

# THE FIRST ANNUAL STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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## HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS

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# **THE FIRST ANNUAL STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

**WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1999**

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL,  
OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS,  
*Committee on International Relations,***

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2 p.m. in Room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher H. Smith (Chairman of the Subcommittee) Presiding.

Mr. SMITH. The Subcommittee will come to order.

Good afternoon. Today's hearing is the latest in a series of Subcommittee hearings focusing on religious persecution around the world. Over the last 5 years, we have heard from numerous government officials, experts, eyewitnesses and victims at a dozen hearings focusing on various aspects of the problem including worldwide anti-Semitism, the persecution of Christians around the world, the 1995 massacre of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica, the enslavement of black Christians in the Sudan, and the use of torture against religious believers and other prisoners of conscience.

Last year, this Subcommittee marked up H.R. 2415, Congressman Frank Wolf's landmark legislation on the problem of international religious persecution. In November, an amended version of the Wolf bill was enacted into law as the International Religious Freedom Act of 1999. Among the most important provisions of that act were an Annual Report on International Religious Freedom, a Special Ambassador for Religious Freedom, and we are very happy to have here today an independent bipartisan Commission on International Religious Freedom.

Today we will hear testimony on the first annual report provided to Congress pursuant to the Religious Freedom Act, and among our witnesses are Ambassador Robert Seiple and Commissioner Nina Shea, whose offices were created by the act. So today's hearing is living proof that the United States has taken some important steps toward helping millions of people around the world who are persecuted simply because they are people of faith.

Unfortunately, we still have a long way to go. The first Annual Report exhibits some of the strengths but also some of the weaknesses of the State Department's annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, which address a broader range of human rights violations. As we learn year after year in our hearings on

the Country Reports, the production of an honest and effective report on human rights violences entails a series of struggles.

First, it is necessary to get as many facts as possible and to get them right. Then it is important to state the facts clearly and honestly. It is important to avoid sensationalism, but it is at least as important to avoid hiding the facts behind exculpatory introductions or obfuscatory conclusions.

Finally, and most difficult of all, it is necessary to translate a clear understanding of the facts about religious persecution into a coherent policy for ending it.

In general, I believe the first Annual Report on International Religious Freedom succeeds in getting the facts straight. There are some important omissions, such as the Indonesia report's failure to examine the evidence of anti-Catholicism that has played an important role in the repression of the people of East Timor by elements of the Indonesian military.

I would note parenthetically we just spent all of last week working on a 1-day hearing looking at the problem there, and we were very pleased to have Jose Ramos-Horta as well as Xanana Gusmao as two of our lead witnesses, in addition to Julia Taft and Howard Koh. So that is one thing that we had in here.

But I am impressed with the extent to which the report states hard facts even about governments with which the United States enjoys friendly relations. For instance, the reports on France, Austria, and Belgium detail the recent official harassment and/or discrimination by the governments of these countries against certain minority religions such as Jehovah's Witnesses and some Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations.

Even more impressive is the first sentence of the report on Saudi Arabia. It is a simple declarative sentence, and I quote, "Freedom of religion does not exist."

Unfortunately, in some places, the report could not seem to resist trying to mitigate the unpleasant appearances of the hard facts by surrounding them with weasel words. In several reports on Communist countries, the government's failure to enforce anti-religion laws uniformly—which is typically due to inefficiency, favoritism or corruption—is reported in words that suggest the possibility of secret first amendment sympathies on the part of local or central governments. We are told, for example, that the Cuban government's efforts to control religion, quote, "do not affect all denominations at all times."

The report on Laos even makes the remarkable assertion that the central government was, and I quote, "was unable to control" harsh measures taken against Christians by local and provincial authorities, although these measures were fully consistent with Communism party doctrine and previous actions by the central government.

Ambassador Seiple, in calling attention to these transparent attempts to sugar-coat the facts with meaningless and/or misleading editorial comment, I do not want to detract from the very good work that your office and the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor have done on this report. On the contrary, these nonsequiturs and disconnects are strong evidence that there was a struggle within the administration between human rights workers

who tried to tell it exactly like it is and some of our embassies or regional bureaus who were carrying water for their odious clients. In general, the good guys appear to have won.

Despite these important victories that have led to this strong, honest, and thorough report, I am deeply concerned that it might not result in the necessary changes in U.S. policy. This is particularly sad because the International Religious Freedom Act provided an important mechanism for bringing about such changes. Specifically, the law provides that on or before September 1st of each year, the same day the annual report is due, the President shall review the status of religious freedom in each foreign country to determine which governments have "engaged in or tolerated particularly severe violations of religious freedom" during the preceding 12 months.

These countries are to be designated as countries of particular concern for religious freedom, and the President then must either impose diplomatic, political or economic sanction against the governments of these countries or issue a waiver of such action. This year, however, the President did not designate any countries of particular concern until late last night, about 5 weeks beyond the statutory deadline.

Ambassador Seiple, I want to congratulate you for prying that list loose from wherever it was in the Federal bureaucracy in time for today's hearing. Unfortunately, this designates only five countries along with two de facto authorities that are not recognized by the U.S. as natural governments.

In choosing these seven regimes—Burma, China, Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Serbia, and the Taliban—the President made only the easy choices. Six of them are pariah regimes, already under severe sanctions for reasons other than religious persecution. The seventh, China, must have generated a warm debate within the administration, not because the evidence is unclear about the atrocities the Chinese government commits every day against Roman Catholics, house church Protestants, Uighur Muslims, Tibetan Buddhists, and other believers, but because a designation of China as a country of particular concern might be bad for the relationship.

Ambassador Seiple, I am glad the forces of light prevailed when it came to designating China. But where is Vietnam, which brutally suppresses Buddhists, Protestants and others who will not join official churches run by the government itself and which attempts to control the Catholic Church through a Catholic Patriotic Association modeled closely after the Chinese institution of the same name? Where is North Korea, whose government imprisons evangelists and then treats them as insane? Where are Laos and Cuba, which engage in similar brutal practices? Where is Saudi Arabia in which, and again I quote, "freedom of religion does not exist?"

Does the administration really believe these governments have not engaged in or tolerated particularly severe violations of religious freedom? Or were the President and his advisers more worried about injuring the relationship or interfering with ongoing efforts to improve the relationship than with giving the honest assessment required by the plain language of the statute?

Mr. Ambassador, as you know, the Executive Summary of the report contains a description of U.S. actions to promote religious freedom abroad. Among other things, it states, "the most productive work often is done behind the scenes. It happens when an ambassador, after discussing with his senior official his country's important strategic relationship with the U.S., raises one more thing, access to the imprisoned mufti or information on a missionary who has disappeared."

Unfortunately, this description tends to confirm rather than dispel some of the most frequent criticisms of this administration's treatment of religious liberty issues in its conduct of U.S. foreign policy: First, that the administration is squeamish about holding governments publicly accountable for their repression; second, that the administration focuses on specific high-profile cases rather than pressing for systemic improvements; and, third, that the administration too often treats religious liberty as "one more thing," an addendum to other policy discussions, rather than mainstreaming it into other larger deliberations concerning economic, trade, aid, security policies and the like, those things that might provide concrete incentives for repressive regimes to change their actions.

Mr. Ambassador, we need to convince, I believe, repressive governments that religious freedom is not just "one more thing." Totalitarian regimes often come down harder on religious believers than on anyone else. This is because nothing threatens such regimes more than faith. In the modern world, in which the rhetoric of cultural relativism and moral equivalence is so often used to make the difference between totalitarianism and freedom seem just like just a matter of opinion, the strongest foundation for the absolute and indivisible nature of human rights is the belief that these rights are not bestowed by governments or international organizations but by God. People who are secure in their relationship with God do not intimidate easily.

So we must remind ourselves, and then we must remind our government, that human rights policy is not just a subset of trade policy, and refugee protection is not just an inconvenient branch of immigration policy. On the contrary, these policies are about recognizing that good and evil really exist in the world. They are also about recognizing that we are all brothers and sisters, and we are our brothers' and sisters' keepers.

Mr. Ambassador, this report is a good first step toward restoring these human rights policies to the place they deserve as a top priority in American foreign policy, and I am very, very grateful to have you here.

I would like to yield to my colleagues before introducing our very distinguished guests.

The Chairman of the Full Committee, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank our distinguished Chairman of the Committee and ranking minority Member of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, and the gentlelady from Georgia, Ms. McKinney, for holding this important hearing today. I see we are joined by Congressman Lantos, who has been a staunch supporter of religious freedom, and I want to especially commend Congressman

Frank Wolf, the gentleman from Virginia, for his leadership on the important International Religious Freedom Act. Although we regrettably had to accept some weakening amendments to the bill from the Senate at the time we adopted it, his leadership ensured the strong bipartisan measure to final adoption.

In response to section 102 of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, the State Department 1 month ago released its first Annual Report on International Religious Freedom for 1999; and while the report can be criticized for its lack of depth in many areas, I want to thank our good Ambassador who is here with us today for focusing resources in the right direction.

Ambassador Seiple has done an outstanding job as our first Ambassador on our international religious freedom issues. Besides the mandate to provide detailed information with respect to religious freedom around the world, the International Religious Freedom Act also requires that the President or his designees, in this case the Secretary of State, to determine which countries should be designated as countries of particular concern.

I am informed that the list is made of up of Burma, People's Republic of China, Sudan, Iran, Iraq and the Taliban in Afghanistan. While there are many other nations that could be mentioned, I was concerned to learn that Vietnam, Laos, Cuba and Saudi Arabia were not designated. Vietnam and Laos have the same restrictive policies on unapproved and unregistered religious institutions as the People's Republic of China.

According to the Country Report on Human Rights Practices, Saudi Arabia has a systematic discrimination based on religion, and that is built into their law. Cuba imprisons and tortures Protestant evangelists who refuse to work with denominations by the government. Despite the opening of the talks that came about through the Pope's recent visit, they turned out to be just that, talk.

We hope that the administration will not be reluctant to list Vietnam and Laos as countries of particular concern because it is trying to ensure that these repressive regimes obtain most favored nations trading status. Our Nation's foreign policy must never be to ensure that business comes before the right to freely practice one's religion and the freedom of assembly.

We look forward to hearing from our distinguished witnesses; and I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for conducting this hearing.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Chairman Gilman.

Mr. Lantos.

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

Let me at the outset commend my friend from Virginia, Frank Wolf, who emphatically pursued this goal, and we are all here to celebrate what in fact is a victory for religious freedom in no small measure, thanks to his commitments and his efforts.

I also want to pay tribute to you and to Chairman Gilman for your unfailing support of religious freedom. I want to welcome our distinguished Ambassador and look forward to many annual reports over the coming years.

I want to congratulate both you and the administration on this report. I agree with my colleagues that the list of seven could easily be expanded, and I hope that in coming years it will either be ex-



panded or the performance of these countries will change so that they will not have to be included in this infamous listing of countries that deny religious freedom.

I particularly want to commend the administration for including China in the list. It is important for all of us in Congress to recognize that we have a far greater degree of freedom as individual Members of Congress to express our views since it is not our responsibility to conduct official diplomatic relations with other countries.

It is far easier for a Member of Congress to recommend that China be on the list than it is for an administration which has a tremendous variety of relationships with China to include China. So I commend you, Mr. Ambassador, and Secretary Albright and the President and the Vice President for having the courage to include China in this list because China surely belongs on that list.

I also agree with my colleagues that a number of countries, ranging from Saudi Arabia to Vietnam to Cuba, should be included on the basis of their performance; and I hope that in subsequent reports, they either will be included or their improved performance will qualify them not to be included.

But I think it is easy to nitpick the first historic report on religious freedom globally. The United States is the only country on the face of this planet—I want to repeat this—the United States is the only country on the face of this planet which has an annual report prepared by its administration and submitted to its Congress on this most important subject.

I think it is very important to underscore the positive. This is a major legislative achievement and a major accomplishment by the administration. The report is extensive, impressive, accurate and overwhelmingly depressing. It is depressing because this fundamental human right, the right of religious freedom, is so little observed in so many countries of this world; and religious hatred and bigotry still permeate the official public policy of large numbers of countries on the face of this planet.

I think it is extremely important that we rejoice in our combined and joint efforts as Republicans and Democrats and as a Congress and as an administration; and I look forward to working with you, Mr. Ambassador, and your staff, for years to come, hopefully, to improve the cause of religious freedom globally.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Lantos. I think you pointed out so well that we do work in a bipartisan way on human rights in a town that seems to have partisanship written all over it. At least this is one area where we can come together and promote the common welfare for people across the planet. So thank you very much for your comments.

Mr. Pitts.

Mr. PITTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for holding this hearing. Your efforts on behalf of religious freedom have positively affected numerous people around the world, and I am honored to work with you and commend especially Congressman Wolf and Congressman Lantos, Chairman Gilman, to work on behalf of promoting human rights and religious liberty around the world.

I also want to commend Ambassador Seiple and the numerous individuals in the State Department who spent, I am sure, a tremendous amount of time and effort in the report that we are examining today.

As a newly appointed member of the Helsinki Commission, I have concerns regarding the state of religious freedom in Europe and Central Asia and the Caucasus, concerns about how the 1997 Russian religious law is being implemented.

The 1998 Uzbek law, which I think is the most restrictive law in the OSCE region, criminalizes unregistered religious activities. It penalizes free religious expression. Over 200 individuals have been imprisoned in Uzbekistan this year for their religious practices. In countries such as Hungary and Bulgaria and Ukraine and Romania, new laws restricting religious freedom are in various stages of legislative process. In Azerbaijan, the raid of the Baptist Church on September 5th and last Sunday's raid of the German Lutheran Church underscore the price that religious believers pay for their faith.

Because of time limitations, I won't go into detail. But, like the Chairman, I am very concerned about the religious liberty violations in the People's Republic of China, Sudan, Pakistan, Turkmenistan, Vietnam, Saudi Arabia, Burma, Egypt, Iran, and others.

I am very disappointed that Vietnam and Pakistan were not designated as countries of particular concern, despite widespread religious liberty violations in both of these countries.

Mr. Chairman, thank you again for holding this hearing. I look forward to working with all of you, all of us together on behalf of religious liberty around the world.

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

Mr. Wolf?

Mr. WOLF. No opening statement. That is OK.

Mr. SMITH. The prime sponsor of the bill has nothing to say.

Mr. SMITH. Let me introduce our distinguished witness, Ambassador Robert Seiple, who was confirmed as the State Department's first Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom on May 5th of this year. For the last 11 years, he has served as president of World Vision, the largest privately funded relief and developmental agency in the world. A former Marine and recipient of the distinguished Flying Cross and numerous other awards for his service in Vietnam, Ambassador Seiple previously served as president of Eastern College and Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Mr. Ambassador, welcome to the Subcommittee. We look forward to your statement.

#### **STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT A. SEIPLE, AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

Mr. SEIPLE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and Members of Congress. With your permission, I will, in the interest of time, read a shortened version of my prepared text and ask that the entire text be entered into the record.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, the full text will be made a part of the record.

Mr. SEIPLE. It is a pleasure to be here today to testify about the Department of State's first Annual Report on International Religious Freedom. I consider it an honor to appear before you, knowing as I do the key role you played in the Committee in promoting religious freedom and in creating the International Religious Freedom Act.

We share a common vision, a simple but profound vision. It is to help people who suffer because of their religious faith. Such people live literally around the globe, and they number in the millions. They live in fear, afraid to speak of what they believe. They worship underground in 21st century catacombs, lest authorities discover and punish their devotion to an authority beyond the state. They languish in prisons and suffer torture, simply because they love God in their own way.

They are children stolen from their parents, sold into slavery and forced to convert to another religion. They are Christian mothers searching for their missing sons. They are Buddhist monks in re-education camps, Jews imprisoned on trumped-up charges of espionage, Muslims butchered for being the wrong kinds of Muslims. They hail from every region and race, and their blood cries out to us. Not for vengeance, but for hope and for help and for redress.

Nor should we speak of human suffering merely in terms of numbers. Suffering has a face. You will forgive me if I repeat a story I told elsewhere. But in my office there is a lovely watercolor painting of a house and a garden. The painted scene is one of peace, which reflects the forgiveness in the artist's heart. But that painting has its origins in hatred.

The artist is a young Lebanese woman named Mary, who at the age of 18, was fleeing her village after it was overrun by militia. Mary was caught by a militiaman who demanded with his gun that she renounce her faith or die.

She refused to renounce her faith. The bullet was fired, severed her spinal cord. Today Mary paints her paintings of forgiveness with a paintbrush braced in her right hand. She represents both the painful consequences of religious persecution and the best fruits of religion. Mary is filled with physical suffering, yet she forgives. In so doing, she points the way to an enduring answer to religious persecution and that is, of course, reconciliation.

In order to have forgiveness and reconciliation, we must elevate the notion of universal human dignity, the idea that every human being has an inherent and inviolable worth. Lest we forget the face of suffering, or of forgiveness, I have dedicated the first Annual Report on International Religious Freedom to Mary.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, you are to be commended for your work on this issue and for calling this hearing. Together with the International Religious Freedom Act and our own new Report on International Religious Freedom, this hearing will sharpen the focus for those of us who may be in a position to help, while at the same time it will provide hope to believers in every place where hope is in short supply and where each day brings fear of more persecution.

We are all aware that religious liberty is the first freedom of our Bill of Rights and is cherished by many Americans as the most precious of those rights granted by God and to be protected by govern-

ments. This Congress was wise in recognizing that freedom of religion and—in a religious context—freedom of conscience, expression and association are also among the founding principles of international human rights covenants.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, as well as other human rights instruments, grant citizens of the world the right to freedom of religion. As a consequence, when we go to officials of foreign governments to urge them to protect religious freedom, we are not asking them to do it our way. We are asking them to live up to their commitments that they have made, both to their own people and to the world.

Mr. Chairman and Members, as you well know, on October 27th of last year, President Clinton signed into law the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998. Section 102 of that bill calls for the submission to Congress of an Annual Report on International Religious Freedom to supplement the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices by providing additional detailed information with respect to matters involving international religious freedom.

