be confirmed.

d. Briefly Detained and Released

1. **LI Liping**, the wife of Fu Shenqi (see above), was detained in December 1993 for fifteen days for "contempt of court" for criticizing the Huangpu District Court's rejection of her husband's appeal against his re-education term.

e. Release Confirmed

1. The release of ***Ngawang Kyizom**, originally reported as presumed, has been confirmed. Formerly an Ani Tsangkhang nun, she has escaped to India.

2. ***Zhao Pinju**, who had been serving a thirteen-year sentence in Beijing No.2 Prison for allegedly stealing guns, carrying arms, and engaging in violence, was released on medical parole in mid-1993. He is at home in Beijing but ill health prevents him from work. Before his arrest, Zhao ran a small print shop.

3. ***Xiao Delong**, a Beijing worker on the Chinese government's August 19, 1989 "most wanted" list, was released some time in 1993. It is unclear if he was arrested in October 1990 and served his full three-year "re-education through labor" term or if he spent three years on the run, mutilating his face to hide his identity, and was not captured until September 1992. In the latter case, he may have been released on medical parole after being sentenced in early 1993 to a three-year prison term. Xiao's name was added by the Chinese government to a U.S. government list requesting clarification of the status of 235 Chinese prisoners. However, the only information about him read "U.S. side claims have medical problems."

4. ***ZHANG Lin**, head of the Students Autonomous Union in Bengbu City, who was arrested in Bengbu, Anhui Province on June 8, 1989, was released in March 1991. He had been sentenced to a two-year term shortly after June 4, 1989 for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement." Now thirty-one, Zhang, who has been imprisoned five times, calls himself a "professional revolutionary," raising questions with the authorities about occurrences such as arbitrary bulldozing of homes, bullying and beating of peasants by local Communist Party bosses, and falling living standards for peasants and workers. Claiming that he is one among many pro-democracy activists in Anhui (*Washington Post*, March 10, 1994), Zhang travels some twenty days a month in connection with his "democracy" work, supporting himself and his family by selling sweaters, shoes, and computer-related learning kits.

f. Other New Information

1. ***Bao Tong**, formerly the principal aide to ousted Party Secretary Zhao Ziyang, was transferred to a hospital for treatment in mid-March 1994. Sentenced to a seven-year term for leaking state secrets, Bao has been extremely ill throughout his prison stay and his condition is worsening. In the latest development, six tiny tumors were detected in his thyroid gland. Doctors told Bao that although the tumors did not appear to be malignant, further observation was prudent. Relatives, however, continue to express dissatisfaction with Bao's inadequate medical care. In addition to the tumors and his colon condition, Bao's face is severely swollen, he is having trouble speaking clearly because of a vocal cord problem and prolonged isolation, and he is in severe pain from inflammation of his shoulder joints.

2. The medical condition of ***Chen Ziming**, serving a thirteen-year sentence as one of the alleged black hands behind the 1989 pro-democracy movement (see Wang Juntao above), has seriously deteriorated. At the beginning of February 1994, he was in urgent need of diagnosis and treatment outside the prison system for kidney, stomach, and skin problems, and to prevent the overall deterioration of his health. Before he entered prison, Chen was in excellent condition.

The dull ache from his kidneys, which began in May 1993, eased in July but started again in November, and the sharp, intense stomach pain often wakes him during the night. Chen was taken to Bin He Hospital, attached to Beijing No.1 Prison, in June 1993 for a checkup. The medicine prescribed for his stomach gave him some relief, but the problem re-emerged and did not respond to a similar drug regime in November 1993. As of February, Chen was reported to be

feeling weak, often breaking out in a sweat, although his hands were cold. His teeth were reported to have become loose, probably from a lack of proper nutrition and sunlight. He has had repeated bad colds and upper respiratory infections.

Chen's skin condition was reported to have spread to his whole body. His head was covered with large yellow-red spots, and he had boils on his body, especially on the back of his shoulders and his neck. The skin in those areas was badly discolored. Tiny red spots covered his back, and he had a kind of athlete's foot on both his hands and feet. His whole body itched. The poor sanitary condition in Beijing No.2 and inmates' lack of access to hot water and showers could partly account for his skin problems.

Requests from Chen's family for his proper medical care had not been approved as of February, 1994.

