

**U.S./CHINA RELATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS: IS
CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT WORKING?**

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
AND HUMAN RIGHTS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED FIFTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

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TUESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1997

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND
HUMAN RIGHTS,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.**

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 1:05 p.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher H. Smith (chairman of the Subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH. [presiding] The Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights will come to order.

Five years ago, when our current President was a candidate for the office he now holds, he described the Bush Administration's relationship with the Government of China in two words, "coddling dictators". He was right. Some of us had hoped that President Clinton would transform the U.S./China relationship by putting respect for human rights and democracy at its very center. Instead, the Clinton Administration has coddled dictators as few have coddled before.

The arrival in Washington this afternoon of Communist Party Chairman, Jiang Zemin, represents the culmination of our government's tragic 25-year unrequited love affair with the Beijing regime. The occasion of Jiang's visit will be marked by literally dozens of official U.S. Government functions. As far as I have been able to determine, this hearing represents the only one of those official functions at which the Chinese human rights record will be publicly discussed.

When I first proposed holding this hearing, I heard from some Republicans and some Democrats who suggested that it would be inappropriate, even in poor taste to discuss such sensitive issues while Jiang was in town. With respect, this kind of criticism gets it exactly backwards. Torture—as Amnesty International will testify today—is endemic in China. Torture, mass executions, forced abortion and sterilization, the arrest and imprisonment of democracy advocates and religious believers, these are in poor taste. Bearing witness to these atrocities, telling the whole truth about them, is the best way that I can think of to say "Welcome to America, Mr. Jiang."

Today's hearing will serve at least two important purposes. First, the testimony of our distinguished witnesses will focus the attention of Americans on what life is really like in the People's Republic

lic of China. Second, the hearing might help President Jiang to understand America and Americans.

With all due respect, he has a lot to learn. A few days ago on the eve of his departure to the United States, Jiang gave an interview to the Washington Post. The Post reporters described him as candid and animated. Among Mr. Jiang's many candid and animated observations was this one. That Einstein's theory of relativity applies not only to physics, but also to politics, so that the content of human rights will differ from country to country. After the interview, one of his aides was quoted as saying, "We try to do a PR job. We understand that this is necessary."

This Sunday, just before leaving for the United States, Chairman Jiang continued the PR job by announcing that China would adhere to an international social and economic convention having to do with such things as the right to be free from disparity in income levels. He conspicuously omitted any references to more important international conventions that require respect for democracy, political and religious freedom, and the due process of law. Ironically, this distinction is the same one that American defenders of the Soviet Union used to make in defense of Stalin's worst excesses. They would say that no matter how many innocent people the Soviet Government might kill, it will be doing a better job than Western Governments at eliminating the disparity between rich and poor.

So this is a PR job that has been going on for 70 years. The rhetoric of cultural relativism and moral equivalence has long been used to try to blur the distinction between totalitarianism and freedom. The apologists tell us not to worry. Nobody is against human rights, not even Jiang, not even Stalin. But your actual human rights may vary in your country.

In America, Mr. Jiang, we reject this sort of thinking. As Thomas Jefferson once wrote in the Declaration of Independence, we human beings are endowed by our creator with certain inalienable rights. These rights are not relative, but absolute. They do not come from governments, and no government has a right to deny them. Einstein and Jefferson got it right. Stalin and Hitler and Mao got it wrong.

In 1994, the Clinton Administration de-linked Most Favored Nation status from human rights. According to our own State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for China, since then, there has been a significant regression rather than progress on every human rights question. There are more political prisoners, more summary executions, a more brutal regime in Tibet, tighter controls on political and religious expression today than there was back in 1994.

The State Department's human rights report for 1996 reflects the remarkable end result of a policy which fails to seriously address concerns of human rights. The report states, "All public dissent against the party in government was effectively silenced by intimidation, exile, the imposition of prison terms, administrative detention or house arrest. "No dissidents," the report goes on to say, "were known to be active at year's end." In other words, engagement appears to have failed beyond our wildest expectations. Dissent has not just been stifled, but it has been silenced altogether.

It seems the more we engage the Beijing dictatorship, the worse it gets. Just today, I received two letters. One is from His Eminence Cardinal Ignatius Kung, who urges Chairman Jiang to free four Catholic bishops as well as many other Catholic clergy and believers who are imprisoned in China just for practicing their faith. Another letter is from David Burke, the chairman of the U.S. Broadcasting Board of Governors, who points out that the Chinese Government has recently begun jamming the broadcasts of Radio Free Asia, which brings the Chinese people the news they would get if their government permitted freedom of information and expression. These letters will be made, without objection, a part of the record.

[The information appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Another atrocity that has gotten even worse in recent years is forced abortion. Although the Chinese Government officially claims it does not permit physical coercion as a means of enforcing the one-child policy, it has been widely and credibly reported that the birth control officials charged with carrying out this policy routinely compel women to abort their "unauthorized" unborn children.

The usual method is intense "persuasion" using all of the economic, social, and psychological tools the State has at its disposal. When these methods fail, women are often taken physically to the abortion mill. Forced abortions can be performed very late in pregnancy, even in the ninth month. Sometimes the baby's skull is crushed with forceps as it emerges from the birth canal. Either the woman or her husband may then be forcibly sterilized.

I would remind my colleagues, and we have said this in both the House and the Senate in the past and reminded everyone, at the Nuremburg War Crimes Tribunal, forced abortion was construed—and properly construed—to be a crime against humanity. It is no less a crime against humanity as it is practiced today each and every day in the People's Republic of China.

Amnesty International recently reported on the one-child per couple policy compliance campaign in two villages. The campaign was reportedly carried out under the slogan "Better to have more graves than one more child." In order to dissuade local birth control officials from resorting to forced abortion and forced sterilization as a means to end population control, Chairman Jiang's Government must dismantle much of the coercive apparatus that characterizes their population control program. Women in China are required, and this is outrageous, they are required to obtain a birth coupon before conceiving a child. Chinese women are hounded by the population control police and even their menstrual cycles are publicly monitored as one means of ensuring compliance.

Despite all of the evidence, let me conclude. The Clinton Administration still maintains that engagement is the best way to promote human rights in China. We invited the Administration to come to this hearing today and make the best case that their 3 years of engagement have resulted in improvements or even the prospect of improvements rather than the deterioration in the human rights situation. The Administration very simply chose not to come.

Fortunately, we do have six distinguished witnesses who will share with us the details of the China human rights story: torture in Tibet, ethnic and religious persecution in Xinjiang, imprisonment of Christians and others for practicing their religions, the harvesting of organs from executed prisoners, the continuing suppression of democracy in the wake of the Tiananmen massacre, forced abortions, coerced sterilizations, and other outrages.

I look forward to hearing from our witnesses. But before doing so, I proudly and very happily yield to my good friend who has been a fighter on behalf of human rights in China, my good friend from California, Tom Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. First, I want to commend you for holding this hearing. I deeply regret that apparently this is the only hearing held on this general subject during the visit of the President of China because I think it's extremely important that the public relations campaign so carefully constructed and so effectively executed by the paid propagandists of Beijing not be successful and the true story about China be relayed.

Since I so strongly agree with most of the statements that you just made, allow me to begin with a general observation that puts this visit in its proper perspective. I disagree with this Administration's China policy. Having said that, however, let me state for the record that I am convinced that the commitment to human rights of this Administration is far stronger than was the commitment to human rights of the previous Administration. While we can discuss ad nauseam and ad infinitum the human rights policies of the Bush Administration and the Clinton Administration vis-a-vis many countries on the face of this planet, and while I share your concern with respect to the Clinton Administration's human rights policy with respect to China, the record must show that Clinton-Gore has a far greater commitment to human rights than did Bush-Quayle. That Secretary Albright has a far greater commitment to human rights than did Jim Baker. And that on balance, this Administration is far more sympathetic to human rights concerns across the globe than was the previous Administration.

Let me state at the outset that I look forward to listening to our witnesses as one who has unbounded admiration for China as a civilization and a culture. Chinese civilization and culture is obviously one of the great civilizations and cultures on the face of this planet. Nothing would please me more than the opportunity for that culture and that civilization to blossom in freedom and in growing friendship with the United States.

Let me also at the outset, Mr. Chairman, put to rest perhaps the most preposterous notion that many who oppose our position claim with respect to U.S./China policy. There is an attempt on the part of many, and many in the Administration, to juxtapose a policy of engagement with a policy of isolation. That is a phony juxtaposition. No one is more committed to engagement with China than I am, and I believe you are. What we are calling for is an engagement which is consonant with fundamental American principles and values. No one in his right mind is advocating isolating one and a quarter billion human beings. All of us recognize the enormous importance China will play in Asia and in the Pacific. All of

us are hoping for a prosperous, peaceful and democratic China. So I reject categorically the juxtaposition of engagement versus isolation, however high the authority may be who is pursuing that line.

Our problem with China of course is manifold. Today we are dealing with human rights. But let me for the record state that I am, as I am sure you are too, Mr. Chairman, profoundly concerned with China's role in the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. I am profoundly concerned with the profoundly unfair trade relations between the United States and China, a trade imbalance which will exceed \$40 billion. I am profoundly concerned with the subtle undermining of political democracy in Hong Kong. The onslaught on the free and democratic Taiwan. And of course the outrageous performance of this Chinese regime in Tibet.

Cynical photo opportunities by the President of China seeking out the most sacred places of American democracy in Philadelphia or Williamsburg or elsewhere, will not suffice to cover up the shameful human rights record of the Chinese Government. The record is clear. In addition to the litany of items you mentioned, we will be hearing from my friend, Harry Wu, concerning the sordid traffic in organs of executed prisoners, one of the shabbiest aspects of China's policy anywhere on the face of this planet.

I have no doubt in my mind that the almost pathological opposition of this regime to his holiness the Dalai Lama stems from the inherent fear of a sick and valueless system when it is confronted with ultimate moral authority. There is no rational explanation as to why this vast and powerful country of a 1.2 billion people, with a vast military apparatus should be afraid of a simple Buddhist monk in saffron robes without a military, without economic power, without anything except his moral authority which he juxtaposes to the powerful regime in Beijing.

Human rights have, in fact, deteriorated in China in recent years. Our decoupling of Most Favored Nation treatment issues from human rights, as you and I and our good friend Congressman Wolf so ably stated at the time, was a mistake when it occurred. It is my perhaps naive hope that at least in the House of Representatives this time around, we will have sufficient votes with the new coalition emerging, covering the broad spectrum from human rights activities, through the American labor movement, to the religious groups, that we might in fact eke out a narrow majority for a victory for the moral position on that issue.

Let me just say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that long after the Jiang Zemins of this world will have been thrown on the dump heap of history, the heroes in China's prisons will continue to live in the minds of men and women across this globe who believe in human freedom and dignity, in religious freedom, in the right of people to select governments of their own choosing. This transitory regime is not here for long in its present form, because the people of China are as entitled to live in a free and open and democratically elected society as are the people of Taiwan today, as are the people of Hungary or the Czech Republic or Poland.

It was not too many years ago when those of us who expressed hope that the Communist regimes will collapse in the Soviet Union and in the Soviet Empire were labeled naive. Naivete is on the other side, mostly on the side of the leaders of the multinational

giant corporations, who for the sake of a few contracts are ready to swallow all of the principles taught to them in school here in the United States. Our great democratic allies are no better in France, in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, the pursuit of contracts with China is no less vigorous and shameless as it is by multinationals headquartered in the United States.

But naivete is not on our side. It is on the side of those who hope that making deals with the devil is a long-term proposition for national prosperity. I look forward to welcoming to Washington some leaders of China in the not-too-distant future who will view the American shrines of democracy not merely as photo opportunities, but as fountains where they can replenish their yearning for freedom. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Lantos.

Mr. Wolf.

Mr. Wolf, I would note for the record is not a Member of our Subcommittee, but has been very active on human rights, religious persecution in particular, around the world, and most recently has returned from a trip to Tibet where he went incognito and was able to ascertain firsthand some of the barbarities that go on every day and are commonplace in Tibet.

Mr. Wolf.

Mr. LANTOS. Before Mr. Wolf takes the mike, may I extend my personal welcome to him. He has been an uncompromising and courageous fighter for human rights, not only in China, but across the globe. He enhances this Subcommittee with his presence and with his commitment.

Mr. WOLF. I thank you very much. I'll be very brief. I am going onto a meeting. We're having a group of Congressman Pitts and others in room 2359 to adopt a prisoners of conscience. So that's why I will be leaving.

Let me just first, thank Chairman Smith for having this hearing. I think it can be done in a very courteous way, but I think it's important that it be done. I saw several weeks ago that a church in France had apologized to the Jewish community for the fact that they were silent during the Holocaust. I don't want us to have to be apologetic to the people of China and the people of Tibet 10 or 15 years from now for the sake that we were quiet during the time that the President of China was here. So I think these hearings are very appropriate.

Second, they are very appropriate because when we were in Tibet last month, most of the Tibetan people told us that they listened to Radio Free Asia and they listened to Voice of America. So the coverage of this hearing by Radio Free Asia and Voice of America will get back to the men and women in Tibet that listen to this every morning and listen to this every night.

Very briefly, as we listen and think with regard to the visit of the Chinese President, there are a couple of points that we should know. One, China does persecute its people because of religious beliefs. There are Catholic bishops in jail. Bishop Su was re-arrested about 3 weeks ago. There are a number of other Catholic bishops in jail. There are Catholic priests in jail. There are Protestant pastors in jail. They are persecuting the people of Tibet, they are persecuting the Moslem population in the Northwest portion of the

country. China denies its citizens the opportunity to speak out. They are oppressing the people in China, in Tibet. In Tibet, on the tops of buildings, there are TV cameras, whereby they are monitoring the people. They have destroyed 4,000 to 5,000 monasteries in Tibet. Every monastery in Tibet has a cadre of People's Police, security bureau or a military that run the place. Tibetan Lhasa is no longer a Tibetan city. Lhasa has been turned into a Chinese city because there are more Chinese there than there are Tibetans.

China also runs, and Harry Wu will talk about it, a gruesome slave camp program, whereby there are more gulags now or slave labor camps in China than there were when Solzhenitsyn wrote the book "Gulag Archipelago". For those of you who watched Prime Time Live a week and a half ago, we know that the Chinese Government has a policy where they are selling organs; whereby they will take your blood type, your tissue type, and then go into the prisons and seek out and find a prisoner who has that blood type and that tissue type and execute them for sale of the cornea or other organs, the kidneys, for \$30,000 to \$35,000. The one-child policy and all of the other things that go on.

So I just want to thank Congressman Smith. I know there probably would have been a lot of pressure not to have this hearing. But had we not had this hearing, and had Mr. Smith and Mr. Lantos and this Committee not had the hearing, then someday we may very well had to have apologized for being silent. So there's nothing more appropriate than to listen to this distinguished panel, and to be very very courteous, as clearly this Committee will, but to make sure that it's on the record.

So I want to thank Mr. Smith for the hearings, and look forward to hearing the witnesses.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Wolf. Again, the intent of this hearing is to bear witness to the truth, especially during this very appropriate time when the President of China is in town.

Let me again note for the record that I have traveled with Mr. Wolf to a number of spots, including China. We were in Beijing Prison No. 1, which was producing items for export. Forty Tiananmen Square activists were there at that prison camp making these articles that were ending up on our shores.

Second, when we met with Li Peng later on in that particular trip, Mr. Wolf tried to give him a list of imprisoned pastors and bishops. Mr. Li Peng, the Premier of China, looked at that and set it aside as if it were a hot potato, and expressed in response to our comments regarding all of the human rights abuses—including the imprisonment of religious believers, Buddhists, Catholics, and other Christians—that it doesn't happen. It was an absolute, total denial that these things occur in China, which is all the more reason why we need to bear witness to the truth. So thank you, Mr. Wolf.

Mr. Faleomavaega.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I too would like to offer my personal welcome to our good friend and colleague from Virginia, Mr. Wolf, to our Subcommittee. I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for a very profound and eloquent statement that you offered to the Subcommittee. Certainly you and my good friend, the gentleman from California, have been such great advocates on

human rights in our Nation. I certainly hope that we will continue to do this.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to associate myself closely to the statements made earlier by my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from California, the Ranking Member of our Subcommittee, for the position and the concerns that he has expressed earlier about the problems pending President Jiang's visit to our Nation's capital.

Mr. Chairman, I realize there are many concerns. President Jiang Zemin's visit to our country has far-reaching implications quite obviously, touching on the U.S./China relationship and the question of human rights, question of economic issues, our strategic and security interests, not only the Asia-Pacific region, but globally as well. The question of Taiwan, and many other issues I know, Mr. Chairman, that we need to further examine.

Having recently met with His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala, India, Mr. Chairman, I want to say that my heart really goes out to His Holiness and to some 2 million Tibetans who live in exile and as a people without a country and without any sense of identification in terms of what the Chinese Government has done to them. I sincerely hope that President Clinton, as well as the Congress, will with as much force as possible, bring to bear the fact that these beautiful people, the Tibetans, we need to recognize the basic human fundamental rights attending to any people, that certainly that President Jiang Zemin ought to be made very much aware of the concern that I have concerning the needs of the Tibetan peoples.

I would like to also personally welcome our distinguished panelists this afternoon, and look forward to hearing their statements and comments.

Mr. Chairman, again, I want to thank you for holding this hearing. I hope that we will gain substance and especially something that both Congress as well as the Administration can well address concerning our relationship with the People's Republic of China. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much.

Mr. Salmon.

Mr. SALMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me also be one of the first to congratulate you on holding this hearing today. I think it's very very timely and very appropriate. As President Jiang comes to visit the United States, I think he needs to get a good taste of the opinions here in the United States, and how people really feel. In a survey, although I respectfully disagreed on policy on the MFN issue, I also realize that I am out of step with about 80 percent of the American people. I think that's very noteworthy. I think it's because most people in the United States recognize that there are some horrendous things happening in China today, and that human rights violations are just as commonplace as any other activity here in the United States would be. I know for a fact, having visited there, having met with many of the groups that have worked with prisoners and trying to get prisoner release programs moving ahead, that the human rights violations are consistently happening. There really is virtually little to no improvement in the human rights scenario in China.

I think that most of us became incensed as we read, or I guess there were some of us that heard directly, comments from top Chinese officials that said that Tiananmen Square never really happened, that there wasn't any massacre at Tiananmen Square. I know I have spoken to students who were at Tiananmen Square and saw not only students killed, but children killed. I guess if I have one thing to say to President Jiang, again, as one who supports the Most Favored Nation trading status, President Jiang, stop the lies. Stop the lies from the people that report to you. The facts are as Mr. Smith and Mr. Lantos and Mr. Wolf and Mr. Faleomavaega have just described. Nuclear non-proliferation continues to be a big problem. Human rights violations, religious persecution. We could go on and on and on and on.

Yet I, as Mr. Lantos said as well, have no reason to question this Administration. I have got to believe that in President Clinton's heart, that he believes as we do, that human rights violations are an atrocity. It's an affront to everything that we believe, and that it must stop. Therefore, I would implore him to take this opportunity and make it a golden opportunity. To not just make it an exchange of pleasantries and toasts and wonderful words, as has probably happened in past Administrations as well.

This is a golden opportunity to speak from the heart and to lay it on the line. If we're going to engage, engagement means expressing your values. It doesn't mean backing into a corner because business interests don't want you to say anything. It means that we say the things that we care about and we say it with force, and we say it with courage. That's what is required right now of the President, is an opportunity to lay it all on the line. And at the very least, at the very very very least, he should demand as a good faith signal as these talks begin, a good faith signal at the very least would be that Wei Jingsheng would be liberated.

So I ask the President and Madame Albright, and I am sure all of those who will be involved in this summit—we're not asking them to do an about-face on their China policy. But we are asking them to take this golden opportunity to with great force and with great courage, stand forward and tell President Jiang just what our values are, what we stand for, and what we will not continue to tolerate any longer.

Thank you for holding this hearing.

Mr. SMITH. I want to thank Mr. Salmon for his passion and his consistency. Over the years, on this issue, while we disagreed in terms of the means to the end—i.e. Most Favored Nation status—you have been absolutely indefatigable in your attempts to find other means, and especially insisting that the truth be told, that we bear witness.

You might recall, and Members of the whole Subcommittee recall, that when General Chi Haotian was here in town and made those outrageous statements that nobody died in Tiananmen Square, we very quickly convened a hearing of this Subcommittee and heard from approximately half a dozen very distinguished people, some of whom were there at Tiananmen Square, who again bore witness to the truth so the big lie would not be able to find fertile fields in the United States or anywhere else.

Your point on Wei Jingsheng couldn't be made any stronger. I met with Wei when I was there on a trip on human rights. A couple of weeks later, we met with John Shattuck, the Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Democracy. The secret policy grabbed him and incarcerated him. A kangaroo trial was held and now he is imprisoned, and probably without question being tortured, based on reliable evidence.

So your plea to let Wei go and others like him hopefully will not fall on deaf ears.

Mr. Clement.

Mr. CLEMENT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Wu, and members of the panel. It's a great honor and a great privilege to have you visit with us as well as testify before the U.S. House of Representatives. I represent Nashville, Tennessee. As a Member of Congress from Tennessee, as well as a Member of Congress from the United States of America, we are all concerned, and we ought to be concerned about slave labor, religious freedom, and human rights, whether it pertains to our country as well as other countries.

We are pleased to have the President of the People's Republic of China to visit our country, and hopefully through this visit that we will make some progress that it appears in some fronts we have not made at all up to the present time. But we have got to highlight the problems that exist when it comes to human rights. You can't shove it under the rug. We have learned from World War I and World War II, where at times people looked the other way. They didn't face up to the consequences. The problem kept growing. We don't want the problem to continue to grow. We want to try to solve these difficult problems.

I know you are going to share with us today, Mr. Wu, and others, not what's happened to others, but what has happened to you. By giving those personal observations, hopefully it will be helpful to all of us to better understand what we're up against in the years ahead. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Clement.

Let me now introduce our very distinguished panel, beginning in the order that they will present their testimony. Harry Wu is the executive director of the Laogai Research Foundation. He was first arrested as a young student in Beijing for speaking out against the Soviet invasion of Hungary, and criticizing the Chinese Communist Party. In 1960, he was sent to the Laogai, the largest forced labor camp system in the world today, where he was imprisoned for 19 years in 12 different forced labor camps. When he was finally released in 1979, Mr. Wu left China and came to the United States in 1985, as a visiting professor of geology at the University of California at Berkeley. In the summer of 1995, Mr. Wu was arrested by the Chinese Government when he tried to enter China, and was held for 66 days before being convicted in a trial for stealing State secrets. He was sentenced to 15 years, but immediately expelled as a result of an extensive international campaign launched on his behalf.

Since his release, Mr. Wu has continued to work in publicizing the fight to condemn the laogai, and to document its atrocities. He is the author of several books. In 1992, he established the Laogai Research Foundation, which is now recognized as the leading

source of information on the human rights situation in China's forced labor camps.

Nina Shea is the director of Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom. She's been an international human rights lawyer for 18 years. For the past 11 years, she has focused on the issue of religious persecution. Ms. Shea has participated in numerous fact-finding missions to countries throughout the world, and is a widely published scholar in the field of religious freedom and human rights, including a widely acclaimed book on anti-Christian persecution entitled "In the Lion's Den".

Dr. Allen Keller is a member of the International Advisory Board for the Physicians for Human Rights, in addition to his position as an assistant professor of clinical medicine at New York University School of Medicine. Dr. Keller is the director of the Bellevue/NYU program for survivors of torture, which provides care to survivors of torture and for their families.

T. Kumar is the advocacy director for Asia and the Pacific for Amnesty International USA. Mr. Kumar, who has earned degrees from the University of Pennsylvania Law School and the International Institute of Human Rights, was himself a prisoner of conscience for 5 years in Sri Lanka.

Rizvangul Uighur is the pseudonym of a refugee from East Turkistan, who has personally experienced and witnessed many incidents of persecution carried out against the Muslim Uighur community by Chinese officials and law enforcement personnel. We would ask that the television cameras not focus on Ms. Uighur during her testimony, if they would.

Shen Tong is the president of the Democracy for China Fund. He was a student leader in the Chinese pro-democracy movement in the late 1980's that culminated in the Tiananmen Square demonstration. Mr. Tong escaped from China 1 week after the Tiananmen Square massacre in June 1989, and came to the United States 3 years later. In July 1992, Mr. Tong was the first prominent Tiananmen Square leader to return to China. Within 2 months of his return, he was arrested in Beijing, but was released 54 days later in apparent response to the international protests which followed his detention.

Thank you for appearing today, I say to all of our witnesses.
Mr. Wu, if you would begin.

STATEMENT OF HARRY WU, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE LAOGAI RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Mr. WU. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before this Committee. My name is Harry Wu. I am director of the Laogai Research Foundation. First I want to truly thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your constant belief that the case of human rights is our moral duty, not as an American, but as a human being. You have used your position to clearly advance this belief. It is my honor to once again sit before you and your Members and speak about truth.

I want to tell you that today I am talking about an ugly practice in China in our human beings society. It's a practice that shows the total disregard the Chinese Government has to rights of its people. Later I will show a videotape which working together with

ABC, show you how the organs extracted from the executed prisoners are for sale on the open market, and even here in the United States.

I was given an official Chinese Government document in 1985 that really shocked me at the time. In 1985, this document was a secret. Only later in 1990, became publicized. The title tells of its contents, "On the use of the dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals." This directive came from the central government judiciary department, to prosecutors, the police, the public health department, the civil administration department.

So this is a central government document. Not the local government, not an individual hospital document. This document says that because of advancing medical science in China that allows for successful transplant surgeries, "The following measures are formulated on the use of the dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals." The procedure said that the condemned are to be executed immediately by means of shooting. Bodies can then be used if they are not collected by the families, if the condemned prisoners consented to donate, or if the families consented.

What does that mean, uncollected? I spent 19 years in Chinese prison camp. Once I was sentenced to death. My family would not come to the place to collect my body. Then my body becomes government property. In Chinese practice, once you are condemned by the government, you become an enemy of the party, enemy of the government. Your family, including your parents, your friends, your love, they have to separate from you. They have to publicly condemn you. In my 19 years in jail, my family never came to see me. So there are a lot of so-called uncollected bodies that become government property.

Today the Chinese Government said many prisoners and their family have consented. But we interviewed many police, doctors, and the families; no one knows that there is a so-called procedure of consent.

The document continues to direct the hospitals and the courts on how to coordinate and carry out the execution process. It states, "Use of dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals must be kept strictly confidential. Only in real need, and upon the approval of the People's Court executing the death penalty, can operation vehicles, medical vehicles from medical institutions be allowed to enter into the execution ground to remove organs. But vehicles with the logo of medical institutions are not to be used, and white clinic garments are not to be worn. The execution ground should be guarded until the operation is completed."

A Chinese doctor right now living in London, he told me how he was arranged by the Party committee of the hospital to wait in the vehicle. They heard the shooting. Two minutes later, they went to the place to bring the body. Then the vehicle was driving to the cremator. On the way, of course the doctor is very busy, removed the kidney, spleen, liver, heart, cornea, whatever they want. When they arrived at the cremator, according to the document, the cremator has to timely and secretly cremate the body. Actually, he said it's no longer a body. It's human meat.

This document is the guideline that acts today as the official policy on harvesting organs from Chinese death row prisoners. This

practice is barbaric. A government may have a policy according to their political purpose to execute the criminals, but it is against all basic rights to then steal the organs of the dead man or woman for sale domestically and internationally.

In 1994, I conducted an interview with an official, hospital official in China, who said "The sources of our kidneys can be from donors who have died in traffic accidents or from brain-dead people. If the donors are brain-dead——" We asked what brain-dead means. The police later explained to me, if we shoot him below the head, it means immediately the person is brain-dead. Then the hospital "contacts appropriate government units to find out when we can obtain organs. Policies of the State do not permit contact with our donors." She continued going on, "Things in our country are different from yours." At the time, I posed as an American wealthy family with my hidden camera. "We can do what is impossible from the legal point of view in your country" meaning the United States. "As to contact with the kidney donors, it is impossible. But we guaranteed that our kidneys are healthy, and are of excellent quality."

The doctors and hospital officials in China are very careful not to discuss how such brain-dead donors died. No consent forms are given to the patients. In China, there are very few families that would consent for prisoners to donate their organs. So far as we know, according to Chinese procedure, for the execution, never inform the family. We have a document right here. After the execution, inform the family.