On September 9th, we submitted to Congress the first International Religious Freedom report. It is this. This is 1,100 pages long. It covers 194 countries and focuses exclusively on the status of religious freedom in each. I would like publicly to thank the hundreds of Foreign Service Officers worldwide who helped research, draft, corroborate and edit this new report.

I want to extend a special thanks to officers in the Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, in particular, the staff of the Office of Country Reports and Asylum Affairs. These dedicated officers worked overtime, literally and figuratively, in order to meet the deadline and to produce the best possible product.

Finally, I wish to thank my own staff in the Office of International Religious Freedom, not only for their hard work but for their love of their work. They are proud to say, as you do in the International Religious Freedom Act, that the United States stands with the persecuted.

The report applies to all religions and beliefs. It targets no particular country or religion, and it seeks to promote no religion over another. It does, however, recognize the intrinsic value of religion, even as it acknowledges that religious freedom includes the right not to believe or to practice. Integrity has been our goal as we sought to ascertain and report the status of religious freedom in all countries around the globe.

The report includes an introduction, an Executive Summary, and a separate section on each of the 194 countries. The introduction lays the philosophical groundwork for promoting religious freedom. While noting there is more than one understanding of the source of the human dignity, it also acknowledges a religious understanding of that source, namely, the idea that every human being possesses an intrinsic and inviolable worth that has a divine origin and is part of the natural order of things.

So understood, religious freedom can provide support for all other human rights. When the dignity of the human person is destroyed, it is not simply a practical rule that is being violated, but the nature of the world itself.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure you will agree that if the idea of human dignity is viewed merely as a utilitarian matter, solely the product of legislation or treaties, it becomes perishable. Any national or international standard that reflects only the norms of a given cultural or historical period can be abolished for the convenience of the powerful.

Drawing from the individual reports, the Executive Summary provides a brief description of barriers to religious freedom in some 35 countries, grouped around five themes ranging from discrimination to harsh persecution. As required by the act, the Executive Summary includes, but is not limited to, those countries that may be designated countries of particular concern.

Each of the 194 Country Reports begins with the statement about applicable laws and outlines whether the country requires registration of religious groups. It then provides—

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Ambassador, I think your microphone just went out. Thank you.

Mr. SEIPLE. Each of the 194 Country Reports begins with a statement about applicable laws and outlines whether the country requires registration of religious groups. It then provides a demographic overview of the population by religious affiliation, outlines problems encountered by various religious groups, describes societal attitudes and finishes with an overview of U.S. policies.

The drafting process was similar to that used in preparing the Human Rights Reports. We worked diligently to include as much factual information as possible, relying not only on our other sources but also on material from experts in the academia, non-governmental organizations and the media. Our guiding principle was to ensure that all relevant information was assessed objectively, thoroughly and fairly as possible. We hope that Congress finds the report to be an objective and comprehensive resource.

The International Religious Freedom Act also requires that the President, or in this case his designee, the Secretary of State, review the status of religious freedom throughout the world in order to determine which countries should be designated as countries of particular concern. As the Chairman and the Committee Members know, we have delayed the designations in order to give the Secretary ample time to consider all the relevant data, as well as my own recommendations.

She has been reading relevant parts of the report itself, which was not completed until September 8th. Designations must be based on those reports, as well as on the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, and all other information available to us.

I am pleased to tell you that the Secretary has completed her review. We will shortly send to the Congress an official letter of notification in which we will detail the Secretary's decision with respect to any additional actions to be taken. While I am not prepared today to discuss those actions, I do wish to announce the countries that the Secretary intends to designate under the act as countries of particular concern. They are Burma, China, Iran, Iraq, and Sudan.

The Secretary also intends to identify the Taliban in Afghanistan, which we do not recognize as a government, and Serbia, which is not a country, as particularly severe violators of religious

freedom. I will be happy to take your questions about the restrictions on the exercise of religious freedom in all of these areas.

I would also note that there are many other countries that our report discusses where religious freedoms appear to be suppressed. In some instances, like Saudi Arabia, those countries are beginning to take steps to address the problem. In some countries, such as North Korea, religious freedoms may be suppressed, but we lack the data to make an informed assessment. We will continue to look at these cases and collect information so that, if a country merits designation under the act, we will so designate it in the future.

Let me turn briefly to the subject of U.S. actions to promote religious freedom abroad.

Secretary Albright has said that our commitment to religious liberty is even more than the expression of American ideals. It is a fundamental source of our strength in the world. The President, the Secretary of State and many senior U.S. officials have addressed the issue of freedom in venues throughout the world. Secretary Albright some time ago issued formal instructions to all U.S. diplomatic posts to give more attention to religious freedom both in reporting and in advocacy.

During the period covered by this report, all of 1998 and the first 6 months of 1999, the U.S. engaged in a variety of efforts to promote the right of religious freedom and to oppose violations of that right. As prescribed in the International Religious Freedom Act, the Executive Summary describes U.S. actions to actively promote religious freedom.

Drawing on the individual reports, it describes certain activities by U.S. Ambassadors, other embassy officials and other high-level U.S. officials, including the President, the Secretary, Members of Congress, as well as the activities of my own office.

Our staff has visited some 15 countries in the last several months, including China, Egypt, Vietnam, Uzbekistan, Serbia, Russia, Indonesia, Laos, Kazakhstan, Israel, Saudi Arabia, France, Germany, Austria, and Belgium. We have met with hundreds of officials, NGO's, human rights groups, religious organizations and journalists, here and abroad. I am delighted to report to you that our office has become a clearing house for people with information about religious persecution and discrimination and for the persecuted themselves. By fax, telephone, E-mail and direct visits they tell us their stories. We listen, record, and, when appropriate, we act.

At the very least, we believe we have created a process by which their stories can be verified and integrated into our annual report. With persistence and faith, perhaps our efforts will lead to a reduction in persecution and an increase in religious freedom.

Mr. Chairman, I have provided in my written statement a description of U.S. efforts in three countries, China, Uzbekistan, and Russia, where Congress has shown particular interest and in which we have expended considerable diplomatic effort.

In China, our collective efforts on behalf of persecuted minorities, and I include Members of Congress in that collective, have been persistent and intense, but have unfortunately had little effect on the behavior of the Chinese Government.

In Uzbekistan, our efforts have met with some success, although it certainly is too soon to discern long-term or systemic change for the better.

In Russia, our interventions with the Russian government have apparently blunted the effects of a bad religion law.

Again, I am willing to discuss with you any country about which you have concerns.

Let me close, Mr. Chairman, by thanking you for your leadership in the promotion of international religious freedom and the entire Committee for its willingness to hold this hearing. As I said at the outset, we share a common vision. It is of a world in which people of all religions are free from persecution. To create such a world, we seek to change the behavior of those regimes which engage in or tolerate abuses of religious freedom and to signal persecutors and persecuted alike that they will not be forgotten.

But, Mr. Chairman and Members of Congress, there is a profoundly important point that I believe is sometimes missed in our discussions of religious freedom, a point I briefly made earlier and one with which I am certain you will agree. Let me return to it in closing. To protect freedom of religion is not simply to shield religious belief and worship. It is that, but it is more. When we defend religious freedom, we defend every human being who is viewed as an object or a product to be used or eliminated according to the purposes of those with power.

I believe that to guard religious freedom is to lift high the noblest of ideas, indeed the idea that is the seed bed of our own democracy. It is a religious understanding of human dignity, the conviction that every person, of whatever social, economic, religious or political status of whatever race, creed or location, is endowed by God, with a value which does not rise or fall with income or productivity, with status or position, with power or weakness.

Mr. Chairman, let us together renew our determination to combat religious persecution and to promote religious freedom. By so doing, we hold out hope for those who live in fear because of what they believe and how they worship. By so doing, we give pause to those who contemplate tormenting others because of their religious beliefs. By so doing, we strengthen the very heart of human rights.

Thank you.

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

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Ambassador Seiple, for your very powerful statement and very persuasive words and for your personal commitment to undertake so many trips abroad to meet with the leaders of religious faiths and, perhaps even more importantly, with the government officials to personally convey our government's deep concern about the plight of persecuted religious individuals or groups. I want to thank you very strongly for that.

I also want to commend Mr. Farr for his good work and other members of your commission and your office for the fine work, again, in producing this voluminous document which becomes the basis for action; and we hope that that is what will follow.

Mr. Burton has joined us, and I would like to yield to him for any opening statement.

Mr. BURTON. Yes, I have just have a real quick opening statement. I want to apologize, Mr. Chairman, because I do have to go to another hearing.

I have heard good things about Mr. Seiple. Many times we have people testify that we take issue with, but it sounds like to me you are doing a pretty good job.

The Committee for Coordination on Disappearances in Punjab recently issued a new report on enforced disappearances, arbitrary executions and secret cremations of Sikhs in the Punjab in northern India. It documents the names and addresses of 838 victims of this policy, and I have those I would like to submit for the record.

The report is both shocking and distressing. The Committee is an umbrella organization of 18 human rights organizations under the leadership of a Hindu human rights activist. The report discusses "illegal abductions and secret cremations of dead bodies." in fact, the Indian Supreme Court has itself described this policy as "worse than a genocide." the report includes direct testimony from members of the victims' families, other witnesses and details of these brutal cases.

The human rights community has stated that over 50,000 Sikhs have, quote, "disappeared" at the hands of the Indian government in the early 1990's. How can any country, especially one that claims to be the world's largest democracy, get away with so many killings, abductions and other atrocities? It is going on not only in Punjab but Kashmir and elsewhere in the India.

Will the Indian government prosecute the officials of its security forces who are responsible for these acts? Will the Indian government compensate the victims and their families? I think not.

Mr. Seiple, I want to thank you for the reception you have given my staff and other organizations that may have submitted various reports and information for your review. I am encouraged by some of the findings in your report that focuses the attention in India on Christian persecution.

I also want to point out to Mr. Seiple and my colleagues that, last week, Human Rights Watch issued a 37-page report that details violence against Christians in India that include killings of priests, rapings of nuns and the physical destruction of Christian institutions, schools and churches.

But I want to remind everyone that there is persecution in Indian of almost all religions. So I hope that you will take a hard look at this report from the Committee for Coordination on Disappearances in Punjab, and I look forward to working with you in the future.

Mr. Chairman, as I said before, I would like unanimous consent to submit the names of 838 Sikh victims that have just disappeared from the face of the earth and are believed to be cremated by the Indian government. Also, Mr. Chairman, I would like to, since I do have to leave, thank you for holding this hearing and also submit a few questions for the record.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, Mr. Burton, your submissions will be made a part of the record.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Seiple.

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]



Mr. SMITH. The chair recognizes the Chairman of the Full Committee, Mr. Gilman, who regrettably is on a short timeframe and will have to depart, but he has some questions that he wanted to ask.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Again, I thank you for conducting this important hearing.

We thank Mr. Seiple for being here, for his good report, even though it left out some of the countries we are concerned about.

Mr. Ambassador, is the President merely saying that there are only seven regimes in the world that inflict torture or other cruel treatment of prolonged detention without charge on religious believers? Is that contrary to the report itself?

Mr. SEIPLE. When we did the report, we looked at the language in the act, and the bar created four countries of particular country concern. It is very specific language. It talks about the government that either engages in or tolerates ongoing, systematic and egregious—and then it goes on to define egregious as acts of persecution, which include things like prolonged interment, torture, rape, disappearance and general mayhem about people and does that on the basis to a significant degree because of religion. That is the standard that we apply to every one of the countries.

I am prepared in anticipation of this question to talk about those that either came close or came over the line or didn't quite meet the line, but simply to say that this in our mind was a very high bar, and when a country is so designated, it is a very significant blight on their record, and that is the approach that we took with every country.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Ambassador, were any agencies outside the State Department consulted about which countries should be included in the list?

Mr. SEIPLE. We talked to literally hundreds of people and NGO's and human rights organizations. We also went through this with the commission head. The commission normally in a given year would have a report to give to us by the 1st of May.

The commission is the independent commission started up late this year. I did have those conversations with the commission, all of which is to say that I think that we have inputs. In fact, a lot of the reporting in places will show that those inputs came from places like Human Rights Watch, Amnesty, Freedom House, and any place that we could get verifiable information. If we could sustain it with credibility, it is in the report.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Ambassador, did you discuss this with any Federal agencies?

Mr. SEIPLE. In the sanctioning process that we have begun and that you will hear about when the official letters of designation come for CPC's, those other Federal agencies, like the Treasury Department and so on, have to be included as we discuss sanctions. So, in that sense, there are other avenues and other venues and other parts of the U.S. Government.

We have also worked very closely with this Congress in a couple of countries, namely Uzbekistan and very recently Egypt, and continued to work with staffers here in Congress at all levels.

Mr. GILMAN. Did any of the other Federal agencies or departments recommend to you that you not include any of those countries that you were considering?

Mr. SEIPLE. Our recommendations were only based on the facts. We wanted to make sure that we had the report right so that the second exercise of designation would flow from the report and the report would be an acceptable and credible rationale for that designation.

Answering your question specifically, no.

Mr. GILMAN. One last question, Mr. Ambassador. With regard to Tibet, during the period covered by the report, diplomatic personnel consistently urged both central and local Chinese authorities to respect religious freedom in Tibet. Figures as prominent as President Clinton and Assistant Secretary Koh raised specific issues of concern about the human rights situation in Tibet. Yet at the same time, by the report's own reckoning, religious freedom in Tibet diminished, and the Chinese Government launched a 3-year campaign against religious exercise.

Given the inefficacy of admonitions in the Beijing regime, what more can be done to address this deteriorating situation in Tibet? We would welcome your recommendation.

Mr. SEIPLE. As we point out in the report, this has not been an easy time with our relations with China and primarily because of the human rights abuses. This has not been a year when the human rights situation has improved. It has remained consistently bad. You are right to point out the widespread abuses in Tibet and, of course, we could go to other parts, as you will hear today, of China, as to how that happened.

The silver bullet for making all of that right, for getting the attention, I don't know. We will continue to look for a dialogue that produces results. We will continue to talk to the Chinese in terms of the international covenants they have signed which clearly spell out their obligations for mutual accountability to the global community, on what they are doing in places like Tibet.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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

Mr. Ambassador, I noted and I was glad that you undertook the trip to China last January; and one of the first items mentioned in U.S. action to promote religious freedom abroad in the Executive Summary was to raise the issue of Bishop Su of Hebei province.

I had met with Bishop Su when he was briefly out of prison. He requested the meeting, and he actually celebrated mass with our human rights delegation, and then for that, apparently, he was re-arrested and has spent time in prison, and now his whereabouts remains somewhat of a mystery.

In explaining that the new law does have some sanctions, however modest those sanctions may be, however waivable those sanctions may be, did you get information concerning Bishop Su then or now or any time in between those conversations almost a year ago? Second, did they take you as if you had credibility when you say that there are some things, penalties, that could be imposed if there is not a mitigation of your violations of these basic human rights?

I would like to yield.

Mr. SEIPLE. As we point out in the report, the whereabouts of Bishop Su Ahimin is still, as you say, unknown. Everyone that has gone and every high-ranking official that has brought up this individual in this particular context has gotten the same information. We have not been allowed to see people. We have not been allowed to visit priests that had been put in prison, even though, in many cases, as I pointed out to them when I was there in January, if you would let me go and talk to the priest, maybe we could put to rest the provocative stories that are coming out around the world. Still they would not allow me to go. They would not allow our embassy to go.

So our information comes from other sources. I think it is good information, but it hasn't come from government.

Have we been ignored as a representative of this country in terms of human rights? We don't have much to point to in this last year, except that we had been faithful and persistent in explaining the position, explaining our desires to promote religious freedom, not to take punitive actions and point fingers and act in a judgmental fashion but to find ways to take the ball forward in a way that can be helpful to the government as well as to the people who this day are repressed.

Whether there are larger issues that overshadow this, they are very concerned about their anniversaries. They are very concerned about their economy. They are very concerned about the bankruptcy of the Communist ideology. Maybe there are other issues that overshadow this. But they know as a part of our foreign policy—and I think by designating China, it may have been a surprise, but by designating China, they know that we are not going to sweep any of this under the rug when it comes to our bilateral relationship.

Mr. SMITH. There is no doubt that light acts as a disinfectant, and it is certainly helpful and gives us more moral suasion when we would deal with them. But, again, did they convey back to you then, or at any time since, that they take seriously the fact that some penalty might be imposed upon them, some kind of sanction so that they might curb some of their more egregious behavior?

Mr. SEIPLE. I have to answer that somewhat indirectly, because specifically we never posed that with an answer to come back. I think the penalty for the Chinese in a global community is putting them in the group that we have designated today. I think that is the largest thing we could have done to them.

I think that they will care more about that, and again from indirect intuition and conversations with a wide variety of Chinese in this last year, I think that will mean more than any specific sanction that ultimately comes with the letter that you will be receiving shortly from the Secretary.

Mr. SMITH. I do hope you are right. I know that you are very sincere and you believe that and it is likely that it could lead to some good and we all certainly hope that is the case.

Let me just ask you and really followup to Mr. Gilman's question with regards to those countries that are included and those that somehow didn't make the bar. Were there countries—did the President accept your recommendations in its totality? Were there some

like Saudi Arabia which again had that very clear definitive, declarative sentence that there is no religious freedom in Saudi Arabia and we do know that there are arrests. We know that there are punishments, including the use of torture, against people, especially if they convert from Islam to Christianity.

It is hard—it seems to be a real stretch to say they shouldn't be included in the list, even if our relationship as it is, is strategic and close, all friends commit human rights abuses, since we are a mirror perhaps, why weren't they on there?

Was there any kind of political vetting that went on with regards to this country's too much of a strategic ally or was this the plain, unvarnished truth?