3-4. ***Zhang Xianliang** and ***Fu Shenqi**, both sentenced to "re-education through labor" for pro-democracy activities in Shanghai, have been abused at their respective labor reform farms, according to a report dated March 1994. Zhang, in poor health in Qingpu Labor Reform Farm on the outskirts of the city, has been attacked and has had his food rations stolen by other inmates on orders of his team leader. He is, the report claimed, constantly followed by at least two prisoners who shout obscenities at him and who push him around. Assigned to a "strict regime" unit, he must sit in front of a white wall for several hours each day to "examine his crime." According to Zhang's wife, he has chest pains, has lost control of his right thumb, and cannot keep his hands steady. The forty-eight-year-old Zhang, active in the Shanghai democratic movement since the late 1970s, has not been permitted to see a doctor. Even before he was sentenced, Zhang was treated badly. During the summer, he was permitted only one cup of water a day; his was the only "room" not treated with an anti-mosquito spray; and his interrogators, through threats and inducements, tried to get him to implicate others in the Shanghai movement. Zhang's daughter was only given a passport after Zhang withdrew an appeal for a review of his case.

Fu has been prevented from keeping notes and from reading; and there had been no reply to the appeal he filed in January 1994 after his lawsuit against labor reform authorities was rejected. Both families are in dire financial straits.

5. ***Zheng Qiuwu**, previously reported as arrested in 1986 and sentenced to a fourteen-year prison term, has had his sentence reduced to thirteen years. He has been moved from Guangdong to Qiong Shan Prison on the outskirts of Haikou in his home province of Hainan. The new report gives Zheng's arrest date as February 1984, with sentencing in December for "organizing a nationwide counterrevolutionary clique, and for writing articles and posting letters calling for the overthrow of the government." "Moreover," officials say, "he advocated the use of violent methods."

6-8. Additional information has emerged about ***Shadikejiang** and ***Liu Ruilin**, two people previously reported as "already arrested" on a compilation of "most wanted" notices issued by the Ministry of Public Security in September 1989. Shadikejiang, a Uygur, twenty years old at the time of the listing, resided at the Coal Industry Management Bureau and was a student at the North-West Nationalities, Chinese Academy Language Department. Liu Ruilin, twenty-one years old in 1989, is a native of Ruijun City in Jiangsu Province. He had been a student in the Chinese Department at Lanzhou University. Inquiries by the U.S. government to Chinese authorities about the two cases case elicited no responses and there is still nothing known about what happened to either of them after their arrests. In addition, a third person on the list, twenty-year old ***Wang Zhihua²**, may not be the same person reported as released in *Detained in China and Tibet* (p.466). Wang Zhihua² is a native of Bishan County, Laifeng Township, Tian De Village, Sichuan Province. He resided in Hedong No.21 Sector, Golmud City, Qinghai Province and was an economics student in Lanzhou University.

9. ***Xu Keren**, a senior editor at Shanghai's *Xinmin Evening News*, prevented from leaving China on October 1, 1993, was held for one day, reportedly in January 1994, for his series of articles about the Shanghai Public Security Bureau's business empire, including the city's nightclubs. After his release on the personal order of Deng Xiaoping, the Public Security Bureau filed suit against Xu and the paper's editors alleging that the articles were "malicious" and "without foundation." Xu's home phone has been bugged; his passport has not been returned

10-11. There is additional news about Father ***Guo Xijing**, previously identified as Guo Xijian, and Father ***Miao Lehua**, previously identified as Mao Lehua. As of January 24, 1994, Father Miao and three seminarians arrested with him were released on bail, and Father Guo and the remaining seminarian were still being held. The six, arrested on

December 16 at 5 A.M. by more than thirty public security officers, were involved in what authorities called an "illegal" sister-formation class in an "underground" church, Chengjialong Church, on the outskirts of Fu'an, Fujian Province. Learning materials and the class list were confiscated. Before his arrest, Father Guo, who took full responsibility for the class, had been warned to disband it.

12. According to *Eastern Express* (March 7, 1994), imprisoned thief **Liu Baiqiang** was sentenced to an additional eight years imprisonment for attaching tiny political leaflets to the legs of locusts and setting them free, thus "inciting people to overthrow the political power of the people's dictatorship."