The organs from death row prisoners actually in China is an open secret. If you are the patient, if you travel to China for a kidney transplant, it's not really difficult to find a source. I have worked to document the entire process of executions and organ transplants in China. In 1994, I went back to China with BBC and visited a couple of hospitals and many patients, doctors, policemen, and government officials. Earlier this year in 1997, I went to Thailand. There's a report that said in the last couple of years, 47 Thai patients went to China and all of them recognized their kidney has come from executed prisoners. The average fee they pay is in U.S. dollars, \$26,600. Some of them not only give the money to the hospital, also spend money for these executioners.

There is a woman from Thailand, later you will see in the ABC film. She told me about the whole process. She said the doctor and nurse frequently emphasize one word, "fresh". Unfortunately today she can not come over here, but her story is remarkable.

In the investigation with ABC News, we found an advertisement in a Chinese language newspaper which is based in New York last June. The advertisement said, "Organ transplant in China. Don't miss the opportunity. Call the number——" a (203) number, which means in Connecticut. The number led us to a Dr. Dai Yong, a student at the University of Bridgeport, Connecticut and his wife.

Then I posed as a wealthy patient and contacted Mr. and Mrs. Dai. The two brokers very openly were talking about the source of the organs. "Regarding the prisoners' health, they are all given physical check-ups and blood tests." They were not at all hesitant, and even they went further and said, "We know it comes from executed prisoners. Before Harry Wu made trouble, we didn't know

anything. The government didn't do anything. Now the government has a procedure, and asks the prisoners to sign a paper."

We were not the first people who were sold an organ by these people. This couple is still in the United States. It is illegal in the United States to sell organs. I fully expect that the Justice Department will investigate this case and quickly take proper actions. As Mrs. Dai said, "They have a lot to choose from." A Chinese medical journal shows the number of the Chinese kidney transplant cases is growing year after year. In 1991, there were 1,771 cases. In 1992, 1,905. In 1995, 2,382 cases. In 1996, there were 2,792. Chinese sources said that by the end of 1996, there were a total of 8,759 kidney transplant cases. According to an Amnesty International report, at least 90 percent of them come from death row prisoners.

At the same time, the number of record executions, also as documented by Amnesty International, is also growing. According to an Amnesty International report, there were 3,110 individuals condemned to death in China in 1995, and with 2,190 recorded executions. But according to 1996 report, Amnesty International documented 6,100 death sentences, and recorded 4,367 known executions. Today, the People's Republic of China on the record of executions is the No. 1 country in the world. Today, 75 to 80 percent executions of the world happens in the People's Republic of China. Our research identified 88 different facilities in China that carry out kidney transplants. Chinese sources show that a large number of the largest hospitals are run by the Chinese military, the People's Liberation Army. Of the three facilities that have more than 1,000 kidney transplant procedures in their history, two are military medical university hospitals. Because the military all the time have the privilege, also the privilege of these death row prisoners.

The central role of the military hospitals in the systematic harvesting of prisoner's organs shows further the total involvement of all institutions of the Chinese Government and this disgusting process. The use of the executed prisoners' organs is a coordinated government policy sanctioned by the Communist regime, and lines the pockets of the officials and military with bloody money.

This government, according to communism idea, set up their law. According to this Communist law, the government arrested people and sent them to death and arranged their hospital and the doctor. Chinese doctors are government employees, and go to the execution ground, remove the organ from them. Many of them sell it to international markets, earning hard currency from human bodies. It has not happened in our history, human history.

I want this practice stopped. I want the Congress and the Administration to do all it can during Jiang Zemin's visit to tell him we know he has lied to us, we know what is going on today in China. We want to stop it. Jiang Zemin as the President of this government, of this country, is totally absolutely responsible for this crime. I call upon the President to raise this issue tomorrow in his face-to-face discussion with Jiang. If the President does not confront China, or force it to face its ugly practices, then the Chinese Communists will know that their behavior has no consequences.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for taking a leading position in this Congress on this issue. Thank you so much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Wu appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Wu. Thank you for continuing to bring information that very few people have been able to garner about what's truly going on in China, and for your passionate witness today to the barbarity of what's being done to these prisoners.

Ms. Shea.

STATEMENT OF NINA SHEA, DIRECTOR, PUEBLA PROGRAM ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, FREEDOM HOUSE

Ms. SHEA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for inviting Freedom House to testify today at these critically important hearings on human rights in China. It is essential that China's President, Jiang Zemin, know that the American people are truly concerned with human rights, and you have provided an important platform for us. Thank you.

My testimony today focuses on the persecution against the Christian minority in China. It is based on the findings of two fact-gathering missions to China that Freedom House has conducted over the past 5 months, information and testimony provided to us by networks of Chinese underground Protestants and Catholics, documents and statements of China's Government and party officials, and an extraordinary October 24th statement of *Fides*, which is the publication of the Vatican's society for the propagation of faith as well as reports of American and foreign Christians who traveled to China in recent months.

I will summarize my testimony. I'd like to include for the record a list of 30 priority cases that we have compiled of both Catholics and Protestants in some form of detention or under house arrest for religious reasons, as well as the Vatican's document of October 24.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, those two documents will be made a part of the record.

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Ms. SHEA. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, China is continuing and intensifying its campaign against the Christian underground. The intensifying persecution is pervasive, though uneven in degree of brutality. The centers of greatest Christian population, in Henan, in Hebei, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi, are among those suffering the greatest crackdown. The public security bureau police have tortured a number of underground Christians over the past year, including brutal beatings that have maimed and even killed, binding detainees in excruciating positions, hanging detainees from their limbs, tormenting them with electric batons and other implements, and crushing the feet and ankles of Christians while they are forced to kneel.

China's persistent and intensifying persecution of Chinese Christians is a direct result of China's policy that all Christian worship must occur within government-sanctioned organizations. Both evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics who choose to worship independently are stating that this is the worst period of persecution for them since the catastrophic Cultural Revolution.

China has more Christian prisoners and detainees than any other country in the world. Protestants are being arrested and tortured for holding prayer meetings, preaching, and distributing bibles without State approval. Roman Catholic priests, including 10 Catholic bishops, are currently imprisoned under some form of house arrest or have disappeared after celebrating mass and administering the sacraments without official authorization. Christian prisoners are often held in deplorable prison conditions, with some being forced to work as veritable slaves of the State in labor camps throughout the country.

Detailed and credible reports documented that three evangelicals and one Catholic priest have been beaten to death by police over the past year because of their independent religious activities. Over the past year, since China reinvigorated its campaign to register all Christian congregations, hundreds of Protestant and Catholic house churches have been raised and forcibly closed or demolished. The popular Catholic shrine at Dong Lu has been smashed, and bibles and other property of un-registered Christians have been arbitrarily confiscated, and steep fines imposed on their owners.

Since last year, members of the Christian underground have noted that authorities have adopted harsher tactics. In particular, they report that authorities have begun to target underground house church leaders for arrest, giving them 3-year sentences of re-education and labor camps.

For Protestants, Henan Province is one of the areas hardest hit. Protestant leaders report that about 40 percent of inmates in Henan laogai or labor camps are there for belonging to the Christian underground. In Henan no. 1 labor camp, approximately 50 out of 126 inmates are imprisoned for underground church activities. During the Freedom House team's visit there last May, 85 house church Christians were rounded up and arrested in two dragnet operations in Zhou Kou, Henan Province.

On March 16, Peter Xu, perhaps the most important underground Protestant leader in China, who heads the enormous New Birth Church movement, was arrested and jailed with seven others in Henan. Last month, Xu was sentenced to 10 years in the labor camp, one of the harshest sentences in 15 years given out for Christian activities.

The Freedom House team received reports that 300 Protestants have been arrested in Louyang Jail in Henan since July a year ago. It was in Henan that Zhang Xiuju, a 36-year-old woman was beaten to death by police during an arrest for underground Christian activities on May 26, 1996.

There are many other examples of torture and brutal treatment in my testimony. I'll refer to the written record for that. I just want to mention that the extraordinary issue of the Vatican-linked publication *Fides*, which came out on October 24, stated—and by the way, the name of this document is called "China, Elimination of Underground Christians"—this Vatican statement said, "The security forces of the party have unleashed a struggle against the underground Catholic communities, those not controlled by the Patriotic Association. In a certain sense, this is real elimination."

Mr. Chairman, there have been a number of official documents that have been leaked and smuggled to the West. One is the

Donglai Township Committee of the Communist Party from last November, which outlines procedures for the eradication of the underground Roman Catholic church; steps that include systematic brain washing, ideological struggle sessions, and criminal prosecution of pro-Vatican Catholics. Similar Communist Party documents outlining the special "class struggle" for the suppression of both the Protestant and Catholic underground in various parts of Zhejiang Province have also surfaced in recent months.

Freedom House's Center on Religious Freedom estimates that China's Christian population, both underground and registered, both Catholic and Protestant, number between 40 and 60 million. Millions of these Christians have joined the underground because the members of the government-registered churches are restricted. Patriotic churches, that is, the government-sanctioned churches, have to be organized in the same church body. That is, one denomination, and are restricted in working with people under 18. The clergy can not preach outside of their own area. The clergy and venue must be approved by the government, and church services and members are subject to monitoring.

The Patriotic Catholic Church can not accept the authority of the Pope. Sermons must stick to approved topics. All Patriotic preachers must steer clear of forbidden topics like the second coming of Christ, the New Testament's gifts of the spirit, the Old Testament's story of creation, and must steer clear of preaching against abortion, which is part of the State's draconian one-child policy.

The Chinese Government is censoring portions of the official Catholic catechism. China imposes impediments to the Roman Catholic Church as an institution by barring the Vatican from making episcopal appointments in China and the government, in fact, makes its own appointments for bishops of the Catholic church inside China.

While on trips to the West, Mr. Chairman, China's political leaders and religion commissars portray China's current religious environment as "a golden period". They state otherwise to the Chinese people. China's President Jiang Zemin's own remarks indicate zero tolerance for religious freedom. He said that State religious policy is to "actively guide religion so that it can be adapted to the socialist society." President Jiang said that in the March 14, 1996, edition of the People's Daily. A year before, President Jiang Zemin declared to the Religious Affairs Bureau that "we are engaged in a secret struggle against the church." He then went on to outline three "sentences" for religious policy. "A comprehensive and correct implementation of party religious policy, strict supervision over religious affairs according to the law, and act of guidance of religion toward adaptation to socialist society."

Mr. Chairman, the extraordinary document published on October 24 by the Vatican's press organ *Fides*, which provides details of the government's persecution against Chinese Catholics in recent times, concludes, "If during the meeting between President Jiang Zemin and President Clinton religious rights are not clearly addressed, there is little hope for the world." Freedom House concurs. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Shea appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Ms. Shea, very much for your testimony.

Dr. Keller.

STATEMENT OF ALLEN KELLER, M.D., PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Dr. KELLER. Thank you. As a physician who spends a significant portion of his time caring for torture survivors, first I would like to acknowledge the leadership that you, Congressman Smith, have shown on issues of importance to torture survivors, including co-sponsoring with Congressman Lantos the Torture Victims Relief Act, a bill which provides assistance to torture survivors in this country and abroad, and which hopefully will be reintroduced as soon as possible. I also want to thank Congressman Wolf for his leadership and voice on issues of importance toward Tibet.

I am a member of the International Advisory Board of Physicians for Human Rights and appear today on PHR's behalf. Today I present the findings from an extensive investigation conducted by Physicians for Human Rights and contained in our report, "Striking Hard, Torture in Tibet". This investigation evaluated the frequency of torture among a sample of Tibetan refugees in Dharamsala, India, which I conducted in collaboration with a team of five other health professionals. I would also like to acknowledge that one of my colleagues, Mr. Glen Kim, is here with us today. Glen is a fourth year medical student at New York University, and reminds me that the future of the medical profession is in good hands.

In this study, we interviewed 258 Tibetan refugees, asking them about a history of abuse, conducting detailed physical examinations on those who reported a history of torture. Our findings strongly suggest that torture is part of a widespread pattern of abuse, not an isolated phenomena, and that torture continues to be used routinely by Chinese authorities in Tibet as a means of political repression, punishment, and intimidation. Thus, it is important when President Clinton meets with Chinese President Jiang Zemin, Mr. Clinton should recognize that he is sitting down with the leader of a country which routinely tortures men, women, and children.

In the PHR study, we found that more than one in seven of the Tibetan refugees we interviewed reported being tortured by the Chinese authorities while living in Tibet. All of these cases of torture were determined by PHR investigators to be highly credible. Many of these cases of torture had in fact occurred within the past 2 years. Those tortured included monks and nuns, as well as lay persons, political activists, as well as ordinary citizens and children. Nearly half of the 258 refugees we interviewed reported having a family member or close friend who had been tortured. It's been said that when one individual in the community is tortured, the entire community is tortured. This is because of a ripple effect of fear and terror. Tragically, the risk of being tortured in Tibet remains all too common.

The most frequently reported forms of torture included severe beatings, electric shocks with cattle prods on the face, arms, and genitals, suspension in painful positions, witnessing others being tortured, deprivation of food or sleep, and mock executions. One adolescent boy who we interviewed reported being submerged in water and then thrown onto an electrified bed.

Let me share with you one of the testimonies from a Tibetan torture survivor who we interviewed and examined. I will acknowledge that these reports are extremely upsetting to hear. I am even more upset that I have to present them. NR, a Buddhist monk, was 18 years old when he was reportedly arrested and imprisoned for 3 months for distributing freedom pamphlets at a pro-independence demonstration, and for possessing a picture of the Dalai Lama.

These are his own words. "The Chinese police tied my hands and suspended me from the ceiling, and then punched and kicked me, and shocked me all over my body with electric cattle prods. They shocked me on the genitals so that my genitals bled and later got infected, and it was difficult to urinate. They also beat me on the feet with sticks. In the winter, I was made to stand naked against a cold wall for 3 to 4 hours at a time a few times each week. I was also put in solitary confinement. The Chinese police repeatedly beat me with a stick on my thigh until the stick broke and splintered into the skin. It got infected and it took a long time to heal. I wasn't given any medical care for this. One time when I said Tibet was free, a prison official put a gun to my head and threatened to kill me."

NR continues to suffer from symptoms of depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder. He reports difficulty concentrating, and often gets headaches. He also reports that he easily gets upset. On physical examination, he has a scar on his leg consistent with the injury which he describes.

It's hard to imagine anyone could torture a Buddhist monk or nun, let alone a child. Tragically, the Chinese Government's torture of Tibetan children appears common. Fifteen percent of the torture survivors we examined were 16 years old or younger at the time of their abuse. For example, NC, a Buddhist nun, was 16 years old when she was imprisoned for 2 years for chanting in a public square, "Long live Tibet. Free Tibet." "During the first month I was in prison, I was tortured often. I was beaten many times and electrocuted all over my body. When the Chinese tortured me, they would yell, "Why do you demonstrate? Don't you know the Chinese are good for you? You must not say Tibet is free. Tibet is part of China." One time they took my blood with a syringe, even though I told them not to."

NC reports that she frequently saw others being beaten and tortured. On one occasion, she reports witnessing a young man approximately 21 years old being beaten. She reports he was subsequently shot in the head. "Since my torture" she says, "I am not so well. I also feel my nerves are not so good. When I see people protesting, I think about what happened, and I get very upset. But I still must protest. In Tibet we have no political or religious freedom."

We judge such reports of torture to be highly credible. The victims of torture still suffered physical and psychological symptoms as a result of their abuse. Scars, neurologic problems, and muscular-skeletal disorders were common. Almost all had symptoms of depression and anxiety such as recurrent nightmares and flashbacks of their torture. The terror of torture is intended to spread beyond the individual victims we examined. The knowledge that

anyone detained by Chinese authorities is likely to be tortured is used to cow the Tibetan people into submission.

Clearly, individuals detained for their political activities are at high risk of being tortured. Ninety four percent of the people in our survey who reported being detained because of their political activities, also reported being tortured. But it wasn't just political dissidents who were tortured. Our investigation found that Tibetans detained by Chinese authorities for a variety of reasons other than political activities, such as arguing with a Chinese shopkeeper or trying to cross the Tibetan border, were tortured as well.

Physicians for Human Rights is very concerned that constructive engagement appears to be a policy whereby the Administration talks about human rights privately to the Chinese authorities, but exercises none of the leverage that it possesses to achieve positive change. In this regard, we note that China was granted an official summit meeting in the United States which was greatly prized, without having achieved a single human rights concession. PHR strongly urges the Administration to re-establish human rights linkages to those things that China most desires: a State visit by the President of the United States, permission to import high technology American goods, and admittance into the World Trade Organization.

The United States should also continue to urge that the U.N. Commission on Human Rights examines human rights problems in China and Tibet, and support a resolution on China next year. The failure of this year's resolution was largely due to the lateness and ambivalence of the U.S. effort, and the negative signals other countries received as a result.

No amount of explanation or political analysis can justify President Clinton refusing to mention by name Chinese political prisoners, such as Wei Jingsheng, or remain silent about the widespread use of torture in Tibet as a means of political repression and cultural destruction. President Clinton should insist that Chinese authorities refrain from the use of torture in Tibet, and honor the international conventions to which China is a signatory, including the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Furthermore, President Clinton should insist that Chinese Government permit access to Tibet and to detention facilities, prisons, and labor camps, by the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and other human rights organizations.

When I was in Dharamsala, India, I had the privilege of meeting with the Dalai Lama. During our discussion about our findings, he commented to me that he thought it was so important that we speak out about these issues because he felt the world was largely ignorant of the atrocities being perpetrated against the Tibetans. He said to me, "We must not whisper. We must not talk. We must shout about what we have seen."

It is the President's moral responsibility, it's all of our moral responsibility to end torture in Tibet, and to speak out about the sustained brutal assault on the Tibetan community. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Keller appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Keller, thank you very much for that very comprehensive statement, and for bearing witness today to the truth of what's going on in Tibet.

Mr. Kumar.

**STATEMENT OF T. KUMAR, ADVOCACY DIRECTOR FOR ASIA,
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL/USA**

Mr. KUMAR. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Amnesty International wishes to express its gratitude for inviting us to testify in this timely hearing. This is timely because of course the President of China is going to have a summit after the Tiananmen Square massacre. It is also significant because China as a nation is increasingly becoming powerful in Asia as well as around the world. So any practice, any abuses that China can get away with is going to set an example to other countries that they can also get away with those abuses.

I would also like to congratulate you for inviting someone from Xinjiang Province. We are concerned about the abuses that are taking place in that part of China, which has not been so told to the outside world.

Today's hearing is about U.S./China relations. Is the constructive engagement working? That's the title. I would like to phrase that to include, is the current form of constructive engagement working? If the numbers and research speaks for itself, then of course we all can agree that the current form of constructive engagement is not working. We did not see any significant movement in the release of prisoners. There are at least 2,000 political prisoners in jail for the last couple of years. We did not see any decrease in the persecution of religious minorities. We did not see any decrease in enforcing the one-child policy by forcibly aborting and sterilizing women who cross the line by having a second child or are pregnant with their second.

We have seen a disturbing increase in the death penalty. Mr. Chairman. Amnesty International opposes death penalty without any reservation, no matter what excuses anyone may have. China has executed more than 4,600 people last year alone. This is the minimum number we are talking about. It may be higher.

We, Amnesty International and other human rights organizations, did not get access until now. So if the result speaks for itself, definitely the current form of constructive engagement is not producing any results.

I would like to move a little bit to say how the Administration is practicing or enforcing its current form of constructive engagement. They claim that they have raised the issue of human rights, ranging from political prisoners to torture to issues in Tibet, to religious persecution in private.

The best form of raising the issue in an international forum is the U.N. Human Rights Commission. We like to congratulate for at least cosponsoring it, but we found disturbing signals that there is no solid diplomatic muscle behind those resolutions. The timing, the last minute of cosponsoring of the resolution, and not putting enough work or pressure to make sure that it passes, is not producing results. So if that's the form of constructive engagement the

Administration is talking about, we are really disturbed about their definition of constructive engagement.

The second issue that I would like to talk about, is the Administration's practice of constructive engagement. We have no concerns about President Clinton meeting with President Jiang Zemin. It's a protocol. But last December, when the Defense Minister of China, General Chi visited the United States, President Clinton met with him in the White House. He was given the red carpet welcome. General Chi is not only the Minister of Defense, he was also the commander in charge, when the Tiananmen Square demonstrations were taking place in Beijing.

He had the operational control over the troops in Tiananmen Square. In effect, he is answerable to the deaths and destruction that took place in Tiananmen Square in 1989. According to Amnesty International, we have documented at least 1,000 people were killed. It's a very conservative figure. To this day, no independent inquiry has taken place to investigate why it happened and who is answerable to these killings.

If this is the constructive engagement the Administration is talking about, if this is the way the Administration wanted to enforce its constructive engagement, we can bet that the human rights situation in China will go from bad to worse. It's already bad. It may get worse.

The best analysis of constructive engagement came in the 1996 human rights report of the State Department. If that report is a yardstick, then the Clinton Administration is getting zero marks for it, constructive engagement. We welcome active constructive engagement, not passive constructive engagement.

If constructive engagement is a code word to be silent, then we all should be aware that we should not keep quiet about this constructive engagement philosophy that the Administration is pushing forward today.

It's interesting to note that the Administration is having a constructive engagement when it comes to trade. They actively promote trade, actively raise their voices when there is a single incident when international trading organizations have any problems in China. As a policy, Amnesty International does not take a position on MFN. So we are not a sanction organization. But we are concerned that constructive engagement is actively practiced when it comes to trade, but it is not at all practiced with that same rigor when it comes to human rights. We want to ask the Administration to actively pursue human rights the way you pursue trade.

In a nutshell, Mr. Chairman, the current constructive engagement is a failure. It's sad. It's an utter failure. But there is time for the Administration to change. There is time for the Administration to become active in terms of pursuing human rights by giving equal priority to trade and human rights.

Thank you again for inviting us.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kumar appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Kumar. I think we should all sit up and take notice of Amnesty International, which has a sterling reputation for clarity and fairness and impartiality, whether it be investigating a dictatorship on the right or on the left. When you say constructive engagement is a failure, I would hope

that every Member of Congress and the Administration would sit up and take notice, because it's a very powerful statement. Thank you for your testimony.

Just let me say that all of your statements will be made a part of the record. I notice you did that one orally without referring to your notes. So I do thank you for that.

Mr. KUMAR. I have actually submitted one.

Mr. SMITH. That will be made a part of the record.

Ms. Uighur.

STATEMENT OF RIZVANGUL UIGHUR, UIGHUR REFUGEE

Ms. UIGHUR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Rizvangul Uighur. I am a Uighur from East Turkistan which the Chinese call Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. I am very grateful for the opportunity to testify on Chinese human rights abuses in my motherland on behalf of oppressed, forgotten people there. As you can see from my appearance, I am not a Chinese. My mother tongue is not Chinese. My culture is Turk culture. The Uighur history has no connection whatsoever to Chinese. My motherland was taken over by Chinese Communists in 1950.

It is obvious to everyone, Chinese Government's policy, especially after implementing the so-called Number 7 Act of the PRC Central Standing Committee hosted by Mr. Jiang Zemin clearly stated the discriminatory policy toward the Uighur and other indigenous populations of Eastern Turkistan. I regret that I don't have time to list all the abuses caused by the PRC. However, I would like to take this chance to give you what I know about the February 5th and 6th incident of this year which the Chinese Government shamelessly labeled as riot-organized by a small number of separatists. The reality is nowhere close to the Chinese official description of the event.

Ghulja is a city with Uighur majority. It's situated in the northern part of Eastern Turkistan. In Uighur cultural tradition, there are cultural gatherings called Mashrap, a county-level unofficial soccer competition organized by Uighurs, and some other religious gatherings. All these normal activities are considered counter-revolutionary activities by Chinese officials, and banned completely. The purpose is obvious. They want to systematically destroy our culture, religion, history, and traditional activities and finally to genocide Uighur as a whole.

Uighurs are born Muslim. It is our religious tradition to gather together to pray during the holy Ramadan. On the eve of Ramadan on February 5th in Ghulja, ordinary believers were offended by the arrests of 30 prestigious religious leaders by the Chinese Government. They were shocked by the arrests, especially the young folks could no longer tolerate. Six hundred young people took to the streets, walking toward city government, demanding release of those religious figures. On their way, they were brutally stopped by police and the paramilitary forces. Police violently dispersed crowds using electrical clubs, water cannon, and tear gas in the freezing day.

The second day, an even bigger demonstration was held after Uighurs all over town heard about the incident. Chinese police and paramilitary forces were ordered to shoot to the crowd, and killed

167 people, and succeeded in suppressing the rally. Afterwards, the Chinese policemen arrested over 5,000 demonstrators, including elder, young women and children in a single day on the charge of intending to split the motherland, conducting criminal activity, fundamental religious activity, and counter-revolutionary element.

One of my friends was among the arrested. She is only 20 years old. She described to me what happened to her that day as follows. Chinese policemen forced all the arrested Uighurs to take off shoes and stand barefoot on snow for hours. They also released police dogs to bite them. One by one, the arrested individuals were called in for questioning. My friend is a devout Muslim. When she was called in she was asked, "Are you a Muslim?" My friend replied, "Yes. Of course I am." "Where is your god?" the policeman asked. The girl replied, "God is in my heart." Then you would not believe what the policeman did to her. He tore off her clothes and pressed a burning cigarette on her bare breast and crudely yelled, "If your god is in your heart now, ask him now, rescue you now." Afterwards, all the girls from the age of 14 up were locked into Han Chinese male prison cells. The Han prisoners took full advantage of these innocent souls, and destroyed their spiritual purity.

After the demonstration, we were a little surprised about the patience of the Chinese Government in making open executions. Everything was clear. They were waiting for the United States to offer Most Favored Nation status to China. Right after MFN was approved by the Congress, the Chinese Government made the first open execution of seven Uighurs, and sentenced 23 demonstrators ranging from 5 years to lifetime. In order to "kill the chicken to scare the monkeys," Chinese military forces load them on the open truck guarded with heavily armed soldiers, humiliatedly drove slowly through the busy Uighur bazaar and neighborhoods. During that time, crying crowd, including relatives, family members, and friends of so-called criminals, followed the trucks to say goodbye.

Guess what the Chinese soldiers did? Would you believe such cruelty could ever happen in a civilized society? They opened fire on the ordinary crowd. They killed nine Uighurs on the spot, and injured over 25. Chinese media could not hide the incident, and officially admitted and said that the soldiers opened fire on the "mobs" who wanted to rescue the criminals, the biggest lie one can ever create.

I heard Chinese made large-scale secret execution of the demonstrators, religious figures who refused to comply with the government. One of my friend's brothers was among the secretly executed Uighurs. His brother was arrested one night in April after the Ghulja incident. At 3 p.m. the next day, his father and spouse were informed to pay a final visit for 5 minutes. The young man was executed afterwards without any judicial trial. Nobody knows where his dead body is. Many other arrested people, nobody can ask where are they, and are they alive or not, nobody knows until now.

As I told you in the beginning, I was born an Uighur. I didn't see any Chinese and I couldn't speak Chinese when I was young. But now I saw millions of Chinese migrated in my country. All of them are transferred by the Chinese Government. We have already become a minority in our own motherland.

Let me give you some more examples of the human rights violations of government that every single Uighur is experiencing nowadays in their own motherland. One, because of the nuclear testing, there are many deformed children, unknown diseases, and all kinds of untreatable skin diseases. The Chinese Government claims that nuclear tests are safe and no harm to the Uighurs who live surrounding the test site. I want to ask Jiang Zemin why doesn't he let Chinese test their nuclear bombs in their own land if it's safe and harmless to the human. We Uighurs don't need bombs of any kind.

Two. The birth control policy toward Uighurs is unbearable. Babies are being killed in delivery rooms without seeing the mother's face and the world. Those pure souls died without knowing what is wrong and who is their mother. The mothers lost their children, even had no chance to say goodbye to their newborns, whom they had for 40 weeks of pregnancy, to whom they have many wishes and in the new life they were dreaming to have with. The reason for those innocent souls' death is that their mothers have no birth permission. For those who gave birth to such a child would encounter maltreatment and ignorance in hospital for their violation of government birth control policy. Many of the mothers die after giving birth from the infection and the other diseases caused by such treatment. Many of them have no money because many of them have only money to see a doctor. After all, their family would face a financial punishment for their violation of government birth control policy.

Three. On a train from Urumqi to Beijing, there were only two Uighurs including me. Suddenly, we saw two policemen walking directly to us, bypassing all the Chinese in the train. They rudely yelled to us, "Show us your identification" and searched over all our belongings. We were so offended and felt deeply humiliated. But both of us didn't say anything since we know from our experience that if we said something, we would be in big trouble. This is what every Uighur is experiencing every day, everywhere in the People's Republic of China.