Mr. SEIPLE. This is the plain, unvarnished truth. We do not look for political justifications. We didn't talk to folks who perhaps would bring that to the fore. We looked at the facts and, again, took the facts up against a very high standard. If you look at the standard that I mentioned before, the standard that comes out of the act, we tried to be very faithful there, but as you look at that standard, it is systematic, ongoing and egregious.

There is no question that Saudi Arabia is systematic, ongoing and egregious in terms of the persecution as it is defined in the act, not in the period of the report. I had a conversation with their foreign minister last February, and we talked about in these very narrow lines of realpolitik for us to negotiate—can we get non-Muslims worshipping privately without threat of the Mutawwa coming in and harassing them, beating them up and everything else? I got from him a commitment that that would not happen. Non-Muslims can worship as long as it is privately, and they can worship in a secure environment.

To date, in the preparation of the report time, that has been a faithful keeping of the word. That is not a major victory, it is not a large step, it is a very small step, but in a very difficult context. We want to move the ball forward, and I think that is positive. I think we have a government there willing to work with us within fairly tight restrictions. We wish it would be better. We wish that there would be optimism to our way of thinking about this and the international covenants that the global community has come up with, but we have made progress in terms of Saudi Arabia over where we were.

Mr. SMITH. Let me just ask you briefly about Vietnam, because that is something that other Members and myself included in our opening comments. Many of us know many people who have recently immigrated from there. We work with human rights organizations, and there is a question as to why that country was not included as well. Maybe there is a good answer, and we look forward to hearing that. If you are outside the official government structure, as in China, you are in for almost like, very severe limitations, including incarceration. We know that they, just like China, impose a quota on the number of kids you can have. That two child per couple policy has real religious significance especially when Catholic and other Christian denominations speak out against that. As a matter of fact, they can be arrested for it.

What about Vietnam?

Mr. SEIPLE. First of all, I am not here to defend any of these countries. Obviously, a lot of them are closed cases.

This was my 12th trip into Vietnam last July. I know the country well, I know the people well, and I know the groups well. What I have seen over the last several years, although this was my first year and my first visit going in for international religious freedom and had confirmed by every religious group that I met with, Catholics, Buddhists, Protestants, evangelical Protestants, both belonging to the Temple Church and other groups, that would be more coming out of the hills, tribesmen and so on. Every group I talked to assured me that things were better in terms of religious repression in the last 5 years. Things had come to a better place than they had been.

Now, the shoe can drop at any time and things can change. But in the period of this report, we saw progress, we saw general amnesties for the first time. Many of the people that had been in prison had been let out. We have been led to believe that there will be more amnesties. We have seen the Marian devotion at Le Van. Last year, 100,000 Catholics were allowed to gather. This year that group is 200,000. This is progress.

Will it continue? I don't think we should be Pollyanna-ish. I think we have to watch it closely. We have a tremendous Ambassador in Pete Peterson there making these same cases and these same points with the Vietnamese government. It was a close call, but there was progress. They were receptive to diplomatic initiatives, unlike some of the countries that have been on the list.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. Let me just followup. In Vietnam, reliable sources have described the Dien Bien region as the center of a new anti-Christian campaign by Vietnamese officials. Vietnamese government documents support these reports.

One particular document describes a pilot project aimed at preventing the growth of Christianity throughout the country. In certain areas of Vietnam, government officials encouraged villages to attend seminars to learn about the government's attitude toward Christianity. Villages are required to sign a statement promising that they will not study the Christian religion or take part in any Christian activities such as Bible reading or worship services, and they will actively tell them not to participate in the Christian religion.

I was just wondering, is this something that your commission is aware of, is looking into, has spoken out against?

Mr. SEIPLE. I think you are talking about many of the Hmong tribesmen, and we spent a lot of time on this issue in order to understand it, in order to help the Vietnamese understand it. By the way, these are the folks that fought with us back in the 1960's and 1970's, and we should look for ways not only to take their part but to raise their issue to the Vietnamese in terms again of the international covenants that they have signed, and we have done that.

It is complicated. Some are Christian, some are millennial cults, and unfortunately, the Vietnamese government, not knowing the difference, could come down with a hammer on all of them. It is complicated, because they are historic enemies. As I say, they fought on our side. It is complicated because of the ethnicity and their location on the borders.

Again, in my recent trip, we spent probably the majority of the time with every person we talked to talking about this issue. If these issues that have come to light since the closing of the report continue to rear their head, we can come back, obviously, and make them a country of particular concern. I hope that won't happen, I hope the diplomacy will work, but obviously we have that option.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

Mr. Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First, I am not a Member of the Committee, and I want to thank you for the opportunity to be here and also for your helping in getting this passed. I think the record should show that Chris Smith has done more to help the persecuted, the poor and the suffering than just about almost anyone else in the Congress. So I just want to thank you for that and thank you for having the hearings.

Mr. Ambassador, I want to welcome you here and thank you, too, for the work and for the report. I have a couple of questions.

At the outset I was just wondering, China is of a particular interest, and it was one of the countries that you named. In the text on China, you never used the word "persecution", and looking in Afghanistan the word "persecution" is used on page 4 of the report for Afghanistan. What would lead you to use the word "persecution" in Afghanistan and not use the word "persecution" in China? You used the word—or the government in the report used the word "restrictions." What would be the difference there?

Mr. SEIPLE. Let me answer that in general. First of all, we did each country separately. I am delighted that you read the reports to find that word. I am chagrined that you found that word by reading the reports carefully, but let me say that we tried to write without any kind of volatile—

Mr. WOLF. I didn't mean that as a criticism, just so you know. I am just trying to get the sense if there was a style of writing.

Mr. SEIPLE. I appreciate that. The style of writing was to be in a narrative style without volatile language. A statement of facts, just stating the facts as we know them, without biasing the fact with a word that carries a little bit more emotion than perhaps we want in the report. We felt in the countries-of-particular-concern exercise we could do the denunciation, and that is where we would use the language that would specifically talk about persecution. Persecution is an important word to us. I am not sure how it escaped in one and not the other, but we take it seriously in terms of the definition that the act provides us with.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you.

The law prescribes several actions by the State Department: web site, training at the Foreign Service Institute, prisoner list. Where does that sit with regard to those three?

Mr. SEIPLE. The web site is up and running—[www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov). You don't have to have your own hard-bound copy, but that is there. We have worked extensively with the Foreign Service Institute specifically in two areas: What are the courses that are going to be provided on this issue for incoming Foreign Service Officers, and what kind of training will we give our Ambassadors before we go into the field?

In terms of the prisoner list, we have a lot of work to do. Where we have them, they have been collected and collated in our office. As you point out correctly by the act, we are the office that is supposed to keep them. In many countries, they are up to date and up to speed, and we are pleased with how complete they are. In some countries, we are still working on that.

Let me say in that regard, and this is also back to Chairman Smith's comment earlier, any of the information that you have that perhaps we don't have, we would love to take it off your hands to make sure that it gets into the next report, or if there is a correction that has to go into the country reports that come out in January that we can make that correction as well.

Mr. WOLF. I would share the comment that was made by the Chairman, Mr. Smith, and also Chairman Gilman with regard to several of the other countries, Vietnam and North Korea, but I am not second-guessing you, obviously, and I think it is a process that you are moving through. I think the list that you selected—Burma, China, Iran, Iraq, and Sudan—nobody could question, and maybe, looking at it from your point of view, there has been a minor improvement and maybe that is a reason not to be on the list. I think the fact that you made a fair report at the outset sends the message that the next time another country comes on that they will show that they are slipping back, rather than making progress. So maybe the fact that you have only limited it to these is really appropriate. But I think there are some other countries that other Members, myself included, think that should be on there.

I think the question that I have is of the enforcement. I think the fact that China made it is enough, to a certain degree, but I think you are going to have to do more, and my sense is the first enforcement that you take will be watched by the other countries. I think it ought to be tough, but I think it ought to be fair. I think it ought to be something that an objective group of people would look at and say, this is tough, but this is certainly, certainly fair, and I would emphasize fair as well as the tough.

But that all eyes will be watching, because if it gets to the point that you make this list and nothing really happens, then some of these countries will almost view the list as a badge of honor because of the types of some of the people that are running some of these countries. I can almost hear some of the prison wardens just kind of feeling that they are really doing great because they made the list versus the other.

So I think how you enforce it and when you come out with whatever it will be—and of course, in the bill, the list ranges from almost nothing to fairly significant. But I would just urge you to be very, very careful, because everyone is going to be watching. It is like when you are in school and the first person is punished, I think it sends a message to everybody else. We go from a private demarche, which would be irrelevant, to prohibiting the U.S. Government from procuring or entering into a contract for the procurement of any goods for the foreign government. So there is a big list that I know you are going to have a tough job with, but I hope it is tough enough but fair enough that it sends a message to everyone that is not on the list.

I think also, because of the credible job that you have done here, and I think if the enforcement is tough enough, although fair, my sense is you are going to find other countries doing certain things to make sure that they are not on the list. I think you are going to find people who are never arrested solely because a country doesn't want to be on the list. I think you will also find that some of the jail cells are open and people get out because they don't want to be on the list. Every year, it is like the battle for MFN in the old days with the Soviet Union and others, things would improve. I think your list may do more good that we never really see. But, it is the crack down that doesn't take place because the list is ready to come out. So I think how that is done is very important.

One other—or two other questions. On page 7, you said, in some instances like Saudi Arabia, those countries are beginning to take steps to address the problem. What steps is Saudi Arabia taking?

Mr. SEIPLE. The step that I mentioned in terms of Saudi Arabia was the commitment that not only could non-Muslims worship privately, but they would worship without harassment. That was not the case—was not always the case; and, as I said, in the period of this report, they kept their word.

Mr. WOLF. So next year, you will go and look to see if that commitment was kept. If it was not kept, that would be a negative for them; if it were kept, that would move them farther forward?

Mr. SEIPLE. We would like to see a continuum going forward. We are in the business of promoting international religious freedom and, as I said, with Saudi Arabia the steps are going to be small. It is going to take lots of time, but I hope this is the first of many steps.

Mr. WOLF. Positive reinforcement can be as effective as negative.

Mr. SEIPLE. Absolutely.

Mr. WOLF. So I think it is the carrot and the stick.

One last question. Very, very appropriately I see you added the country of Sudan on the list, and we know you know 2 million people have died. I am sure you watched or have heard about the movie *Touched by an Angel* and how they covered it, Senator Brownback's recent trip there with Congressman Tancredo, and I think it is so factual that nobody can even debate this issue. I am pleased that it is on. I have been concerned. You have China and Sudan, you almost get a two-for with regard to this.

The Chinese National Petroleum Company, who wants to raise capital in the United States, has a project in Sudan. Their main foreign investment is the oil fields and the construction of a pipeline in Sudan. If our government allows Sudan to earn an estimated \$500 million, which I have seen in the articles that they want to use for buying more weapons to kill more innocent people, you will have a problem of the listing of the Chinese National Petroleum Company. They get the oil, they get the revenues, Sudan doesn't have to purchase oil on the open market, so they have more that they can use to kill people, and then they get \$500 million of revenue from this that they can buy and develop an armament industry.

I have written to the Chairman of the SEC and the New York Stock Exchange asking them not to allow CNPC to raise capital in the U.S. I mean, to think that schoolteachers and retirees might



unwittingly invest in it, and I am a Presbyterian—maybe the Presbyterian fund for ministers will invest in it? Most people wouldn't know how CNPC is invested in Sudan. To think that American dollars of teachers and religious leaders or insurance agents or anybody would be invested on the New York Stock Exchange which would allow the Chinese National Petroleum Company to earn revenue.

Then also where the PLA and others can do what they are doing, and we know in Tibet and places and in China, and also enable Sudan to proceed with the war, would you speak, or would the government speak certainly to the SEC and explain the concerns that the State Department has with regard to terrorism? There are many terrorist training camps in Sudan. The Sudanese government was implicated in the assassination attempt on President Mubarak, and the people who did this are still there in Sudan. There are stories of slavery and everything else.

Would you feel it is appropriate—and I would urge you if you do, I don't want to ask you anything that is not—but for the State Department to consider contacting the Securities and Exchange Commission, a Federal agency, and the appointments at the SEC are made by the President, confirmed by the Senate, to not list—to urge the New York Stock Exchange and Mr. Richard Grasso not to list this company on the New York Stock Exchange for several reasons. One, China has now made the bad list, Sudan has now made the bad list, and by listing this company, we are not even providing a sanction, we are providing actually an encouragement, and I hope they won't be listed.

Mr. SEIPLE. That is a very interesting point.

Obviously, people at the State Department working on Sudan—and our office works a great deal on Sudan—are very concerned about what happens to the dynamic of a 16-year war once you have this income stream coming into the north. I would appreciate very much getting a copy of the letter that you have sent, and maybe this is an area where we could work together to do some good.

Mr. WOLF. Good. I would appreciate it.

Again, let me just personally thank you and thank all of your staff for the good efforts and work.

Years ago, there was a Congressman Mike Barnes who passed a bill to raise the drinking age to 21, and I remember supporting the bill on the floor at that time and saying, because of his efforts, there will be a lot of people who never get the telephone call saying that their son or daughter is dead. Because they don't know why. It is just because that law made a difference.

My sense is that if this is pursued as the way you have been doing, there are many people who will never be thrown into jail, many people who will never make the web site and maybe people who will just never have the problem solely because this commission and the notoriety and the sanctions will keep countries in check who care deeply about what the United States and the west think. So, for that, future generations who won't even know about this report or about your position will really be able to be helped. So thank you very much.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I really appreciate you holding the hearing to do this. Thank you very much.

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

Let me just conclude with a couple of followup questions, and we will submit a number of questions for the record and ask you, if you would, to respond.

The first is with regard to Iran. I noted in the September 29th Jerusalem Post, Secretary Albright suggested that the 13 Jews now being held in Iran will not be executed, which obviously is good news. But do we have information as to whether or not they are being held simply because they are Jews? Has there been any work done by the Bureau to determine whether or not they are truly innocent victims and hopefully are going to be released?

Also, the situation of the Baha'i. As we know, there was an execution about a year ago of a man who was accused of converting a woman from Islam to Baha'i. There are Baha'i on death row, two simply for, quote, "apostasy." What can we do to try to effect their release or at least a downgrading of their sentence?

Mr. SEIPLE. Both of these issues are somewhat long-standing. Obviously, the Baha'i is for a much longer time. Both of them are very egregious, both of them speak I think to the act and partially, certainly on the part of the arresting of the 13, why we have that designation of country of a particular concern. The conjecture, the conventional wisdom is that they are not spies. Everyone has said that that knows them inside and outside the country. The conjecture is that this is part of the ongoing debate, fight, conflict within Iran between the moderates and the clerics. We are concerned about that debate and how innocent people might get chewed up in the debate.

The person that you mentioned conducting the investigation, the judiciary minister, he was one who had called for the assassination, even before the investigation was finished, the investigation that his ministerium leads. This, obviously, produces a chilling effect. We would like to have more leverage in that country than we do, but we have lots of friends, allies who are working this issue with us. It is one that we have been very, very clear since it started. They know the seriousness of this, and we will continue to pound away as we must and as we can along with our allies to make sure that this is properly and quickly resolved.

On the issue of the Baha'is, you have a classic case that fits the act of a government that consciously, in an egregious, systematic, ongoing way, on the basis of faith, tries to persecute and does persecute. Of the 300,000, 350,000 Baha'is that are still living in Iran, this also is a very difficult time for them to live under that repression. We will do everything that we can—whether it is 350,000 people or 13 people or one person, we will do everything that we have within our power to do to make sure that the repression stops.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. I really appreciate that.

On Russia, I noted in the report you used with regard to the 1997 Russian law that it was a potentially discriminatory law. I will never forget, both Mr. Wolf and I undertook a trip a couple of years ago as this law had just been signed by Yeltsin, and we were talking about our hopes that it would not be enforced or perhaps even overturned by the court, their court, because aspects of it are such that it could very easily lead to draconian measures against

religious believers and especially groups that would then be left out of the mainstream and would not be able to operate under the law.

Since this report has been issued, has there been any degradation or diminution of religious freedom under that law? We are all watching with bated breath and hoping that it does not become very quickly what it could become.

Mr. SEIPLE. That is the problem, the potential for it and the chilling effect of waiting for the other shoe to fall. Russia does not have the best implementation system in the world when it comes to their laws and so you have an even more uneven implementation of this particular act. In some places there is total freedom and in other places people are harassed.

This was a giant step backward, it was pointed out by everybody from the President on down when they did it. It was contradictory to their own constitution. We wish that they had stayed with their 1990 progressive law. We will have to continue to follow this, but, at this time, we think we have the attention and we think, as I mentioned in my statement, that we blunted any effectiveness of this going in a negative direction.

Mr. SMITH. Let me just ask one final question, Mr. Ambassador.

Uzbekistan was not identified as a country of particular concern, and your testimony notes positive changes in recent months, including reports that large numbers of Muslim prisoners may have been released. That claim of a large-scale prison release was made by the Uzbek government itself. Was it credible, in your view, and has the Uzbek government given any information about the actual charges against these prisoners or any details identifying their cases?

Mr. SEIPLE. The report was that 300 Muslims would be released and that as many as 1,000 or 2,000 would shortly be released. The Uzbekis have made that statement. That is no longer an allegation. In terms of seeing the flesh of those folks walk out of prison, we cannot yet report that that has happened. The Uzbeki government, however, has taken steps to release other prisoners, they have taken steps in a positive direction to allow for registration, and they have taken steps to look at, as you pointed out, that most horrific law that they put together in 1998, and hopefully we will see some amendments in the future.

So there has been progress in Uzbekistan, more hopefully to come, obviously much to watch.

Mr. SMITH. I would just note that we are planning on the Helsinki Commission, which I also chair, a hearing probably on the 18th, it is not set in concrete, on Uzbekistan and the hope is to try to get further into that issue and other issues as well on human rights.