13. ***Xiang Wenqing**, a peasant from Renshou County in Sichuan Province, was sentenced to a nine-year prison term, according to a Human Rights Watch/Asia source. He was alleged to have been the leader of a peasant uprising in the county in mid-1993. As a result of the "riots" over local taxes, officials have ordered an investigation into twenty cases of malpractice against local cadres and pledged to alleviate the tax burden as well as to punish those who issued IOUs in lieu of payment to the peasants. According to the official account carried by the *China News Service*, one-third of the cost of rebuilding a highway "to help improve transport and facilitate economic growth" was to be financed by local peasants. However, many could not afford the 30-50 *yuan* they were expected to contribute. Some cadres became arrogant in their demands. The government intervened and the situation quieted down until a small number of instigators in Fujia and Huafang rekindled the controversy, provoking violence against officials, their homes, and public buildings including the tax office. According to the report, on June 5, when authorities tried to take away a peasant, stones were thrown by some among a throng of 10,000 onlookers. Some fifty Public Security officers and 130 paramilitary police fired tear gas to break up the crowd. Earlier accounts reported that Xiang was no troublemaker, but by showing government documents to others had revealed the abuse of authority by local officials.

14-17. ***Yin Jin**, ***Guo Chengdong**, ***Zhang Guozhong**, and ***Wang Jin**, activists from China who escaped to Taiwan, have been granted political asylum in Sweden after designation as political refugees by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

15. **Xu Lifang**, formerly a university student in Shenzhen, is in danger of being repatriated to China. She has been in detention in Taiwan for a year-and-a-half after arriving there in 1991 on a forged El Salvador passport. In her early twenties, Xu was active in the 1989 pro-democracy movement.

16-31. Details about sixteen prisoners held in Yuanjiang Prison (Hunan Provincial Prison No.1) as of late 1993 have reached Human Rights Watch/Asia. All are listed in *Detained in China and Tibet*. In 1990, ***Bai Xiaomao**, born in 1964, a worker at Zixing Mining Bureau, and ***Jiang Fuxing**, born the same year, allegedly organized an underground party ("Popular Masses Party"), stole and concealed explosives and planned an armed uprising against the Chinese Communist Party for which they received suspended death sentences. Both men also participated in the 1989 pro-democracy movement.

***Xia Panhuai** (aka **Xia Lihuai**), from Yiyang district, a Buddhist and head of his temple, was sentenced to death with a reprieve by the Yiyang People's Court for forming a "reactionary secret sect" and "swindling property," i.e. soliciting contributions in the name of Buddhism for the 1989 pro-democracy movement. After June 4, he held a Buddhist service for people who died in Beijing. Before 1989, Xia allegedly tried to develop an organization under the name of Buddhism and named himself emperor. His alleged accomplice, ***Zeng Chuqiao** is serving a seven-year term.

***Yu Xudong**, born 1966, was sentenced by the Changchun East District Court to fifteen years' imprisonment for "beating, smashing and looting." He participated in a march on April 22, 1989 in Changsha; there is no other information about his pro-democracy activities.

***Liu Yuanyi**, born 1967, is serving a thirteen-year term on orders of the Yueyang Court for "disturbing social order." A worker in the Yueyang Petrochemical Factory, he participated in a number of marches around June 4, 1989.

***Yan Jiazhi**, charged with "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement," was sentenced to a seven-year

term by the Lingling District Intermediate People's Court. According to case materials, he told lies and gave speeches during the June 4 period.

***Zhuang Lixin**, born 1966; ***Zhu Yiqun**, born 1973; ***Zhang Shanguang**, a resident of Xupu County; and ***Ouyang Xinming**, born 1970, all received five-year terms on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement." Zhuang allegedly participated in marches during the June 4 movement, and he wrote reactionary slogans. Held first for "shelter and investigation," he continued his pro-democracy activities after he was released, disseminating leaflets from the 1989 period. In 1990 the Changde City People's Court sentenced him. After June 4, 1989, Zhu put up slogans calling for the downfall of the Communist Party. He was sentenced by the Hengyang court. Zhang participated in June 4 marches and demonstrations, and he made speeches in front of the Hunan People's Government Office and Huaihua Teacher's College for which he was sentenced by the Huaihua Municipal People's Court. Ouyang distributed "reactionary" propaganda materials and stuck up "reactionary slogans" during the June 4 period for which he was sentenced by the Xiangxi Autonomous District Court.

***Tang Ping** (see Long Jinping) was sentenced by the Xiangxi Autonomous District Court to a six-year sentence on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" for giving "reactionary" speeches and using a balloon to distribute propaganda materials. ***Gao Longfa**, twenty-one, arrested in 1990, was sentenced to four years by the same court for the same offense. On June 4, 1989, he allegedly participated in "riots" in Changsha; in 1990, he printed reactionary propaganda materials and distributed them.