Four. We were deprived of our religious rights. The government employees and the workers are not allowed to pray, to attend religious school, or go to Mosques openly. I was warned by a Chinese official that I had to take off my scarf, otherwise, I could not keep my job. I was forced to pray secretly at home as a consequence.

Thank you very much for your attention. I sincerely hope you could help my people by stopping Chinese inhumane treatment of Uighurs. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Uighur appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much for that heartbreaking story as to what is happening to the Uighurs. It is well documented, but largely unknown. So I think that your being here helps to bring the plight of the Uighurs to Congress, and hopefully by extension to the country, the United States. So thank you very much.

Mr. Shen Tong.

STATEMENT OF SHEN TONG, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRACY FOR CHINA FUND

Mr. SHEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My heart is pounding. I can hardly restrain myself from bursting into tears listening to the testimony of this Uighur lady. I want you and other Uighur friends in this room to know that I as an ethnic Chinese, I feel the pain you are feeling because many of us have gone through the same thing.

Eight years ago when I first came to this country after fleeing the massacre in and around Tiananmen Square, one of the first things I did was to go to a Tibetan gathering to show my condolences for those who are killed under the Chinese regime and my grieving for the suffering in Tibet.

I often tell myself and tell others, and today I tell myself again that we're so often focusing on the difficulties and sufferings we have in the struggle to bring democracy and freedom for China and freedom for the Chinese people, and often lose sight of other brutalities the Beijing regime has conducted against the ethnic minorities, and special regional minorities within the Chinese borders. So I hope this, my token of expression can in some way ease your pain. I believe I speak here not only on behalf of myself, as an ethnic Chinese, but many of those back in China, Chinese who may or may not know the details of the suffering, but they are with you. They suffer the same ills and pain from the same regime.

From there, I want to thank Mr. Chairman, Congressman Wolf, and other Members of this Committee for arranging this opportunity for people like this Uighur lady sitting next to me and for the survivors of the Chinese democracy movement in exile, myself and Mr. Harry Wu, and for other Americans who have cared deeply and continuously about what's going on in that part of the world, to present the truth in front of the Committee and in front of international media. It is a rare moment, a real opportunity for all of us. I sincerely, from the bottom of my heart, applaud you for this effort.

This goes to the heart of what I want to say here today. That this is a kind of message people in China who are fighting for their freedoms, either their national self-determination, or basic human rights in different parts of China, this is a kind of message they need to hear. Change will happen from within. It must happen from within. It is happening from within. What the freedom fighters in China need the most is a caring outside world. This is exactly the message Americans in the free world can send to people back in China.

Before I came to this testimony, I have been thinking about how I will present huge amounts of human rights abuses that are happening in China ever since 1989, and actually before 1989, the brutal crackdown of our peaceful demonstration in Tiananmen and other cities across China. It is well documented. The figures have been out there for many years.

So I thought I may make a unique contribution by just putting a few faces to those figures, and telling you a few of my personal friends and close colleagues and their experience, to again, put their face to what we often hear the figures in thousands, some-

times tens of thousands in labor camps, even millions, those nameless people, the victims of that brutal regime.

My close friend and colleague, Wang Dan, today as I'm speaking, is serving his seventh year sentence in a remote city in the north-eastern region of China. He is suffering from a number of diseases, including prostate disease and pharyngitis. Back in 1989, Wang Dan was a sophomore at Beijing University, where I was a junior. Today the 28-year-old dissident has spent 7 of the past 8 years in various prisons. He was in prison first for his leadership role in the 1989 protest. Later he received an 11-year sentence for continuing his advocacy for political reform in China during his 14-month interval of freedom.

The man who sentenced him, the President of the Beijing regime, Jiang Zemin, is in town today, and is meeting with President Clinton tomorrow claiming to represent the world's most populous country.

A few days ago, I talked to Wang Dan's mother. She is quite exhausted, not only from the years of worry for her son, but also from the trips she has to take, thousands of kilometers each month to the prison because the Chinese Government decided not to jail Wang Dan in his hometown, Beijing, but rather to put him in a remote city in the northeastern region in China called Jinzhou. They have to travel every month and sometimes suffer from not being allowed to visit their son, even after they got there.

Wang Dan's mother particularly is depressed because last year, she decided to defend her son in the secret trial Jiang Zemin's regime has held for Wang Dan. Of course that defense was doomed to fail as all the other defense for similar cases. As a mother, she couldn't bear the fact that she could not protect her son from this unspeakable 11-year sentence against a young person who was just 26 years old.

There are many others, but because of time constraints, I won't go into many details. Also because what I heard from my co-panelist about the Uighur situation, that I don't think I want to go into details about the torture stories that I know from the families of my colleagues and friends back in 1989, who had been in jail and some of them are still in jail.

Wang Dan and several others I was planning to present, these are well known dissidents in China. Many of them are well known internationally. Under the Chinese current regime, these people are generally treated better than other nameless prisoners. Definitely all the prisoners in the formal prison are in some ways treated better than the forced labor camp, which my co-panelist Harry Wu is an expert on that administrative punishment system. So you can imagine what they have to go through in different prisons and laogai, labor camps.

I want to raise the awareness of other forms of punishment also in China. That not only prison jails people in China, but rather there's this coherently conducted police state that using all administrative and even neighborhood committee means to control people and giving constant harassment through temporary detentions, workplace harassment, telephone tapping, and sometimes disconnecting lines, tailing people and taking photographs, denying work opportunities, complicate post-jail life by not issuing an ID

which is crucial for any travel and finding a job. Even sometimes planting evidence in order to detain again some of the just-released prisoners of conscience.

Restricted travel and closing down businesses. To mention just one, Wei Jingsheng's brother, who had a fairly prosperous commercial firm, was closed down not long ago. In Chen Zeming's case, even the bank account was frozen; his wife couldn't have the money to buy the medicine for his illness. So there are many forms of punishment away from prison cells and forced labor camps. It comes down to the daily life of those people who dare to speak their minds, who dare to advocate for improvement for human rights and democracy.

I want to skip many of these cases and go down to the last point I plan to make. That is, will the Jiang dynasty see a betterment in the areas of human rights and political reform? The answer is so far no. Jiang consolidated his power a few months ago in the first post-Deng Xiaoping Communist Party Congress in China. Many viewed Jiang as a technocrat during his long rise to power. Yet he has the same brutal mentality and the real politick as that of his predecessors, the first generation of Communist revolutionaries.

Jiang participated in the decision to end our 7-week nationwide peaceful demonstration with the June 4th massacre of 1989. Indeed, he is the biggest benefactor of the massacre. Wang Dan and other opposition leaders numbering in thousands, have suffered longer sentences and harsher treatment under Jiang's regime than they did under Deng.

In addition, Jiang's regime has opening denied 49 exile Chinese nationalists, including Mr. Wu here and myself, the right to return home, and continuously driven more dissidents into exile.

Looking at the area of rights, the Clinton Administration's current engagement policy as it is has not improved conditions in China. Would a tougher human rights policy work? Would that fall into the designs of the Beijing regime that they can play off Europeans, Japanese, the Canadians? The answer is not a clear one. It is also beyond the scope of my testimony here.

But two things are very clear here. One is that there's a confusion among the Chinese liberal circles as to where the United States stands, and subsequently where the free world stands. From where they are, they see the United States participating in Jiang's dirty games such as trading Chinese human rights for protection of American copyrights, trading Chinese political voices of dissent for the sale of American nuclear power plants.

Two. The liberal stance, as a consequence of this confusion on policy, has been compromised to xenophobic nationalism in China. That over the long run and in the short term, is bad for China and bad for the U.S./China policy.

The reason I focus on the liberal circles in this testimony is that I believe it is important to focus on them because the best hope for a positive future for China and for U.S./China relations is internal liberal political changes, fostered in an international environment with a resolute stand on liberal principles in regard to constitutional democracy and human rights, as well as a bold and daring commitment to internal and exile liberal forces.

Current strategies of either containment or engagement have all overlooked the active role the United States can play in bringing about internal changes desired by the Chinese people. That this desire exists was clearly demonstrated by the pervasive social mobilization behind the calls for greater freedom and democracy in the spring of 1989, and continuously demonstrated in the last 8 years in all the field of, as we call it, the self-assertive civil society. In their daring act, a new generation of emerging opposition leaders putting out talk shows and liberal journals, magazines and books, risking their freedom and risking losing their jobs and their family being harassed, continually pushing for these changes.

To contain China as some would say in this town, I think is not an option. To engage Beijing is not a policy. President Clinton is determined to engage with China. But he should lead this Nation to engage with the real China, the people, and the liberal future of China, not with the Beijing regime. He should safeguard American values of liberty and democracy, as well as those of American business and security interests. He should actively support all positive development, including not only economic reform and development, but also the emergence of a civil society and pro-democracy efforts. In other words, he should contain Beijing and engage with China.

Americans can provide what Wang Dan and the determined Chinese liberal forces need the most, a genuine connection with the caring outside world through measures such as monitoring rights, abuses, including forced abortion practice, which is still widely practiced in China, pressing for human rights improvement, helping the free flow of information and ideas through the Internet and Radio Free Asia, directly supporting civil society initiatives, and sending more observers into the U.S. consulate in China.

While we understand, again, that change has to and will come from within, but under the current repression, it will be a blessing if the United States can stand its liberal ground to provide a positive environment for people, for freedom fighters inside China.

Wang Dan is the conscience of a liberal China. He and his colleagues in China and in exile here have the dream to promote a free society of responsible individuals. Contrary to those in the Beijing regime and some China experts in the West, we fully understand the torturous path of China's modern history. We have empathy for the pain that all the people, the people in China endure. We are alert to the complex domestic and international security issues China faces, and subsequently political and social stability that is important for balanced development.

We defer with the Beijing regime on the point of stability. We believe that stability should be for the good of the country, not the party in power. It should be for the good of the people, of the Chinese people. That stability is only achieved if a prospering China also develops respect for human rights, rule of law, and accountable democratic government, and responsible and peaceful participation in international affairs. Only then will we have lasting stability based on the time-honored Chinese tradition of what we call "an zu". That means peace and sufficiency, instead of being rich, powerful and ruthless.

While Chinese have the misfortune to be ruled by a police state, we are hopeful, as we were back in Tiananmen Square, we are determined to continue the struggle to transform the economically reformed China from a one-party dictatorship to a free China. We believe this is a winning cause. While the change must and will come from within, I call on behalf of Wang Dan and the many other emerging opposition leaders in China. I call for the support from the free world. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Shen appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Shen, thank you very much for your articulate and persuasive statement. It is so utterly troubling that these victims become victims simply because of their concern for their fellow Chinese, and—as you so aptly made a point of in your opening comments—the Uighurs and others in Tibet and elsewhere that are brutalized by this dictatorship. You are the people who should be at least informing policy. You are the wave of the future, notwithstanding the Li Pengs and the Jiang Zemins and others who currently occupy those positions.

My hope is that this hearing is part of an ongoing effort to keep hope alive, to bear witness to the truth, and to document the atrocities as they are occurring, because they are commonplace as you pointed out. Forced abortion continues unabated. Religious repression, as has been pointed out, continues unabated. As Mr. Kumar pointed out so well, the repression has gotten worse in the religious area since 1994. It's as if they are learning all the lessons in the Beijing dictatorship.

But there are many of us in Congress that care. The concern is bipartisan. There are conservatives. There are liberals. There are moderates. Ultimately, we will have our say, whether it be through linkages to trade or some other way, constructive engagement will be given some meaning. As Mr. Lantos pointed out, we're not looking for isolation. But we are looking for accountability. I think you made a very persuasive argument. This current dictatorship needs to be put on notice that there are many eyes and ears watching what they do. We will not stand by idly.

Dan Burton, chairman of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, is here and would like to make a comment.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I won't take much time. I would like to thank the people on the panel and congratulate them on their very eloquent statements. I only wish every Member of Congress was sitting in this room today and listening to what we have heard. I think even in the Congress of the United States, there is not much of an awareness about the horrible atrocities that are taking place in China and the countries that they now dominate surrounding China.

I notice that we have some people from the media here. I appreciate those who are in attendance. But this room ought to be filled with cameras. This room ought to be filled with cameras and news media people so that they can get the message out.

We have got the President of China in the United States right now. He's going to be meeting with the President tomorrow and going to have a big State dinner. We're going to be toasting to him, the White House is, and patting him on the back. At the very same time that we're doing that in this country, our leaders are doing

that, the President is doing that, millions of people are suffering in Communist gulags. People are having their human rights violated. The repression is legion throughout that country. The American people are only going to see the President of the United States toasting the head of that Communist repressive government. It's a darn shame. It's a darn shame because the media should not only report upon him being at the White House, but upon what these people have said here today, who have experienced these atrocities and have seen them first-hand in Tiananmen Square and the surrounding countries in Tibet and elsewhere. I just think it's tragic that we in this room are going to be privy to this information, but very few others throughout the country will be. So I am kind of sad.

But I can tell you this. That Chris Smith and myself, and my good friend from American Samoa and those who have been here today, will not hide our lights under a basket. We will speak out on behalf of freedom, democracy and human rights in China.

Although the change has to come from within, those of us who you have enlightened today, who know what's going on, will do our dead-level best to assist the people in China who want freedom, democracy and human rights. We are our brother's keeper. We need to be concerned about that. I know we'll do everything we can to help you. Thank you very much again for being here today. I really appreciate it.

Thank you, Chris.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Burton.

Let me just begin with some questions and note that, at the conclusion of the questioning by the panel, we do have two videos that we would like to show. One documents some of the testimony that Ms. Uighur provided for us about what is going on in her homeland. We also have a document or a video that Mr. Wu has asked us to play regarding the executions and the use of body parts for transplant.

Ms. Uighur noted in her statement that the Chinese Government held off its executions, its murdering of people until MFN was extended. I wonder if the panel could speak to the implications of that. There are some who say that we should use economic leverage or other leverages like denying a State visit. What was done by China to obtain this State visit? Nothing. Wei Jingsheng and all the others continue to languish in prison and be tortured. The torture, as Dr. Keller pointed out, is going on in Tibet. It's not diminishing. It's growing in its usage. Yet, as Mr. Burton pointed out, we'll be toasting the President of China and this dictatorship tomorrow over at the White House.

What do you think that says about our use or lack of use of the leverage that we do have at our disposal? This is our domestic policy, what we allow in in terms of trade, which government officials we receive. It was pointed out as well by one of our panelists that General Chi Haotian was treated in an enormously regal manner, with a 19-gun salute and a red carpet treatment.

Yet the Dalai Lama got short shrift by the Administration, a drop-in visit, so to speak, rather than a full-fledged reception when the Congress overwhelmingly in a bipartisan way said he ought to be granted a visa to come here, and it wasn't even to visit the

White House, the Beijing dictatorship went ballistic over that. There were all kinds of repercussions. This is our visa policy, who we allow in should not be dictated by Beijing. Yet they really seem in the end to carry the day on that particular issue.

What kind of leverage do we have? Are we using it effectively? Could you recap some of that? Who would like to begin? Nina?

Ms. SHEA. Yes. I think that we need to be strongly consistent in the bully pulpit, No. 1. The Administration has been giving mixed signals on that, I believe. It has not been a strong consistent statement. For example, President Clinton on VOA the other day said in a broadcast to China that those who disagree with the constructive engagement policy, "We believe they therefore," speaking of those who are in opposition to engagement, "Therefore believe we should be working harder to contain or even to confront China before it becomes even stronger."

In other words, we want a weak China. We're trying to weaken China by human rights campaigns. That's exactly what the Chinese are accusing the human rights movement of, in America. That we want to see a weak China. That is simply not true. We want to see a strong democratic China that respects international law, and the God-given human rights of its own people.

Second, the Secretary of State made a statement at Catholic University Law School last week saying that we shouldn't—it was in the context of criticizing the Wolf-Specter bill, but she was saying that we should be careful in pointing out religious repression around the world because we can't expect other countries, we have to respect their values, their perceptions of culture, particularities of culture. It was a cultural relativist argument and sort of backing away, backing off from the universality of human rights. I think that is a very bad signal to be giving immediately before, especially right on the eve of this Chinese summit, U.S. summit.

So first a bully pulpit. Second, I think we could be expanding our religious and human rights coverage inside China in support of those who are trying to be independent of the government in the political sphere and in the human rights sphere, and in the religious sphere. Third, I think that we really have been doing a lot of talking and no one is listening over there. That it is a monolog we're engaged in, not a dialog. And that therefore, we have to put some bite into it, and we have to start thinking of sanctions. I for one, would like to see the People's Liberation Army products stopped, and directly linked to human rights performance in China.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Keller.

Dr. KELLER. Well, as I mentioned before, we must point out these flagrant human rights violations. We must point out that torture is unacceptable. That the Chinese must agree to abide by the international conventions to which they are a party, including the Convention Against Torture, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child. So at every opportunity, remind them of this.

Then I think certainly in the future, before for example, the President considers a State visit to China, to have certain basic principles honored, to have access to the prisons, to have access to monitoring the conditions. I think this is critical.

One of the things the Chinese Government has been so effective at is keeping individuals out. Even when there have been some vis-

its, they have been almost staged or very limited, and you get into one prison. What we need is access to all prisons based on the policies clearly set out by the International Committee of the Red Cross and others. But it all starts with, at every opportunity, reminding the Chinese that their flagrant violation of human rights abuses, for example with regards to torture, are unacceptable and will not be tolerated.

Mr. SMITH. Before Mr. Kumar responds, when Warren Christopher, the Secretary of State, during the review period when MFN was linked to human rights by the Clinton Administration, one of the things that the Beijing dictatorship floated as a possibility was to allow the International Committee for the Red Cross to have access to prisons. I think that is something we need to raise again. If everything is as you say, Mr. President Jiang Zemin, then why do you disallow unfettered access by people who are totally neutral observers? They don't take a view. They are not American foreign policy people. They are not Chinese foreign policy types. They are people who only care about victims. Why not allow the ICRC to have access to your prisons? So I think that's something we need to press very aggressively.

They floated it as a possibility when they saw that they perhaps didn't need it, because the Administration at that point was speaking out of both sides of their mouth, saying that they are going to hang tough. Meanwhile, during my visit there, I was hearing from everyone, including our then Ambassador, Stapleton Roy, that there ought to be a delinkage.

Every Chinese leader that I met with during that visit, halfway through when MFN was linked, told me matter of factly right to my eyeball to eyeball, that "We're getting MFN and there's no linkage to human rights." They called the Administration's bluff.

I think as you pointed out, when we get to Geneva and try to argue for human rights, our credibility is compromised, our credibility is lessened on this issue, especially when it's done at the end of the day in a way that is likely to produce a failure. So we need to get very serious about this. That would be something that could be accomplished during this State visit. I would hope Jiang Zemin could say yes, the ICRC can come in. This dictator has that within his ability. I think we need to be very frank. Again, I think this is coming across from the panel, the "dialog" is a monolog, as Ms. Shea pointed out. When we're talking to people who are not listening, who are not responding, they are playing us for fools.

Mr. Kumar.

Mr. KUMAR. Yes. I touched on this topic in my opening remarks. I will characterize this with dos and don'ts. Dos are make sure that you raise the issue of human rights with sincerity. Don't do it because NGO's are asking or because of other pressures. Make sure you sincerely reflect the issue of human rights when you deal with them, and let it be part of every negotiation. It should be not be a single issue. It should be part of every issue.

As I mentioned, the constructive engagement should be an active constructive engagement, not passive constructive engagement. Active on the same level as trade.

The other issues, don'ts, as of course as I mentioned, giving red carpet welcomes to people like General Chi, is something you don't

do. These are the policy issues that hurt U.S. resolve toward sending the real signal to the Chinese Government.

So in a nutshell, the Administration should incorporate human rights in every issue they deal with, be it nuclear issues, be it trade issues, it should be part and partial of whatever dealings the U.S. Administration is having with China.

Finally, they should sincerely take the issue with other countries in the region as well as around the world to make sure that at least everyone comes to a basic agreement when they deal with China. Thank you.

Ms. UIGHUR. I would like to ask this gentleman.

Mr. PAHTA. I am very grateful—

Mr. SMITH. Could you identify yourself, please, for the record?

Mr. PAHTA. Oh. My name is Gulamettin Pahta. I am Uighur-American. I am the president of the Eastern Turkistan National Research Center presently. My colleagues asked me to bring her opinion to you.

As you know, the privatization in China only works for the Han Chinese government official people, not the local ethnic people. All factories, all business is occupied by the Han Chinese Government officials, especially the government people who are the factory chairmen, or factory's directorate, et cetera. They are buying the factories for themselves and immediately they fire the other local ethnic, non-Chinese people. Those people in my former country, Eastern Turkistan, become unemployed. The new Chinese settlers steady flow on a daily basis, between 2,000 and 2,800, and monthly coming almost more than 10,000 to 80,000 Han Chinese settlers who take the jobs, and our people are jobless. There is no unemployment among the Han Chinese.

This way, our suggestion is Most Favored Nation status must be blocked, and given the condition that if privatization is supposed to be equal for all the other Chinese citizens who are not Han Chinese; because the Uighur and Tibetans and Mongols, all other non-Chinese people, are discriminated against and steadily losing all kinds of economic opportunities. In my opinion, now more than 80 percent of business is taken over by Han Chinese Government officials. If the local people want to buy a factory and say, "Here is the money", the Chinese authority will confiscate the money and say that the money is made by illegal business with drugs or the like, which is not true. The local people can not do anything.

This way, in my research, my findings indicate that those rich people in my country are hiding the money, never put in the State bank because the confiscating or punish them with a certain separatist stamp or nationalist stamps. This way, the people are hiding the money and keeping under the bed or somewhere else. This way, those people can not buy the factory because they can not prove that money was in the bank savings, et cetera. This way, we strongly urge the Congress the human rights issue is supposed to be binding very closely and with conditions that the Most Favored Nation possibly blocked. This will be a very effective policy. Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. Shen, this is something that I think you perhaps are uniquely qualified to answer, although the others may want to comment

on it too: a visit like this, like the visit of Chi Haotian—the General Defense Secretary who again, was the architect of Tiananmen Square massacre—what impact does that have on dissidents in general, and especially those who are incarcerated? Do they know about it? Does it demoralize them? What does it do?

Mr. SHEN. Well, they certainly, like Jiang's visit, the entire effective State propaganda apparatus is all at work to show the normalization of American attitude toward China. So Chi Haotian's visit, like Jiang's in that sense, is part of what I was describing in my testimony of American undetermined policy toward China. They are creating the confusion among the Chinese people in general, and particularly among the liberal forces in China. It sends very bad signals.

I would very quickly focus on two points for your first question. What the United States can do in using its leverage to engage China in the right way. First is free flow information and free flow of ideas will continually empower the liberal forces in China. This can be done by enforcing and enlarging radio services like Radio Free Asia, and also actively taking the advantage of the existence and the booming of the Internet usage in China. That's a large area that can be used fairly inexpensively, but effectively. So information is one.

Second, is the support for democratic movement in China. I focus in on this too because this is not a new policy. When President Clinton delinked human rights and MFN status, he said the establishment of the Radio Free Asia and supporting democratic efforts in China will be the supplementary measure. It took the Administration 2 more years from the delink to actual establishment of the radio. Then we still haven't yet seen any real concrete steps in the second area. There are so many things that can be done to start with to be more sensitive about the changes taking place in China outside the power establishment. There are so many. I can go on to describe fascinating stories that are largely unknown to the outside.

Our liberal journalists and scholars in our network produce TV shows focusing on sensitive social issues that can get as many as 40 million viewers in China. That was shot down very quickly. These kinds of things, in publishing and books and journals and so on, can be supported. We don't need to parachute into agents or reinvent the wheel, because it's happening in China. The United States can be more sensitive to these developments by sending observers in the consulate and sending direct support for these kinds of activities.

Mr. SMITH. Let me just ask a couple of final questions, and thank you again for your fine testimony. I guess Nina Shea, this would be to you. Especially since there are some who are suggesting that religious freedom somehow is on the rise, that with the increase in commerce, somehow the good infection of freedom is taking hold.

Last night I was on the Christopher Matthews show, Hard Ball. A very well known political consultant who has apparently enormous financial transactions with China made the point that he's been to a Catholic church in Beijing, and there are all kinds of worshippers there exercising their religious belief. Yet as we all know,

increasingly there is repression against the churches. Amnesty has testified today it has gotten worse since 1994.

I'll never forget meeting with the Chamber of Commerce in Beijing during one of my human rights trips. I got that same line, "Come with me and I'll show you a church that is open." Of course there is surveillance. You pointed out that nobody under the age of 18 attends, certain books of the bible have been excised, the book of Revelation, for example, has been gaken out, as a way of censoring the message. Also there is censoring of the message in terms of homilies or speeches from the podium by a priest.

Why is it that so many in our business community and so many Americans seem to be so gullible in accepting this Potemkin village of religious liberty that is painted for the West?

Ms. SHEA. Well that's right. There is a two-track system, in that if you join the controlled religions, the State-sanctioned registered, controlled and paid for actually, supported churches, you are relatively left alone, although you are restricted in what you can say and who can say what to whom, and where you can say it and what you can do. The churches are growing astronomically, both underground and above ground, both Catholic and Protestant. I think that they are growing despite or maybe perhaps because of the persecution. That has always been a phenomenon in Christian history, at least, that there's been increase in Christian believers as persecution intensifies.

But there is no doubt that there is persecution against those in the underground churches. We had the most famous Protestant preacher arrested, I mean sentenced to one of the longest prison terms, 10 years at the end of last month. We had a Catholic bishop arrested, Bishop Su Zhimin, whom you met with several years ago, re-arrested just on October 8. The State Department called to tell me that he had been released over the weekend, but then when I checked through our networks, through the Cardinal Kung Foundation, no one has seen this bishop since his release. Some of the local Catholics tried to visit him and could not get near his residence because it was blocked by guards. Therefore, if he has been released, he is either in hiding or he is in his apartment under house arrest.

So we have documented many names and cases. We present 30 in our testimony today, top priority cases. These include 10 Catholic bishops. The Vatican, I think really in a very unusual step 4 days ago came out with a statement very harshly critical of the Chinese Government, and some of the players in the religious affairs bureau as well.

Mr. SMITH. Let me just say, sometimes people view human rights in isolation as if it is those people, the do-gooders, who are concerned about somebody who may be in trouble. It gets trivialized because of that. Can you provide us some insights, anybody on the panel or all of you, as to the inter-connectedness? It seems to me that if you can't trust a regime as to how it treats its own people, how do you trust them on proliferation issues? If they use torture in Tibet and elsewhere, as Dr. Keller testified, and do unspeakable things to their own people with cattle prods, how do you trust them when it comes to intellectual property rights and contract law?

A message that seems to not have gotten through to enough people yet, particularly in the Administration and some in Congress, is that if they fail on this test, they are more than likely going to fail on these other tests. Then there's security issues involved, and then there's trade issues involved. Even information as with regard to the economic situation as it exists on the ground in China is censored. So how do you make decisions economically speaking when it's doctored information?

The MOU, the memorandum of understanding that we have on gulag labor, is a totally flawed, non-implemented document. We have no access to their prisons to speak of. You might want to touch on that interconnectedness to security and to trade.

Dr. KELLER. Well, one thing I would say, I think it all begins with whether you are a health professional such as myself, a human rights monitor, or an individual who has suffered at the hands of the Chinese. I think you must bear witness, you must speak out. As the Dalai Lama said to me, you must not whisper, you must not talk, you must shout about what you have seen. You must shout articulately, but nonetheless, make your points, make your points consistently.