I do have one final question and that is on Turkey. Ambassador Hal Koh and hopefully I and many others will be traveling over there for an OSCE ministerial. Yet many of us are concerned about human rights in general, whether it be the use of torture, which I raised during a bilateral recently with a number of parliamentarians, and the responses were very interesting. It wasn't complete denial, but it remains a major problem.

But 3 weeks ago we were told police raided a Turkish Protestant church in Izmir and arrested 40 Christians. This past Sunday the

Istanbul security police interrupted a morning worship service, arresting most of the adult members of the congregation, along with 11 foreigners and five children. On August 3rd, a Turkish Christian was arrested for selling Christian literature at a convention for intellectual discussion and exchanges. He was reportedly beaten and then released without formal charges.

In your view, are these signs of increasing religious hostility toward non-Muslim faiths in Turkey?

Mr. SEIPLE. Very disturbing, very troubling. We have the same reports.

As soon as they came, we started working on them with our desk and with the Turkish, our own embassy there. I think it is something that we should be deeply troubled about, because this is a close friend and ally. If you can't tell candid truth to close friends and allies, who can you tell them to? When we get to that point where your visit is ongoing, we would like also to do some briefing on this situation and others that ought to be brought to the attention of the Turkish authorities.

Mr. SMITH. I do appreciate that.

Mr. Ambassador, thank you very much for your testimony. Thank you for the good work of your commission.

I hope you have sufficient resources, and it is something you might want to comment on, if you have any closing comments, whether or not you have sufficient staff, who are I am sure overworked and working many long hours not only to put this together but to continue their fact-finding and also to develop a strategy for implementation of what is outlined in the bill. So if you have any comment on that, please.

Mr. SEIPLE. I think it is illegal for me to lobby for more money to Congress, so please cut me off whenever you think I have crossed that ethical line.

I have been in government now for one whole year. I have been aghast at how underfunded and under-resourced this government funds its arm into the global community. At a time when we have all of the advantages of being the sole remaining superpower in this transitional period, when we can be doing so much by way of preventive and preemptive diplomacy, we are suffering the death of a thousand cuts. It is not just our bureau, it is not just getting mandates without funding—although that is true. I see it throughout the State Department.

I bring that to your attention. Thank you. I wouldn't have said it if you hadn't asked, but I bring it to your attention more as a private citizen who has only been in government for a year. The taxpayers might feel good about that. I think we are mortgaging the future.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that. Just for the record, we are trying to up at least the amount of money available to the Democracy, Human Rights and Labor Bureau, Secretary Koh's bureau. We envision at least a doubling. My travels, and you might see this as you travel, have underscored in virtually every mission that I have visited—particularly when we are in an area that is a frontline country where human rights are nonexistent or violated to some extent—that the human rights officer very often is outmanned or is a very junior Foreign Service Officer. The number of Commerce

people far exceed him, usually to the second and third power. There are just so many more of them, and less of the people who care about human rights.

I am often told, "Well yes, but it is the Ambassador's portfolio to deal with human rights as well," and that is true, but we do need specialists who just do nothing but or spend a major part of their time in government service working on that. We are trying to increase at least that portion of it.

I do appreciate your comments, and I admire your work.

Mr. SEIPLE. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. The Subcommittee will resume its sitting.

I would like to introduce our second panel beginning with Ms. Nina Shea, a member of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, as well as the Director of the Center for Religious Freedom at Freedom House. As a lawyer specializing in international human rights for the past 12 years, she has focused exclusively on the issue of religious persecution. Ms. Shea is the author of "In the Lion's Den," a book detailing the persecution of Christians around the world.

Second we will be hearing from Mr. Stephen Rickard, who is the Washington Office Director for Amnesty International, USA. Previously, Mr. Rickard has served as the Senior Advisor for South Asian Affairs in the Department of State, as well as a professional staff member for the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

Next, Dr. Paul Marshall is a Senior Fellow at the Center for Religious Freedom at Freedom House and is the editor of that organization's survey of Religious Freedom Around the World. The author of 16 books, Dr. Marshall is also a visiting fellow at the Claremont Institute and an adjunct professor of philosophy at the University of Amsterdam.

Fr. Nguyen Huu Le is the Executive Director of the Committee for Religious Freedom in Vietnam. He served as a Catholic priest in Vietnam until the Communist government ordered his arrest in 1975. He was captured while trying to escape and spent the next 13 years in various reeducation camps. In 1978, he and four other prisoners escaped but were recaptured and tortured, two of them to death. He was shackled in solitary confinement for 3 years. He was released in 1988 and escaped to New Zealand where he served as the chaplain for the Vietnamese Catholic congregation.

Abdughuphur Kadirhaji is a Uighur Muslim from Urumqi City in Xinjiang, China. For the past 15 years he was worked as a manager and then director of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region Government Foreign Affairs Office. He came to the United States in March of this year and is currently living in Virginia with his family.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Shea, if you could begin.

**STATEMENT OF NINA SHEA, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR  
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, FREEDOM HOUSE**

Ms. SHEA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

On behalf of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, I wish to thank you for holding these critically important hearings today. Mr. Chairman, your stalwart support over many

years for religious freedom throughout the world and your championing of the International Religious Freedom Act itself is to be heartily commended.

I must say it is a real personal honor for me to be addressing this topic in front of some of the great standard bearers in the House of Representatives of religious freedom for persons all over the world—Congressmen such as Frank Wolf and Congressmen Pitts, Gilman, Lantos, Burton and yourself.

Continued attention on the part of the Congress to this most fundamental issue is, in the Commission's judgment, essential to mobilizing the appropriate foreign policy tools to deal with religious persecution abroad.

I am appearing here as the representative of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom of which I am one of 10 commissioners. Our Chairman, Rabbi David Saperstein, and Vice Chairman, Michael Young, are both on travel today at conferences dealing with issues relating to religious liberty. Ambassador Robert Seiple, who is a witness for the State Department, is also on our Commission as an ex-officio member.

As you know, the Commission was established under the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, which also mandated the State Department report that we are discussing today. The Commission is charged with advising the President and the Congress on strengthening religious freedom and combating religious persecution worldwide. It is part of the Commission's mandate to evaluate the decisions of the administration whether to designate a country for particular concern and to recommend effective responses where appropriate. In a few weeks, we will be holding our own set of hearings on the State Department report.

Last month, the Commission welcomed the release of the State Department's first Annual Report on International Religious Freedom. Over 1,000 pages in length, it reflects a monumental effort on the part of Ambassador Robert Seiple and his Office on International Religious Freedom at the Department of State. We appreciate that producing this report may have been a cultural wrench for the State Department and Foreign Service Officers who are accustomed to dealing mostly with human rights reports on political persecution and political prisoners.

Of course, it is always possible in this type of exercise to critique specific country reports, but as the first historic attempt by the State Department to describe the status of religious freedom worldwide in one compilation, it is a step in the right direction. We again express our appreciation to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Ambassador Seiple for their diligence in producing the report.

What is most extraordinary, Mr. Chairman, however, is the priority listing of countries of particular concern, or CPC's, that the State Department released at today's hearing. The report itself contains an overwhelming and unselective compilation of facts and information without reaching definitive conclusions or conveying a sense of priority. In a report of this magnitude and type, prioritizing American concerns becomes essential. Not to do so is to lose sight of severe persecutors in a welter of detail. Congress wisely understood this danger and foresaw the need to give real focus and priority through CPC designations.

The Commission is especially pleased that the governments of China and Sudan are on State's brief CPC listing and will receive appropriate focus and the concerted attention of the U.S. State Department, the Congress and our Commission, as well as others in the nongovernmental sector, by virtue of this designation. It is this CPC designation that triggers under the act a Presidential announcement within 90 days of what policies the administration will adopt to improve religious freedom in the countries in question.

China and Sudan are the two countries that the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom has decided to review during its first year of work as countries with severe and ongoing problems of religious persecution, China has the world's largest number of religious prisoners while Sudan's government is waging the largest genocidal war in the world today, replete with enslavement, scorched-earth bombings and calculated starvation against its religious minorities in the south and central part of the country.

Arguments can be made that many other countries should be included on today's list. Mr. Chairman, I think I have a different take on the question of the selectivity or the brevity of the list than you do. I believe that the issuance of this highly selective CPC list that includes China, the world's largest religious persecutor, and Sudan, the world's most hideous persecutor, will send the strongest possible signal both to officials here and to governments throughout the world of a renewed recognition of the salience of religious freedom to American foreign policy.

I believe there is no better way to help the persecuted religious believers in Vietnam, Pakistan, Egypt, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere than to see China and Sudan become first cases on a short list of countries where the U.S.—and if the U.S.—is prepared to spend political capital to end the scourge of religious genocide and persecution. Targeting a powerful nation like China and a rogue state like Sudan in a foreign policy priority listing signals that business may not be conducted as usual, that the United States may be adopting a zero tolerance policy for hard-core religious persecutors. This possibility of a change in movement in foreign policy will be the best assurance to persecuted peoples everywhere. We have observed that foreign governments are keenly aware of the report and, as of this morning, are on notice that America has a deep, abiding concern for religious freedom for all peoples and may be prepared to act accordingly in its foreign policy.

If this listing is meant for something more than a 1-day commentary, however, the United States must take appropriate followup action and apply pressure on the CPC's from its range of foreign policy tools. Two steps in particular should occur:

First, the administration should exhibit leadership in making Sudan the pariah state with the same concerted moral and political action that succeeded in making a pariah out of the apartheid government of South Africa.

Today's financial pages are reporting about the enormous amounts of international investments going into Sudan from companies such as Canadian Talisman Energy, Inc. China National Petroleum. Mr. Wolf made reference to this issue, and I would like to suggest that the record include an article from Investors Busi-

ness Daily yesterday about this very issue of China and Talisman's investment in Sudan. According to the Speaker of Sudan's parliament, Hassan Turabi, the revenues from these oil investments will be used to shore up Sudan's military arsenal in its genocidal war.

Ms. SHEA. Second, the administration must demonstrate that the United States will not build its relations with China on sand and that America understands that appeasement of a government that persecutes as many as 100 million believers is neither consistent with our values or our tradition nor will it serve our long-term interests. History has demonstrated that American interests are best served by relations predicated on the defense of principles that are shared by civilized nations around the world.

Mr. Chairman, the Commission believes that the administration has made a great forward stride in producing the report and, most importantly, in prioritizing American concerns. We look forward to working with the administration and Congress over the next critical 3 months when policies are to be developed regarding China, Sudan, and the other CPC's.

It is critical now this process has begun that there be appropriate followup in terms of policy action. As Mr. Wolf stressed, all eyes will be watching how the list is enforced. If actions aren't tough, tyrants all over the world will be emboldened. In China, Sudan, and the other countries of particular concern, the lives of millions of religious believers are quite literally at stake.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Ms. Shea.

I want to thank you personally for the work you did and the insight you provided for the legislation itself when it was under consideration. As you know, it went through many evolutions and it was changed very often. It went from Subcommittee to Full Committee and kept changing, but the essential character remained the same. You were very, very helpful in that process as an individual, and I do want to thank you for that and for the good work you do on religious freedom issues.

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

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Rickard.

**STATEMENT OF STEPHEN RICKARD, WASHINGTON OFFICE  
DIRECTOR, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL**

Mr. RICKARD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is an honor to be invited to testify today before you on the first Annual Department of State Report on International Religious Freedom. Few people do as much day in and day out as you do to help human rights victims around the world, to raise human rights issues, and it is an honor to be here to testify before you and with the other distinguished panelists that I am appearing with.

Winston Churchill reportedly said of Clement Attlee that he was a modest man who had much to be modest about, and I truly feel a little bit like Clement Attlee testifying here with Nina and Paul and with others who have actually suffered for their convictions and before you, Chairman Smith. I am very grateful and I would like to express appreciation on behalf of Amnesty and its members to the many people, yourself included, other human rights cham-



pions in the Congress, Frank Wolf, Nina and Paul and others who have done so much to raise the profile of this issue, to draw greater attention to it, to mobilize people on behalf of this issue.

Four years ago, Amnesty International ran a worldwide campaign on the terrible human rights crisis in Sudan. We produced videos, materials, and I can assure you that the 300,000 Amnesty members in the United States and the more than 1 million Amnesty members around the world who sat at kitchen tables and in church basements and in high school classrooms writing letters to the State Department and to the government in Khartoum about the human rights crisis in Sudan are delighted and even thrilled that this issue is getting more attention. It certainly deserves it, and we welcome and appreciate the help of all of those who have put it front and center.

I am also grateful for the work that you and they have done to build bridges between people working on human rights issues. That is extremely important. Not everyone has done that. There have been some harsh words spoken about the failure of some groups to work on these issues, particularly our colleagues at Human Rights Watch. I personally regret that, and I am delighted that others did not join in that chorus. They are fantastic colleagues who do great work, and I appreciate the work that people did to build bridges between people who cared about this issue.

I don't want to duplicate the testimony that Nina, Paul and others will do on particular countries. Instead, I would like to offer some comments about policy, the issues of the record and report, and then look at a limited number of reports. My remarks are not intended to be a comprehensive survey; and, Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I might ask that we be able to submit some additional written materials, as you say in the House, to revise and extend my remarks, more to extend rather than to revise.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, your full remarks and any submissions you or any other witnesses would like to provide will be made a part of the record.

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

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Mr. RICKARD. Mr. Chairman, this is Amnesty International's very first ever annual report that was published in 1961, just a crazy group of people with the idea that individuals speaking out for individuals could make a difference. It says here that the core of Amnesty's work was going to be to defend people's right to practice Article 18 and Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That was the original purpose of creating Amnesty International.

As you well know, Article 18 is the article that states everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right includes the freedom to change one's religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others, in public or in private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance. Pursuant to that founding purpose, the very first Amnesty conference ever held by an Amnesty section in Paris in 1961 was a conference on religious persecution.

The very first investigative mission undertaken by Sean MacBride was a mission to Czechoslovakia to protest and inves-

tigate the imprisonment of Archbishop Beran and to investigate the other conditions of other religious prisoners. This is an issue that is very, very dear to our hearts, and it is a real delight to see a comprehensive report on this issue mandated by the Congress.

Mr. Chairman, one of the shortest and most powerful credos ever uttered was offered by the Apostle James when he wrote, "As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead." Faith without works is dead. It is a powerful challenge to any person of conviction no matter what their particular religion or beliefs. So it is with any human rights report. Reports without action are dead. This is an impressive report. I agree with Nina's characterization of this report as a milestone. It is impressive, but much more impressive will be a comprehensive plan to assess the violations that it documents.

The final legislation that the Congress adopted gave the administration a great deal of flexibility in terms of crafting a response to these abuses. In the abstract, everyone agrees that flexibility is a desirable thing to give policymakers. Let's hope that the administration uses that flexibility wisely and forcefully and doesn't give flexibility a bad name. Trust is essential. It is better when we are working together on these issues instead of at cross-purposes.

As I have said in the past when I have testified before you, Mr. Chairman, all of the efforts of those in the State Department who truly care about human rights are, unfortunately, undermined by the perception that at critical moments when push comes to shove, the U.S. commitment to human rights takes a back seat to fighting for other goals. Whether it is fighting drugs or terrorism or promoting trade or the amorphous, ever-popular stability, there is, as I have said, the view that human rights remains in far too many ways an island off the mainland of American foreign policy. The report is impressive, and we look forward to impressive action that matches the problems that it documents.

I would also like to say a few words about the role for Congress here. It is Congress that mandated the report. It is Congress that mandated the original report. It is Congress that mandated the creation of the Human Rights Bureau. In so many ways Congress has led the U.S. Government on human rights issues.

But there are a number of critical things that the Congress could do, considered doing, and then did not do that I think would help to add additional weight to the effort that led to the mandating of this report. As we said, one of the most important things in the original Wolf-Specter legislation, and one of the things we were the most deeply disappointed about that was not adopted in the final form, was the beginning effort to turn back the tide on some of the incredibly retrograde steps that have been taken on the issue of political asylum in the United States. I commend you, Mr. Chairman, for leading that fight. It is a pity that you lost or that it wasn't in the final legislation, but I strongly encourage every American who cares about religious persecution to call, to write, to visit their Members of Congress to say that you don't believe that people fleeing persecution should have to run the gauntlet to achieve a haven from persecution in the United States. I don't believe that Americans, if they understood the current situation, would think that that is what the United States should stand for.

Last, it is the fundamental constitutional responsibility of the Congress to determine how our tax dollars are spent, and you have led the fight to try to increase funding for human rights activities within the State Department, and I think that is extremely important. It is disappointing that the Department has resisted your proposal to increase funding for human rights activities. Even with the severe reductions in foreign affairs funding which have occurred in recent years and which Ambassador Seiple referred to, the priorities of the State Department are out of order. There can be more funding for human rights activities. There needs to be more funding for human rights activities within the Department.

However, I also agree with Ambassador Seiple that the overall context of decreasing funding for foreign affairs activities overall also undermines our ability to have a powerful and effective human rights strategy. Speaking solely for myself and not for the administration and with the caveat that I at least for 2 years served at the State Department, I have to say that I have been increasingly reminded of the section of Exodus where Pharaoh says to his taskmasters in response to the appeals of Moses and Aaron, "You shall no longer give the people straw to make bricks. Let them go and gather straw themselves."

If the Department of State wants the Human Rights Bureau to be an effective champion for human rights, it has to give it straw to make bricks. If the Congress wants the United States to be an influential and effective player on the world scene on behalf of human rights and other issues, the Congress needs to give diplomats the straw to make bricks so that they can build a firm human rights foundation.

Mr. Chairman, I do have one very specific recommendation on a topic that I know you have been interested in. I think that this report is further evidence of the need for the Congress and the administration to work together to have a comprehensive approach to controlling the potential export of repressive equipment from the United States.

The administration has said many times that they support this, that they don't want repressive equipment like electric shock equipment being exported from the United States, but we believe at Amnesty that in fact it has happened, that electric shock equipment, for instance, has been exported to Saudi Arabia, a country with a terrible problem of religious persecution and torture. I think that, given the statements of the administration and your own interest in this, there ought to be the opportunity to sit down together and come up with a proposal where we will manage these exports, at least as rigorously as we do, for instance, dual-use nuclear exports, where we say we are really going to watch where these go and how they are used and demand lots of documentation.