Three others, ***Li Defeng**, who had been a monk; ***Jiang Qianguo**, and ***Wen Xinyuan**, were accused of being members of a "reactionary secret sect." In 1989, Li organized some temple people to go on marches. After June 4, he led a Buddhist service for those who died in Beijing. The Yueyang Court sentenced Li to a seven-year term for "feudal organizing." The others are serving five years.

g. Xinjiang Autonomous Region

Since 1989, the Xinjiang Autonomous Region in northwestern China has been the site of several serious clashes between the local Uyghur population, a Muslim, Turkic minority, and Chinese security forces that have led to widespread arrests. Some of these clashes have been sparked by a growing nationalist movement among the Uyghurs which the Chinese government terms "splittist"; others by the anger of local residents over disregard for their religious beliefs and activities. In January 1994, a senior local security official was quoted in the *Public Security News (Renmin Gongan Bao)* as saying that those seeking to split the Muslim majority region from the rest of China are "growing daily in ambition."

One of the most serious outbreaks of violence took place in April 4-6, 1990 in Baren, a county south of Kashgar in Xinjiang. What began as a protest over the closure of a local mosque reportedly turned into a pro-independence demonstration; the clash was officially described as a "counterrevolutionary rebellion."²² Government accounts reported twenty-two killed and thirteen wounded. Reports from foreign travelers gave a much higher death toll and suggested the only deaths officially reported were those of army troops flown to the scene.

Between May and September 1993, as many as fifteen separate bombing incidents and attacks on Chinese settlers were reported as having taken place in Kashgar. As many as 1,300 arrests may have taken place during this period, according to a HRW/Asia source.

The information below consists of a list HRW/Asia received of prisoners, all almost certainly arrested in connection with the Baren incident of 1990, and some additional information about protestors arrested in Xinjiang between 1992 and 1994. Of the twenty-nine Baren prisoners, thirteen were executed.

I) Pre-1993 unreported arrests and trials

Trials

²² Amnesty International, Secret Violence: Human Rights Violations in Xinjiang," ASA 17/50/92, November 1992.

Abdullah Ahmed, thirty-seven, and **Abdul Karsem**, about forty-years-old, reportedly were sentenced on accusations of "political involvement." Abdul Karsem is serving a ten-year term. Abdullah Ahmed, who taught in the Kashgar Teachers Institute, and reportedly wrote books in Japanese and English, was sentenced in 1992 and hospitalized after his foot was broken in prison, date unknown.

Arrests

Kuyun Kurban, twenty-five, reportedly was arrested in Yaman Yar County, near Kashgar in August 1993, and charged with involvement in an illegal organization. As of October, he was in Yingishar Prison. In connection with the same case, **Anwar**, twenty-three, was held for one month for publishing a circular.

After the mullah **Ablikim Muhsumhajim** died during the summer of 1993, his Koranic students, in an outpouring of grief, demonstrated in Yecheng County, near Kashgar. As a result, some 500 of his disciples, ranging in age from twenty to forty, reportedly were detained for belonging to a political party. According to the report, all 500 were still in prison in October 1993. The names of four are known, **Amat Kari**, **Husanjan Kari**, **Yasim Kari**² and **Abdullah Kari**. It is impossible to tell from the report whether Yasim Kari is the same person as the one listed in *Detained in China and Tibet*.

Two students, **Aziz Abdulaziz**, twenty-six; and **Mahmut Alim**, twenty-nine, were arrested in Karakash on May 10, 1993 and reportedly accused of counterrevolution. On June 10, two teachers, **Gurcuvil Haji**, thirty-eight; and **Nurmuhammed**², twenty-eight, accused of supporting counterrevolutionaries, were arrested. It is impossible to know if Nurmuhammed is the same person as the one listed in *Detained in China and Tibet*.

Two brothers, **Aktem Repkart**, twenty-four, and **Askar Repkart**, about twenty-eight, and three others reportedly were arrested for being involved in "political acts" and belonging to "an organization." Aktem Repkart worked at the Agricultural Bank of China and lived at a business school, Caimao Xuexiao. Askar Repkart drove a truck. The date the five were arrested is unclear, occurring sometime between November 1992 and October 1993.

Musujum Kawul, twenty-three, a cook from Awar County; **Mijit Kari**, twenty-four, a driver; and **Abli Kimjan**, twenty-two, also a cook, arrested November 4, 1992, have been accused of involvement in a political organization.