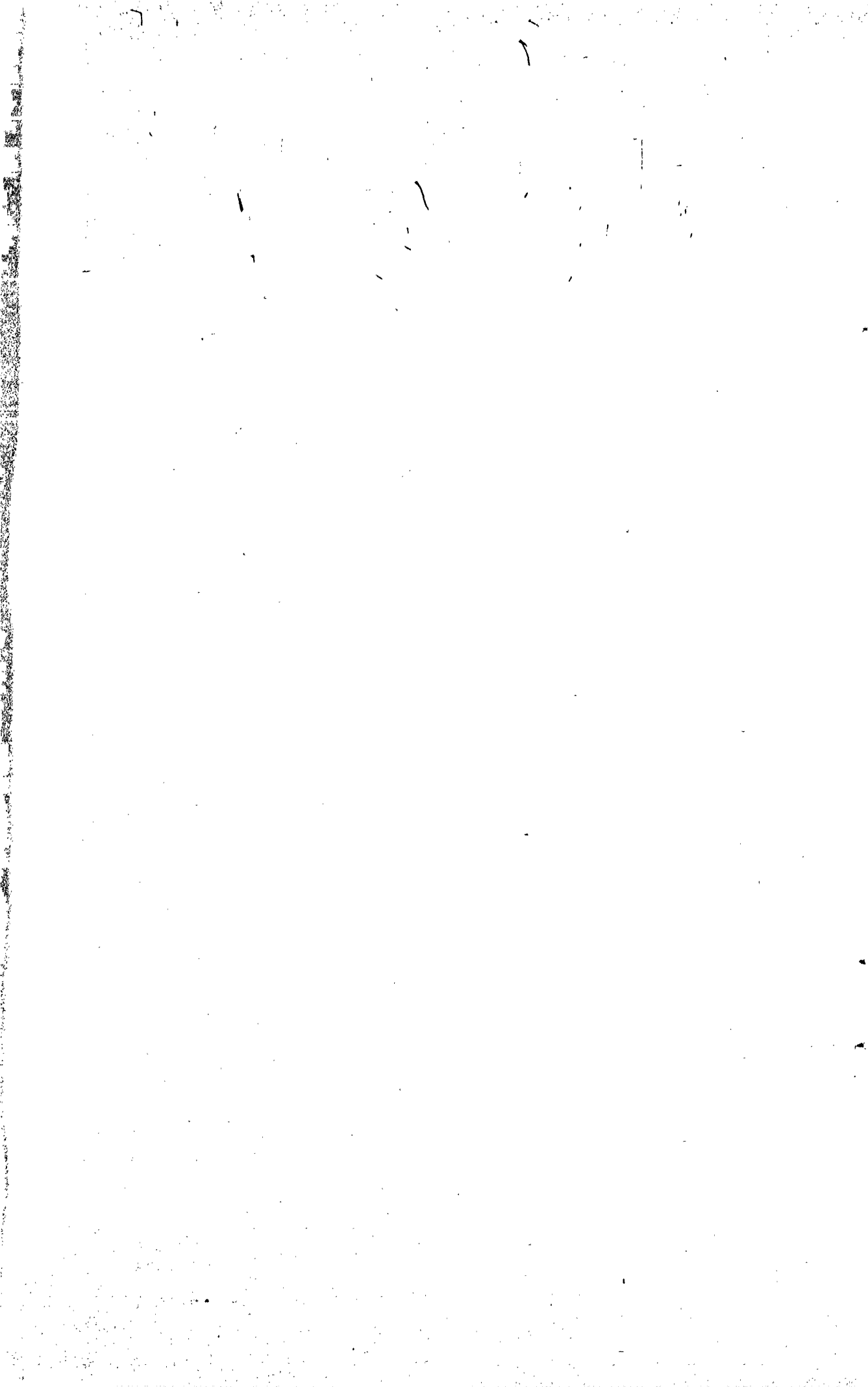
I think what we tried to do is to hold up to the world a mirror of what in fact is happening. I think many of the things we described, many of the forms of torture I described are horrible. We want to think these things don't happen. Unfortunately, we must remind the world, our own Government, our fellow citizens at every opportunity, that yes in fact these things do happen, and yes in fact there are things that we can do to make a difference to stop them.

Ms. SHEA. I just want to add that the Vatican document of October 24, was in response, it was a denunciation actually of a white paper, a so-called white paper the Chinese Government itself issued on religion. The Vatican just dismissed it in no uncertain terms saying it was a propaganda pamphlet. So I think that goes to your point, that how can we believe them when everything they say has proven to be false, and for their own propaganda advantage. Keep that in mind in the nuclear proliferation area as well.

Mr. SMITH. I want to thank our very distinguished witnesses for their excellent testimony. I do believe you have borne witness to the truth. I hope that the message goes out during this week of public relations and diplomacy, which often puts the truth, the hard realities under the table in the interests of the smiles and the handshakes. This information you have provided, especially as it relates to things like torture, will not be forgotten, will be kept foursquare in front of everyone, especially Congress and the President.

We do have these two videos for those who would like to stay and view them, but the hearing will be adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:40 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]



A P P E N D I X

Statement of Representative Christopher H. Smith Chairman, Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights

Five years ago, when our current President was a candidate for the office he now holds, he described the Bush Administration's relationship with the government of China in two words: "coddling dictators." Some of us had hope that President Clinton would transform the U.S. - China relationship by putting respect for human rights and democracy at its very center. Instead, the Clinton Administration has coddled dictators as few have coddled before. The arrival in Washington this afternoon of Communist Party Chairman Jiang Zemin [JAHNG Zhe-MINN] represents the culmination of our government's tragic twenty-five year unrequited love affair with the Beijing regime.

The occasion of Jiang's visit will be marked by literally dozens of official U.S. government functions. As far as I have been able to determine, this hearing represents the only one of those official functions at which China's record on human rights will be publicly discussed.

When I first proposed holding this hearing, I heard from some Republicans and some Democrats that it would be inappropriate --- even in poor taste --- to

discuss such sensitive questions while Jiang is in town. With respect, this kind of criticism gets it exactly backwards. Torture, mass public executions, forced abortion and sterilization, the arrest and imprisonment of democracy advocates and religious believers --- these are in poor taste. Bearing witness to these atrocities, telling the whole truth about them, is the best way I can think of to say, "Welcome to America, Mr. Jiang."

Today's hearing will serve at least two important purposes. First, the testimony of our distinguished witnesses will focus the attention of Americans on what life is really like in the People's Republic of China. Second, the hearing might help President Jiang understand America and Americans.

With all due respect, he has a lot to learn. A few days ago, on the eve of his departure for the United States, Jiang gave an interview to the Washington Post. The Post reporters described him as "candid" and "animated." Among Jiang's many candid and animated observations was this one: that Einstein's theory of relativity applies not only to physics but also to politics, so that the content of human rights will differ from country to country. After the interview,

one of his aides was quoted as saying: "We try to do a P.R. job. We understand this is necessary."

This Sunday, just before leaving for the United States, Chairman Jiang continued the P.R. job by announcing that China would adhere to an international social and economic convention having to do with such things as the right to be free from disparities in income levels. He conspicuously omitted any references to more important international conventions that require respect for democracy, political and religious freedom, and due process of law. Ironically, this distinction is the same one that American defenders of the Soviet Union used to make in defense of Stalin's worst excesses: they would say that no matter how many innocent people the Soviet government might kill, it was doing a better job than Western governments at eliminating the disparity between the rich and the poor. So this is a P.R. job that has been going on for seventy years. The rhetoric of cultural relativism and moral equivalence has long been used to try to blur the distinction between totalitarianism and freedom. The apologists tell us not to worry, nobody is against human rights --- not even Jiang, not even Stalin. But your actual human rights may vary.

In America, Mr. Jiang, we reject this sort of thinking. As Thomas Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, we human beings are endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights. These rights are not relative but absolute. They do not come from governments, and no government has a right to deny them. Einstein and Jefferson got it right; Stalin and Hitler and Mao got it wrong.

In 1994, the Clinton Administration de-linked Most Favored Nation status from human rights. According to our State Department's Country Report on Human Rights Practices for China, since then there has been significant regression rather than progress on every important human rights question: there are more political prisoners, more summary executions, a more brutal regime in Tibet, tighter controls on political and religious expression today than in 1994.

The State Department's Human Rights Report for 1996 reflects the remarkable end result of a policy which fails to seriously address concerns of human rights: "All public dissent against the party and government was effectively silenced by intimidation, exile, the imposition of prison terms, administrative detention, or house arrest. No dissidents were known to be active

at year's end." (Emphasis added.) In other words, "engagement" appears to have failed beyond our wildest expectations: dissent has been not just stifled but silenced altogether.

It seems the more we engage the Beijing dictatorship, the worse it gets. Just today I received two letters. One is from His Eminence Cardinal Ignatius Kung, who urges Chairman Jiang to free four Catholic bishops, as well as the many Catholic clergy and believers who are imprisoned in China just for practicing their faith. Another letter is from David Burke, the Chairman of the U.S. Broadcasting Board of Governors, who points out that the Chinese government has recently begun jamming the broadcasts of Radio Free Asia, which brings the Chinese people the news they would get if their government permitted freedom of information and expression. These letters will be made part of the record.

Another atrocity that has gotten even worse in recent years is forced abortion. Although the Chinese government officially claims that it does not permit physical coercion as a means of enforcing the "one-child policy," it has been widely and credibly reported that the birth control officials charged with

carrying out this policy routinely compel women to abort their "unauthorized" unborn children. The usual method is intense "persuasion," using all the economic, social, and psychological tools the state has at its disposal. When these methods fail, women are often taken physically to the abortion facility. Forced abortions can be performed very late in pregnancy, even in the ninth month. Sometimes the baby's skull is crushed with forceps as it emerges from the birth canal. Either the woman or her husband may then be forcibly sterilized.

Amnesty International recently reported on a one-child policy compliance campaign in two villages in Hebei Province. The campaign was reportedly carried out under the slogan, "Better to have more graves than more than one child."

In order to dissuade local birth control officials from resorting to forced abortion and forced sterilization as means to the end of population control, Chairman Jiang's government must dismantle much of the coercive apparatus that characterizes the population control program. Women in China are required to obtain a birth coupon before conceiving a child. Chinese women are hounded by

the population control police, and that even their menstrual cycles are publicly monitored as one means of ensuring compliance.

Despite all the evidence, the Clinton Administration still maintains that "engagement" is the best way to promote human rights in China. We invited the Administration to come to the hearing today and make its best case that three years of engagement have resulted in improvements rather than deterioration in the human rights situation. The Administration chose not to come.

Fortunately, we do have six distinguished witnesses who will share with us the details of the China human rights story: torture in Tibet, ethnic and religious persecution in Xinjiang [Shin-JAHNG], imprisonment of Christians and others for practicing their religions, the harvesting of organs from executed prisoners, the continuing suppression of democracy in the wake of the Tiananmen massacre, forced abortions, coercive sterilizations, and other outrages.

I look forward to hearing from our witnesses.

**Statement of Harry Wu
Executive Director, Laogai Research Foundation**

"US-China Relations and Human Rights: Is Constructive Engagement Working",

**Before the United States House of Representatives
Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights
October 28, 1997**

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before this Committee. My name is Harry Wu. I am Executive Director of the Laogai Research Foundation.

First I want to truly thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your constant belief that the cause of human rights is our moral duty, not as Americans, but as human beings. You have used your position to clearly advance these beliefs. It is my honor to once again sit before you and speak the truth.

As we sit here to look at China with a critical eye, it is not because we have any ill-intentions or ulterior motives, but because there are serious human rights problems in China. These horrors are happening right now, all across the country. They cannot be denied by anyone who seeks the facts. All of today's witnesses will speak the truth of today's China. As we all hope for what China may become in the future, we must work endlessly to improve the lives of the Chinese people. The best method to help the Chinese is to confront the Chinese communist government about their treatment of their citizens. To confront them, forcefully and publicly, and insist that they change. The American people want to see a change. The Chinese people are increasingly calling for change. Only the communist Chinese government fears the changes we demand. The Chinese Communists fear the concepts of human rights because if the Chinese people have these basic rights, freedom of association, freedom of speech, freedom from torture and abuse, then they themselves will stand up and confront the communist dictatorship. Only the Chinese can change their situation. The partnerships between foreign money and China's communist elite will not foster real change in China. Without institutions that respect human rights, economic growth is simply the construction of an empty shell.

Yet, we see the 21-gun salute of the head of the Chinese communist dictatorship by the President of the United States. Why? The two governments can communicate on the many issues at hand in many ways. Why welcome this man, this communist killer, to the White House? Has anything changed in China that we can point to as an improvement in the treatment of China's people? In 1995, the Chinese government wanted a state visit, but the Clinton administration refused. What changed their mind? I don't have the answer to this question, but the President should be asked why.

I want to talk today about an ugly practice in China. A practice that shows the total disregard the Chinese government has for the rights of its people. I recently worked

with ABC to further document how the organs from executed prisoners are for sale on the open market, even here in the US. After my testimony, I would like to ask that the ABC *Primetime Live* segment be submitted for the record.

In 1983, I saw a mass execution of more than 45 prisoners in China. The condemned men were paraded through the streets as a show of strength by the dictatorship. Then they were lined up in front of a huge group of men, women, and young children, and shot.

In 1985, I was given an official Chinese government document that shocked me. The title tells of its contents: "On the Use of Dead Bodies or Organs from Condemned Criminals." This directive came from the central government judiciary department, the prosecutors, the police, the public health department and the civil administration department. The document says that because of advances in medical sciences in China that allow for successful transplant surgeries, "the following measures are formulated on the use of the dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals." The procedures said that the condemned are to be executed immediately by means of shooting. Bodies can then be used if they are not collected by the families, if the condemned prisoners consented to donate, or if the families consented. It continues to direct the hospitals and the courts how to coordinate and carry out the execution process. It states:

"Use of dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals must be kept strictly confidential Only in real need, and upon the approval of the People's court executing the death penalty, can the operation vehicles from medical institutions be allowed entry into the execution ground to remove organs, but vehicles with the logo of medical institutions are not to be used and white clinic garments are not to be worn. The execution ground should be guarded until the operation is completed."

This document was not published and released until 1990. Yet this is the guideline that acts today as the official policy on harvesting organs from China's death row prisoners. This practice is barbaric. A government may have a policy to execute criminals, but it is against all basic rights to then steal the organs of the dead man or woman.

In 1994, I conducted an interview with an official of a hospital in China who said:

"The sources of our kidneys can be from donors who have died in traffic accidents or from 'brain-dead' people. If the donors are 'brain dead', we contact the appropriate government units to find out when we can obtain the organs Policies of the state do not permit contact with our donors Things in our country are different from yours. We can do what is impossible from the legal point of view in your country. As to contact with the kidney donors, it is impermissible. But we do guarantee that our kidneys are healthy and are of excellent quality."

The doctors and hospital officials in China are very careful not to discuss how such 'brain dead' donors died. No consent forms are given to patients. In China, there are very few families that would consent for prisoners to donate their organs, and there are even fewer prisoners that would themselves consent to donate. But the true source of the organs are an 'open secret' among the patients who have traveled to China for kidney transplants.

I have worked to document the entire process of executions and organ transplants in China. Earlier this year, I interviewed a woman from Thailand who confirmed that the organ she received in China was from an executed prisoner. She was told of its source by the staff at a military hospital in Guangzhou. After she returned to Thailand, she told others about the secrets regarding executed prisoners and organs in China. Her case is not rare, but she is the first person I have found willing to talk about what she went through. I hoped that Apple Yoonuch could be here today, but you will hear her story in the program.

In the investigation with ABC News, we found an advertisement in a New York-based Chinese-language newspaper. It said, "Organ Transplant in China. Don't miss the opportunity. Call." The number led us to Dr. Dai Yong, a student at the University of Bridgeport (CT), and his wife. Unlike the doctors in China, the two brokers were more open about the source of the organs. Ms. Dai said:

"Regarding the prisoners' health, they are all given physical check-ups and blood tests. They don't carry hepatitis or anything like that. All those carrying diseases will be excluded. You see, there are so many criminals, they have a lot to choose from. . . ."

We were not the first people who were sold an organ by these people. This couple are still in the States. It is illegal in the United States to sell organs. I fully expect that the Justice Department will investigate this case and quickly take proper action.

As Mrs. Dai said, "they have a lot to choose from." Chinese medical journals show that the number of Chinese kidney transplant cases is growing year after year. In 1991, there were 1,771 cases; in 1992, 1,905; in 1995, there were 2,382 cases; in 1996, there were 2,792. Chinese sources say that by the end of 1996, there were 18,759 kidney transplant cases. I'd like to submit abstracts from these articles from the *Chinese Journal of Organ Transplantation* that provide these figures for the record.

At the same time, the number of recorded executions, as documented by Amnesty International, is also growing. According to Amnesty, there were 3,110 individuals condemned to death in China in 1995, with 2,190 recorded executions. According to its report for 1996, Amnesty documented 6,100 death sentences and recorded 4,367 known executions. I don't know how many of these poor men and women were used for their organs.

Our research has identified 88 different facilities in China that carry out kidney transplants. Chinese sources show that a large number of the largest hospitals are run by the Chinese military, the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Of the three facilities that have performed more than 1,000 kidney transplant procedures in their history, two are military medical university hospitals. Of the 11 facilities that carried out more than 100 transplants in 1996, 6 were military medical university hospitals. The central role of the military hospitals in the systematic harvesting of prisoner's organs shows further the total involvement of all institutions of the Chinese government in this disgusting process. The use of executed prisoners' organs is a coordinated government policy, sanctioned by the communist regime, and it lines the pockets of officials and the military with blood money.

The Clinton Administration has tried to deny this practice exists. The Chinese government has lied and lied about this shameful practice. The facts presented today prove them wrong.

I want this practice stopped. I want the Congress and Administration to do all it can during Jiang Zemin's visit to tell him we know he is lying, we know that this is going on in China today, and we want it stopped. Jiang has the power to stop it. But without clear, constant, public condemnation, then the communist government will allow this disgraceful practice to continue. I call upon President Clinton to raise this issue tomorrow in his face to face discussions with Jiang. If the President does not confront China and force it to face its ugliest practices, then the Chinese will know that their behavior has no consequences.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for taking a leading position in the Congress on this issue. Thank you.

Appendix I

**Provisional Regulations of
The Supreme People's Court, The Supreme People's Procuratorate,
Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Public Health
and Ministry of Civil Affairs
on the Use of Dead Bodies or Organs From Condemned Criminals**

October 9, 1984

TO:

The Supreme People's Court; The People's Procuratorate; Department (Bureau) of Public Security; Department (Bureau) of Justice; Department (Bureau) of Public Health; Department (Bureau) of Civil Affairs

at Provincial and Autonomous Region levels and of centrally-controlled Municipalities:

With the development of the medical science in our country, some hospitals, medical institutions and units involved in medical education and scientific research have put forward proposals concerning the use of the dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals in scientific research or organ transplantations. In order to support the development of the medical science and to change social customs and traditional habits, with the strict implementation of the legal provisions and being aware of the political impact as prerequisite, the following measures are formulated in relation to the use of the dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals:

I. Those criminals who are sentenced to death and executed immediately must "be executed by means of shooting" in light of the relevant provision in the Criminal Law. When the execution is over, the dead bodies could be otherwise dealt with only after death is confirmed by the supervising procurator on the spot.

II. The dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals after execution or the remains can be collected by their family members.

III. The dead bodies or organs of the following categories of the condemned criminals can be made use of:

1. The uncollected dead bodies or the ones that the family members refuse to collect;
2. Those condemned criminals who volunteer to give their dead bodies or organs to the medical institutions;
3. Upon the approval of the family members.

IV. The following provisions must be observed regarding the use of dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals:

1. The units making use of the dead bodies or organs must maintain the technical level of and be provided with equipment necessary for the medical scientific research or transplantation, they must be examined, approved and granted "special permits" by

Department (Bureau) of Public Health of the provinces or autonomous regions within whose jurisdiction these units are located, and they must go to Bureau of Public Health of the Municipality or District for record.

2. The use of dead bodies shall be arranged in a unified way by Bureau of Public Health of the Municipality or Prefecture, which shall contact the People's Court and the units using the dead bodies respectively in accordance with the order of importance and urgency and the principle of comprehensive use.
3. After the execution order of death penalty is issued, and there are dead bodies that can be directly used, the People's Court should inform in advance Bureau of Public Health of the Municipality or Prefecture, which shall pass on the information to the units using the dead bodies and grant them permits to use the dead bodies, copies should be sent to the People's Court responsible for the execution of death penalty and the People's Procuratorate in charge of the on-the-spot supervision. The units using the dead bodies should contact the People's Court on their own initiative, within the prescribed time limits of the execution of death penalty by the People's Court.

As to the dead bodies that could be used only upon the approval of the family members, the People's Court is to inform the department in charge of public health which with consult the family members, and consequently reach written agreement in relation to the scope of use, disposal after use, disposal expenses and economic compensation and etc. Bureau of Public Health of the Municipality or Prefecture shall, according to the agreement, grant the units the certificates to use the dead bodies, copies should be sent to the units concerned.

When the condemned criminals volunteer to give their dead bodies to the medical institutions, there should be formal written certificates or records duly signed by the same, which should be kept in the People's Court for future reference.

4. Use of the dead bodies or organs from condemned criminals must be kept strictly confidential, attention must be paid to the effect, they should in general be used within the units. Only in real need, and upon the approval of the People's Court executing the death penalty, can the operation vehicles from medical institutions be allowed entry into the execution ground to remove organs, but vehicles with the logo of medical institutions are not to be used, and white clinic garments are not to be worn. The execution ground should be guarded against before the operation is completed.
5. After the dead bodies are used, the crematory shall assist the units in timely cremation; in case there is need to bury or to deal with otherwise, the units using the dead bodies shall bear the responsibility; if the family members wish to collect the remains, the People's Court is to inform them to collect at the crematory.

V. In areas densely inhabited by the Han nationality, in principle, the dead bodies or organs from the condemned criminals of minority nationalities are not to be used.

In areas inhabited by minority nationalities, respect should be shown to the mourning and funeral customs in the implementation of the Regulations.

最高人民法院
最高人民检察院
公安部 司法部
卫生部 民政部
关于利用死刑罪犯尸体
或尸体器官的暂行
规定

（1984年10月9日）

各省、自治区、直辖市高级人民法院、人民检察院、公安厅（局）、司法厅（局）、卫生厅（局）、民政厅（局）：

随着我国医学事业的发展，一些医疗、医学教育、医学科研单位为进行科学研究或做器官移植手术，提出了利用死刑罪犯尸体或尸体器官的要求。为了支持医学事业的发展，有利于移风易俗，在严格执行法律规定、注意政治影响的前提下，对利用死刑罪犯的尸体或尸体器官问题，特作规定如下：

（一）对判处死刑立即执行的罪犯，必须按照刑法有关规定，“用枪决的方法执行”。执行完毕，经临场监督的检察员确认死亡后，尸体方可做其他处理。

（二）死刑罪犯执行后的尸体或火化后的骨灰，可以允许其家属认领。

（三）以下几种死刑罪犯尸体或尸体器官可供利用：

1. 无人收殓或家属拒绝收殓的；

2. 死刑罪犯自愿将尸体交医疗卫生单位利用的；

3. 经家属同意利用的。

（四）利用死刑罪犯尸体或尸体器官，应按下列规定办理：

1. 利用单位必须具备医学科学研究或移

植手术的技术水平和设备条件，经所在省、市、自治区卫生厅（局）审查批准发给《特许证》，并到本市或地区卫生局备案。

2. 尸体利用统一由市或地区卫生局负责安排，根据需要的轻重缓急和综合利用原则，分别同执行死刑的人民法院和利用单位进行联系。

3. 死刑执行命令下达后，遇有可以直接利用的尸体，人民法院应提前通知市或地区卫生局，由卫生局转告利用单位，并发给利用单位利用尸体的证明，将副本抄送负责执行死刑的人民法院和负责临场监督的人民检察院。利用单位应主动同人民法院联系，不得延误人民法院执行死刑的法定时限。

对需征得家属同意方可利用的尸体，由人民法院通知卫生部门同家属协商，并就尸体利用范围、利用后的处理方法和处理费用以及经济补偿等问题达成书面协议。市或地区卫生局根据协议发给利用单位利用尸体的证明，并抄送有关单位。

死刑罪犯自愿将尸体交医疗单位利用的，应有由死刑罪犯签名的正式书面证明或记载存人民法院备查。

4. 利用死刑罪犯尸体或尸体器官要严格保密，注意影响，一般应在利用单位内部进行。确有必要时，经执行死刑的人民法院同意，可以允许卫生部门的手术车开到刑场摘取器官，但不得使用有卫生部门标志的车辆，不准穿白大衣。摘取手术未完成时，不得解除刑场警戒。

5. 尸体被利用后，由火化场协助利用单位及时火化；如需埋葬或做其他处理的，由利用单位负责；如有家属要求领取骨灰的，由人民法院通知家属前往火化场所领取。

（五）在汉族地区原则上不利用少数民族死刑罪犯的尸体或尸体器官。

在少数民族聚居地区，执行本规定时，要尊重少数民族的丧葬习惯。

Chinese Journal of Organ Transplantation, Vol. 18 No. 2. April 1997.

**A New Landmark in the Progress of Organ Transplantation in Our Country:
Remembering the Chinese Medical Association 1996 National Organ Transplantation
Research Annual Meeting**

by Xia Suisheng

First, regarding kidney transplantation at the end of 1995, the country already accumulated 15,976 cases, and in the 1995-1996 period there were new developments. In 1995, (we) set a new national record by exceeding 2,000 cases, reaching 2,382 cases. At the time of the last meeting, the two units of Beijing Friendship Hospital and Shanghai Second Military Medical University subordinate Long March Hospital exceeded 1,000 cases, and at that time there were many unites which already exceeded 800 cases. Competition has been hot, and recently a third unit to surpass 1,000 cases has appeared, it is First Military Medical University's Nanfang Hospital.

我国器官移植发展中的又一里程碑

——记中华医学会 1996 年全国器官移植学术会议

夏德生

中华医学会 1996 年全国器官移植学术会议即第 5 次全国器官移植学术会议于 1996 年 11 月 7 日~12 日在湖北省宜昌市召开, 离上次本学会会议(1995 年 10 月, 广州)仅短短的 1 年中, 我国器官移植在不断地取得进展, 有不少新的成就。

首先是肾移植至 1995 年底, 我国已共积累达 15 976 例次, 而在 1995~1996 年度有新的发展, 1995 年开创了我国年度超越 2 000 例次的纪录, 达 2 382 例次。至上次会议时, 已有北京友谊医院、上海第二军医大学附属长征医院二个单位总数超过 1 000 例, 当时已有不少单位已达 800 余例, 竞赛炽热, 目前第 3 个突破 1 000 例单位已经揭晓, 即是第一军医大学附属南方医院。1996 年肾移植例数增加显示出更快的速度, 不出所期望的, 出现了年度超过 200 例次的单位, 据悉到本次会议开幕之日, 北京友谊医院已达 220 例次, 这是一个新的峰值。肾移植的疗效, 有了进一步提高, 据第二军医大学附属长征医院 1 300 例报告, 近年来尸体肾移植人与肾存活率, 1 年为 92% 和 87%, 3 年为 90.2% 和 79.7%, 5 年为 82.4% 和 71.8%, 10 年为 40% 和 40%, 而在 1994 年 1 年存活率已分别达到 97% 和 93%。

其次是肝移植, 到 1995 年底, 全国已累积达 80 例, 其中有 3 例存活逾年, 目前仍有 2 例有功能存活, 天津第一中心医院 1 例已达 2 年半, 同济医科大学附属同济医院 1 例也达 13 个月, 属背驮式肝移植, 这是良性终末期肝病作肝移植的流行术式, 我国开展此术式者日渐增多。肝移植中值得提出的是中山医科大学附属第一医院, 自 1993 年~1996 年 6 月的短短 3 年内, 共施行 9 例, 其累积速度之快, 在 90 年代国内居首位, 其中 1 例存活达 14 个月, 今年该院又作肝肾联合移植获得成功, 属我国首次报道。至本次开幕之日止, 全国已作肝移植 89 例。

心脏移植到 1995 年底已累积 17 例, 其中存活 1 年以上有 6 例, 迄今存活最长的是哈尔滨医科大学附二院 1 例已 4 年, 健康良好, 心功能正常。该院最近 1 例, 应用了全心移植术式, 有优异疗效的心脏移植存活者, 心功能十分满意。本次会议上, 福建医科大学协和医院 1 例已存活 1 年余心移植受者, 男, 39 岁, 随同到会, 会后游大、小三峡, 登白帝城, 上百余台阶, 多处登山, 健步如飞, 胜过常人, 心功能健全, 有充分说服力, 给代表们极深印象。

胰肾联合移植浙江医科大学附一医院已作 3 例, 最长者存活已达 2 年余, 移植胰肾功能具佳, 已停用胰岛素, 视力亦全恢复。同济医科大学同济医院所作脾移植最长有功能存活已跨过 6 年, 继续保持着国际最佳纪录。单肺移植 1 例存活已达 17 个月, 虽一度有结节病复发, 现已恢复, 肺功能良好, 肺核素扫描肺通气 and 血流灌注均良好。广州南方医院亦施行腹部多器官移植, 福建省立医院施行了心肺联合移植各 1 例, 存活天数较前有所增加。在小肠移植上, 南京、天津继续在进行临床研究。

此外, 在各种器官移植的实验模型的改进, 华西 1 号保存液的研制, 应用各种新免疫抑制药物如新山地明(Neoral)、ATG、国产环孢素的体会, 对雷帕霉素的实验研究, 临床检测 HLA-DR 应用 PCR 技术在肾移植配型的推广以及临床麻醉和护理体会等方面, 均有许多创新的成就, 学术水平极高, 可以说在我国器官移植发展史上又是一个里程碑!