Turning to the report itself, let me say overall that our initial review of the contents is quite positive. We have some disagreements, not all of them minor; but, overall, it would be wrong not to commend the Department, Ambassador Seiple and Assistant Secretary Koh for this important and useful document. Obviously, we have not had the opportunity to review all of it; and, as I said, I would like to just focus on some illustrative cases, not the case where religious persecution is the worst necessarily, not in any way a com-

prehensive survey, but a few countries that might illustrate whether or not the administration has flunked the litmus test for candor standard: that is, countries where there may be the greatest temptations to shade the truth.

Saudi Arabia. One can hardly imagine a more forthright opening sentence than "Freedom of religion does not exist in Saudi Arabia," and that is welcome candor, particularly with a country where there is great sensitivity. The State Department, however, in the text that follows is much more dry and mechanical in explaining the situation in Saudi Arabia, and I go into greater detail here, but substantively we think that much more could be said and said more forcefully about the degree of active harassment and persecution that exists within Saudi Arabia. There is an implication that, while they have a system of rules and if you follow the rules everything will be OK, that really doesn't capture the situation in Saudi Arabia. It is not bad, but in tone it can be much better in terms of describing the situation, and we think stronger language is justified.

Israel. The Israel report unflinchingly addresses an issue that is not always addressed, which is the disparity between government support for Israeli Arabs and other Israeli citizens in terms of the quality of education, housing and employment opportunities that they receive. I think the report was quite candid, frank and comprehensive in covering this issue.

One issue that it does not cover and should, and doubtless this is an area where we can work with them, is the issue of Israel's treatment of conscientious objectors, which in fact, is not very good. The trials that they use to handle those are not really free, fair trials. There are disparities in who gets exemptions and who doesn't. It is one area where we think that we need to work with the Department to raise the profile of this issue.

The Caspian Sea region. This is an area where I think the report is good as far as it goes, but it illustrates a problem, which is that there is not as much information available. Some of the areas that are a little harder to get to, we don't have as many diplomats there. I list some of the items that have happened just in the last few months, probably after the report went to print, in that region which need to be reflected in next year's report, and we look forward to working with the Department to enhance the coverage of some of those areas that aren't in the headlines as much.

I have talked about Turkey and Vietnam in my written report. Let me just say about both countries that the issue that we highlight, although there are a couple of places, particularly in the Vietnam report, where we think there is very important information that would have given a better picture of the degree of government hostility to outside scrutiny on this issue—they mention the reaction to the U.N. Special Rapporteur's report. They don't really give a sense of how vigorous it was. We welcome the fact that the U.S. backed up the Special Rapporteur on that, but we think that more could have been done to give a full flavor of the situation there.

But in both of those countries and in several others, the key question is not what the report reports, the key question is policy. We take no issue with Assistant Secretary Koh on this, particularly

his recent trip to Turkey. He was extremely forthright. We consider his trip an extremely important step in the right direction.

There needs to be one U.S. policy on human rights in these countries which is supported across the board by the Departments of State and Defense and Commerce and by the U.S. Ambassadors and in the regional bureau, as well as Assistant Secretary Koh. It is not enough to send Assistant Secretary Koh and Ambassador Seiple out to read the riot act to people and then have others come in and smooth the ruffled feathers afterwards.

Mr. Chairman, I address a number of other countries, and I would like to submit additional comments in writing. Let me just say, overall, we commend the administration's efforts on the report. It heeds Secretary Koh's promise to tell it like it is in most cases. There are cases where we look forward to working with them to improve the report.

Mr. Chairman, religious persecution today is a depressingly ecumenical phenomena. Tyrants fear religion, and they fear people of faith because they claim openly to have allegiance to a higher authority. Tyrants fear people who perhaps have others outside of the national boundaries who care about them and worry about them and are willing to mobilize on their behalf. We owe it to those people to stand with them. This step is an important milestone in the right direction, and we look forward to seeing action to follow the report.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Rickard, for Amnesty's extraordinary work throughout the years.

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

Mr. SMITH. Getting back to that 1961 document that you held up, we mentioned the resistance we are finding with regard to enhanced funding for the Human Rights Bureau. I think the record clearly shows, because you were part of that entire process as we went through various drafts, that there was an incredible resistance to the bill itself.

Mr. SMITH. We were told by very responsible people within the administration that we were establishing a hierarchy of human rights. If that were the case, those of us who supported sanctions against South Africa because of apartheid were wrong because we established a hierarchy saying racism is egregious behavior that would simply not be tolerated, and the same thing could be said about Jackson-Vanik and the fact that we actually risked superpower confrontation to promote the cause of Soviet Jewry I think that was one of our proudest moments.

So I think you know we got here through a very difficult process. Now we need—and your words certainly and your work helps to enhance that—to continue to keep on our eye on the ball. As you said, quoting the Book of James, faith without works is truly dead.

I want to thank you.

Mr. RICKARD. Mr. Chairman, I want to steal a line again that I stole from your staff director, which was that I regret the notion that we need to treat everyone equally badly. The only concern we have, and I think it is a legitimate concern, is that in an era of shrinking resources you can have some situations on some issues where you pit victims against each other. I know we all want to

avoid that. That is why the effort to increase funding for these activities to give people the straw to make the bricks is so important. We applaud your effort in that direction.

We like to see it go across the board on U.S. foreign policy issues. Again, I am speaking for myself on that point.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Rickard.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Marshall.

**STATEMENT OF PAUL MARSHALL, SENIOR FELLOW, CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, FREEDOM HOUSE**

Mr. MARSHALL. OK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the invitation to be able to testify this afternoon. I will concentrate my remarks on the report itself.

I believe that after Boswell and Dr. Johnson had been invited to see a dancing dog Boswell remarked that the dog did not dance very well. Dr. Johnson replied, the wonder is not that it is done well, the wonder is that it is done at all. So, too, with the State Department's first annual report on international religious freedom.

The mere fact that this report now exists is an important step and shows a growing awareness of the vital importance of religious freedom and religious persecution around the world. Since Members of this Committee have played an important role in that movement, you deserve our commendations. But, contrary to the dancing dog, the report is very well done.

Currently, I am editing a survey, a world survey of religious freedom and working with about 60 writers and reviewers. So I am in a good position to cross-check much of the information in the report, and it is in general very good and often a mine of information. So I would like to commend the State Department and particularly the people who worked on this report.

In addition, the list of countries of particular concern singles out some of the worst persecutors, including two on which Freedom House focuses particularly, China and Sudan. However, the report does have some problems, and on these I will concentrate.

In several instances it downplays the severity or significance of restrictions on religious freedoms, perhaps in deference to the government's concern. This appears in the reports on Egypt, China, and Saudi Arabia, and some of those instances have come up in previous testimony.

I think my most important critique is this, the report sometimes uses a truncated view of religion. This is not a mere definitional quibble. It is central to the proper implementation of the entire International Religious Freedom Act.

The focus of the act is not on human rights violations against religious people. That would probably include most human rights violations in the world. But the focus is with persecution where the grounds themselves are in part religious. Hence, if we work with a truncated and minimalist view of religion, this will lead inevitably to a truncated implementation of the provisions of the act. This is particularly important as in much of our society, in discussions by diplomats or journalists or scholars, there is a tendency to gloss over the realities of religion, particularly after redefining it as ethnic.

We now have a famous expression "ethnic cleansing", but that expression came into origin to describe the murder of Muslims who are not an ethnic group, they are a religious group. So what we have called ethnic cleansing is, in fact, religious cleansing in the former Yugoslavia.

The report occasionally does this itself but at other times describes various events and actions and beliefs as political or cultural or economic rather than religious—that is a quote—as if these were mutually exclusive categories. But many things are religious and political or cultural and religious or economic and religious. I include a lot of examples in the written testimony.

It is to be expected that religion will be intimately and complexly connected with every other facet of human rights. This particular problem comes to the floor in its coverage of the Sudan. The Sudan report does a very good job of detailing religious persecution in the areas under the direct control of the Khartoum regime, and it describes the practice of slavery. However, the war and the conduct of the war itself whose details we know, with up to 2 million dead and 4 to 5 million displaced with widespread massacre, rape, torture and forced starvation, that is absent from the report. It is not covered. It is not dealt with.

We are not told why, but I presume the reason is that the war itself must be defined as "not religious." Hence, what may be in terms of size and intensity the world's worst situation of religious oppression is absent from the report. This is akin to disregarding race and describing South Africa's repression of the opponents of apartheid. After all, particular people arrested such as Nelson Mandela were not singled out because of their race, white people were also jailed, but because of certain acts, and anybody of any race committing those acts would also have been arrested.

But on those grounds would we say that those arrests were political, not racial or cultural, because a policy was the cause of political unrest, of opposition, of demonstration, and then political repression? Race colors the entire thing. So even a war on South Africa's borders, fighting in Namibia, is conditioned by the racial—was conditioned by the racial policy of the government. A similar pattern holds for Sudan.

The report describes the Khartoum government as "an Arab regime that is Muslim" when in fact it is, legally and in self-description, a Muslim regime. The regime has repeatedly described its war as a jihad and a religious duty and has publicly declared its goal to forcibly Islamicize Sudan.

While there are many factors in this, as there are in every war, and while the regime certainly persecutes those Muslims who oppose those views, which is a majority of the Muslim population of the country, southern leaders have stressed repeatedly that the government's refusal to change its stand on shari'a and Islamicization is a major barrier to peace. In this context, the war itself should be understood as an extension of religious persecution.

In contrast, in dealing with Iraq, the report does outline Sudan's persecution of Shiite Muslims and of Assyrian Christians. I think it is correct in doing so, but this simply makes the contrast with the Sudan doubly jarring.

Just one other instance, Mr. Chairman, in describing the current conflicts in the Indonesian islands of Muluka, in which several hundred, perhaps several thousand people have died this year, the report attributes the problems arising there to migration which is again, I quote, the ethnic balance. But what is at issue there is, again, the religious balance.

So I mention these points again that if these things are not seen as religious, if they are defined in other terms, it means they will not come under the purview of this legislation and will not be addressed by the State Department in a way that it should do so.

Finally, yesterday the government designated as countries of particular concern, China, Sudan, Burma, Iran, Iraq, Serbia and Afghanistan. I concur with these judgments. However, I would question the exclusion of Saudi Arabia, North Korea, Vietnam, and Pakistan. Politically it is wise to have a concentrated focus, and I welcome it, especially the willingness to include China. But it does not necessarily reflect the worst situations.

In closing, let me reiterate that my focus on problems should not overshadow the fact that this welcome report is very good indeed. We must now ensure that our actions are as full as our analyses. President Clinton said to religious leaders 2 weeks ago, the cause of religious freedom at home and around the world will continue to be something that the United States will have to work and work and work on.

Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Dr. Marshall.

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

Mr. SMITH. I would like to yield to Mr. Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for having these hearings, and thank you for your continued work on religious rights and human rights.

I think this report is a step forward in general. I think some of its criticisms of Israel were beyond what was appropriate. I particularly take exception to one part of the report where it says the government states that it protects the holy sites.

I think many of our colleagues have been there. These are among the most protected sites in the world, and yet to imply that it is merely a statement of the Israeli government that the sites are protected implies that maybe the sites are not in fact protected.

In addition, I do not think that it is a denial of religious rights for Israel to look at its northern area and see a need to encourage settlement on vacant land by those who are most loyal to the regime. It certainly doesn't interfere with the exercise of any religion to find out that there is a village across the valley that practices the majority religion of the country.

But I think, in general, this is a good report; and I look forward to next year's work. Thank you.

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

Mr. SMITH. Father Le.



**STATEMENT OF REV. NGUYEN HUU LE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,  
COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN VIETNAM**

Rev. LE. Mr. Chairman and distinguished Members of the Subcommittee, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify not only on behalf of the Committee For Religious Freedom in Vietnam but also for the victims of religious persecution in Vietnam.

Our Committee applauds the publication of the Annual Report on International Religious Freedom. We are, however, troubled by its lack of depth and its omissions of many critical facts and the inaccuracy of some information contained in the section on Vietnam.

First of all, the report gives the false impression that religious repression in Vietnam does not stem from a sustained, consistent policy of the central government but arises from the arbitrary actions of local authorities. Vietnam's Communist government is anti religion by virtue. Its Communist doctrine views religions as enemies of the people. Its policy is to ruthlessly weed out all religious activities that it cannot control and exploit for its own ends.

Immediately after its takeover of South Vietnam in 1975, the Communist government cracked down on the Protestant and the Catholic churches and outlawed the Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam, or UBCV, the Hoa Hao Church and the Cao Dai Church. Church leaders were arrested, detained, tortured, humiliated. Many died in detention; and I, myself, spent 13 years in jail for having defended religious freedom. I was tortured, beaten and sent to 3 years in solitary confinement.

In order to wipe out all vestiges and influence of the independent churches, the government replaces them with state-sanctioned organizations, whose role is to enforce government policies on religions.

The Committee of Hoa Hao Buddhist Representatives formed in May of this year is a case in point. It is headed by a Communist cadre.

The government has deftly created a church within a church to divide and conquer the Catholics. The role of the government-created Catholic Patriotic Association is to drive a wedge into the Catholic community. Priests who belong to this association are rewarded with special privileges. The wide latitude in practicing their faith, including some educational and humanitarian activities reported by the Department of State, is accorded only to religious persons who work with or for the government.

In recent months, the government has stepped up its rigorous effort to harass, intimidate and persecute religious leaders and to impose further restrictions on religious activities such as the publication of religious books and documents.

In May, the public security police interrupted the summer retreat of Buddhist monks in Saigon and threatened harsh punishments if the latter were found to support the banned UBCV.

A group of recently released Buddhist monks were rounded up for questioning around the time Secretary Albright arrived in Vietnam.

Mr. Tran Quang Chau, a Cao Dai leader, has been held under house arrest after he cosigned an open letter last month asking the government to recognize independent churches and to return all

confiscated church properties. The Department of State's report does not reflect this reality in Vietnam.

While the report recognizes ongoing religious repression, it attributes this to the arbitrary, isolated attitude of certain local officials in certain remote areas. In reality, religious repression is a policy of the central government that is being carried out systematically throughout the country. But the repression is well camouflaged and therefore not easily detectable, especially to foreigners. I would like to repeat—very well camouflaged and therefore not easily detectable especially to foreigners. This may have contributed to the regrettable omissions and inaccuracies in the report.

While the government's treatment of prisoners appears to have improved in recent years, the reality behind this facade is as deplorable and as appalling as ever.

We understand that the Bureau of International Religious Freedom will make recommendations to the President based on its findings, so we would like to suggest the following:

First, the Department of State should work to facilitate the visit to Most Ven. Thich Huyen Quang, Supreme Patriarch of UBCV, by a delegation of American Buddhist leaders and medical doctors. The Most Ven. Huyen Quang, 81 years old, has been detained for the past 22 years. His health is deteriorating due to old age and lack of medical care.

Second, the U.S. consular offices in Vietnam should make every attempt to identify victims of religious persecution and process their applications for refugee status.

Third, the U.S. should use all available diplomatic and trade-related leverages to persuade Communist Vietnam to release all the religious prisoners, officially recognize the independent churches, and to return all confiscated properties.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit a partial list of confiscated church properties for inclusion in the Congressional Record of this hearing.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, Father, your submission and that of all of the witnesses will be made a part of the record.

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Rev. LE. We hope that next year the Department of State will include in its report a detailed account of the progresses and will evaluate Vietnam's degree of cooperation in these particular areas.

Thank you very much for listening to me, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much for your testimony. It really is an honor to have a man who has suffered so much for his faith and for freedom to be our distinguished witness today. Thank you very much.

Rev. LE. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Rev. Le appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. I would like to ask our final witness, Mr. Abdughuphur Kadirhaji, if he would present his testimony.

The INTERPRETER. To save time, I am just going to read the English version off of his speech.

Mr. SMITH. OK.

**STATEMENT OF ABDUGHUPHUR KADIRHAJI, UIGHUR MUSLIM,  
URUMQI CITY, XINJIANG, CHINA**

Mr. KADIRHAJI. Dear Mr. Chairman, Members of Congress, and ladies and gentlemen, my name is Abdughuphur Kadirhaji. I am a Uyghur Muslim from Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. I thank you for giving me this precious opportunity to testify before you on the religious persecution of the Uyghur people in China.

The Chinese Government perceives religion as the No. 1 threat to its existence in China, especially in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. The Chinese Communist Party sees religion as opium used to drug the people.

I came to the United States of America in this March. While I was in China, I have seen the religious persecution and discrimination against the Uyghurs. As a devout Muslim myself and also a state employee, I had never been able to publicly worship and express my religious beliefs. I was always afraid of losing my job and social benefits.

For us Uyghurs, the most degrading and humiliating thing the Chinese Government does is that the Chinese Government often receives the Uyghurs back from pilgrimage and offers them alcohol to drink so as to desecrate their holy pilgrimage to Mecca. Many people, including myself, for fear of losing our jobs and positions have to drink without choice.

Not only in times of pilgrimage does the Chinese Government humiliate the Uyghur people but also in times of Ramadan, the holy month of fasting in Islam. During the month of Ramadan, the Chinese Government often intentionally offers free food and alcohol which is forbidden in the Quran in the form of banquets and feasts to the Uyghurs who fast for the sake of God.

The government also offers bread and drinks to the Uyghur students in high schools and colleges and universities to make sure that they are not fasting in Ramadan.

In December, 1994, after I came back from my pilgrimage and visit to Mecca, Chinese officials poured wine on me when I refused to drink alcohol because of my religious beliefs. In 1995, in the holy month of Ramadan, the Chinese officials in my company constantly offered me alcohol, cigarette and food which are forbidden in Islam, so as to break my devotion to God and my religion. I had to comply in many cases by asking God's forgiveness.