Adul Kaume, twenty-five; **Ablet Karay**, twenty-six; and **Mohammed Tursen**, twenty-four, are three more men whose names have become known in connection with their arrests for alleged participation in the April 1990 Baren incident. As of July 1993, Mohammed Tursen had managed to escape; the other two were still in prison as of October 1993.

Among a group of people arrested in the city of Shaya, four names have been reported, **Sultan Ahmet**, thirty; **Samat Maksut**, twenty-seven; **Ahmet Maksut**, thirty-four; and **Abdurashit Ahat**, twenty-six.

2) Arrests, sentences, and executions in 1990-1991

Name	Birth date	Arrested	Place of Imprisonment	Sentence	Executed
Abdulgani Tursun	1968	1990			1991
Abdulhamit Kari	1970				1991
Abdurahim Turdi	1960	1990	unknown		
Ahad Allahverdi	1960	1990	unknown		1991
Ahmet Emin	1964	1990			
Aziz Kurban	1960	1990	Urumqi Prison		
Cemal Muhammed		Apr 4, 1990	unknown	life	1991
Ebubekir Turgun	1970	1990			June 1990
Gafur Evveli					
Huseyin Kurban		1990	unknown		
Ibrahim Ahmed		1990	Urumqi Prison	life	1991
Ishak Karibayhanoglu	1970				
Kurban Cuma	1974	1990	unknown	16 years	June 1990
Kurban Muhammed	1967	1990			April 17, 1990
Mehet Hasan	1959				
Mehmet Ruzi	1964	1990	Siho Prison	14 years	April 5, 1990
Mehmet Yasin					
Muhammed Emin Omer	1960	1990	unknown	10 years	
Rahmancan Ahmed		1990	Siho Prison	16 years	
Ruzi Cuma	1964	1990	unknown		
Ruzi Hashim ²³	1970	1990	Artush Prison		
Sufu					
Suleyman					June 1990
Suleyman Isa		1990	unknown	18 years	June 1990
Tohti Islam	1972		unknown	19 years	
Turgun Abdulkarim	1964	Apr 5, 1990	Siho Prison	18 years	
Turguncan Muhammed	1973	1990	Siho Prison	17 years	
Yolbara Tohti	1964				1991
Zeydin Yusuf	1964	1990			April 5, 1990

²³ Reportedly very ill as of October 1993.

APPENDIX IV: ERRATA

The following information corrects errors in *Detained in China and Tibet*.

1. ***Pei Zhongxun**, the 76-year old ethnic Korean Shanghai evangelist, sentenced to a fifteen-year term in connection with his leadership of house churches, is in Shanghai No.1 Prison, not Shanghai No.2 as previously reported. In addition to his swollen feet which sometimes prevent walking, he has developed cataracts and is losing his teeth. Pei is kept in solitary confinement most of the time.
2. ***Tang Weihua**, previously reported as serving a two-year sentence on charges of "forming a "counterrevolutionary organization" in Shanghai, reportedly is free after serving a one-year term (Amnesty International, *ASA 17/05/94*).
- 3-4. The names of ***Yang Tongyan** and ***Chen Gang₂** were mistakenly omitted from the list of "Political Prisoners Serving Ten Years or More" in *Detained in China and Tibet*.
5. *Detained in China and Tibet*, lists two different entries which refer to only one person. The first (p.65), for ***Li Jijun** is erroneous and in fact refers to Xu Qinxian. The information on p..475 about ***Xu Qinxian**, general of the PLA's 38th Army who was punished for refusing to lead his troops into Beijing after the declaration of martial law in the capital on May 20, 1989, is correct.
6. ***Li Guohen**, (*Detained in China and Tibet*, p.32) should read **Li Guoheng**.
7. The release of **Li Haitao** was confirmed during in 1993.
8. As reported, ***Father Zhang Li¹**, of Yixian diocese, Hebei Province, was re-arrested in June 1993 and sentenced to three year's "re-education through labor" which he is serving in Zhangjiakou. The sentence has been confirmed by Chinese officials. An earlier detention, on July 25, 1992, terminated in March 1993.

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For more information:

Mike Jendrzejczyk (Washington)	(202) 371-6592 (o)
	(301) 585-5824 (h)
Robin Munro (Hong Kong)	(852) 574-6275 (o)
Mickey Spiegel (New York)	(212) 972-8400 (o)
	(212) 472-8723 (h)

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