(收稿: 1996-10-30)

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<p>中华器官移植杂志</p> <p>ZHONGHUA QIGUAN YIZHI ZAZHI CHINESE JOURNAL OF ORGAN TRANSPLANTATION</p> <p>季刊 Quarterly 1980年10月创刊 Established in October, 1980</p> <p>总编辑 裘法祖 Editor-in-Chief Qiu Fazu ISSN 0254-1785 CN 42-1203/R</p>	<p>主办 中华医学会 100710, 北京市东四西大街42号</p> <p>编辑 中华器官移植杂志编辑委员会 430014, 武汉市汉口胜利街177号</p> <p>出版 中华医学会武汉分会 430014, 武汉市汉口胜利街177号 电话: (027)2806143</p> <p>印刷 长江水利委员会航测中心印刷厂</p> <p>发行 国内: 武汉市邮局 国外: 中国国际图书贸易总公司 (北京399信箱, 100044) 代号Q309</p> <p>订购 全国各地邮电局</p> <p>邮购 中华器官移植杂志编辑部 430014, 武汉市汉口胜利街177号 电话: (027)2806143</p> <p>1997年版权归中华医学会所有 Copyright © 1997 by the Chinese Medical Association</p>	<p>Sponsor Chinese Medical Association 42, Dongsi Xidajie, Beijing, 100710</p> <p>Editing Editorial Board of Chinese Journal of Organ Transplantation 177, Shenglijie, Wuhan, 430014</p> <p>Publishing Chinese Medical Association Wuhan Branch 177, Shenglijie, Wuhan, 430014 Tel: (027)2806143</p> <p>Printing The Aerial Photogrammetry Centre, Changjiang Water Resources Commission</p> <p>Overseas Distributor China International Book Trading Corporation (P. O. Box 399, Beijing, China). Code No. Q309</p> <p>Mall-Order Editorial Department of Chinese Journal of Organ Transplantation 177, Shenglijie, Wuhan, 430014 Tel: (027)2806143</p>
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Statistics for 1996 National Kidney Transplantations
Chinese Journal of Organ Transplantation Publishing Committee
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According to incomplete statistics, in 1996 the entire country carried out 2,792 kidney transplant cases. Those units whose annual transplant figure surpassed 100 cases include: Beijing Friendship Hospital, First Military Medical University subordinate Nanfang Hospital, Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen) Medical University subordinate First Hospital, People's Liberation Army General Hospital, Second Military Medical University subordinate Changzheng (Long March) Hospital, First Military Medical University subordinate Zhujiang (Pearl River) Hospital, Tongji Medical University Organ Transplant Research Center, Nanjing Military District Fuzhou General Hospital, Zhejiang Medical University subordinate First Hospital, Third Military Medical University subordinate Xinqiao (New Bridge) Hospital and Xi'an Medical University subordinate First Hospital.

多数诱发了不同程度的GVHD,随之病情得以控制。亦有少数病例,临床虽未出现明显的GVHD,但同样取得遗传学或血液学的缓解,提示GVL并非依赖于GVHD^[6]。本文6例患者输注供者白细胞后,4例诱发出急性GVHD,其中3例病情缓解,且已存活6~48个月。另1例髓外复发者皮下结节消退,但死于间质性肺炎。其余2例临床未出现明显的GVHD,但其中1例脑膜白血病完全控制,已无病存活51个月。另1例骨髓复发者此后未再进行化疗,患者持续缓解长达10个月。上述结果与国外报道大致相似。

供者白细胞输注亦存在某些合并症,其中主要为GVHD及骨髓衰竭。实验研究已证实,GVHD的程度后期输注供者免疫活性细胞较早期输注者为轻。可能由于骨髓移植预处理的组织损伤已修复,二者作用不再重合,或残留的供者淋巴细胞介导免疫耐受,从而减轻了GVHD的严重程度。但本研究结果提示即使后期输注供者白细胞亦可诱发严重的GVHD。GVHD的严重程度与输注的白细胞数无直接关系。本组诱发IV度GVHD的2例所输白细胞总数分别为 $2.72 \times 10^8/\text{kg}$ 及 $3.91 \times 10^8/\text{kg}$,但有1例输注白细胞总数 $14.76 \times 10^8/\text{kg}$,却未诱发出GVHD。输注供者白细胞造成骨髓衰竭的机理可能是因受者的造血细胞被摧毁或造血微环境的损伤。据报道在Allo-BMT后形成嵌合体者,输注供者白细胞后极少发生骨髓衰竭^[7]。本文5例Allo-BMT后骨髓染色体检测4例完全为供

者核型所代替,另1例供者核型占74%~82%,复发后供者核型仍占优势。结果输注白细胞后无1例出现骨髓衰竭。对于Allo-BMT后自身造血恢复的患者,若以采集造血干细胞的程序同时分离供者造血干细胞与淋巴细胞,回输后有可能克服骨髓衰竭的合并症。

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(收稿:1995-09-25)

1996年全国肾移植的统计

据不完全统计,1996年全国共施行2 792例次肾移植,年移植例数超过100例次的单位有:北京友谊医院,第一军医大学附属南方医院,中山医科大学附属第一医院,解放军总医院,第二军医大学附属长征医院,第一军医大学附属珠江医院,同济医科大学器官移植研究所,南京军区福州总医院,浙江医院大学附属第一医院,第三军医大学附属新桥医院,西安医科大学附属第一医院。

中华器官移植杂志编辑委员会器官移植登记处

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In New York

DIANE SAWYER..... Anchor

In Washington

SAM DONALDSON..... Anchor

Blood Money

RHONDA SCHWARTZ..... Producer

BRIAN ROSS..... Correspondent

Murder In Mississippi

SHELLY ROSS..... Producer

JAY SCHADLER..... Correspondent

He/She

TOM BERMAN..... Producer

ELIZABETH VARGAS..... Correspondent

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(Commercial Break)

Blood Money

ANNOUNCER: PrimeTime -- now from New York, Diane Sawyer.

DIANE SAWYER, ABC News: Good evening, and welcome to PrimeTime. Tonight, we bring you a story we are sure that you have never seen before. We have learned that human organs are being harvested from executed Chinese prisoners and then sold to patients around the world, including here in the United States.

How many? Well, human rights organizations estimate that since 1990, more than 10,000 kidneys from Chinese prisoners have been sold, potentially bringing in tens of millions of dollars to the Chinese military.

For the past three months, chief investigative correspondent Brian Ross has followed what is really a black market in human organs. As we begin, you should know that this report contains scenes of graphic violence, and we let it stand as a warning.

BRIAN ROSS, ABC News (voice-over):

On a sunny day in New York City, in a hotel room overlooking Central Park, we saw and heard something that for years the United States government has officially maintained does not happen. But our undercover videotape tells a different story, documenting for the first time in this country a grisly, but lucrative international black market -- the buying and selling of human organs. In this case, a kidney from the bodies of prisoners executed far away in China.

Dr. DAI (ph) (through translator):

You will surely be satisfied with the arrangements for you, and the

operation will surely be successful. I can guarantee this, no problem.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): This was the starting point of a three-month PrimeTime Live investigation that took us from Central Park south in New York City to the back alleys of Hong Kong, to a restricted military hospital in southern China, equipped with the latest in American medical technology.

Dr. RONALD GUTTMAN, International Transplantation Society: It's a money-making operation. They're in business. This is an industry. And they're moving it around the world.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): Dr. Ronald Guttman, an adviser to the International Transplantation Society, says it's been an open secret among doctors who do transplants that the Chinese military has been selling the kidneys of executed prisoners -- perhaps thousands of them, since the late 1980s.

Dr. RONALD GUTTMAN: In my opinion, a very barbaric and disgusting kind of practice. It makes me cringe. And I think exposing it is very important.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): It's a question of supply and demand, a ready supply of prisoners to be executed, like these men, and a huge, unmet demand for kidneys around the world. This Chinese military videotape made in 1992, and never intended to be seen outside official circles, shows the condemned men and women paraded through the streets on their way to an execution field.

This is a country which last year executed more than 4,000 people. Some just petty thieves. It's not known what crimes these prisoners were convicted of or whether the organs of any of them were

about to be sold. But the tape shows guards precisely lining up their guns at the base of the skull. That makes retrieval of kidneys and organs much easier. And Dr. Guttman says certain medical preparations begin well before the execution.

Dr. RONALD GUTTMAN: They're given anti-coagulant drugs so the blood won't clot when they're executed. They're given muscle relaxants.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): And then, with a large crowd watching, the command is given.

SOLDIER: Fire!

(Gunshots)

Dr. ZHOU WEI CHENG (ph) (through translator): After the execution, doctors removed the prisoner and placed him in the ambulance.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): A Chinese doctor, Zhou Wei Cheng, who now lives in Atlanta, told us what happens once the prisoners are dead, based on what he saw at his hospital just before he fled China in 1994.

Dr. ZHOU WEI CHENG (through translator): First, there was a cut from the back to extract the kidneys. Dr. Chen (ph) from the surgical department also took out the eyeballs and a piece of skin from the dead prisoner's abdomen. The orthopedist cut out one section of the bone from the lower leg. All the extracted organs were placed in a special kind of liquid to maintain the freshness.

Then they rushed back to the hospital. In the hospital, two patients were lying on the operating table waiting for the transplants. When the ambulance arrived, the kidneys were placed into the patients' bodies. All the other organs were only for laboratory experiments.

HARRY WU, Former Political Prisoner: The rifle right away placed in the back.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): The graphic tape was secretly removed from military archives and smuggled out of China by an underground group of dissidents and provided to PrimeTime Live by a former political prisoner who spent almost 19 years in a Chinese prison and has become China's most outspoken and despised critic, Harry Wu.

HARRY WU: This is fundamental violation of human rights.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): For the last three years, Wu has been traveling the world trying to expose the black market in prisoners' body parts, which Wu says has spread from Asia to Europe and now to the United States, as he showed us with a recent copy of a Chinese language newspaper published in New York.

HARRY WU: There's a small piece advertisement right here.

BRIAN ROSS (on camera): What does that say?

HARRY WU: "Kidney transplant in Mainland China. Don't miss the opportunity. Call."

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): So we did. Our call to the advertised number in Bridgeport, Connecticut, led to this meeting in a New York City hotel with a Chinese doctor and his wife, a Dr. and Mrs. Dai, who -- with our hidden cameras rolling -- told us they had already helped provide kidneys for several Americans but, that because of Harry Wu, everything had to be kept very quiet.

Dr. DAI (through translator): You've probably heard of Harry Wu. I have to be careful because people

calling us might have the same agenda as Harry Wu. We are fully aware of the sensitive nature of this issue. Usually we don't talk about this.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): With the help of a woman who works with Harry Wu, we told the Chinese doctor that a kidney was needed for a sick brother. The doctor told us no problem, that he knew, a month in advance, that a new batch of prisoners' kidneys would soon be available.

Dr. DAI (through translator): At the end of July, there will definitely be kidney sources that will match your brother's situation, in age and everything. If you are willing to go there around the 20th of July to receive a kidney from the July batch.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): The total price for a transplanted kidney, according to Dr. Dai, \$30,000 in cash, with a downpayment to be made in New York.

Mrs. DAI (through translator): If you decide to go ahead with this, then you pay us \$5,000, and we will order and reserve a kidney and a bed in the hospital.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): The hospital we were to be sent to is a hospital which, as the sign outside in English says, belongs to the PLA, the Peoples' Liberation Army, called the Nanfang Hospital, three hours north of Hong Kong. We came here as tourists, given the Chinese government's denial that it's in the business of selling organs of executed prisoners, and we asked two Chinese dissidents to carry a hidden camera inside.

This is the heart of the military's kidney business, an elaborate medical complex where patients told us numerous

foreigners had just received or were waiting to receive kidney transplants among hundreds of foreigners who have received kidneys here in the last few years.

APPLE YOONUCH, Transplant Patient: I just talked to the doctor...

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): One of them was 38-year-old Apple Yoonuch of Bangkok.

APPLE YOONUCH: First time, I asked the doctor, "Where, where can I get a kidney?" And they said, "From a prisoner."

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): That prisoner's kidney is now in her body, and even though it saved her life, the experience has left Ms. Yoonuch full of regret and willing to talk with PrimeTime, breaking the circle of silence that has surrounded what goes on at the Nanfang military hospital. First, she said, doctors in China took her blood and tissue samples and then sent her home to wait.

APPLE YOONUCH: Third of January, the doctor called me that there will be an execution. It means that prisoners, some prisoners are going to be shot dead.

BRIAN ROSS (on camera): And one of them matches up with you?

APPLE YOONUCH: Yes. So I have to come over and prepare myself to be -- to get the operation, kidney operation.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): Six days later, according to the local paper, 45 prisoners were sentenced to death and executed on the same day, including one who apparently, even before he had been sentenced to death, was found to have the same blood and tissue type as Apple Yoonuch.

(on camera) So they were shot in the morning, and the transplant was in the afternoon?

APPLE YOONUCH: In the afternoon, yes.

BRIAN ROSS: Were there also other people who got transplants?

APPLE YOONUCH: Yes, yes.

BRIAN ROSS: With kidneys from executed prisoners?

APPLE YOONUCH: Yes.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): In the course of our investigation, we also found that a big American corporation had played an important role here -- the W.R. Grace Company, which, through a joint business venture with the Chinese army, equipped and helped to run a kidney dialysis center, where, in addition to routine dialysis, transplant patients are kept going while they await surgery upstairs.

(on camera) W.R. Grace sold its kidney dialysis business last year, and a company spokesman denied that current management knew anything about the use of prisoners' kidneys for transplants. But a former top Grace executive who regularly visited the hospital in China told PrimeTime that he was well aware of what was going on there.

(voice-over) In our final meeting in New York with the Chinese doctor and his wife who told us they were here on student visas and had connections back in China, we were assured the best medical care awaited us and that the kidney we bought would come from a healthy prisoner who would be thoroughly tested before he was shot.

Mrs. DAI (through translator): Regarding the prisoners' health, they

are all given physical check-ups and blood tests. They don't carry hepatitis or anything like that. All those carrying these diseases will be excluded. You see, there are so many criminals, they have a lot to choose from.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): And then we gave the doctor what he had come for -- \$5,000 in cash, downpayment for a healthy kidney from a prisoner in China. Federal law and the state laws of New York and Connecticut make it illegal to buy or sell any human organs.

(on camera) Dr. Dai?

Dr. DAI: Yes.

BRIAN ROSS: Brian Ross from ABC News.

(voice-over) And when we entered the room with our camera showing, the doctor immediately denied knowing anything about prisoners or executions.

(on camera) Aren't you here selling the organs of prisoners who have been executed in China?

Dr. DAI: No.

BRIAN ROSS: You're not?

Dr. DAI: No.

BRIAN ROSS: What do you think the \$5,000 was for?

Dr. DAI: It's not selling, it's introduce, it's kind of service charge. All right?

BRIAN ROSS: How many people have you introduced to China? How many?

Dr. DAI: I don't want to -- I think it's my business.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): By some estimates, the kidney business has meant tens of millions of dollars to the Chinese military which, even as the black market

has expanded around the world, continues to deny any such business actually exists.

In a letter to PrimeTime, the Chinese embassy in Washington suggested we stop production of our story saying, "The so-called the sale of criminals' organs in China is a deliberate fabrication with ill intentions." And that in the rare instance when a prisoner's organ is used, the death row criminals voluntarily sign up.

Dr. Guttman says that makes a mockery of international principles adopted in the wake of Nazi medical experiments.

Dr. RONALD GUTTMAN: There's no such thing as, first of all, as of consent when you're talking about incarcerated people to say, "Well, we can produce a piece of paper that the prisoner has given consent before we kill him," is a kind of ludicrous thing.

BRIAN ROSS (voice-over): No other country in the world is known to use the organs of prisoners, except for China, which, based on our PrimeTime Live investigation appears to have turned its chilling executions of thousands of people into a multimillion dollar black market of a kind the world has never seen.

DIANE SAWYER: The U.S. State Department says that it has received reports in the past about organs from prisoners being sold but could not confirm them. They told us they were eager to see our story tonight and will talk with Harry Wu.

were involved in some type of satanic worship.

ANNOUNCER: Plus, he's Alex now, but he grew up as Alice. What's it like living as a man in a woman's body -- when PrimeTime continues.

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before the
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
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RIGHTS U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OCTOBER 28, 1997

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for inviting Freedom House to testify today at these critically important hearings on human rights in China. It is essential that China's President Jiang Zemin know the concerns of the American people and you have provided an important platform for us.

My testimony is based on the findings of two fact-gathering missions to China that Freedom House has conducted in China over the past five months. Information and testimony provided to us by networks of Chinese underground Protestants and Catholics, documents and statements of China's government and party officials, the October 24, 1997 statement of *Fides*, publication of the Vatican's Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, as well as the reports of American and foreign Christians who have visited China in recent months.

China is continuing and intensifying its campaign against the Christian underground. The intensifying persecution is pervasive, though uneven in degree of brutality. The centers of greatest Christian population -- Henan, Hebei, Zhejiang, Jiangxi -- are among those suffering the greatest crackdown. Public Security Bureau police have tortured a number of underground Christians over the past year, including brutal beatings that have maimed and even killed, binding detainees in excruciating positions, hanging detainees from their limbs, tormenting them with electric batons and other implements, and crushing the feet and ankles of Christians while they are forced to kneel.

China's persistent and intensifying persecution of Chinese Christians is a direct result of China's policy that all Christian worship must occur within government-sanctioned organizations. Both evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics who choose to worship independently are stating that this is the worst period of persecution for them since the catastrophic Cultural Revolution.

China has more Christian prisoners and detainees than any other country in the world. Protestants are being arrested and tortured for holding prayer meetings, preaching, and distributing Bibles without state approval. Roman Catholic priests,

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including ten bishops, are currently imprisoned, under some form of house arrest or have been disappeared for celebrating Mass and administering the sacraments without official authorization. Christian prisoners are often held in deplorable prison conditions, with some being forced to work as veritable slaves of the state in labor camps throughout the country.

Detailed and credible reports document that three evangelicals and one Catholic priest have been beaten to death by police over the past year because of their independent religious activities. Over the past year, since China reinvigorated its campaign to register all Christian congregations, hundreds of Protestant house-churches in Shanghai, Zhejiang, Shaanxi, Anhui and Xinjiang have been raided and forcibly closed or demolished, the popular Catholic shrine at Dong-Lu has been smashed and a number of unregistered Catholic churches in Hebei and Jiangxi provinces have been desecrated, destroyed or shut down. Bibles and other property of unregistered Christians have been arbitrarily confiscated and steep fines imposed on their owners.

Since 1996, members of the Christian underground have noted authorities adopting harsher tactics. In particular, authorities have begun to target underground house-church leaders for arrest. Three-year sentences of "re-education" in labor camps are being more frequently reported for underground Christian leaders.

For Protestants, Henan province is one of the areas hardest hit. Protestant leaders report that about 40 percent of inmates in Henan *laojiao* or labor camps are there for belonging to the Christian underground. In Henan Number One Labor Camp approximately 50 out of 126 inmates are imprisoned for underground church activities. During the Freedom House team's visit 85 house-church Christians were rounded up and arrested in two dragnet operations on May 14 in Zhoukou, Henan. On March 16, Peter Xu Yongze, perhaps the most important underground Protestant leader in China who heads the enormous "Full Scope Church" (also referred to as the "New Birth Church") network, was arrested and jailed with seven others in Henan and last month Xu was sentenced to ten years in the labor camp. The Freedom House team received reports that 300 Protestants have been arrested in Louyang jail in Henan since July 1996. And it was in Henan that Zhang Xiuju, a 36-year-old woman was beaten to death by police during an arrest for underground Christian activities on May 26, 1996.

On September 24, 1996, in Tanghe, Henan, a PSB raid arrested Elder Feng, Brother Zheng, Brother Xin, Sister Li, and Sister Luo. Brothers Zheng and Xin and Elder Feng were already respected leaders and had been previously imprisoned (the latter for seven years). They were beaten and tortured in order to get them to reveal the names of other leaders so that the organization would be destroyed. During interrogation, Sister Luo (who was recently released from prison) sought to take responsibility for the gathering so that she could protect the others. According to a note passed out of the prison, the authorities bound her arms behind her in an agonizing position and she was beaten so badly that she was in a coma for several hours. She was often left tied in that position, as were others. One of the men was beaten "for nine days and nights" and almost died. Members of the group were also poked with electric cattle prods, often while bound. Since Elder Feng is 72, he cannot perform hard labor but remains in custody indefinitely without a sentence. The others have been sentenced to three years *laojiao* in Luoyang.

In Sichuan the police have been arresting and fining Christians once or twice a year as a form of extortion. If the family can't pay, the police will beat the jailed person. Often they will do this in the presence of the family. The person will be hung up and beaten in front of the family until

the family will do anything to get the money to pay. One man was very poor and could not pay the fine (500 yen). He was beaten and his grandmother hanged herself since she could not help him.

The extraordinary issue (Oct. 24, 1997) of the Vatican publication *Fides* stated: "The security forces of the party have unleashed a 'struggle' against the underground (Catholic) communities not controlled by the Patriotic Association. In a certain sense, this is real 'elimination,'" it said.

The enormous underground Catholic pilgrimage at Our Lady of China Shine in Donglu, Hebei Province, was prevented from taking place again this May. In Spring 1996, according to the Connecticut-based Cardinal Kung Foundation, 5,000 troops, supported by armored cars and helicopters prevented Roman Catholics from attending an annual pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady of China in Dong Lu, Hebei Province. In 1995, tens of thousands had participated in the pilgrimage. The crackdown on the procession in 1996 is reported to have resulted in the detention of a number of Roman Catholic priests and laypeople. Others have been placed under house arrest or subjected to severe restrictions. Bishop Su of Baoding, wrote in a June letter to the National People's Congress that Catholics in Dahou, the same area, were forced to join study groups, report to police eight times a day, fined, threatened and tortured. He said that after a month, more than 4,000 Catholics were pressured to renounce their faith publicly, many of whom were students who could not continue their studies unless they cooperated with authorities. Around the same time three Catholic bishops have been incarcerated and Bishop Su has disappeared.

The mounting violence against these Christian communities is an inevitable outcome of China's official policy to ban independent religious worship as decreed in edicts 144 and 145, which were signed into law by Premier Li Peng on January 31, 1994, and endorsed with renewed resolve by China's leadership early last year. To implement these laws, the government's savage "Strike Hard" campaign against unregistered evangelical churches and official documents, such as that released by the Donglai Township Committee of the Communist Party on November 20, 1996, which outline procedures for the "eradication" of the underground Roman Catholic Church -- steps that include systematic brainwashing, ideological "struggle sessions," and criminal prosecution of pro-Vatican Catholics. Similar communist party documents, outlining the "special class struggle" for the suppression of both the Protestant and Catholic underground in various parts of Zhejiang province, have also surfaced in recent months.

Freedom House's Center on Religious Freedom estimates that China's Christian population, underground and registered, Catholic and Protestant, number between 40 and 60 million. British diplomat Anthony Lambert, who has done careful province-by-province and town-by-town analyses says there "is strong statistical evidence for at least 25 to 30 million" Protestants (including official churches). Other analysts of China's house churches say their figure is too low and Lambert allows that the figure could be considerably higher but that we do not have sufficient evidence. A few days ago, the Vatican stated there are approximately ten million registered and underground Catholics. More people are attending Sunday worship in China than are in all of Western Europe combined; and the majority are doing so despite the threat of beatings and labor camps. Christianity in China is growing astronomically in both the underground and in the official "patriotic" churches.

Members of the government-registered churches are restricted. These "Patriotic" churches have to be organized in the same church body, and are restricted in working with people under eighteen. The clergy cannot preach outside of their own area, the clergy and venue must be approved by the government, and church services and members are subject to monitoring. The

Patriotic Catholic Church cannot accept the authority of the Pope. Sermons must stick to approved topics. All "patriotic" preachers must steer clear of forbidden topics like the Second Coming of Christ, the New Testament "Gifts of the Spirit", the Old Testament story of Creation, and abortion. The Chinese government is censoring portions of the official Catholic catechism.

China imposes impediments to the Roman Catholic Church as an institution by barring the Vatican from making episcopal appointments in China. It continues to harass foreign Christian co-religionists visiting China's Christian communities.

In one widely-publicized case a "Patriotic" pastor was forcibly removed from his pulpit for deviating from the party line. On December 4, 1994, 4,500 riot police, 200 plainclothesmen and two truckloads of soldiers physically dragged from the church Pastor Yang Yudong from Guangwashi, an official Three-Self Patriotic church in Beijing, because he offered moral support to political dissidents.

This does not mean that government-sanction "Patriotic" churches are simply "Potemkin churches," false fronts for fooling gullible foreigners. There are priests and bishops in the Patriotic Catholic Church who are also recognized by the Vatican, and some of the official Protestant churches cooperate with underground Christians. Most of their clergy and their growing congregations are sincere Christians. But independent churches they are not.

While on trips to the West, China's political leaders and religion commissars portray China's current religious environment as a "golden period," they state otherwise to the Chinese people. China President Jiang Zemin's own remarks indicate zero tolerance for religious freedom. He said that state religious policy is to "actively guide religion so that it can be adapted to socialist society" (March 14, 1996, edition of the *People's Daily*).

Since July 1995 China's Religious Affairs Bureau has been directed by the reputed hardliner Ye Xiaowen, who, last year in the Chinese publication *Renmin Ribao*, urged the "handling" of religious matters according to the dictates of Lenin. The view of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is that Christian churches are a "principal threat to the political stability" of China.

The relentless attempts by the Chinese Communist Party and government to control religious worship, including Christian religious expression, violate fundamental international human rights standards as articulated by the United Nations in numerous instruments, such as, notably, the *Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*. The latter document guarantees the right of Christians and others to worship freely, as well as the rights to teach religion, write and disseminate religious publications, designate religious leaders, communicate with co-religionists at home and abroad, solicit and receive charitable contributions and educate children in religion and morality according to parents' wishes. Freedom of expression and assembly are also enshrined in these instruments.

The extraordinary document published on October 24th by the Vatican's press organ *Fides*, which provides details of the government's persecution against Chinese Catholics in recent times and which is attached to my testimony, concludes: "If during the meeting between President Jiang Zemin and President Clinton religious rights are not clearly addressed, there is little hope for the world." Freedom House concurs.



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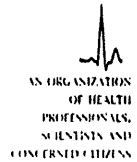
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Testimony of Allen Keller, M.D.
Physicians for Human Rights

Torture in Tibet

Subcommittee on International Organizations and
Human Rights

Tuesday, October 28, 1997



Testimony of Allen Keller, M.D.
Physicians for Human Rights

Torture in Tibet

Subcommittee on International Organizations and
Human Rights

Tuesday, October 28, 1997

Thank you for holding this important hearing, Chairman Smith, and for inviting me to testify. This is an invaluable opportunity to place the issue of human rights in China and Tibet high in public awareness during the visit of Chinese President Jiang Zemin to the United States.

My name is Allen Keller. I am an assistant professor of clinical medicine at NYU School of Medicine, and Director of the Bellevue/NYU Program for Survivors of Torture -- a program which provides multi-disciplinary care to survivors of torture and their families. I am also a member of the International Advisory Board of Physicians for Human Rights, and appear today on its behalf.

Physicians for Human Rights is a Boston-based organization of health professionals, scientists, and concerned citizens that uses the knowledge and skills of the medical and forensic sciences to investigate and deter violations of international human rights and humanitarian law. This is our second study on torture in Tibet; the first was a 1989 report, "The Suppression of a People, Accounts of Torture and Imprisonment in Tibet." In that study we found that torture of Tibetan political prisoners

was routine -- a finding that is substantiated by our new study.

I am honored to present today the results of the findings from an extensive investigation of the frequency of torture among a sample of Tibetan refugees in Dharamsala, India, which I conducted, in collaboration with a team of five other health professionals.