Since 1994, the religious restrictions and the persecutions have been so severe in Xinjiang that an ordinary Uyghur Muslim couldn't possibly pray five times a day and carry out his daily religious duties.

Now I want you to use some examples of religious persecution of Uyghurs in Xinjiang to give you a clear account.

According to my wife who worked in the Foreign Relations Office for the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Regional government, in 1996, the Chinese Social Science Academy and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Regional Social Science Academy conducted a joint research project and published a book on the religious history of the Xinjiang from 1949 to 1996.

This research project was directly supported and funded by the Chinese central government. This book clearly explains that Islam

and religious ideas are dangerous to the unity of nationalities in Xinjiang and to the unification of China, and the government should do whatever necessary to root out this religious threat. This book was distributed to high-level Chinese government officials. The name of this is called "Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism in Xinjiang," and my wife has a copy of this book in Chinese.

Religious education is also not allowed in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Communist party members, teachers, students, workers and any Uyghur who works for a state-owned enterprise are not allowed to go mosques and religious schools. Those who disobey this rule will be fired from their jobs and will lose all of the social benefits.

Many Uyghur students have been expelled from their schools for going to mosques and for praying. Nevertheless, some Uyghur parents still secretly send their children to Muslim countries in Central Asia to study Islam, but the Chinese Government always put diplomatic pressure on these Muslim countries' governments to return the Uyghur students.

In one case, a group of Uyghur students were returned from Pakistan to China. When they got to the Chinese border, the Chinese police immediately detained them. Some of the older Uyghur students protested, but they were arrested and imprisoned. The others though were released but denied many social benefits.

In April, 1998, Abdusalam, a young devout Uyghur Muslim in my hometown, went to a mosque. The government-trained communist imam was saying that Allah says that if someone oppresses you, you should be patient and not fight back and that you should be obedient to your Chinese Government and shouldn't complain about your sufferings. Abdusalam, having profoundly studied Islam, challenged this and said that, in the Quran, Allah said if someone hurts you, you have the right to defend yourself. He pointed out what the communist imam was saying was false.

Abdusalam was soon arrested and put in jail. He was tortured in prison by the Chinese guards and was later sent to a hospital with serious injuries. However, after some time he was reported dead. The Chinese police claimed that Abdusalam committed suicide by throwing himself out of the third floor window. But the people of Ghulja don't believe he committed suicide because he was a very pious Muslim, and in Islam committing suicide is a great sin. A Muslim always has to be hopeful even in the worst situation of his life.

Abdusalam's parents obtained the body, and his body was so mangled and deformed that they found it so hard to recognize their own son. But the people of Ghulja believe that he was tortured to death by the Chinese police before he was sent to the hospital.

Abdusalam had never been politically active. He had never participated in any demonstration. All he did was point out that the communist Chinese government propaganda that the imam was spreading to the Uyghurs in the mosque was wrong.

My sister's husband, Abdushukur Kamberi, went to Pakistan in 1986. There he studied Islam with several renowned Islamic scholars. Therefore, he earned a reputation as a very knowledgeable man in Islamic theology. The Chinese government felt threatened by him after he came back and tried to use him by giving him a

religious title. By appointing him, the Chinese Government attempted to involve him in spreading the Chinese propaganda instead of the Islamic truth.

He defied them and visited all of the mosques in the city and told the imams that the mosque was not the place for Chinese communist propaganda. It is only a place for the Quranic truth and the traditions of the prophet Muhammad.

After several months, he went to Urumqi to bring his mother's and other relatives' passports for visas to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. But the Xinjiang Regional Public Security used this as an opportunity and arrested him in July, 1997. The Chinese police claimed that he was trying to escape China. But he wasn't even bringing his own passport.

The Chinese government put him in jail and severely tortured him and sent him to a Chinese military hospital. Currently, he is under house arrest.

Under Chinese constitution, people have the right to religious freedom, but China is not ruled by law. The Chinese government religious policies are totally different from what is written in the law. The communist imams are government trained and only serve the brutal, repressive communist Chinese regime. They worship the Chinese communist party instead of God, and they put party above God.

In their sermons, they only preach about obeying the Chinese government and its policies, having a good relationship with the Chinese government and Chinese people, unifying all nationalities and implementing the one-child policy.

There are informants and spies disguised as pious Muslims inside many mosques to monitor what the Uyghur religious leaders and people do and say.

The Chinese government claims that it sends thousands of religious students abroad each year to study, but almost all the Uyghur religious students from abroad have been arrested and harassed. The Chinese government claims that it supports Uyghurs going for pilgrimage to Mecca, but the Chinese government only supports and funds the informants and spies in the pilgrimage group to monitor the Uyghurs words and deeds throughout the entire journey.

In many cases, the Chinese government never approves those Uyghurs who want to conduct pilgrimage to Mecca on their own. Earlier this year, in February, while I was in Beijing, more than 400 Uyghurs who had legal passports, visas and round-trip tickets to make the pilgrimage to Mecca were deported back to Xinjiang because they were not part of the state-approved pilgrimage delegation.

Each year the Chinese government only approves a very small number of chosen, well-checked, loyal Uyghurs to go for the pilgrimage. The Chinese government always associates Islam with the so-called separatist activities and readily arrests those devout Uyghur Muslims in the name of unification.

The religious freedom guaranteed in the Chinese constitution is a sheer lie. It is aimed at deceiving the world that China respects the right to religious freedom, especially the right of minorities to choose and worship their own religion. On the contrary, the Chi-

nese government often denies the legitimate rights of Uyghur people to worship and to study Islam and force them to obey the government through communist Chinese propaganda. In China, religious freedom is only on the paper but not in practice.

There is not religious freedom for the Uyghur people in China under the atheistic communist Chinese government, and we hope that the U.S. State Department could address these issues in their contacting with the Chinese authorities.

Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much for that excellent testimony.

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

Mr. SMITH. I just have a few questions, and then will open things up for any comments that our witnesses might have.

Ms. Shea, I think your point is very well taken about the moral equivalency of the Sudan and China. I think as time goes on, especially since these countries were just announced as countries of particular interest, that we will soon be seeing a blast from the Chinese embassy in terms of refuting this. We hope that they respond. If they don't, I can assure you additional hearings and perhaps site visits to that country will raise it.

Unfortunately, there were some omissions, at least in my view and in the view I think of some of other members of the panel. But I think your point was very well taken that the juxtaposition of those two countries hopefully will not escape the notice of the world because China certainly fashions itself somehow as—and it is—an emerging superpower. But with that superpower status comes at least the most basic of all recognitions, and that is the right of the freedom of conscience and basic religion.

So I really appreciate you making that point.

Ms. SHEA. I think that American policy with regards to China will reverberate throughout the world, particularly in Asia. Particularly in Vietnam. I have noticed in my own monitoring a deterioration in religious freedom in Vietnam alongside that with American delinking of trade privileges with China. They take their cues from the U.S. relationship with China. In a way I think China and Sudan are both representative of two types of very serious threats to religious freedom.

Mr. SMITH. I think it is important. On one of my human rights trips to China when I met with members of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Beijing, the assorted government affairs people who were there for the various businesses that the Commerce folks at our embassy had arranged for me to meet were totally disbelieving that there was a religious persecution issue. Totally.

One of the CEO's in a very dismissive tone of voice said, why don't you just go with my secretary to church. She goes to the Catholic church. It is open.

I said, it is part of the Catholic Patriotic Association, the overseer of that being a branch of the Chinese government, and anyone who is part of the Roman Catholic church is part of an underground church and faces severe persecution and disciplinary action.

He didn't believe it. He said, "That is not true."

So this recognition in this report certainly will go a long way to establishing a fact, to the best of our understanding, as to what the real reality is in China.

Now this is news. We have known it for some time. We have raised it. But now it gets the imprimatur of a report from a body that has looked at it with a fresh set of eyes and come to that same conclusion.

Ms. SHEA. I think this is a big departure for the State Department, and I am very hopeful that it will act on this now, this list of priorities.

One thing that caught my eye in Ambassador Seiple's testimony is that he was, toward the end of it, talking about their success cases, and he mentions that in Uzbekistan that there was—the Uzbek government responded. He says that the U.S. Government had pressed the Uzbek government at virtually every level to take concrete actions in reducing the incident of religious persecution.

He said, while it was persistent and intense pressure—but I think you put your finger on it, which is that maybe the Commerce Department officials, the trade delegations that go over there don't give this intense and persistent message. It is the human rights officials who don't have by themselves a lot of leverage who give that message. If there was a continual pressing at every level, you might see results in China, too.

Mr. SMITH. Plus they buy into the show that the Chinese government puts on, the Potemkin village that portrays any suggestion that there is repression here as a myth.

Let me, with regard to the two-step process that Mr. Rickard mentioned—and you have been utterly consistent. I have been in Congress 19 years. Amnesty, whether it be Republican or Democrat administration, tries to hold that administration to account for an honest portrayal in the country reports. But there also needs to be a linkage to policy.

When I first took the Chairmanship of this Subcommittee, when the Republicans took control, you and each of your representatives have always said that the country reports on human rights practices are excellent documents, notwithstanding some flaws, which you point out. But there is always this major disconnect between facts on the ground, country by country, and any linkage to policy.

Probably the most glaring was and continues to be the delinking of MFN with China, about which reasonable people can have differing opinions on. But there are other ways of engaging as well, with many penalties that accrue to offending countries.

You made the point, and I hope it does not go unnoticed by Ambassador Seiple and everyone else in his shop and by Secretary Madeline Albright, that hopefully this isn't going to be just an exercise of good reporting followed by a lack of works or followup.

We will try within this Committee to see that even those modest penalties with all the waivers that were provided are utilized to the greatest extent possible in a cooperative venture with the administration. Our end game is just more religious freedom, that is all we want, and those offending countries should know that.

I will never forget—and this was brought out by one of our witnesses, and I think Mr. Wolf mentioned this—just a couple of years ago, slavery was dismissed as nonexistent in the Sudan—and I

know Nina Shea has spoken to this many, many times—and in Mauritania, where it is probably less of a problem but still existed. We had the first hearing on that in our Subcommittee in 1996 and we were roundly criticized for believing a myth—that it just doesn't occur, it was exaggerated and hyperbole.

Now I think there is a consensus that it is a problem. So hopefully this report becomes the catalyst for, thinking "wow, it is as bad as we thought in this country or that, and we need to do something about it." We will try to give the administration, no matter whose control it is under, maximum arrows in their quiver to prudently promote a policy that protects the free exercise of religion.

So perhaps you might want to speak to the two-step, and the message is go forward from here: good report, now we need action. It can't be mitigated by that rose-colored lens of constantly saying, oh, it might hurt commerce. It might do this. There are too many people suffering.

Mr. Rickard.

Mr. RICKARD. Let me just make a couple of points.

First, I want to just very strongly endorse something that Nina just said, and that is the ripple effect from the backing down on human rights in China. I just think that has had a devastating impact throughout Asia, and I think the closer you get to China maybe the more so. Amnesty never took a position on linking MFN, for or against it. Whatever you think about it, taking that position and then backing down was devastating to the most important thing you have to have as a diplomat pushing any issue, and that is credibility.

You don't have credibility if they don't believe you really care about the issue. When push comes to shove, you will really care about the issue, and it is going to be a serious fight about it, then people just kind of say, OK, fine, we will hear you out; we will hear your demarche.

I have to tell it you that in representing the United States, in making human rights demarches at times following the delinking, I got the very definite impression that the reaction of some foreign diplomats was, to essentially say "I don't like this. I don't like that you are coming in here and telling us what we ought to do.

At the end of the day, I know it is just talk, and I figure I have got to put up with this for 20 more minutes. I am paid to that, OK; and when does the trade delegation arrive?"

I think that is why, when people say, why do we fight this meaningless fight in Geneva year after year? Gee, we lose. What is the point? What you are trying to show the Chinese is that we do care about this and that there is some point past which we will not retreat, and this is one of them. We will at least go to multilateral fora that are designed to raise human rights issues, and we will raise the gross human rights violations that you are committing, and if we stop, a very different message will be sent. We are in a hole. We have got to establish credibility on human rights issues.

I believe that the people of the Department care about it. I absolutely believe that, but they need help proving it to people, that they will be there when push comes to shove.

I would like to make one little point that I actually meant to make in my testimony. This is not a central or critical point, but



I think it is an interesting one about the way the United States reacts to criticism and scrutiny and the implications that that can have for our ability to push human rights issues abroad.

Recently, we talked about the Special Rapporteur visit in Vietnam, and recently a head of state refused to let another Special Rapporteur visit facilities, claiming reportedly that the Special Rapporteur was just a tool of people that wanted to discredit the state." I have to tell you that the head of state was Governor John Engler of my home State of Michigan refusing to permit the Special Rapporteur on violence against women visit prison facilities in Michigan.

I am a very proud native of the State of Michigan. I am not remotely suggesting that the situation in Michigan is comparable to other places they might investigate. But you then see the Vietnamese government holding a press conference and saying in these words, "individuals or organizations which come to Vietnam to conduct activities concerning human rights or religion and interfere with the internal affairs of the country will no longer be accepted."

Whatever we may think about, that particular mission, the refusal to cooperate with it and to call the Special Rapporteur a tool of people who are trying to simply discredit the state is unquestionably fodder for people who want to say, you don't accept scrutiny. Why should we accept scrutiny? We agree with you. They are just tools.

I am not implying moral equivalence, although there are problems and we have documented a lot of them. But there is no question that when President Clinton issues an executive order that says we ratified these human rights treaties and I want the Federal Government to look to make sure we are actually implementing them and we are taking them seriously and we are cooperating and we are filing our human rights reports on time, and he gets 30 United States Senators sending him a letter saying, we are really troubled about this, and we are very upset about it, and what are you trying to do, it undercuts our ability to say to other countries we take this seriously. We demand that you take it seriously. We are treaty partners. We have a right to demand that you live up to these standards. We are not imposing our values on you. These are internationally recognized norms that you voluntarily accepted when you agreed to these conventions, and now we want you to live up to the obligations.

So there are implications for our reaction to understandable prickliness from time to time about criticism. We just need to say, come on in. We will take the suggestions. We will consider them just like everybody else ought to.

Mr. SMITH. You may find it interesting that in the 1980's, in the Helsinki Commission, we initiated a policy that in our bilaterals especially with then what was the Soviet Union if they had complaints against the U.S., we wanted them in writing, and we would followup those complaints or those criticisms with a written report. We expected the same from them. It did provide for a much more open dialogue.

So I think your point is well taken. We have nothing to hide, and when we have problems we need to clean them up.

I would like to ask the question in terms of deeds again, and this would be to Mr. Kadirhaji. The report correctly notes the harsh treatment of the Uyghurs in Xingiang, China, including executions and possible killings but U.S. Government policy says nothing about U.S. interventions on behalf of Muslims who have been persecuted in Xingiang.

To the best of your knowledge, has the U.S. Government, any of our embassy personnel, anyone made a representation on behalf of Uyghurs?

The INTERPRETER. He has no idea. He doesn't believe that any U.S. Government officials addressed these issues.

Mr. SMITH. I will provide that question to Ambassador Seiple as well. Hopefully there will be, if there has not and hopefully there will in the future, representations on behalf of the Uyghurs. I suspect there probably have been.

Just one final question, and again it goes back to the Sudan, and again talking about words and deeds. The report points out that two clerics, two priests, had been arrested, two of many I am sure, but their names are given in the report, Hillary Boma and Lino Sebit, who may face possible execution and crucifixion for unsubstantiated charges.

I was wondering if any of our witnesses are aware of their plight. Perhaps, Nina, being a member of the Commission, you might have some insight as to what the government is doing on their behalf.

Ms. SHEA. I am aware of that case. I don't know what our government is doing on their behalf. We don't have an ambassador there, as you know, and I am not sure—our Commission has not undertaken that portion of its investigation yet to know what the U.S. policy actually has been on the religious persecution in Sudan, as opposed to terrorism where we know that there has been investigation and action.

Some of our Commission members that are Presidential appointments did not get appointed until very late and we had to get special legislation to enable us to spend money, so we really didn't get off the ground until late summer or September. So that is something that we are going to look into.

Mr. SMITH. Let me ask one question about North Korea which, based on all of the available information that I have seen, should have been on the list because of its very extreme and repressive policies with regard to religion and every other human rights abuse under the sun. Yet the report cites a lack of information or a lack of the capability to report as one reason why it didn't make the list, which obviously would lead a country to be less open and more closed in order to avoid any kind of penalty pursuant to this law, if they were so inclined.

Is there not room for presumption based on best available information to put a country, a rogue nation like North Korea on the list and not somehow give them a false sense of being excluded?

Ms. SHEA. Yes, I think there is. It is the most Stalinist state in the world. That is why you can't get in there and do an investigation. There are some refugee reports of Christians and other religious believers being punished to the third generation in prison. In other words, if your grandmother was caught praying, the grandson is still in prison serving a term for that.

There is new evidence coming out. There is also the converse that there is a cult built around the leader, and that there is a coerced religion really. People are forced to worship the Korean leader. So I think that is another argument you can make that it is—there is no religious freedom. However, we don't have any relations with Korea or trade relations with Korea now, so you can argue that all the tools are being used in that situation.

But I think—I always believe in highlighting. I think the reporting itself is important, of exposing the human rights violations. No government likes to be accused of the most draconian human rights violations, and for that purpose alone I think it is worth it.

Mr. SMITH. Yes. Dr. Marshall.

Mr. MARSHALL. Just to add to that, Mr. Chairman, the report is correct, but it is very hard to check and authenticate anything about North Korea. However, all the evidence there is, including particular testimony from people going over into China, is that it is highly repressive. I mean, it describes some of those things. There are no reports or indications which would give a contrary picture. So the weight of whatever evidence we have says this is perhaps one of the worst situations in the world. The report should certainly have mentioned that. I was stunned when I read that, just almost an empty space in the report.