Summary of Study Findings: This study, which included a survey of 258 Tibetan refugees and extensive medical examinations of those who indicated that they had been tortured, revealed the following:

1. Reports of torture committed by Chinese authorities in Tibet are common among Tibetan refugees. Torture continues to be a significant health and human rights problem in Tibet. Fifteen percent of the survey sample of 258 Tibetan refugees (1 in 7 of those interviewed) reported a personal history of torture. All of these cases of torture were determined by PHR investigators to be highly credible. Forty-seven percent of the survey sample of Tibetan refugees reported a history of a tortured family member or close friend.

2. While individuals detained because of their political activities are likely to be tortured, individuals detained for any reason in Tibet are at risk of being tortured as well. Ninety-four percent of the individuals in our survey who reported being detained because of their

political activities also reported being tortured. Fifty-eight percent of the individuals in the survey reporting a history of torture were detained by Chinese authorities for reasons other than political activities, such as attempting to cross the border out of Tibet, or arguing with a Chinese merchant.

3. Many of those individuals tortured by Chinese authorities in Tibet are young adults and children. Fifty-eight percent of all torture survivors we interviewed were less than 21 years old at the time of their reported torture, and 15% were 16 years or younger at the time of their reported abuse.

4. Detainees in Tibet are subjected to repeated episodes and multiple forms of torture. Commonly reported forms of torture included beatings (82%), electrical shocks (64%), being suspended or restrained in painful positions (60%), witnessing others being tortured (22%), burned with hot objects, such as cigarettes (11%), exposure to extreme temperatures (11%), being forced to stare at the sun (11%), sleep deprivation (9%), mock execution (7%), having blood drawn against the individual's will (7%). Sixty percent of the torture victims interviewed reported being subjected to three or more different forms of torture. Thirty-eight percent of the torture victims interviewed reported experiencing more than ten episodes of torture.

5. The abuse which these torture victims suffered

resulted in significant physical and psychological consequences. Seventy-eight percent of the torture survivors examined suffered from significant symptoms of anxiety or depression and 85% experienced recurrent, intrusive memories consistent with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Forty-four percent continued to have physical symptoms as a sequelae of their abuse and 50% had corroborating physical findings, such as scars or neuromuscular findings.

Our findings strongly suggest that torture continues to be a significant health and human rights concern in Tibet and authorities in Tibet continue to use torture routinely as a means of political repression, punishment, and intimidation.

The following case testimonies are from interviews with Tibetan survivors of torture which PHR conducted while collecting information for this report.

Case of NR NR, a Buddhist monk, was 18 years old when he was reportedly arrested and imprisoned for 3 months for distributing "freedom pamphlets" at a pro-independence demonstration and for possessing a picture of the Dalai Lama.

The Chinese police tied my hands and suspended me from the ceiling and then punched and kicked me and shocked me all over my body with electric cattle prods. They shocked me on the genitals so that my genitals bled and later got infected and it was difficult to urinate. They also beat me on the feet with sticks. In the winter I was made to stand naked against a cold wall for 3 to 4 hours at a time a few times each week. During the winter I was also put in solitary confinement for 15 days. The rest of the time I was kept in a cell, approximately 15 feet by 10 feet with 6 other prisoners. The Chinese police repeatedly beat me with a stock on my left thigh until the stick broke and

splintered into the skin. It got infected and took a long time to heal. I was not given any medical care for this. One time, when I said Tibet was free, a prison official put a gun to my head and threatened to kill me.

NR continues to suffer from symptoms of depression, anxiety and PTSD. He reports difficulty concentrating and often gets headaches. He also reports that he easily gets upset. On physical examination, NR has an unevenly hyper-pigmented scar on his left thigh which is consistent with the injury he describes.

Case of NC NC, a Buddhist nun, was 16 years old when she was imprisoned for 2 years for chanting in a public square, "Long Live Tibet. Free Tibet!"

During the first month I was in prison, I was tortured often. I was beaten many times and electrocuted all over my body. When the Chinese tortured me they would yell at me 'Why do you demonstrate? Don't you know the Chinese are good for you? You must not say Tibet is free. Tibet is part of China. One time, they took my blood with a big syringe, even though I told them not to. I think that was for punishment.

NC reports she frequently saw others being beaten and tortured. On one occasion she reports witnessing a young man, approximately 21 years old, being beaten. She reports the he was subsequently shot in the head.

Since my torture, I am not so well. I also feel my nerves are not so good. When I see people protesting, I think about what happened and I get very upset. But I still must protest. In Tibet, we have no political or religious freedom.

Case of KG KG reports that he was detained for 1 month without trial after having an argument with a Chinese shopkeeper.

While I was in prison, I was beaten, kicked and punched almost every day. During the beatings the Chinese guards would yell at me, "Are you going to repeat your mistake of fighting with the Chinese again? Approximately 2 or 3 times a week, I was forced to stand against a cold wall, naked for several hours. I was also frequently shocked with an electric cattle prod on my neck and chest. At one point I was not given any food for approximately 3 days. During my imprisonment, I was kept in a large room with approximately 30-40 other prisoners.

Since my abuse I often feel nervous and sad. Sometimes I don't share with others what happened to me. But my experience has made me more patriotic.

Case of LR LR reports that when he was 15 years old he was detained after attending a peaceful demonstration.

I was taken to the police station, and repeatedly beaten with sticks and given electric shocks. When I tried to protect myself from the beatings with my hands, the police handcuffed my hands together. I was then suspended by the chain of the handcuffs and beaten all over my body with a piece of a broken chair. I was also shocked again many times including on my head. The shocks were so painful, I passed out, but they would revive me by placing me under cold water. [LR reports that he was subsequently imprisoned for 1 year.] Each day in prison for the first few weeks, I was interrogated for 1 and a half to 2 hours. I was asked about my participation in the demonstration, who the organizers were and who else had participated. When I refused to answer, I was beaten. This continued about two times a week for the remainder of the year I was in prison.

After his release, LR reports that he was frequently followed by police. The fear of being re-arrested became so great that he finally fled from Tibet to India. It has been 3 years since he last saw his family and he has been unable to contact them since their village is in a remote area and without mail service. His family does not know where he is.

Since his imprisonment, he reports having frightening flashbacks of the torture. He has difficulty concentrating, which at times interferes with studying and with meditation. He hopes to become a monk, learn Tibetan history, philosophy, religion and literature, and then return to Tibet, despite knowing that he might be arrested for having gone to study in India.

Are human rights improving or deteriorating in Tibet as a consequence of U.S. Policy: I would like to attempt to address Chairman's Smith's important question, "Human Rights in China and Tibet; Is Constructive Engagement Working?" We cannot answer Chairman's Smith based on our survey data alone (which is a snapshot in time of a very high frequency

of torture among a sample of Tibetan refugees) because we do not have tracking studies from past years with which to compare it. Moreover, the Chinese authorities' strict controls on access to Tibet make it impossible for any organization to systematically monitor rights abuses there, and chart improvement or deterioration over time.

There are many indicators, however, that show that repression continues at very high levels. In 1996, the Tibet Information Network and Human Rights Watch/Asia compiled the names of more than 600 political prisoners still in detention in Tibet for the peaceful expression of their views.

There are other troubling indicators of political repression in Tibet. In its new report on State Control of Religion in China and Tibet, for example, Human Rights Watch/Asia described an official campaign to vilify and denounce the Dalai Lama, promulgated at the Third National Forum on Work in Tibet in July 1994 and reaffirmed two years later. The campaign involved tight supervision of monasteries and nunneries, limits on numbers of monks and nuns and numbers of monasteries and nunneries, political vetting of monastic leadership, the establishment of reeducation committees in monasteries, and the expulsion of large numbers of monks and nuns from monasteries.

The denunciation campaign also featured a ban on photographs of the Dalai Lama, and many arrests of those who

refused to relinquish the photographs. A number of the torture survivors I interviewed in India had been detained and tortured because they possessed photographs of the Dalai Lama.

One extremely serious incident occurred at Ganden monastery on May 6, 1997, where monks protesting attempts to obtain the photograph beat an official severely. The authorities responded with a military attack on the monastery, in which several monks were injured (one monk died of wounds,) ninety monks were detained and at least fourteen were sentenced.

The current wave of political repression, labeled "Strike Hard" by the Chinese authorities, is causing a resurgence of refugee flight from Tibet into Nepal and India. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that 3,000 Tibetans cross the Himalayan mountains each year to escape the worsening conditions in their country, including deteriorating economic and educational opportunities

Robbie Barnett, the director of the widely-respected Tibet Information Network (TIN), based in London, told PHR this week that TIN *does* believe that overall repression in Tibet has accelerated since 1994, when MFN conditionality was dropped in May and the vilification campaign against the Dalai Lama was initiated two months later. He said that repression appears to have accelerated again since reversion

of Hong Kong to Chinese control last summer. Mr. Barnett notes that neither TIN nor any other organization can quantify the number of abuses or track human rights conditions scientifically. He bases TIN's judgement that political repression is much higher than in 1994 on the information the network receives from all its Tibetan sources. The degree of fear, intimidation, political control and authority is at such a high level that TIN simply is unable to obtain detailed information on torture and other human rights abuses that was once available through its sources inside Tibet.

While PHR cannot say whether "constructive engagement" is the reason for this deterioration, we certainly join other human rights organizations in observing that it does not appear to be working, as severe human rights violations continue in Tibet.

There is one potentially important human rights development, however, which may indicate that China is taking more seriously demands by the international community that it cooperate with specialized U.N. human rights mechanisms. From October 6 to 16 of this year, China permitted the United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions to visit detention sites in several cities in China, as well as Lhasa. While the Working Group has not yet formally released its findings, the visit represents the greatest degree of cooperation with U.N. human rights

institutions that we have seen to date since the admittance of the Religious Persecution expert in 1994.

It is too soon to say whether the access to the Working Group is a harbinger of greater cooperation by China with human rights mechanisms in the future, or an effort to win international approval for an appearance of cooperation. We will only know the answer to that question when we see how the Government of China responds to the recommendations of the Working Group. Moreover, the Working Group's pre-arranged visit to a single institution in Lhasa is no substitute for ongoing, confidential access to all parts of the country by other human rights institutions, notably the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Torture and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Constructive Engagement: PHR is very concerned that "constructive engagement" appears to be a policy whereby the Administration talks about human rights privately to the Chinese authorities, but exercises none of the leverage that it possesses to achieve positive change. In this regard, we note that China was granted an official summit meeting in the United States, which it greatly prized, without having achieved a single human rights concession.

Moreover, "constructive engagement" on human rights appears to mean that the names of political prisoners will not be publicly mentioned, presumably for fear of offending our Chinese visitor. PHR believes that torture and

political imprisonment are abuses which outweigh concerns of protocol. In particular, Wei Jingsheng, China's best known political prisoner, was detained precisely because he met with American human rights officials. He was later sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment, and is held in appalling conditions. His health is suffering as a result. For President Clinton to pay lipservice to "...those who fight for human rights and against religious persecution..." as he did in a recent speech, without mentioning the name of Mr. Wei, and others, is very wrong.

PHR strongly urges the Administration to reestablish human rights linkage to those things that China most desires: a state visit by the President of the United States, permission to import high technology American goods, and admittance into the World Trade Organization. The U.S. should also continue to urge the U.N. Commission on Human Rights to examine human rights problems in China and Tibet, and to support a resolution on China next year. The failure of this year's resolution was due largely to the lateness and ambivalence of the U.S. effort and the negative signals other countries received as a result.

In applying this kind of "constructive engagement" to obtain human rights concessions, as it has done with respect to other issues (such as nuclear nonproliferation and trade) PHR respectfully urges that human rights in Tibet not be forgotten. In particular we ask that President Clinton

publicly call for the following actions, which, if taken in good faith, could improve human rights in Tibet:

1. Permit access to all places of detention in Tibet to the International Committee of the Red Cross and the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Torture. Permit access as well to independent journalists and nongovernmental human rights organizations.

2. End the process of incommunicado detention of all detainees, and permit immediate access by lawyers and family members of those detained.

3. Publicly state that torture will not be tolerated and take steps to prosecute those implicated in it.

4. End the vilification campaign against the Dalai Lama, and the abuses associated with it, including political reeducation at monasteries and other means of control.

5. Release from prison all those detained as prisoners of conscience.

In closing I would like to reiterate our recommendations to the Government of China, which are contained in our report:

1. The Chinese government should acknowledge that Chinese authorities in Tibet use torture against large numbers of Tibetan detainees. The government should commit itself to take all necessary steps to stop these practices, and comply with international conventions, to which China is a signatory, including the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

2. Legal safeguards should be implemented to decrease the risk of detainees being subjected to torture or ill-treatment, including guaranteeing that all detainees are

brought before a judge promptly after being taken into custody, and that detainees have prompt and regular access to relatives, lawyers, and doctors.

3. All law enforcement and security personnel in Tibet should be ordered to refrain from the practice of torture. Procedural safeguards governing interrogation and custody should be developed which ensure that detainees can lodge complaints regarding mistreatment and that the complainant and witnesses are protected against any ill-treatment or intimidation.

4. Detainees should have access to prompt medical examinations and attention by competent medical personnel, with full clinical independence and without interference by law enforcement or security personnel. These examinations should occur immediately upon arrest and at regular intervals during the period of their detention.

5. There should be prompt, independent investigation of complaints of torture and the publication of the investigation's methods and results. Appropriate legal actions against those authorizing and committing torture should be taken.

6. The Chinese government should permit access to Tibet and permit independent monitoring of detention facilities, prisons, and labor camps by the United Nations and international humanitarian and human rights organizations.

7. PHR welcomes China's recent cooperation with the United Nations' Working Group on Arbitrary Detention. The Chinese government should also invite the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture and act on the Rapporteur's recommendations.

Amnesty International Testimony

**US - China relations and human rights;
Is constructive engagement working?**

Before the

**House International Relations Committee
International Operations and Human Rights**



Presented by

**T. Kumar
Advocacy Director For Asia & Pacific,
Amnesty International USA**

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Thank you Mr. Chairman, and distinguished members of this committee. Amnesty International is pleased to testify at this hearing.

Amnesty International is an international - grassroots - human rights organization which has over a million members around the world and about three hundred thousand members in the United States. We focus on the protection and promotion of human rights around the world but do not take a position on a number of issues including linking economic sanctions to human rights.

The policy of constructive engagement with China has not produced any substantial results in the human rights field. This is best illustrated by the administration's (US State Dept.) own 1996 human rights country report on China, which states "all public dissent against the party and the government was effectively silenced by intimidation, exile, the imposition of prison terms, administrative detention or house arrest. No dissidents were known to be active at the year's end". What better statement can any one find to assess the policy of constructive engagement?

The human rights situation in China has been of grave concern to us for several years. Last year, we launched an international campaign to highlight these concerns. Even though new and updated laws were introduced in March 1996 in China with respect to the Criminal Procedure Law (CPL) and the Administrative Punishment Law (APL), there has been no fundamental change in the governments' human rights practices. Dissent in any form continues to be

repressed. Even high profile political prisoners like Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan have been sentenced without any hesitation.

The death penalty is used in China extensively. In 1996 alone, at least 4,367 people were executed. Most prisoners did not receive fair trials and many were executed soon after their death sentences were pronounced. More people are executed in China than in all other countries of the world combined, and the crimes for which they are executed include counterfeiting value-added receipts.

We have released several reports detailing the human rights situation in China, including reports on torture, unfair trials, imprisonment of dissidents, mass executions, the wide scale use of forced labor camps, wide spread oppression in Tibet, persecution of religious groups, and the practice of forced abortion and sterilization to enforce "the one child" policy.

Over the years, Amnesty International has pressed the Clinton Administration to pursue a strong, clear and consistent human rights policy towards China and other countries. The Clinton Administration deserves praise for being willing to publicly confront China at Geneva, especially in light of the extremely disappointing behavior of some other nations there, in particular France. However, the Administration has given mixed and confusing signals to China, regarding its concern over human rights. We can cite numerous examples, but I would like to mention one incident that shocked the human rights community.

Last December, President Clinton met in the Oval office with the Chinese defense minister Gen. Chi Haotian, who, at the time of the Tiananmen Square massacre of June 1989, had operational control over the involved troops. The meeting was not required by protocol. It was plainly a good will gesture to the man who personally directed the butchery in Tiananmen Square. Worse still, it took place literally on the eve of International Human Rights Day, December 10th.

To this day, the Chinese government has refused to hold an impartial investigation into that massacre, where at least a thousand civilians were killed by troops. The impunity granted to the military leadership responsible for these killings, allows them to continue to violate human rights. By meeting with Gen. Chi, President Clinton has given a clear signal to the Chinese that human rights is not a priority. We hope that it was a blood-red carpet that the Clinton Administration rolled out for Gen. Chi. It would be a step in the right direction if the Clinton Administration would just take the 'Hippocratic oath' on China: 'First Do No Harm'. This would entail not meeting with Gen. Chi in the Oval office and not sending the signal that trade is more important than human rights.

It is ironic that while President Clinton gave a red carpet welcome to Gen. Chi, he only paid a 'drop by' visit to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, our fellow Nobel Laureate.

Actions such as these, have damaged the credibility of the Clinton Administration and its seriousness in pursuing and advocating human rights. As a result, when the Administration is serious in pursuing human rights issues, these attempts usually end in failure in international forums. This was the case last year with the motion to censure China at the UN Human Rights Commission. The motion which the Administration cosponsored was defeated. Unless the Administration has a clear and consistent human rights policy backed by real diplomatic muscle, experiences like this will be repeated in future forums.

Following is a summary of our concerns in China:

Administrative detention

In recent years 'shelter and investigation' and 'reeducation through labor', both forms of administrative detention, have been increasingly used to silence and punish dissidents and members of religious or ethnic groups.

'Shelter and investigation' allows the police, on their own authority, to detain anyone without charge for up to three months, merely on the suspicion that they may have been involved in a crime. In around a third of known cases, people are held for longer than three months. Thousands of people have been detained on average each year for 'shelter and investigation' since the early 1980s.

'Reeducation through labor', imposed by local government committees without charge or trial, was increasingly used to arbitrarily detain dissidents for up to three years in labor camps.

Wang Donghai and Chen Longde, two pro-democracy activists from Zhejiang province were detained in May 1996 after issuing a petition calling for the release of political prisoners. Similarly Liu Xiaobo, a leading dissident was detained in October 1996 after cosigning a letter calling for political reforms. Wang Donghai, Chen Longde and Liu Xiaobo were assigned terms of three years detention for 'reeducation through labor'.

In Liu Xiaobo's case, the administrative sentence was imposed with unprecedented speed, a few hours after his arrest, and in breach of the safeguards for a fair and public hearing guaranteed by the new Administrative Punishment Law, which had come into force one week before his arrest.

Unfair Trials

Trials continue to fall short of international standards, often with verdicts and sentences allegedly decided by the authorities before the trial.

In a case which received international attention, prisoner of conscience Wang Dan, a former student leader during the 1989 pro-democracy protests, was sentenced on October 30, 1996 to 11 years' imprisonment after being convicted of 'conspiring to overthrow the government'. The sentence was handed down after a trial from which foreign journalists and independent observers were excluded. No defense witnesses were called in court and there was evidence that the text of the verdict had been prepared in advance. Wang Dan's appeal against the verdict and sentence was rejected by a high court in November after a 10 minute hearing.

In another case, Ngawang Choephel, A 30 year-old student of performing arts has been detained since August 1995. He was tried behind closed doors at Shigatse Intermediate People's Court and handed down an 18-year jail term for 'espionage activities'. A young musicologist of some repute, he traveled from India to Tibet in July 1995 to film and record traditional Tibetan performing arts. Amnesty International has received detailed information indicating that his travel to Tibet had no other purpose than the study of performing arts. The authorities have provided no evidence that he was involved in activities threatening national security.

Torture and Ill Treatment

Torture is endemic in China, despite the government's declared opposition to its use. Criminal suspects are frequently tortured to make them 'confess'. The continued use of torture by police to speed up confessions was acknowledged in November 1996 by the official Guangming Daily in an article denouncing increasing corruption among judicial personnel. The authorities however have failed to introduce safeguards to prevent torture or to bring many torturers to justice and many cases of torture and ill treatment, including some resulting in death, continue to be reported by unofficial sources.

In March 1996 for example, information came to light about Wang Jingbo, a young factory employee in Beijing who was reportedly beaten to death a few days after his arrest by the Chaoyang district police in late 1995. An autopsy showed that he had 12 broken ribs and had suffered a brain hemorrhage. Police reportedly told his family in March 1996 that he had been beaten by other prisoners, but no judicial investigation into his case is known to have been carried out.

The most common forms of torture include severe beatings, whipping, kicking, the use of electric batons that give powerful shocks, the prolonged use of handcuffs or leg-irons and suspension by the arms.

In mid-August 1996, prisoner of conscience Chen Longde was reportedly kicked, punched and beaten with an electric baton by a prison officer at the Luoshan labor camp in Zhejiang province, and jumped from a third story window in order to escape the beating. He suffered serious injuries, including hip and leg fractures and was admitted to hospital. The beating was reportedly inflicted on him to make him 'acknowledge his guilt'.

Political Dissidents

On June 4, 1989 the Chinese authorities sent tanks and troops to 'clear' Tiananmen Square in Beijing. At least a thousand people were killed and Amnesty International considers these deaths resulted from extra-judicial executions: deliberate and targeted killings of peaceful demonstrators by government forces. In the crack-down that followed, hundreds of people were sentenced to long term imprisonment for 'counter-revolutionary' offenses.

Eight years after the massacre, people attempting to commemorate the victims of the crackdown or to monitor the human rights violations which resulted from it, have been harassed or jailed. Over 300 prisoners of conscience remain incarcerated for their activities during the protests.

The Chinese Government has still not officially accounted for those killed injured or arrested. The authorities still justify the events as the suppression of a 'counter - revolutionary' riot, and have taken no steps to publicly investigate the circumstances of the killings and bring to justice those found responsible for human rights violations.

The Death Penalty

More people are executed every year in China than in all other countries of the world combined. In 1996 alone, at least 4,367 people were executed. In China there are about 68 offenses punishable by death, including theft, burglary, hooliganism, seriously disrupting public order, pimping, the trafficking of women, taking bribes, corruption, forgery and tax evasion. Condemned prisoners tend to be paraded at mass rallies or through the streets before being privately executed. Spates of executions often precede major festivals or international events and usually accompany official announcements of anti-crime campaigns.

Execution is usually carried out shortly or immediately after the sentence is publicly announced. In Jilin province, for example, three men, Tian Zhijia, Tian

Zhiquan and Zhaolian, were executed on May 31, 1996 - seven days after their arrest - for allegedly committing a robbery on May 21, 1996. Their trial, sentencing, as well as the hearing of one of the three men's appeal and the review and approval of the three death sentences by a high court, all took place between their arrest on May 24 and May 28 1996.

Some people are executed solely on the basis of confessions which may have been extracted under torture. Executed prisoners organs are used for transplants and there has been some correlation between the need for organs and the number of executions which take place.

Religious Persecution

Over the last 15 years there has been a revival of religion in China. There are five officially recognized religions in China: Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism. Within these recognized religions a believer must register and only attend an officially recognized place of worship. Those who join the growing number of unregistered religious groups face heavy fines, harassment and imprisonment.

The government recently reiterated the need to emphasize 'patriotism' in all religious activities especially in the practice of Buddhism in Tibet, and Islam in Xinjiang, where religion may be seen by the authorities as a threat to their power.

Christians

Christians are free to worship in government affiliated Churches. But if they join one of the growing number of unregistered religious groups they face heavy fines, harassment and imprisonment.

Who is at Risk?

- Official statistics claim that there are 10.5 million Catholics and Protestants in China.
- An internal Chinese Communist Party document (Feb. 1996) however stated that there were 25 million Catholics and Protestants in China.
- According to these internal documents, many Catholic and Protestant believers in cities are intellectuals, management executives and educated middle-aged people. In villages many are newly enriched peasants or village officials.

Restrictions on Worship

Since the 1950's government approved organizations have been established to ensure that religious practice in China is "free of any foreign domination". The Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CPA), for example was created to replace the authority of the Pope over the Chinese Catholic Church. Over the years, Catholics who remained loyal to the Vatican and refused to join the CPA

have been persecuted. Similar persecution was meted out to Christian groups who organized religious activities independently of the government sanctioned Three-Self Patriotic Movement of Protestant Churches (TSPM).

Increased Repression

Repression of unauthorized religious activities has intensified since 1994. Many peaceful but unregistered religious gatherings have been raided by police, and those attending have been beaten, threatened and detained. Religious leaders usually tend to be the primary targets of harassment and imprisonment.

Harassment of Christians has often increased prior to, and during, important events or Christian festivals such as Christmas or Easter. During the United Nations World Conference on Women several Christians were temporarily detained by the police, many were harassed, questioned, put under surveillance or told not to leave their homes. A few examples of religious persecution follow:

Protestants

- Lin Xiangao, also known as Samuel Lam, aged 71, is the leader of a Protestant house-church in Guangzhou, Guangdong province, which is reported to have about 1,600 members. He has spent more than 20 years in prison and has suffered regular police harassment.
- In November 1995 at least six house churches in Shanghai were raided simultaneously and hundreds of Bibles and other Christian literature confiscated by police.
- A number of political and labor activists who were active Christians have also been detained. Xiao Biguang for example, 34, an academic and labor activist, is an active Christian and members of the Gangwashi church, an officially registered church in Beijing. In 1996 he was assigned to 3 years reeducation through labor for creating a "negative atmosphere" among his students at a theological seminary.

Roman Catholics

- In April 1995 during Easter celebrations between 30 and 40 Roman Catholics were detained by police officers from Linchuan city, Jiangxi province, after a mass prayer meeting was held on Yujiashan mountain. Most of those detained were released after payment of a fine equivalent to about three months' income but four people, Pan Kunming, Yu Qixiang, Yu Shuisheng, and Rao Yanping were charged, sentenced and are currently serving prison terms.
- Guo Bole, a 58 year-old Jesuit priest went missing from his home in Shanghai in November 1995 after he celebrated Mass for 250 fisherman on a

boat. On January 4, 1996 he was assigned to two years' reeducation through labor.

- In May 1996, over 2000 troops supported by armored cars and helicopters are reported to have prevented Roman Catholics from attending an annual pilgrimage to Dong Lu, Hebei province. Catholic Priests and lay people were detained as a result of the crackdown.
- In April 1996, a group of Roman Catholics from Xiao county, Anhui province, were detained and many of them beaten after petitioning local authorities for the return of church property. Fourteen Roman Catholics were subsequently detained.

Tibet (Buddhists)

Thousands of Tibetan monks, nuns and juveniles have been arbitrarily detained and many tortured. While new arrests were carried out in 1996 and 1997, over 600 prisoners jailed in previous years are believed to remain in prison.

A crackdown on suspected nationalists and religious groups in Tibet was carried out during a 'strike hard' campaign in early 1996. Authorities ordered the closure of monasteries which had 'political' problems. Between May and October 1996, official propaganda teams carried out a political 'reeducation' campaign in several monasteries, resulting in the arrest of at least 15 monks and the expulsion of many more from their monasteries.

Amnesty International is also currently concerned about the welfare of eight year old Gedhun Choekyi Nyima who has not been seen for over two years. Gedhun was chosen by the Dalai Lama to be the 11th Panchen Lama, the second holiest Tibetan spiritual leader. Beijing does not recognize the Dalai Lama's choice of the Panchen Lama.

After two years of incommunicado detention and a secret trial, a senior Tibetan Lama (Chadrel Rimpoche) and two other Tibetans (Champa Chung and Samdrup) have been convicted of political 'crimes' and sentenced to prison terms for communicating with the exiled Dalai Lama over the search for the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama.

Xinjiang (Muslims)

There are 30-40 million Muslims in China, most of which live in Xinjiang (North West China). In May 1996, private scripture classes and teaching of religion in schools and factories were banned. All books dealing with Islam can only be published by the Xinjiang People's Publication house after approval from the authorities.

According to unofficial sources, 180 Muslim religious leaders, Koranic professors and students were arrested between May and September 1996 and over 100 Koranic schools closed down. Between late April and early June 1996, 2,773 suspected 'separatists', alleged terrorists and ordinary criminals were arrested in Xinjiang in a 'strike hard' anti-crime campaign.

On February 20, 1997, ethnic unrest in Yining led to 15 arrests, according to official sources. Nine other people have formally been arrested for alleged involvement in bombings which took place in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang, on February 25, 1997. Three bombs exploded on public buses that day, reportedly killing nine people and injuring 74. Amnesty International is concerned that all detainees should have a public and fair trial, with adequate time and facilities to prepare their defense, in accordance with international standards. Exiled opposition groups claim that the riots were provoked by the execution of 30 Muslim nationalists and growing restrictions on religious freedom.