Mr. RICKARD. I will just add, I agree with what my colleagues have said. I do think it is a dangerous precedent to say, well, we can't do this because there is a lack of reporting. Amnesty is about to launch an international campaign on human rights violations in Saudi Arabia, and it is another country where it is just very hard to get information. This is the same sources, human refugees, you do the best you can.

But my personal view is, personally, I think it is reasonable to have presumptions in situations where there is a certain amount of evidence that points in one direction. It depends upon what you are looking at specifically, but there is no entitlement to some of the items that are listed in the legislation.

Mr. SMITH. I will like to recognize the Chief Counsel and Staff Director, Joseph Rees.

Mr. REES. I have a couple of questions for Father Le, following up on some questions that the Chairman asked to Ambassador Seiple. But I would like to note, on this question of North Korea, that there is a presumption in the American legal system and civil cases and in every other legal system I know about that once an issue is before the court, if one side has destroyed or hidden the evidence, you resolve solve that issue against that side.

Father Le, could you just state briefly. Is your organization, the Association for Religious Freedom in Vietnam, an inter-faith organization with Buddhists and Catholics and Protestants and Hoa Haos and others?

Rev. LE. Thank you for your question. The people sitting behind me are from the different faiths including Buddhists and Hoa Hao and Catholic as well, because our group is a combination of different communities, different religions in Vietnam, because we have the same—the same fate. We have religious persecution, so we unite ourselves, and we call ourselves Committee for Religious

Freedom for Vietnam, and we combine all different communities and different religions.

Mr. REES. Are you active and in current touch with your coreligionists in Vietnam so that you have sources of information not just about what happened before you left the country but what is happening today?

Rev. LE. Yes, I do. Because we are concerned very much about our situation in North Vietnam. I, myself, as a witness of the Vietnamese people itself, I have maintained contacts all the time with my people inside the country.

Mr. REES. So you still do keep that contact?

Rev. LE. Yes, I do.

Mr. REES. I heard Ambassador Seiple testified that during his recent visit to Vietnam the people with whom he was able to meet in different religious groups, all of them—Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists—everybody said that things had gotten better in the last 5 years. What is your assessment of that view?

Rev. LE. Yes, this is very good indication for me to make clear about the situation of the religious situation in Vietnam. We have two kinds of looks. The first one is appearance. We do emphasize that from the outside the situation looks OK. On Sundays and at festivals, the government allows people to come to church as well, but in the reality, the churches have no right, no right to do their own business. Everything they do they have to get permission from the government.

Second, is the government tries to create a church within a church, during a wedge into the community to divide them so as to control them.

Mr. REES. You did testify about that, Father?

Rev. LE. Yes.

Mr. REES. Let me just ask one more question. The report, and our annual country report on human rights practices, talks about organizational strictures on the Catholic church. It talks about the issue of appointment of bishops, question of seminarians, church property. It does not talk about any doctrinal constraints.

Now during a staff delegation to Vietnam, we were told by Catholics there that in fact there are also serious doctrinal constraints. The example that was given was that if a priest tried to preach from the pulpit that abortion was a sin that he would be denied the right to preach from then on. He would probably be put into internal exile, because that would be perceived an antigovernment statement, even though he was only making a moral statement of Catholic doctrine.

Is that correct? Or would he be allowed to do that as long as he was organizationally regular, as far as the state is concerned?

Rev. LE. That is correct. Because all in the sermons of the preachers who have been—belonged to the ideology of the government; because all church assemblies have to be submitted to be checked by the government. This means you have to preach everything according to the will of the government only. That is what the situation is in Vietnam.

Mr. REES. Do sermons have to be submitted in advance to the government, approved in advance?

Rev. LE. Approved in advance, yes.

Mr. REES. This is recently true? You have spoken with people in the country and that is still true today?

Rev. LE. Sometimes. In different areas. Sometimes this one—this one area is OK and another area is completely different. But the real situation is that the Communist government tries to control all the activities of—all the religions, not only Catholics but all religions as well.

Mr. REES. I want to recommend that you give that information and any other information you have to Ambassador Seiple's office, because I have seen a disconnect between some of the information that the State Department has and some of the things that people tell us about Vietnam.

Rev. LE. I will, because our main concern is very much so; so we will try to give updated information about the situation of the church in Vietnam. We will. Thank you.

Mr. REES. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Unfortunately, we have a vote on the House floor that I am going to have to rush off to. It is a very significant vote on the health care reform.

But I do have a whole series of questions I did want to pose, but time does not permit. I would like to get to all of you some of the questions that would be pertinent to some of your testimony today and where I think you might provide some insight to the Subcommittee.

Again, I want to thank you for your excellent testimony, for the good work that you do, your front-line leadership as human rights activists. For that, the world owes you a debt of gratitude. We certainly respect your opinion and your insights and your courage. And I want to thank you all for your testimony.

The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

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**A P P E N D I X**

**OCTOBER 6, 1999**

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**Statement of Representative Christopher H. Smith  
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Operations  
and Human Rights  
*October 6, 1999***

Today's hearing is the latest in a series of Subcommittee hearings focusing on religious persecution around the world. Over the last five years we have heard from numerous government officials, experts, eyewitnesses, and victims at a dozen hearings focusing on various aspects of the problem including worldwide anti-Semitism, the persecution of Christians around the world, the 1995 massacre of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica, the enslavement of black Christians in Sudan, and the use of torture against religious believers and other prisoners of conscience.

Last year this Subcommittee marked up H.R. 2415, Congressman Frank Wolf's landmark legislation on the problem of international religious persecution. In November, an amended version of the Wolf bill was enacted into law as the International Religious Freedom Act of 1999. Among the most important provisions of that Act were an Annual Report on International Religious Freedom, a Special Ambassador for Religious Freedom, and an independent bipartisan Commission on International Religious Freedom. Today we will hear testimony on the first annual report provided to Congress pursuant to the Religious Freedom Act, and among our witnesses are Ambassador Robert Seiple and Religious Freedom Commissioner Nina Shea, whose offices were created by the Act. So today's hearing is living proof that the United States has taken some important steps toward helping millions of people around the world who are persecuted simply because they are people of faith.

Unfortunately, we still have a long way to go. The first Annual Report exhibits some of the strengths but also some of the weaknesses of the State Department's annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, which address a broader range of human rights violations. As we learn year after year in our hearings on the Country Reports, the production of an honest and effective report on human rights violations entails a series of struggles. First, it is necessary to get as many of the facts as possible, and to get them right. Then it is important to state the facts clearly and honestly --- it is important to avoid sensationalism, but it is at least as important to avoid hiding the facts behind exculpatory introductions or obfuscatory conclusions. Finally, and most difficult of all, it is necessary to

translate a clear understanding of the facts about religious persecution into a coherent policy for ending it.

In general, I believe the first Annual Report on International Religious Freedom succeeds in getting the facts right. There are some important omissions --- such as the Indonesia report's failure to examine the evidence that anti-Catholicism has played an important role in the repression of the people of East Timor by elements of the Indonesia military. But I am impressed with the extent to which the report states hard facts even about governments with which the United States enjoys friendly relations. For instance, the reports on France, Austria, and Belgium detail the recent official harassment and/or discrimination by the governments of these countries against certain minority religions, such as Jehovah's Witnesses and some Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations. Even more impressive is the first sentence of the report on Saudi Arabia. It is a simple declarative sentence: "Freedom of Religion does not exist."

Unfortunately, in some places the report could not seem to resist trying to mitigate the unpleasant appearance of the hard facts by surrounding them with weasel words. In several reports on Communist countries, the government's failure to enforce anti-religion laws uniformly --- which is typically due to inefficiency, favoritism, or corruption --- is reported in words that suggest the possibility of secret First Amendment sympathies on the part of the local or central governments. We are told, for instance, that the Cuban government's efforts to control religion "do not affect all denominations at all times." The report on Laos even makes the remarkable assertion that the central government "was unable to control" harsh measures taken against Christians by local and provincial authorities, although these measures were fully consistent with Communist Party doctrine and previous actions by the central government. Ambassador Seiple, in calling attention to these transparent attempts to sugar-coat the facts with meaningless and/or misleading editorial comment, I do not want to detract from the good work your office and the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor have done on this report. On the contrary, these nonsequiturs and disconnects are strong evidence that there was a struggle within the Administration between human rights workers who tried to tell it exactly like it is and some of our embassies or regional bureaus who were carrying water for their odious clients. In general, the good guys appear to have won.



Despite these important victories that have led to this strong, honest, and thorough report, I am deeply concerned that it might not result in the necessary changes in United States policy. This is particularly sad because the International Religious Freedom Act provided an important mechanism for bringing about such changes. Specifically, the law provides that on or before September 1 of each year --- the same day the annual report is due --- the President shall review the status of religious freedom in each foreign country to determine which governments have "engaged in or tolerated particularly severe violations of religious freedom" during the preceding 12 months. These countries are to be designated as "countries of particular concern for religious freedom," and the President then must either impose diplomatic, political, or economic sanction against the governments of these countries or issuing a waiver of such action. This year, however, the President did not designate any countries of particular concern until late last night --- about five weeks beyond the statutory deadline. Ambassador Seiple, I want to congratulate you for prying that list loose from wherever it was in the federal bureaucracy in time for today's hearing. Unfortunately, however, the list designates only five countries, along with two de facto authorities that are not recognized by the United States as national governments.

In choosing these seven regimes --- Burma, China, Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Serbia, and the Taliban --- the President made only the easy choices. Six of them are pariah regimes, already under severe sanctions for reasons other than religious persecution. The seventh, China, must have generated a warm debate within the Administration --- not because the evidence is unclear about the atrocities the Chinese government commits every day against Roman Catholics, house church Protestants, Uighur Muslims, Tibetan Buddhists, and other believers, but because a designation of China as a country of particular concern might be "bad for the relationship."

Ambassador Seiple, I am glad the forces of light prevailed when it came to designating China. But where is Viet Nam, which brutally suppresses Buddhists, Protestants, and others who will not join "official" churches run by the government itself, and which attempts to control the Catholic Church through a "Catholic Patriotic Association" modeled closely after the Chinese institution of the same name? Where is North Korea, whose government imprisons evangelists and then treats them as insane? Where are Laos and Cuba, which engage in similar brutal practices, and where is Saudi Arabia, in which --- and, again, I quote --- "freedom

of religion does not exist"? Does the Administration really believe these governments have not "engaged in or tolerated particularly severe violations of religious freedom"? Or were the President and his advisors more worried about "injuring the relationship" --- or interfering with ongoing efforts to improve the relationship --- than with giving the honest assessment required by the plain language of the statute?

Mr. Ambassador, as you know, the Executive Summary of the Report contains a description of "U.S. Actions to Promote Religious Freedom Abroad." Among other things, it states that "[t]he most productive work often is done behind the scenes . . . It happens when an ambassador, after discussing with a senior official his country's important strategic relationship with the United States, raises that 'one more thing' -- access to the imprisoned mufti, or information on the missionary who has disappeared."

Unfortunately, this description tends to confirm rather than dispel some of the most frequent criticisms of this Administration's treatment of religious liberty issues in its conduct of United States foreign policy: First, that the Administration is squeamish about holding governments publicly accountable for their repression; second, that the Administration focuses on specific high-profile cases rather than pressing for systemic improvements; and, third, that the Administration too often treats religious liberty as "one more thing," an addendum to other policy discussions, rather than "mainstreaming" it into larger deliberations concerning economic, trade, aid, and security policies --- those things that might provide concrete incentives for repressive regimes to change their actions.

Mr. Ambassador, we need to convince repressive governments that religious freedom is not just "one more thing." Totalitarian regimes often come down harder on religious believers than on anyone else. This is because nothing threatens such regimes more than faith. In the modern world --- in which the rhetoric of cultural relativism and moral equivalence is so often used to make the difference between totalitarianism and freedom seem like just a matter of opinion --- the strongest foundation for the absolute and indivisible nature of human rights is the belief that these rights are not bestowed by governments or international organizations, but by God. And people who are secure in their relationship with God do not intimidate easily.

So we must remind ourselves, and then we must remind our government, that human rights policy is not just a subset of trade policy, and refugee protection is not just an inconvenient branch of immigration policy. On the contrary, these policies are about recognizing that good and evil really exist in the world. They are also about recognizing that we are all brothers and sisters. Mr. Ambassador, this Report is a good first step toward restoring these human rights policies to the place they deserve as a top priority in American foreign policy. I look forward to hearing your testimony, as well as that of Commissioner Shea and our other distinguished witnesses, on what further steps the United States must take.

**The Honorable Dan Burton  
International Religious Freedom Hearing 10/6/99  
Ambassador Robert Seiple**

Mr. Chairman, the Committee for Coordination on Disappearances in Punjab recently issued a new report on enforced disappearances, arbitrary executions, and secret cremations of Sikhs in Punjab. It documents the names and addresses of 838 victims of this tyrannical policy. The report is both shocking and distressing.

The Committee is an umbrella organization of 18 human rights organizations under the leadership of a Hindu human rights activist. The report discusses "illegal abductions and secret cremations of dead bodies." In fact, the Indian Supreme Court has itself described this policy as "worse than a genocide!"

The report includes direct testimony from members of the victims' families, other witnesses, and details of these brutal cases. The human rights community has stated that over 50,000 Sikhs have "disappeared" at the hands of the Indian government in the early nineties. How can any country, especially one that claims to be the "world's largest democracy," get away with so many killings, abductions and other atrocities? Will the Indian government prosecute the officials of its security forces who are responsible for these acts? Will the Indian government compensate the victims and their families? I think not.

Ambassador Seiple (pronounced CY-POLE), I want to thank you for the reception you have given my staff and other organizations that may have submitted various reports and information for your review.

I am encouraged by some of the findings in your report that focuses the attention in India on Christian persecution. And I also want to point out to Ambassador Seiple and my colleagues that, last week, Human Rights Watch issued a 37-page report that details violence against Christians in India that include the killings of priests, the raping of nuns, and the physical destruction of Christian institutions, schools and churches.

But, I want to remind everyone that there is persecution in India of all religions!! So I hope that you will take a hard look at this report from the Committee for Coordination on Disappearances in Punjab, and I look forward to working with you in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I would like unanimous consent to submit the names of these 838 Sikh victims that are included in this document.

**QUESTIONS:**

1. Ambassador Seiple, the Freedom from Religious Persecution Act, which created your office, encouraged the use of sanctions as an instrument of U.S. policy when dealing with countries that you determine restrict religious freedom. Would you anticipate that sanctions will be under consideration this year or will you give these countries a pass?
2. When you make a determination on a country that is restricting religious freedom, how do you plan to communicate this to Congress, or the American people?

TESTIMONY OF  
THE HONORABLE ROBERT A. SIPLE  
AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE  
FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

AT A HEARING ENTITLED  
THE FIRST ANNUAL DEPARTMENT OF STATE REPORT ON  
INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
OF THE  
HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 6, 1999

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, it is a pleasure to be here today to testify about the Department of State's first Annual Report on International Religious Freedom. I consider it an honor to appear before you, knowing as I do the key role played by you and the Committee in promoting religious freedom and in creating the International Religious Freedom Act.

*The Nature of the Problem.*

We share a common vision--a simple, but profound vision. It is to help people who suffer because of their religious faith. Such people live literally around the globe, and they number in the millions. They live in fear, afraid to speak of what they believe. They worship "underground" in 21<sup>st</sup> century catacombs, lest authorities discover and punish their devotion to an authority beyond the state. They languish in prisons, and suffer torture, simply because they love God in their own way.

They are children, stolen from their parents, sold into slavery and forced to convert to another religion. They are Christian mothers, searching for their missing sons. They are Buddhist monks in "reeducation camps," Jews imprisoned on trumped-up charges of "espionage," Muslims butchered for being the wrong kinds of Muslims. They hail from every region and race, and their blood cries out to us. Not for vengeance, but for help, and for redress.

Nor should we speak of human suffering merely in terms of numbers. Suffering has a face. You will forgive me if I repeat a story I have told elsewhere. In my office there is a lovely watercolor painting of a house and garden. The painted scene is one of peace, which reflects the forgiveness in the artist's heart. But that painting has its origins

in hatred. The artist is a young Lebanese woman named Mary, who at the age of 18 was fleeing her village after it was overrun by militia. Mary was caught by a militiaman who demanded with his gun that she renounce her faith or die.

She refused to renounce her faith, and the bullet severed her spinal cord. Today Mary paints her paintings of forgiveness with a paintbrush braced in her right hand. She represents both the painful consequences of religious persecution, and the best fruits of religion. Mary is filled with physical suffering, yet she forgives. In so doing, she points the way to an enduring answer to religious persecution, and that is, of course, reconciliation. In order to have forgiveness and reconciliation, we must elevate the notion of universal human dignity – the idea that every human being has an inherent and inviolable worth. Lest we forget the face of suffering, or of forgiveness, I have dedicated the first annual report on International Religious Freedom to Mary.

*The Value of the Hearing.*

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, you are to be commended for your work on this issue and for calling this hearing. Together with the International Religious Freedom Act and our new Report on International Religious Freedom, this hearing will sharpen the focus for those of us who may be in a position to help, while at the same time it will provide hope to believers in every place where hope is in short supply, and where each day brings fear of more persecution.

This hearing also provides an opportunity for me to highlight some of our efforts to encourage greater respect for freedom of religion abroad. We are all aware that religious liberty is the "first freedom" of our own Bill of Rights, and is cherished by

many Americans as the most precious of those rights granted by God and to be protected by governments. This Congress was wise in recognizing that freedom of religion, and—in a religious context—freedom of conscience, expression, and association, are also among the founding principles of international human rights covenants. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, as well as other human rights instruments, grant citizens of the world the right to freedom of religion. As a consequence, when we go to officials of foreign governments to urge them to protect religious freedom, we are not asking them to “do it our way.” We are asking them to live up to the commitments they have made—both to their own people, and to the world.