Inner Mongolia

The Chinese authorities are cracking down on suspected nationalists in Inner Mongolia. Two ethnic Mongol intellectuals (Hada and Tegexi) accused of 'separatist' activities have recently had their appeals against harsh political sentences (10 and 15 years imprisonment respectively) rejected by the Chinese authorities.

Women and the 'one child policy'

Birth control has been compulsory in China since 1979. Government demographers set a target for the stabilization of the population by the year 2000. The target currently stands at 1.3 billion, which they claim can only be achieved through "strict measures". Strict measures involve the quota system, and the "one child policy" and sanctions are enforced if these are not complied with.

The Quota System

Women must have official permission to bear children. Birth control is enforced through quotas allocated to each work or social unit (such as school, factory or village). The quotas fix the number of children that may be born annually in each unit. Since 1991 Local Officials (cadres) have become directly responsible for monitoring the quotas and a cadres performance, in part, is now evaluated on the implementation of the birth control policy. Cadres may lose bonuses or face penalties if they fail to keep within the quota.

"The One Child Policy"

"The one child policy" is China's official birth control policy. The regulations, sanctions and incentives of "the one child policy" are left almost entirely to the

county level administration, who determine them "according to the local situation".

- In most regions, urban couples may have only one child, while rural couples may have a second if the first is a girl. A third child is "prohibited" in most available regulations.
- Regulations covering migrant women indicate that abortion is mandatory if the woman does not return to her home region.
- Abortion is mandated for unmarried women.
- Couples diagnosed as having serious hereditary diseases have been the target of additional measures and new laws.

Sanctions

Couples who have a child "above the quota" are subject to sanctions, this may include one or more of the following:

- heavy fines
- a withdrawal of a work bonus
- dismissal / demotion (state employees)
- Detention and ill-treatment of relatives of those attempting to avoid abortion or sterilization. This still occurs despite a Supreme People's Court ruling against it in 1990.
- psychological intimidation and harassment, commonly used to "persuade" pregnant women to have an abortion. This may involve visits, often in the middle of the night, from groups of family planning officials.

In the face of such pressure, women facing unwanted abortion or sterilization are likely to feel they have no option but to comply.

Forced Abortions and Sterilization

Family planning officials working in Liaoning and Fujian Provinces from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s gave testimony as to the treatment of women pregnant with "out of plan children". They stated that women were detained in storerooms or offices for as long as they resisted being "persuaded" to have an abortion. This could last several days. One official reported being able to transfer women to the local detention center for up to two months if they remained intransigent. Once a woman relented, the official would escort her to the local hospital and wait until the doctor performing the abortion had signed a statement that the abortion had been carried out. Unless the woman was considered too weak, it was normal for her to be sterilized straight after the abortion.

Official Chinese Policy

A White Paper on family planning was produced by the Chinese government in August 1995 as the basis of official comments on birth control in China at the World Women's Conference and NGO Forum.

The authorities asserted that "coercion is not permitted" and that the "Chinese government is against promoting induced abortion". However sanctions are

imposed on officials who fail to meet quota targets, women who deviate from the "one child policy" and those who assist women to circumvent the official policies. This is in strong contrast to the lack of sanctions taken against officials who use coercion. It is evident that official policy is inconsistent with what occurs in practice.

Amnesty International remains concerned that there is no evidence that the authorities have yet set in place effective measures to ensure that such coercion is not only forbidden on paper, but persecuted, punished and prevented in practice.

In closing, we would like to urge the administration to ensure that human rights are an integral part of foreign policy. Thank you very much for inviting Amnesty International to testify.

Statement by Rizvangul Uighur

10/28/97

My name is Rizvangul Uighur, I am an Uighur from East Turkistan which Chinese call Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. I am grateful for the opportunity to testify Chinese Human Rights Abuses in my motherland. As you can see from my appearance, I am not a Chinese, my mother tongue is not Chinese, my culture is Turkic culture, the Uighur history has no connection what so ever to Chinese. My motherland was taken over by Chinese communist in 1950.

It is obvious to everyone, Chinese government's policy, especially after implementing the so called No. 7 Act of PRC Central Standing Committee hosted by Mr. Jiang Zeming, clearly stated the discriminatory policy towards Uighur and other indigenous population of East Turkistan. I regret that I don't have time to list all abuses caused by PRC. However, I would like to take this chance to give you what I know about the February 5-6 incident which Chinese government shamelessly labeled as "riot organized by a small number of separatist". The reality is nowhere close to Chinese official description of the event.

Ghulja is a city with Uighurs majority. In Uighur cultural tradition, there are a cultural gatherings called 'Mashrap', county level unofficial soccer competition organized by Uighurs and some other religious gatherings. All these normal activities are considered "counter revolutionary activities" by Chinese official and banned completely. The purpose is obvious, they want to systematically destroy our culture, religion, history and traditional activities and finally to genocide Uighur as a whole.

Uighurs are born Muslim, it is our religious tradition to gather together to pray during the holy Ramazan. On the eve of Ramazan on February 5 in Ghulja, ordinary believers were offended by the arrests of 30 prestigious religious leaders by Chinese government. They were shocked by the arrests, especially the young folks could no longer tolerate. 600 young people took to the street walking towards city government demanding release of those religious figures. On their way, they were brutally stopped by police and paramilitary forces. Police violently dispersed crowd using electrical clubs, water cannon and tear gas in the freezing day. The second day, even bigger demonstration was held after Uighurs all over town heard about the incident. Chinese police and paramilitary forces were ordered to shoot to the crowd and killed 167 people and succeeded in suppressing the rally. Afterwards, the Chinese policemen arrested over 5,000 demonstrators including elder, young, women and children in a single day on the charge of "intending to split motherland", "conducting criminal activity" "fundamental religious activity" and "counter revolutionary element".

One of my friend was among the arrested. She is only 20 years old. She described to me what happened to her that day as follows. Chinese policemen forced all the arrested Uighurs to take off shoes and stand barefoot on snow for hours, they also released police dogs to bite them. One by one, the arrested individual were called in for questioning. My friend is a devote Muslim, when she was called in. She was asked: "Are you a Muslim?" My friend replied: "Yes, of cause I am." "Where is your God?" the policeman asked. The girl replied: "God is in my heart." Then, you would not believe what the policeman did to her. He tore off her cloth and pressed a burning cigarette on her bare breast and crudely yelled: "If your God is in your heart. Let him rescue you right now!" Afterwards, all the girls from the

Statement by Kirzangul Uighur

age 14 up were locked into Han Chinese male prison cells. The Han prisoners took full advantage of these innocent souls, destroyed their spiritual purity.

After the demonstration, we were little surprised about the patience of Chinese government in making open executions. Everything was clear, they were waiting for U.S. to offer Most Favored Nation Status to China. Right after MFN was approved by the congress, the Chinese government made the first open execution of 7 Uighurs and sentence of 23 demonstrators ranging from 5 to life time. In order to "kill the chicken to scare the monkeys", Chinese military forces load them on the open truck guarded with heavily armed soldiers humiliatedly drove slowly through the busy Uighur bazaar and neighborhoods. During that time, crying crowd including relatives, family members and friends of so called 'criminals' followed the trucks to say good buy. Guess what Chinese soldiers did? Would you believe such cruelty could ever happen in a civilized society? They opened fire to the ordinary crowd! Killed 9 Uighurs in the spot and injured over 25. Chinese media could not hide the incident and officially admitted the soldiers opened fire to the 'mobs who wanted to rescue the criminals' - a biggest lie one can ever create!

I heard Chinese made large scale secret execution to the demonstrators, religious figures who refuse to comply with government. One of my friend's brother was among the secret executed Uighurs. His brother was arrested one night in April after the Ghulja incident, at 3pm next day, his father and spouse were informed to pay final visit for five minutes. The young man was executed afterwards without any judicial trial. Nobody knows where is his dead body.

As I told you in the beginning, I was born an Uighur, I didn't see any Chinese and couldn't speak Chinese when I was young. But now I saw millions Chinese migrated in my country. All of them are transferred by Chinese government. We have already become a minority in our own motherland. Let me give you some more examples of the human rights violation of government that every single Uighur is experiencing nowadays in their own motherland.

1. Because of the Nuclear testing, there are many deformed children, unknown diseases and all kinds of untreatable skin diseases. Chinese government claims that Nuclear test is safe and no harm to the Uighurs who live surrounding test sites. I want to ask Jiang Zeming that why don't he let Chinese test their Nuclear bombs in their own land if it is safe and harmless to the human. We Uighurs don't need bombs of any kind.
2. The birth control policy toward Uighurs is unbearable. Babies are being killed in delivery room without seeing the mother's face and would. Those pure souls died without knowing what is wrong and who is their mother. The mothers lost their children even had no chance say good bye to their newborns, whom they had for ten months of pregnancy, to whom they have many wishes and the new life they were dreamed to have with. The reason for those innocent souls death is that their mothers have no birth permission. For those who gave birth to such a child would encounter maltreatment and ignorant in hospital for their violation of government birth control policy, many of them die after given birth from the infection and other disease caused by such treatment. After all, their family would face a financial punishment for their violation of government birth control policy.
3. On a train from Urumqi to Beijing, there were only two Uighurs including me. Suddenly, we saw two policemen walked directly to us bypassing all the Chinese in the train. They rudely yelled to us: "Show us your identification!" and searched over all our belongings. We were so offended and felt deeply humiliated. But, both of us didn't say anything, since we know from our experience we would get into big troubles if we show any resentment. This is what every Uighur experiencing everyday, everywhere in the People's Republic of China.

Statement by Rizvangul Uighur

4. We were deprived off our religious rights. The government employee and workers are not allowed to pray, to attend religious school or to go to Mosques openly. I was once warned by a Chinese official that I had to took off my veil, otherwise, I could not keep my job. I was forced to pray secretly at home as a consequence.

Thank you very much for your attention. I sincerely hope you could help my people by stopping Chinese inhumane treatment of Uighurs.

Rizvangul Uighur
19729 Crystal Rock Road #14
Germantown, MD 20874
701-515-0361 (h)

The following is the unedited version of my testimony.

I really do not have time to fill in some concret information I talked about that is not in the this draft. But I think this covers pretty much what I said. And you can have this now instead of waiting for a long while.

Thanks again for the hearing. DCF will be happy to be of any assistance in the future.

Shen Tong

Democracy for China Fund

Prepared for Chris Smith's hearing on the 28th of Nov.

I thank Mr. Chairman for arranging this hearing, a real opportunity for the unspeakable horror to come into light. We have to face the truth in response to the Beijing regime's lies.

Political repression in China in the last three years: The human rights abuses are well documented. My testimony will try to put faces to those figures.

Political dissidents:

1. Massive arrest and imprisonment in the last three years
 - terrible prison conditions
 - lack of adequate medical care
 - making family visit and support difficult

2. Constant harassment outside the prison:
 - temporary detentions: Jiang Qisheng
 - work place harassment
 - telephone tapping and disconnecting lines
 - tailing, taking photographs
 - denying work opportunities
 - complicates post-jail life: no resident ID, Tong Yi
 - planting evidence for detention, Qi Dafeng
 - restricting travel
 - closing down businesses: Wei Jingsheng's brother
 - family harassment
 - physical harassment: Ma Shaofang
 - neighborhood committee harassment

**3. The reform through labor - Laogai, alternative ways to legal sentencing
Liu Xiaobo, Bao Ge, Xu Yongliang**

(These are internationally or at least nationally known dissidents, less known ones suffer much severe punishment.)

Other rights abuses:

1. Shutting down magazines, TV talk shows
2. Banning and Confiscating books on variety of subjects including liberal ideas, official corruption, etc.
3. Punishing people for merely speaking to the outside world about current and historical events: Liang Xiaoyan
4. Interrupting, breaking up gatherings of liberals, even when it's purely academic conferences
5. Forced abortion continues in the countryside, and to a lesser degree in urban areas

Would a Jiang Dynasty see a betterment in these areas? The answer is so far "no". Jiang attempted to consolidate his power a few months ago in the first post-Deng Xiaoping Communist Party Congress in China. Many viewed Jiang as a technocrat during his long rise to power, yet he has the same brutal mentality and realpolitick as that of his predecessors, the first generation of Communist revolutionaries. Jiang participated in the decision to end our 7 week nationwide peaceful protest with the June 4th Massacre of 1989.

Indeed, he is the biggest benefactor of the Massacre. Wang Dan and other opposition leaders numbering in the thousands have suffered longer sentences and harsher treatment under Jiang's regime than they did under Deng's. In addition, Jiang's regime has openly denied 49 exiled Chinese nationals, including me, the right to return home, and continuously driven more dissidents into exile.

Like Deng, Jiang plans to hold on to power for himself and top members of the Communist hierarchy by promoting economic growth, while Chinese pay the cost in human rights abuses, social injustice, and severe official corruption. In the face of international pressure on these issues, Jiang has shamelessly held hostage any Chinese citizen who dared to speak out in defiance.

Looking at the area of rights, President Clinton's engagement policy as it is has not improved the conditions in China.

Would a tougher human rights policy work, would that fall into the designs of Beijing regime that they can play off the Europeans, Japanese, and Canadians? The answer is not a clear one, and it is beyond the scope of my testimony. But two things are clear:

1. There is confusion among the Chinese liberal circles as to where the US stands, and

subsequently, where the free world stands.

From where they are, they see the US participating in Jiang's dirty games such as trading Chinese human rights for the protection of American copyrights, trading Chinese political voices of dissent for the sale of American nuclear power plants.

2. Liberal stands have been compromised to xenophobic nationalism.

Why is it important to focus on the liberal forces in China?

The best hope for a positive future for China, and for US-China relations is internal liberal political change, fostered by an international environment with a resolute stand on liberal principles in regard to polity -- constitutional democracy, and human rights -- as well as a bold and daring commitment to internal and exiled liberal forces. Current strategies of containment and engagement have all overlooked the active role that the US can play in bringing about the internal changes desired by the Chinese people. That this desire exists was clearly demonstrated by the pervasive social mobilization behind the calls for greater freedom and democracy in the spring of 1989, and the very existence of continuing efforts by thinking, reflective, and active Chinese for a liberal political alternative despite of severe political repression.

We Chinese have the misfortune to be ruled by a police state, but we are hopeful, as we were back in Tiananmen. We are determined to continue the struggle to transform economically reformed China from a one party dictatorship to a free China. While the change must and will come from within, I call for support from the free world.

The current two sides of the American debate on the China issue has been "containment" and "engagement." But to contain China is not an option and to engage Beijing is not a policy.

President Clinton is determined to "engage" with China, but he should lead this country to engage with the real China, the people and the liberal future of China, not with the Beijing regime. He should safeguard the American values of liberty and democracy as well as those of American business and security interests. He should actively support all positive development in China, including not only economic reform and development, but also the emergence of a civil society and pro-democracy efforts. In other words, he should contain Beijing regime and engage with China.

Americans can provide what Wang Dan and the determined Chinese liberal forces need the most--a genuine connection with the caring outside world--through measures such as monitoring rights abuses, pressing for human rights improvement, helping the free flow of information and ideas through internet and Radio Free Asia, directly supporting civil society initiatives, and sending more observers into the US consulates in China. While we understand that change has to, and will come from within. But under the current repression, it will be a blessing if the US can stand its liberal ground.

Press Release

Contact: Joseph Kung, The Cardinal Kung Foundation
PO Box 8086, Ridgeway Center
Stamford, CT 06905 USA

10/27/97

Tel: 203-329-9712 Fax: 203-329-8415 E-Mail: JMKUNG@aol.com

Letter of Appeal to President Jiang Zemin from Ignatius Cardinal Kung

Stamford, Connecticut, U. S. A. - The Cardinal Kung Foundation, an advocate of the underground Roman Catholic Church in China, reported today that His Eminence Cardinal Kung (Gong) had appealed to President Jiang Zemin "to defend the rights of the Chinese citizens to true religious freedom, and to permit the Roman Catholics to maintain religious communion with the Pope in order to keep the fullness of their faith."

Cardinal further appealed to President Jiang to immediately release the four Roman Catholic Bishops currently held in captivity and "all other faithful and clergy who are being held in the detention camps, labor camp and jails in China". He challenged President Jiang to make "China ... be internationally known as a country which has true religious freedom".

The letter was written in Chinese and was faxed to President Jiang through the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Washington, DC at about 1:pm today. The hard copy of the original is being sent to President Jiang by Federal Express.

The full English text as translated by the Cardinal Kung Foundation is as follows:

October 27, 1997

The Honorable Chairman Jiang Zemin
c/o Embassy of The People's Republic of China
2300 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20008

Respectful Mr. Chairman:

In the name of eight million Roman Catholic faithful and clergy in China, and also in my own name, I respectfully appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, to defend the rights of the Chinese citizens to true religious freedom, and to permit the Roman Catholics to maintain religious communion with the Pope in order to keep the fullness of their faith.

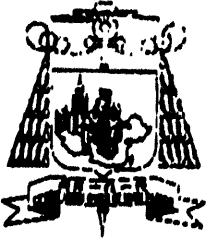
I further appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, to immediately release Su Zhimin, Bishop of Baoding Diocese, Hebei and An Shuxin, Auxiliary Bishop of Baoding; Han Ding Xiang, Bishop of Yong Nian, Hebei; Zeng Jingmu, Bishop of Yu Jiang, Jiangxi; and all other faithful and clergy who are being held in the detention camps, labor camps and jails in China

May China, under your able leadership, be internationally known as a country which has true religious freedom.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed by) Ignatius Cardinal Kung (Gong) Pin-Mei
Bishop of Shanghai





CARDINAL'S OFFICE

128 STRAWBERRY HILL AVENUE
STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT 06904

尊敬的江澤民主席：

本人謹代表全中國八百萬普世羅馬天主教信徒及神職人員，立以我個人名義，籲請江主席維護中國公民應有的宗教自由權利，准許信奉普世羅馬天主教的信徒，為信德的完整與羅馬天主教教宗保留純宗教關係。

我更懇請江主席釋放河北保定教區蘇志民主教及安樹新輔理主教、河北永年教區韓鼎麟主教、江西余江教區曾景牧主教、及所有尚在拘留所、勞改營和監獄的信徒及神職人員。

願中國在江主席的英明領導下，早日恢復有真正宗教信仰自由的國際聲譽。此致

崇高的敬禮。

上海教區主教

龔品梅樞機呈上

一九九七年十月廿七日

COPY



**BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

October 23, 1997

**The Honorable Christopher Smith
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Operations
and Human Rights
Committee on International Relations
House of Representatives**

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On behalf of the members of the presidentially-appointed, bipartisan, Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), I am writing to express grave concern regarding China's ongoing jamming of Radio Free Asia (RFA) and Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts to both China and Tibet. It is the Board's hope that you will raise this issue with President Jiang Zemin during his visit to Washington next week.

RFA began broadcasting to China on September 29, 1996 seven years after the Tiananmen demonstrations, five years after the introduction of the first RFA legislation in Congress and just six months after its incorporation under the oversight of the BBG. The Tibetan service was inaugurated on December 1, 1996, while other broadcast services soon were on air to Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and North Korea. VOA has been broadcasting to China in local languages and English since its founding in 1942, and today reaches the PRC in Mandarin, Cantonese and Tibetan. Recently, access to VOA's Mandarin Internet text service has been greatly restricted in Beijing in a new form of interference with the free flow of information to readers, as well as listeners, in the Chinese capital.

RFA was established pursuant to the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994, enacted by the Congress with strong bipartisan support. Congress declared in the Act that it was necessary to have "a new broadcasting service to the people of the People's Republic of China and other countries of Asia which lack adequate sources of free information..." By being factual and objective, RFA's news and information deliver the message of freedom and democracy to the people of China and Tibet.

The U.S. Government for many years has opposed the jamming of international radio broadcasts as an infringement on the freedom of the press and the free flow of information. The U.S. Congress declared in the 1994 Act: "It is the policy of the United States to promote the right of freedom of opinion and expression, including the freedom 'to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers,' in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The Board recognizes that Congressional and Administration officials will be discussing an array of issues in meetings with President Jiang Zemin and other members of his delegation. We also understand that the U.S.-China relationship encompasses a wide range of complex and often-competing interests. It is, nonetheless, the strongly held view of the bipartisan BBG that the issue of China's jamming of RFA and VOA is sufficiently important to be an agenda item in your meetings with President Jiang and other Chinese officials.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors is grateful for your strong support of increased funding for RFA and VOA broadcasts to China. We remain convinced that support for U.S. international broadcasting without interference advances U.S. foreign policy interests and also advances freedom, democracy and human rights throughout the world.

Sincerely,

David Burke

David Burke
Chairman

Members of the Broadcasting Board of Governors:

David Burke, Chairman
Joseph Duffey
Cheryl Halpern
Ted Kaufman
Tom Korologos

Bette Bao Lord
Alberto Mora
Marc Nathanson
Carl Spielvogel



FOUNDED 1941
 THE INTERNATIONAL
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 FOUNDATION
 FOR FREEDOM

The Center for Religious Freedom Freedom House

Top Thirty Priority List
 Chinese Christians Persecuted for Religious Reasons
 October 28, 1997

PROTESTANTS

1. PETER XU YONGZE

Pastor Peter Yongze Xu, China's most prominent underground Protestant leader, was sentenced to ten years of labor camp on September 25, 1997, in Zhengzhou, Henan province, for "disrupting public order." This is one of the harshest sentences given for Christian activities in 15 years. His trial was closed to the public and he was denied a defense lawyer. Pastor Xu, the 56-year-old leader of the three- to four-million-strong New Birth Movement of evangelicals, was arrested on March 16, 1997, as he was meeting with other leaders of large evangelical churches in China.

2. GAO FENG

The 27-year-old evangelical and former employee of the Sino-American Beijing Jeep Corporation, Gao was arrested on August 8, 1995, during a round-up of dissidents prior to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women. In December 1995, Gao was sentenced to 2.5 years of "re-education through labor." In 1994, Gao had been fired by the Chrysler Corporation, which is a joint-venture partner of Beijing Jeep, after being arrested for "praying without authorization," but was rehired after an international campaign on his behalf.

3. LIU FENGGANG

A 37-year-old active member of a unofficial Protestant house-church in Beijing, Liu was arrested on August 9, 1995, at his home as part of a general crackdown on the dissident community in Beijing prior to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women. In early December 1995, Liu was sentenced to 2.5 years of "re-education through labor."

4. WANG CHANGQING

A 52-year-old house-church leader of the Zhoukou Prefecture, Henan province, Wang and five other Christian house-church leaders were sentenced without trial to three years of "re-education through labor" on August 14, 1995. The house-church

Billy Haddad
 Chairman

Neil W. Handler
 Mark Palmer
 Vice Chairman

Walter J. Schloss
 Treasurer

Kenneth I. Adelman
 Secretary

Max M. Kampelman
 Chairman Emeritus

Zbigniew Brzezinski
 Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
 William C. Doberty, Jr.
 David Eisenhower
 Sandra Feldman
 Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr.
 Theodore J. Forstmann
 Norman Hill
 Samuel P. Huntington
 Marvin L. Lasky
 John T. Joyce
 Lane Kirkland
 Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick
 Edward J. Koch
 Morton M. Kondracke
 Anthony Lake
 Carter Lutz
 Jay Mazur
 John Norton Moore
 Charles Morgan, Jr.
 Peggy Noonan
 Susan Kaufman Purcell
 Richard Ravitch
 Otto J. Reich
 Peter Rodman
 Burns W. Roper
 Donald Rumsfeld
 Wendell L. Willkie, II
 Jacques D. Winpflinger
 Andrew Young

Richard Sauber
 Of Counsel

Adrian Katavitsky
 President

James S. Denton
 Executive Director

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BEIJING
 BEIJING
 KVA
 A/CN/teeckhouse

leaders were accused of belonging to outlawed religious organizations and scheming to overthrow the Communist Party with foreign religious groups. Wang and the other Christian house-church leaders denied belonging to any of these "outlawed" religious groups because they consider them heresies. Wang has been transferred to Henan's Xuchang Labor Reform Center to begin his third prison term at a labor reform camp.

5. ZHENG YUNSU

Leader of popular Jesus Family religious community in Duoyigou, Shandong province. Christian Zheng was arrested in June 1992 with thirty-six other community members, including his four sons. Their arrests are thought to be in part the result of the community's May 1992 efforts to prevent security forces from tearing down their church. The elder Zheng was charged with holding "illegal" religious meetings, "leading a collective life," disturbing the peace and resisting arrest. Sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment, he is thought to be held at the Shengjian Motorcycle Factory labor camp near Jinan city. Other community members received sentences of five years (another source says three). Public Security Bureau officials raiding church compound in June 1992 leveled the church and confiscated personal property.

6. PEI ZHONGXUN (Korean Name: Chun Chul)

The 76-year-old ethnic Korean Protestant leader from Shanghai, Pei was arrested in August 1983 for counter-revolutionary activities. Accused of spying for Taiwan (because of ties to Taiwanese Christians) and of distributing Bibles and other Christian literature to others in the house-church movement, he was charged with "counterrevolutionary crimes," and sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment. He is reportedly imprisoned in Shanghai Prison No. 2. His family is permitted to visit him for half an hour each month.

7. WANG XIN CAI

Evangelical Wang was arrested with Pastor Peter Xu Yongze and imprisoned on March 16, 1997 in Zhengzhou, Henan. There is no further information on his legal situation.

8. QIN MUSHENG

Evangelical Qin was arrested with Pastor Peter Xu Yongze and imprisoned on March 16, 1997 in Zhengzhou, Henan. He remains in detention; there is no information on his legal situation.

9. QING JING

Qin, the 30-year-old wife of Pastor Peter Xu Yongze, was arrested along with her husband on March 16, 1997 in Zhengzhou, Henan. She remains in detention; there is no information on her legal situation.

10. SISTER FENG XIAN

Evangelical Feng was arrested with Pastor Peter Xu Yongze and imprisoned on March 16, 1997 in Zhengzhou, Henan. She remains in detention; there is no information on her legal situation.

11. SU YU HAN

The 37-year-old evangelical was imprisoned on July 25, 1996 and sentenced to a re-education labor camp for one and a half years. He is from the Tongnan neighborhood in Wu Tong town in Tong Xiang County, Zhejiang Province, an area that has been targeted for severe repression by a specific Party directive. His house church with eight rooms was destroyed completely on the night of his arrest. All of his property was confiscated.

12. WU BING FANG

The 22-year-old brother of imprisoned evangelical Su Yuhuan was imprisoned on July 25, 1996 and sentenced to a re-education labor camp for one and a half years. He is from Xin Li neighborhood, Hong Yong town, Jia Xing district, Zhejiang Province. All of his property was confiscated.

13. CAO WEN HAI

Evangelical Cao was imprisoned on August 10, 1997 in Ping Ding Shan, Henan. His hometown in Fang Cheng county, Henan Province, is known as the "Jerusalem of China" where the Chinese House church movement was initiated in the 1980's. He was helping in the ministries of millions of Christians in China.

14. ZHANG CHUN XIA

Evangelical Zhang was imprisoned on August 10, 1997 in Ping Ding Shan, Henan. Her hometown in Fang Cheng county, Henan Province, is known as the "Jerusalem of China" where the Chinese House church movement was initiated in the 1980's. She was helping in the ministries of millions of Christians in China.

15. ZHAO SONG YIN

Evangelical Cao was imprisoned on August 10, 1997 in Ping Ding Shan, Henan. His hometown in Fang Cheng county, Henan Province, is known as the "Jerusalem of China" where the Chinese House church movement was initiated in the 1980's. He was helping in the ministries of millions of Christians in China.

16. PHILIP GUOXING XU

Philip Xu is a 42 year-old evangelical traveling preacher and Bible teacher based in Shanghai, was arrested on June 16, 1997, and is presently in solitary confinement. He is not allowed family visits, and his legal situation is uncertain. He had been arrested on March 14, 1989 for a "through investigation." At that time the authorities found "no political motivation, no intention for collecting money, and no sexual misconduct," he was released. He was then re-arrested on November 6, 1989 while teaching a Bible study class, and was sentenced without trial to three years of labor camp. After completing that sentence, Guoxing was released. He is married, and now has a young daughter.

ROMAN CATHOLICS

17. BISHOP ZENG JINGMU

The 77-year-old Roman Catholic Bishop of Yu Jiang, Jiangxi province, Bishop Zeng was sentenced without a trial, in March 1996 to three years of "reeducation through labor" in the *laogai* for his religious activities after being arrested the previous November. He has already spent about two decades in communist prisons for his faith. Reportedly, Bishop Zeng has been weakened by a serious case of pneumonia which he had contracted during a short prison detention in October 1995. In 1994, he had been arrested on August 14, one day before an Assumption Day raid by Public Security officials from the town of Yu Jiang and held without charge until December 1994. He has been adopted by Amnesty International as a "prisoner of conscience."

18. BISHOP AN SHUXIN

Bishop An was arrested in February 1996 as a preemptive strike against the popular annual May 24 Catholic pilgrimage to the shrine of Mary in village of Donglu in Hebei. Police crushed all commemorations, other clergy from the area were imprisoned or placed under house arrest, and some churches and prayer houses in the area were desecrated. He remains in detention.

19. BISHOP JOHANNES HAN DING XAING

The 58-year-old Bishop-Yong Nian, Hebei province, is under some form of detention. He was most recently arrested on August 27, 1995, along with Bishop Jia Zhiguo, and held at a detention center in Yong Nian for two months. He was on an I.V. and hospitalized at his time of arrest and has a heart condition. He had been imprisoned for religious activities from 1960 to 1979. Since then he has been subjected to multiple short term imprisonments. For example he had been seized by Public Security officials on November 18, 1993, after celebrating Mass and detained without a trial until early 1994. Prior to that he had been arrested December 26, 1990 and detained without a trial, reportedly in an indoctrination camp in Handan, until 1993.

20. BISHOP JAMES SU ZHIMIN

Bishop Su Zhimin, 65, the Roman Catholic bishop of Baoding in Hebei province who respects the authority of the Vatican, has spent twenty years in Chinese prisons. During one prison stint lasting 15 years, he was subjected to outrageous physical abuse. In one incident, the board, which was used to beat him, was reduced to splinters. The police then ripped apart a wooden door and continued to beat Bishop Su until it also disintegrated into splinters. Other tortures used against him included being hung from his wrists while being beaten on his head, and on another occasion being placed in a cell which was partially filled with water. The Bishop was left there for days, unable to either sit, lie down or sleep. He suffered extensive hearing loss as a result. In 1996, Bishop Su wrote a courageous letter of protest about religious violations to Chinese government authorities. He was arrested most recently on October 8, 1997 for religious reasons after 18 months in hiding. On October 24, the U.S. State Department reported that it had received word from Chinese authorities that the bishop had been released from jail, but there is no independent confirmation of this and local Catholics report that government agents are now blocking access to the bishop's residence. If Bishop Su has in fact been released, it appears that he is either under house arrest or has gone into hiding.

21. BISHOP JULIAS JIA ZHIGUO

The 58-year-old Bishop of Zhengding, Hebei province, and secretary-general of the underground Chinese Bishop's Conference, Bishop Jia was arrested on August 27, 1995, and held at a detention center in Yong Nian until being released two months later. He had been subjected to frequent short detentions at the hands of the Public Security Bureau. He was arrested on January 7, 1994, and but released shortly thereafter, and re-arrested January 20, 1994, but subsequently released in early February. He was arrested again on February 9, 1994, and reportedly released in one month later. He had been arrested on April 5, 1993, with eight other priests, all of whom were released later that year. He is currently under police surveillance and severe restrictions of movement that are a form of house arrest.

22. BISHOP JOSEPH LI SIDE

In his 60's, the Bishop of Tianjin diocese was arrested May 25, 1992, exiled in July 1992 to a rural Liang Zhuang, Ji county, and forbidden to leave. According to most recent report, he is being held under a form of house arrest on the top of a mountain. He had previously been detained several times, including 1989, when he was arrested for playing a role in the underground episcopal conference and reportedly tried in secret.

23. BISHOP GU ZHENG MATTIA

The Bishop of Xining diocese, Qinghai province, was arrested on October 6, 1994, but released sometime in early December 1994. He has been placed under police surveillance and restrictions

of movement. Church sources report as of July 1997, he was again placed under detention by Public Security organs.

24. BISHOP JOSEPH FAN ZHONGLIANG

Bishop Fan, the 74-year-old acting bishop of Shanghai, is under ritual house arrest at his apartment in Shanghai. During Easter Week, Bishop Fan's residence was ransacked and his Bible, catechism, code of Canon Law, and meager diocesan treasury were confiscated by police. He had been previously imprisoned for his faith for 25 years between 1957 and 1982. He had also been arrested on June 10, 1991, reportedly in response to the Vatican's elevating another Chinese bishop, Ignatius Kung, to Cardinal. On August 19, 1991, he was transferred to a form of house arrest in Shanghai, which was confirmed by a Freedom House delegation in mid-1997.

25. BISHOP CASIMIR WANG MILU

The 55-year-old Bishop of Tianshui diocese, Gansu province, Bishop Wang was arrested April 1984 for counter-revolutionary activities, including ordaining priests (after his own secret consecration as bishop by Bishop Fan Xueyuan in January 1981), having contact with the Vatican and other Chinese Roman Catholics, and criticizing government religious policy and the Catholic Patriotic Association. In 1985 or 1986 he was sentenced to ten years of "reform through labor" and four years of deprivation of political rights. He was imprisoned for a time at labor camp in Pingliang, Gansu and then transferred to a labor camp near Dashaping in Lanzhou. Released on parole on April 14, 1993, he remains under severe restrictions of movement, that are a form of house arrest. He was previously imprisoned for his faith during the Cultural Revolution.

26. BISHOP COSMAS SHI ENXIANG

The 71-year-old auxiliary Bishop of Yixian, Hebei province. Bishop Shi was originally arrested in December 1990 and held by Xushui County Public Security Bureau. His whereabouts remained unknown for close to three years. He was thought to have been held in a "reeducation through labor" camp near Handan or in an "old age home." On November 31, 1993, he was released and permitted to return home. Although reportedly in poor health, he resumed duties as Auxiliary Bishop of Yixian, thought under police surveillance and restrictions of movement.

27. REV. GUO BO LE

A Roman Catholic priest from Shanghai. Rev. Guo was sentenced in January 1996 to two years of imprisonment at a "reform through labor" camp because of "illegal religious activity." He was arrested while celebrating Mass on a boat for about 250 fishermen. Guo's other "illegal" activities included administering the Sacrament of the Sick, establishing underground evangelical church centers, organizing catechetical institutes, teaching Bible classes and "boycotting" the Catholic Patriotic Association. Fifty-eight-year-old Guo has already spent thirty years -- over half his life -- in Chinese prisons because of his faith.

28. REV. VINCENT QIN GUOLIANG

Rev. Qin, a 60-year-old Roman Catholic priest, was arrested on November 3, 1994, in the city of Xining, Qinghai province, on unknown charges by Public Security officials. He was arbitrarily sentenced to two years' "reeducation through labor" at Duoba labor camp 20 kilometers from Xining. Father Qin was forced to carry rocks and blocks of ice in the camp, but after one month of this hard labor he became seriously ill. In March 1995, he was allowed to perform light duties and is now the treasurer of the prison. According to press accounts, the sentencing procedure circumvented the need for his name to appear on any legal documents, thereby preventing him from being officially recognized as a "prisoner." It is not known if he has been released but if he has he probably was returned to his previous status as an "employee detainee" for the State. He had been previously, arrested on April 21, 1994, while celebrating Mass, and released on August 29, 1994. Beginning in 1955, he served 13 years of imprisonment because of his refusal to renounce ties with the Vatican. Upon completion of prison term, he was transferred to a labor camp as an "employee detainee" to make bricks at No. 4 brick factory in Xining. After another 13 years of this forced labor, he was refused government permission to return to his home in Shanghai. He was forced to continue working at the No. 4 brick factory in Xining until his re-arrest in April 1994. He was secretly ordained a priest in 1986 and carried out his apostolic work in the province of Qinghai.

29. REV. LIAO HAIQING,

Rev. Liao is a 68-year-old priest in Fuzhou, Jiangxi province. Arrested in August 4, 1995, he was last known to be detained at Lin Chuan City's detention center. Father Liao has a heart condition and high blood pressure, but he is not allowed to receive medication from his family, who are barred from visiting him. Previously arrested on August 11, 1994, on unspecified charges and held in detention until mid-November 1994. Prior to that, he had been arrested while celebrating Mass, on August 16, 1992, and held until March 1993. He had also previously served a ten-year term, which ended in July 1991.

30. REV. PETER CUI XINGANG

The 31-year-old Pastor of the Church of Our Lady of China in Donglu village, Hebei province, the site of the famous underground Catholic procession, was arrested in late March 1996 and detained along with Bishop Su Zhimin. He has been reportedly in and out of detention since then and at last report in mid-1997 was behind bars once again. He had been previously, arrested on July 28, 1991, and held without trial until being released in August 1995.

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FIDES DOSSIER

CHINA - ELIMINATION OF UNDERGROUND CHRISTIANS

For some time Fides has felt the need to draw up a dossier on the situation of the Catholic Church in China. On October 16th the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic published a White Paper on religious freedom in China. This moved our correspondents to find material to comment and illustrate the lengthy state report on what is defined "the Chinese paradise of religions". The documentation we have, also responds to the many questions which the White Paper provokes, given the many contradictions it contains.

The first and most important is on the number of Catholics in China. The White Paper speaks of "4 million", but only five years ago China's state Statistics office spoke of "12 million" Catholics. At the UN Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, the Chinese government issued statistics showing the Catholic population between 10 and 12 million. In this dossier there is an article on the problem of "figures" concerning the Catholic population, which shows that the "numbers" of the Catholic population, are manipulated to suit policies. The present policy is to consider "Catholics" only those decreed thus by the Patriotic Association. But what to do with the other 6 or 8 million who reject interference on the part of the state (and above all the Party) in their faith? Not to mention them in an official report does not eliminate them from Chinese soil.

In actual fact, another secret document of the government, which we deal with, speaks of a "war" which the security forces and the Party are waging against the "underground" communities, or those considered as illegal, not being controlled by the CCPA. This, on the other hand, is elimination. One of the stages of this war has been the arrest of Bishop James Su Zhimin, a report we included in last week's edition. Other confirmed arrests are those of Bishop Zeng Jingmu (Yujiang, Jiangxi); Bishop An Shuxin (Auxiliary of Baoding); house arrest of Joseph Fan Zhongliang (Shanghai); Charles Guo Baole of Shanghai and two priests of Qiqihar (Heilongjian) are in prison camps.

There are also a number of bishops and priests prevented from exercising their ministry, missing or in hiding for fear of being arrested.

The articles which follow, give data on persecution and restrictions against Christians (and their children) in Hebei, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Shaanxi, Guangdong. Certainly they all practice the faith in "places not registered", that is in unofficial communities, but it is also true that the White Paper continues to preach that "in China no one is persecuted because of their religious beliefs". The Protestant "domestic churches", according to the White Paper, are permitted and need not be registered, but the Party's secret documents ask how to strike and close them.

Such blatant contradiction is born of the fact that in China "religious activities" are only those regulated by the government and defined "normal" (a word used countless times in the White Paper). In November 1994, a UN Commission on religious intolerance in China recommended the government to eliminate the difference between "normal" activities and abnormal or illegal activities. The White Paper which preaches obedience to all UN proclamations on religious freedom, in actual fact would appear to disobey the above mentioned recommendation.

This policy of defending the freedom of "normal" activity and persecuting the "abnormal" activity shows that the Chinese state thinks it can define what is religious and what is not. In China there is no legislation in matters of religious, which admits the existence of the religious phenomenon as a fact pre-existent to the state. There are only decrees and regulations which cage in religious communities before even asking what they believe in. But this is the right method to mix the religious fact with non religious elements. Nevertheless the White Paper preaches that "religious beliefs are the citizen's private affair".

The matter becomes prickly for Catholics and relations with the Vatican. For Chinese Catholics relations with the Pope and the universal Church are a fact which belongs to the essence of the faith; relations with the Vatican is instrumental of this element. For China, at least it would appear

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from the White Paper, problems with the Vatican are political first: the religious questions are subject to the political dimension.

This political dimension is the pre-supposition with which the White Paper looks at all religions which must "adapt themselves" so to have as a primary aim "the building up of China as a modern socialist nation with Chinese characteristics" (Part II).

But "political" eyes are in danger of being short-sighted. The history of the Catholic Church in China, as presented in the White Paper, is full of gaps and cuts. For example nothing is said of evangelization in the times of Matteo Ricci or how the Jesuits and the Christians of those times contributed to China's culture, arts, sciences, economy. It presents the so-called alliance between Catholicism, Protestantism and the Colonial Powers, accusing missionaries of conniving with foreign powers, but fails to mention the contribution, in schools, hospitals, universities, ideas, made by missionaries in the same period. Even Sun Yat Sen, Father of the Fatherland, was educated at Christian schools. It was the missionaries who opened the first school for girls. They saved thousands of orphans and opposed the binding of girl children's legs, long before New China decreed this practice illegal.

It is clear that the White Paper is not a history book. It has the generic character of an advertising leaflet, circulated on the eve of President Jiang Zemin's visit to the United States (October 26 to November 2nd). Many human rights organizations (Tibetans) and religious communities (Protestants) are organizing protest demonstrations. If during the meeting between President Jiang Zemin and President Clinton religious rights are not clearly addressed, there is little hope for the world. Peace is only born where there is justice and freedom.

CHINA - White Paper on Religious Beliefs (patriotic)

Hong Kong (Fides) - Beijing says it is anxious to improve relations with the Vatican, but the Communist regime reiterates its insistence to the Vatican to interrupt ties with Taiwan and not to interfere with China's internal affairs.

In an official White Paper on Chinese religion, the Chinese government stressed that politics must come to terms before religious issues could be discussed. According to the Document, the Catholic Church in China, supported by the government, upholds patriotism and independence in managing its affairs and selecting and ordaining bishops no matter whether Chinese-Vatican will be thawed or not.

Painting a rosy picture of religious freedom in the country, the White Paper on Religious Beliefs in China, issued on October 16th by the Information Office of the State Council, detailed China's efforts to protect and promote this right for all its citizens including ethnic minorities. It pledged that the government would, as always, make ever greater efforts to safeguard human rights and specifically to the freedom of religious belief in China.

But the Document denied any persecution against priests and lay people who refuse to be sanctioned by the government, claiming that "no one in China is punished for his or her religious beliefs". Beijing stated that it resolutely opposes attempts to split the country, or illegal activities and terrorist actions under the signboard of religious or ethnic lines, apparently targeting at the separate movements in the border regions like Tibet and Xinjiang.

Foreigners, though they may have friendly contacts, cultural and academic exchanges with Chinese religious circles, must carry out religious activities within Chinese territory in accordance with Chinese laws and regulations.

The 10,000 Chinese character-long White Paper spelt out Beijing's intention to normalize relations with the Vatican after a lengthy description and criticism on foreign dominance and the deeds of the Western missionaries and the Vatican in Chinese history in Part IV on "Support for Independence and Initiative in management of Religious Affairs".

"The Chinese Government has consistently adhered to a peaceful foreign policy of independence and taking initiative in its own hands and is willing to improve relations with the Vatican," the Document said. However

two basic conditions are required for such improvement. "First, the Vatican must end its so-called diplomatic relations with Taiwan and recognize that the government of the People's Republic of China is the only legal government in China and that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. Second the Vatican must not interfere in China's internal affairs on the pretext of religious affairs. In the first place the relationship between China and the Vatican is one between two countries. Therefore only when the relations between the two countries improve can religious issues be discussed. Whether relations between China and the Vatican change or not, the Chinese government will, as always support Chinese Catholicism which holds aloft the banner of patriotism, sticks to the principles of independence and self-management, and stands for selection and ordination of bishops by itself" the White Paper stated.

A total of 126 bishops were selected and ordained by the mainland Church between 1958 and 1995. More than 900 priests have been trained and ordained in the last twelve years, the document said.

The document makes no mention of "underground Christians". It does however refer to "pernicious" organizations which have sprung up since the 1980s in certain parts of China and engaged in illegal and even criminal activities under the "banner of religions". "Some of the heads of these pseudo-religions distort religious doctrines, create heresies deceive the masses, refuse to obey State laws and decrees, and incite people to overthrow the government, the paper accused.

To protect the masses and safeguard the people's right to freedom of religious beliefs and "normal religious activities", the Chinese judiciary punish lawbreakers and criminals who endanger society and public interest. "The punishment of criminals by China's judicial bodies in accordance with the law has nothing to do with religious belief" the document stated, without mentioning the arrests of dissident Christians, Buddhists and Muslims that were reported by the overseas media from time to time.

Stating that religious organizations and sites for religious activities must register with the government, the White Paper however reaffirmed "no

registration requirement" for house services which are mainly attended by relatives and friends for religious activities, such as praying and Bible reading". This contradicts with overseas reports of action against some Christian house-churches which failed to register. In addition the document stressed that Chinese citizens may "freely choose and express their religious beliefs and make clear their religious affiliations". And their right is protected by the Constitution and laws. Any infringement on citizens' right to religious freedom and their normal religious activities and venues will be punished according to the law, it added.

It cited that there are more than 100 million followers of various religions who practice their faith in more than 85,000 places for worship throughout the country. The number of clerics has reached 300,000 and that of religious organizations is over 3,000. There are 74 religious schools and colleges for training religious ministers.

According to the White Paper of the total number of Christians in China, one tenth are Protestant. The document affirms Since the 1980s, some 600 Protestant churches have been re-opened or re-built in China. By the end of 1996 more than 18 million copies of the Bible had been printed, with special tax exemption treatment to speed their publication. In addition more than 8 million copies of a hymn book published by the China Christian Council in 1983 have been distributed".

The government has also paid special attention to improve the lives of ethnic minorities, such as the Tibetans and Uygurs, and to protect their religious beliefs and cultural heritage, the White Paper noted.

"In China all religions have equal status and co-exist in tranquillity. Religious disputes are unknown in China. Religious believers and non-believers respect each other, are united and have a harmonious relationship", the document affirmed.

**CHINA - A government report on the suppression of Christians
Hong Kong (Fides) - Internal reference reports of the Chinese government
affirm that the regime has intensified measures to suppress Christian**

churches which refuse to be controlled by the police and patriotic associations. Catholics in Hebei, Henan and Liaoning who practice their faith in private and refuse to be registered, for at least two years now are being harassed and controlled. Two years ago in fact the local authorities intensified their interventions to bend non-official churches also referred to as clandestine.

The internal reference reports confirm the initial destruction of "underground Catholic forces" in Hebei province (the region around Beijing). Whereas local public security authorities alleged that the "illegal activities" of "underground" Catholics and Protestants in Liaoning and Henan had become serious and should be suppressed. Religious activities had to be brought under government surveillance with patriotic organizations being set up and worshipping venues being registered, the officials said. They noted that they had to guide the believers back to a "normal" religious life in legally-registered churches.

This news and information came from three reports in the Internal Reference (Nei Bu Can Kao) published by the Chinese official Xinhua News Agency on April 11th this year. The reports, not released for the general public, were carried in the September-October issue of China and the Gospel, a bimonthly publication run by the China Ministries International, until a few months ago based in Hong Kong now in Taipei (after the reunification with China).

This Protestant bimonthly also revealed an official confidential document of Tongxiang city in the coastal Zhejiang province ordering a "fight" against the "illegal activities" of Catholics and Protestants. The document was jointly issued by the local committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the city's government in March this year. Similar documents were also drafted in the provinces of Hebei, Heilongjian and Jiangxi. They speak of "procedures to intensify elimination of the illegal activities of the non-official Catholic Church".

The documents' objectives are clearly stated: "To destroy city organization of the non-official church; impede foreign contact with local illegal elements; destroy illegal venues; totally eliminate all "instruments of

religious propaganda"; strengthen the formation of a spiritual civilization and basic organizations; co-ordinate all security forces". The documents, after announcing special courses in "spiritual civilization" devote a chapter to "Infiltrated schools". "Severe policies must be adopted. Examine and reinforce and the power of teachers in villagers or believers. Teachers engaging in illegal religious activities must be punished and dismissed; no missionary activity must be allowed in schools; no religious activity may be studied, observed or visited; students are forbidden to carry any object or material of religious propaganda".

Fides published last week a report from Hebei where Christian children are denied education because their parents refuse to join the Patriotic Association (cfr Fides October 17th 1997)

Li Sen, deputy mayor of Baoding (Hebei) mentioned in one of the three internal reports published by Xinhua Agency, says that in the region, about 42,000 believers of a Catholic population of 60,000 were under the control of the "underground Catholic forces", in the district. Baoding in northern China has always been a stronghold of clandestine Catholics.

To wipe out "underground Catholic forces" Baoding government has set up religious affairs administrative committees in all 111 Catholic villages in the city. So far these committees have "won over" nearly 10,000 non-official Catholics. Aimed to be autonomous groups of the villagers to manage their religious affairs according to the laws, the religious affairs committees are, however, under the direct supervision of the Communist Party's village branches and the local village committees.

The Baoding authorities have also ousted 31 presidents of local Catholic groups and suspended the leadership of another 103. Those ousted were replaced by new heads who were willing to obey the government management and to reject "underground" clerics, the report noted. All venues for religious activities in the city were required to be registered with the government. The patriotic organizations has occupied 35 clandestine churches.

In Henan the "illegal activities" of Catholics and Protestants were accused of being one of the major reasons affecting the socio-political stability of this part of the central Chinese province. Another Xinhua report quoted Chinese public security forces as saying that Hunan province had seven "underground" bishops being recognized by the Holy See. One of the bishops is said to be Li Hongye. The report claimed that Li and other "underground" Catholic leaders, such as Jin Decesh, had illegally ordained 31 priests in cities of Nanyang, Luoyang, Zhengzhou, Anyang and Xinxiang. The clandestine leaders controlled some 30,000 believers in these areas, or about half the number of the Catholic population in the Henan province, it added. The number of churches belonging to the "underground" Church has reached 133,44, more than the number controlled by the government-sanctioned Church, the report noted.

As for the Protestants, the officials saw as major problems the intense activities of religious cults and growing number of house churches. The report claimed over 10 cults were found to be operating in the name of Protestantism, with more than 18,00 people being cheated. These groups include the "Shouters", the "All Range Church" and the "Apostles' Church". The police discovered 5,212 house churches which had failed to register with the government. The authorities also alleged that there were 3,315 Protestant self-claimed-preachers in the province who spread heresies and set up private churches. This hunting and harassing house churches is clearly a contradiction of what is set down in the White Paper referred to above. The document affirms in Part III that house-churches' are signs of Chinese citizens' religious freedom and no registration is required for such groups.

In Liaoning north eastern China, the provincial public security department denounced infiltration of "hostile foreign religious forces". It is said that groups of the United States and South Korea have strengthened and expanded their evangelical broadcasting network, targeting the rural areas and the Korean ethnic minority, in the province. The police in cities of Shenyang and Dalian also pinpointed the "Korean Protestant Church" for sending its delegates to China for 862 times to train 208 core members and foster 62 illegal agents. The Church was said to have control of 33 worshipping venues.

Violence against non-registered churches occurs also in areas other than those mentioned in the secret documents: Shanghai, Shaanxi, Guangdong. One example: nuns and lay people of the non-official Church in the province of Shaanxi denounced several cases of harassment by the police last August. On August 13th, policemen arrested two Catholics of Lijiyoufang parish. The same day near Shaheyang a boy of 13 was arrested, food and other objects were taken from a convent near the church and two elderly Sisters were left without food. Also on August 15th, Catholics of the non-official Church were threatened with arrest if they did not attend a Mass celebrated by members of the official Church. On August 5th police and members of the Religious Affairs Bureau broke into Zhangjiayan church and forced the nuns to go home. Seven lay people were taken in custody and then released after having been made to kneel and ask for pardon.

In Guangdong new, stricter regulations have been issued. Communities must not only register but preachers are only allowed to preach in the city of registration. Religious debates may not be held in places of worship. Regarding contact with other countries, foreigners are not allowed to convert Chinese citizens; Chinese people are not allowed to be ordained or appointed by foreign powers (a clear reference to the Vatican and Hong Kong); foreigners are not allowed to open schools or publish books. (Fides, October 24th 1997)

CHINA

Chinese Catholics: three million or twelve? How the figures should be read How many Catholics are there in China? A recent survey by the Holy Spirit Study, the Hong Kong diocesan center for culture and theology, examines the reasons for discrepancy in figures.

The HSSC survey was published at the beginning of October by the Sunday Examiner, the diocese's English language weekly. Fides includes this article to help shed light on the confusion of official and non-official figures, rendered still more complicated since the publication of China's White Paper

on Religious Beliefs. Our thanks go to the Sunday Examiner for agreeing to let us publish this useful article.

Hong Kong (Fides) - How many Catholics are there actually today on the mainland in the People's Republic of China? The quick answer to that question differs significantly depending on who is answering the question. In 1992 the Chinese State Statistics Bureau undertook one of the earliest surveys on the question. The Bureau estimated that at the time, there were some 12,000,000 Catholics. This figure goes far beyond what even today is quoted officially by the leaders of the official Church. Official Church leaders insist that the Catholic population is only between three and four million. It is not unreasonable to ask: Why is there such a wide discrepancy?

Until 1948 the Church kept statistics of this kind very carefully. These had to be sent to Rome annually. In 1948 the figure sent to Rome was 3,258,536. For some thirty years religion was virtually banned in China. At the height of the Cultural Revolution, one high official of the Party is quoted as saying: "All religion in China has now been relegated to the museum of history". The Church, however, in spite of persecution and the imprisonment of its leadership, priests and laity, was continually growing. Bishops in a number of dioceses report that the Catholic population of their dioceses has more than doubled since 1949. Some Catholic bishops say that the figure given by the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association CCPA, of three to four million, represent only half of the actual number. Where then does the conservative estimate come from?

Several reasons, some political, some psychological, still others personal can help explain this seeming discrepancy. Since it has been illegal in recent years to give religious instruction to children and young people under the age of eighteen - a regulation frequently disregarded - the baptisms of children and young people go largely unrecorded. It is also common knowledge that the number of children born in China, especially in the countryside far exceeds the government's recorded figure. Farmers for example, generally have more than one or even the two children sometimes permitted by the government. For fear of reprisal parents are very reluctant to register these "additional" children with the government. Some of these are

born to Catholic parents. They remain without certificates of birth and their baptisms are not recorded in the parish register. Parents often hesitate to have the names of their children included in the parish registers since these records are open to the government. In the 1950s these records were often used to identify people and target them for persecution. Although there is a great deal more openness today, some, remembering the past, are still reluctant to register themselves or their children. No one has any idea of how many practicing, non-registered Catholics there are in the whole of China. Another reason for the conservative estimate is that the government will not recognize or include in their number the many Catholics who worship in the underground or unofficial Church. It is estimated that the number in the underground Church is at least equal or even surpasses the number of those in the official Church. A fair estimate therefore of the total Catholic population in China today would be 10,000,000.

Still another reason is that the CCPA officials and other authorities are reluctant to disclose the actual figure as the constant increase could be a cause of embarrassment to the cadres of the Religious Affairs Bureau and the United Front. Although the Constitution of the People's Republic of China guarantees freedom of religious belief, still many see it as their duty to discourage and contain the growth of religions.

Regardless of whether there are 4,000,000, 10,000,000 or even 12,000,000, the Catholic population in China is still minuscule. It comprises but a very small minority of China's total population of 1.2 billion people. It is less than one percent. The government, as our Holy Father Pope John Paul II has so aptly remarked, has nothing to fear from Catholics or any increase in the number of believers. This increase in religious believers should prove no threat whatsoever to Socialism. He said: "The civil authorities of the People's Republic of China should rest assured: disciples of Christ can live their faith in any political system, provided there is respect for their right to act according to the dictates of their own consciences and their own faith. For this reason, I repeat to the governing authorities, as I have said so often to others, that they should have no fear of God or of the Church. ... The Chinese nation has an important role to play in the international community. Catholics can

make a notable contribution to this, and they will do it with enthusiasm and commitment".

Catholics in China are proud of their increase in numbers. They still however have a tremendous task ahead of them. Theirs is the task of living in such a way that their millions of brothers and sisters who do not know the Good News of God's love for them, will be able to say, as unbelievers said about the early Church: 'See how these Christians live one another', and be persuaded to follow their example.

Figures on the Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China (1996)

Total Catholics	10,000,000	dioceses	138
bishops official	60	unofficial	70
priests official	1,000	unofficial	1,000
nuns official	2,000	unofficial	2,000
seminaries official	10		
unofficial	26 (1 national, 6 regional, 7 provincial, 10 diocesan)		
seminarians official	1,000		
unofficial	700		
female novitiates official		20	
female novitiates unofficial		40	
women religious in formation official		1,000	
women religious in formation unofficial		1,500	