*The IRF Report.*

Mr. Chairman and Members, as you well know, on October 27<sup>th</sup> of last year, President Clinton signed into law the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998. Section 102 of that bill calls for the submission to Congress of an Annual Report on International Religious Freedom to supplement the *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* by providing additional detailed information with respect to matters involving international religious freedom.

With every passing year, the *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* earn increasing praise from human rights activists, academics and the public at large for fairness, consistency and thoroughness of reporting. We have made this progress because we are constantly looking for ways to improve reporting. A section on religious freedom has always been a feature of the Country Reports, and it will continue to be.



On September 9 we submitted to Congress a separate 1100-page report on International Religious Freedom. The report covers 194 countries, and focuses exclusively on the status of religious freedom in each. I would like publicly to thank the hundreds of Foreign Service Officers worldwide who helped research, draft, corroborate, and edit this new report. They all deserve praise for their work, which was both timely and professional. I want to extend a special thanks to officers in the Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, in particular the staff of the Office of Country Reports and Asylum Affairs. These dedicated officers worked overtime, literally and figuratively, in order to meet the deadline, and to produce the best possible product. Finally, I wish to thank my own staff in the Office of International Religious Freedom, not only for their hard work, but for their love of their work. They are proud to say, as you do in the International Religious Freedom Act, that the United States "stands with the persecuted."

The report applies to all religions and beliefs. It targets no particular country or region, and seeks to promote no religion over another. It does, however, recognize the intrinsic value of religion, even as it acknowledges that religious freedom includes the right not to believe or to practice. Integrity has been our goal as we sought to ascertain and report the status of religious freedom in all countries around the globe.

The report includes an Introduction, an Executive Summary, and a separate section on each of the 194 countries. The Introduction lays the philosophical groundwork for promoting religious freedom. While noting that there is more than one understanding of the source of human dignity, it also acknowledges a religious understanding of that source--namely, the idea that every human being possesses an intrinsic and inviolable

worth that has a divine origin, and is part of the natural order of things. So understood, religious freedom can provide support for all other human rights: when the dignity of the human person is destroyed, it is not simply a practical rule that is being violated, but the nature of the world itself. Mr. Chairman, I'm sure you'll agree that if the idea of human dignity is viewed merely as a utilitarian matter--solely the product of legislation or treaties--it becomes perishable. Any national or international standard that reflects only the norms of a given culture or historical period can be abolished for the convenience of the powerful.

Drawing from the individual reports, the Executive Summary provides a brief description of barriers to religious freedom in some 35 countries, grouped around five themes, ranging from discrimination to harsh persecution. As required by the Act, the Executive Summary includes, but is not limited to, those countries that may be designated "countries of particular concern."

Each of the 194 country reports begins with a statement about applicable laws, and outlines whether the country recognizes and/or requires registration of religious groups. It then provides a demographic overview of the population by religious affiliation, outlines problems encountered by various religious groups, describes societal attitudes, and finishes with an overview of U.S. policies.

The drafting process was similar to that used in preparing the Human Rights Reports. Our Embassies prepared initial drafts, having gathered information from a wide range of sources including religious leaders and groups, government officials, jurists, military sources, journalists, human rights monitors, and academics. Next, the texts were sent to Washington for review. Here our staff worked with regional bureaus in the State

Department to analyze, corroborate and edit the reports, drawing on our own sources of information. We worked diligently to include as much factual information as possible, relying not only on our own sources, but also on material from experts in academia, non-governmental organizations and the media. Again, just as with the Human Rights Reports, our guiding principle was to ensure that all relevant information was assessed as objectively, thoroughly, and fairly as possible. We hope that Congress finds the report to be an objective and comprehensive resource.

*Countries of Particular Concern.*

The International Religious Freedom act also requires that the President, or, in this case his designee, the Secretary of State, review the status of religious freedom throughout the world in order to determine which countries should be designated as countries of particular concern. As the Chairman and Committee members know, we have delayed the designations in order to give the Secretary ample time to consider all the relevant data, as well as my own recommendations. She has been reading relevant parts of the Report itself, which was completed on September 8. Designations must be based on those reports, as well as on the *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* and all other information available to us.

I am pleased to tell you that the Secretary has completed her review. We will shortly send to the Congress an official letter of notification, in which we will detail the Secretary's decisions with respect to any additional actions to be taken. While I am not prepared today to discuss those actions, I do wish to announce the countries that the Secretary intends to designate under the Act as "countries of particular concern." They

are Burma, China, Iran, Iraq and Sudan. The Secretary also intends to identify the Taliban in Afghanistan, which we do not recognize as a government, and Serbia, which is not a country, as particularly severe violators of religious freedom. I will be happy to take your questions about the restrictions on the exercise of religious freedom in all of these areas.

I would also note that there are many other countries that our report discusses where religious freedoms appear to be suppressed. In some instances, like Saudi Arabia, those countries are beginning to take steps to address the problem. In some countries, such as North Korea, religious freedoms may be suppressed, but we lack the data to make an informed assessment. We will continue to look at these cases and collect information so that, if a country merits being designated under the Act, we will designate it.

#### *U.S. Efforts*

Secretary Albright has said that "our commitment to religious liberty is even more than the expression of American ideals. It is a fundamental source of our strength in the world." The President, the Secretary of State, and many senior U.S. officials have addressed the issue of religious freedom in venues throughout the world. As has been reported on Capitol Hill already, Secretary Albright some time ago issued formal instructions to all U.S. diplomatic posts to give more attention to religious freedom both in reporting and in advocacy.

During the period covered by this report—all of 1998 and the first 6 months of 1999—the U.S. engaged in a variety of efforts to promote the right of religious freedom and to oppose violations of that right. As prescribed in the International Religious

Freedom Act, the Executive Summary describes U.S. actions actively to promote religious freedom. Drawing on the individual reports, it describes certain activities by U.S. Ambassadors, other embassy officials, and other high level U.S. officials—including the President, the Secretary and Members of Congress--as well as the activities of my own office.

Before I focus on specific countries, let me note that our staff has visited some 15 countries in the last several months, including China, Egypt, Vietnam, Uzbekistan, Serbia, Russia, Indonesia, Laos, Kazakhstan, Israel, Saudi Arabia, France, Germany, Austria and Belgium. We have met with hundreds of government officials, NGOs, human rights groups, religious organizations and journalists both here and abroad. I am delighted to report to you that our office has become a clearing house for people with information about religious persecution and discrimination, and for the persecuted themselves. By fax, telephone, email, and direct visits they tell us their stories. And we listen, record, and, when appropriate, we act. At the very least, we believe we have created a process by which their stories can be verified and integrated into our Annual report. And, with persistence and faith, perhaps our efforts will lead to a reduction in persecution and an increase in religious freedom.

Mr. Chairman, because our time is limited, I would like to highlight U.S. efforts in three countries where Congress has shown particular interest, and in which we have expended considerable diplomatic effort. I am, of course, willing to discuss with you any country about which you have concerns, but I believe these three offer a good window on some of the challenges and opportunities we are facing. They are China, Uzbekistan and Russia. In China, our collective efforts on behalf of persecuted minorities--and I include

Members of Congress in that "collective--have been persistent and intense, but have unfortunately had little effect on the behavior of the Chinese government. In Uzbekistan, our efforts have met with some success, although it is certainly too soon to discern any long-term or systemic change for the better. In Russia, our interventions with the Russian Government have apparently blunted the effects of a bad religion law. I cite these examples, Mr. Chairman, because I think they provide a fair indication of the problem of religious persecution, how we are trying to deal with it on a day to day basis, how progress must be measured slowly and painfully, if at all--and, quite frankly, how far we have to go, even in those countries where we have seen progress.

In China, religious practice is much more widespread than it was thirty years ago, but serious and significant problems remain. Millions more people are openly engaged in religious activities today than during the years of the Cultural Revolution, when virtually all religious belief and practice was banned--and quite effectively so. Today, millions of religious adherents in many parts of China--including Buddhists and Muslims, as well as Catholics and Protestants belonging to the "official" Chinese Christian churches--worship with little governmental interference.

Yet China's Christians are "free" to worship only if they accept government-imposed registration requirements and limits. For Protestants and Catholics, this means, for example, that they are discouraged from preaching the second coming of Christ, and that their clergy are in part trained and monitored by the government. For Catholics it means they may not accept the authority of the Pope and the Magisterium in matters of faith and morals, a fundamental tenet of Roman Catholicism. Those Christians who do not accept such limits—they reportedly number in the tens of millions, and are called

"underground" Christians—are at risk of detention and arrest; some have even been physically abused and tortured.

Tibetan Buddhists are "free" to practice their religion only within government-imposed boundaries. They cannot openly display images of Tibetan Buddhism's highest spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns are subject to "patriotic reeducation" by Chinese Communist authorities. Like underground Chinese Protestants and Catholics, Tibetan Buddhists are subject to arbitrary detention, arrest, and even torture.

When we receive reports of such problems, our policy is to respond. We gather information, both at the Embassy and consulates, and here in the Department. Once we are able to confirm a detention or disappearance of a cleric or a group of worshippers, for example, we press the Chinese authorities and other sources to determine their whereabouts, welfare and status under the law.

When underground Catholic Bishop Su Zhimin of Hebei province disappeared, the Embassy immediately began efforts to ascertain his status and whereabouts, requesting information from Chinese officials in Beijing and Hebei province. Chinese officials claimed that the Bishop was free but rejected embassy requests to see him. Since his disappearance, there have been conflicting reports about Bishop Su's whereabouts and condition, but the Embassy has continued its efforts to determine his status. His case also was raised during the President's state visit to China in July 1998 and by the Secretary of State in her meetings with senior Chinese officials, as well as by Assistant Secretary Harold Hongju Koh and myself during the official human rights dialogues held in January 1999.

We will not forget Bishop Su, nor any of the other religious figures to whom outside observers have been denied any access. The names are familiar to China watchers: Pastor Xu Yongze; Gendun Choekyi Nyima, the boy recognized by the Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama; Abbot Chadrel Rinpoche; the Tibetan monks and nuns reported to have been beaten in prison; Pastor Li Dexian. More recently, we have noted the reported arrests of some 40 underground Protestant leaders in Henan province.

In Uzbekistan, the Government's record on respect for religious freedom has long been a source of concern. Arbitrary arrests and abuse are pervasive, and judicial proceedings are often mere rubber stamps. The pattern of harassment and detention of members of unregistered Muslim groups is alarming. Recent closed trials that fail to meet standards of basic due process have attempted to discredit members of unregistered religious groups as dangerous extremists or criminals. Defendants have been convicted of criminal offenses, reportedly based on forced confessions and planted evidence.

And yet, we have noted positive changes in recent months. Last month a few Christians were released from prison, and we have received reports that large numbers of Muslim prisoners may have been released. In addition, the government has modified and expedited the registration process for minority religious groups. We believe registration is unnecessary, and too easily abused, but we applaud what appears to be an opening up of the process to groups which had been refused registration. The government has also agreed to review its law on religion.

Members of both the Executive and Legislative Branches have joined with the U.S. Embassy in pressing our concerns with the Government of Uzbekistan. Assistant Secretary Koh discussed arrests in the Ferghana Valley with the Uzbek Foreign Minister



at the U.S.-Uzbek Joint Commission in 1998. The Ambassador at Large for the NIS discussed the religion law and issues of religious freedom with the President and Foreign Minister in November 1998. The Deputy Special Adviser to the Secretary of State for the NIS met with the Foreign Minister in February 1999 to discuss religious detainees and religious freedom. This spring, I traveled to Uzbekistan and reemphasized to senior Uzbek officials the importance of concrete action, a message I repeated to the Uzbek Ambassador here in Washington. We are also aware of the extraordinary efforts of many members of Congress, from both Houses, who have delivered a strong message to the Government of Uzbekistan.

Our Embassy has also been active, persistent and effective. Embassy officials have made frequent demarches on particular cases of disappearances, the treatment of Muslims, religious detainees, and registration procedures for religious groups. Ambassador Joseph Pressel has discussed with the Foreign Minister the disappearance of Imam Abidkhon Nazarov, as well as other religious detainees and prisoners.

In short, the U.S. Government has pressed the Uzbek government at virtually every level to take concrete actions in reducing the incidence of religious persecution in that country, and in making the kinds of structural changes that could lead to a longer-term improvement in religious freedom. We believe we are seeing a positive response from the government, and we will continue to press for more systemic changes.

Finally, let me make brief mention of Russia, where so many of you and other members of Congress have been active on behalf of religious freedom. In Russia, as the Chairman and Members know, the 1997 law on religion had the potential for creating a serious downturn in what had been an upward trend for religious freedom in post-Soviet

Russia. While there remain significant problems with that law, and the potential for abuse is still there, we have not seen our worst fears confirmed. We believe this is true because the central government of Russia has acted to blunt the potential effects of the law.

We also believe that the persistent efforts of the United States at all levels, including Members of Congress, the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, senior officials, and in particular the good work of Ambassador James Collins and his Embassy staff have all contributed to a restrained implementation of the 1997 law on the part of central authorities. Nevertheless, we remain of the opinion that the very existence of the law's graded approach to registration creates the opportunity for abuse, which we have seen happen in many regions, and we will continue working with the Russians toward a more reasonable approach. We have also been concerned about the Government of Russia's failure to act quickly and decisively against anti-Semitic actions, including statements by Duma members. We await arrests to be made for the synagogue bombings that have taken place over the past year.

Let me close, Mr. Chairman, by thanking you for your leadership in the promotion of international religious freedom, and the entire Committee for its willingness to hold this hearing. As I said at the outset, we share a common vision. It is of a world in which people of all religions are free from persecution. To create such a world, we seek to change the behavior of those regimes which engage in or tolerate abuses of religious freedom, and to signal persecutors and persecuted alike that they will not be forgotten.

But, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, there is a profoundly important point that I believe is sometimes missed in our discussions of religious freedom--a point I briefly made earlier, and one with which I am certain you will agree. Let me return to it in closing. To protect freedom of religion is not simply to shield religious belief and worship. It is that, but it is more. When we defend religious freedom, we defend *every* human being who is viewed as an object or a product to be used or eliminated according to the purposes of those with power. I believe that to guard religious freedom is to lift high the noblest of ideas--indeed, the idea that is the seedbed of our own democracy. It is a religious understanding of human dignity--the conviction that every person, of whatever social, economic, religious or political status, of whatever race, creed or location, is endowed by God with a value which does not rise or fall with income or productivity, with status or position, with power or weakness.

So, Mr. Chairman, let us together renew our determination to combat religious persecution and to promote religious freedom. By so doing, we hold out hope for those who live in fear because of what they believe and how they worship. By so doing, we give pause to those who contemplate tormenting others because of their religious beliefs. And, by so doing, we strengthen the very heart of human rights.

## ***U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom***

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Robert Seiple  
Ambassador-at-Large for  
International Religious  
Freedom

### **TESTIMONY ON THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT ANNUAL REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR 1999**

### **PRESENTED BY NINA SHEA, COMMISSIONER U.S. COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

### **BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

**October 6, 1999**

On behalf of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, I wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, for holding these critically important hearings today. Mr. Chairman, your stalwart support over many years for religious freedom throughout the world and your championing the International Religious Freedom Act itself is to be heartily commended. Continued attention on the part of the Congress to this most fundamental issue is in our judgement essential to mobilizing the appropriate foreign policy tools to deal with religious persecution abroad.

I am appearing here as the representative of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom of which I am one of ten Commissioners. Our Chair Rabbi David Saperstein and Vice Chair Michael Young are both on travel today at conferences dealing with issues relating to religious liberty. Ambassador Robert Seiple, who is a witness for the State Department at today's hearings, is also on our Commission as an *ex officio* member. As you know, the Commission was established under the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, which also mandated the State Department report that we are discussing today. The Commission is

charged with advising the President and Congress on strengthening religious freedom and combating religious persecution worldwide. It is part of the Commission's mandate to evaluate the decisions of the Administration whether to designate a country for particular concern and recommend effective responses where appropriate. In a few weeks we will be holding our own set of hearings on the State Department report.

Last month, the Commission welcomed the release of the State Department's first Annual Report on International Religious Freedom. Over one thousand pages in length, it reflects a monumental effort on the part of Ambassador Robert Seiple and his Office on International Religious Freedom at the Department of State. We appreciate that producing this report may have been a cultural wrench for the State Department and foreign service officers who are accustomed to dealing mostly with human rights reports on political persecution and political prisoners.

Of course it is always possible in this type of exercise to critique specific country reports, but as the first attempt by the State Department to describe the status of religious freedom worldwide in one compilation it is a step in the right direction. We again express our appreciation to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Ambassador Seiple for their diligence in producing the report.

What is most extraordinary, Mr. Chairman, however is the priority listing of countries of particular concern or "cpc's" that the State Department released at today's hearing. The report itself contains an overwhelming and unselective compilation of facts and information without reaching definitive conclusions, or conveying a sense of priority. In a report of this magnitude and type, prioritizing American concerns becomes essential. Not to do so is to lose sight of severe persecutors in a welter of detail. Congress wisely understood this danger and foresaw the need to give real focus and priority through "cpc" designations.

The Commission is especially pleased that the governments of China and Sudan are on State's brief cpc listing and will receive

religious freedom for all peoples and may be prepared to act accordingly in its foreign policy.

If this listing is meant for something more than a one-day commentary, however, the United States must take appropriate follow-up action and apply pressure against the cpc's from its range of foreign policy tools. Two steps in particular should occur:

First, the Administration should exhibit leadership in making Sudan the pariah state with the same concerted moral and political action that succeeded in making a pariah out of the apartheid government of South Africa. Today's financial pages are reporting about the enormous amounts of international investments going into Sudan from companies such as the Canadian Talisman Energy, Inc. and China National Petroleum. According to the Speaker of Sudan's Parliament, Hassan Turabi, the revenues from these oil investments will be used to shore up Sudan's military arsenal in its genocidal war.

Second, the Administration must demonstrate that the United States will not build its relations with China on sand and that America understands that appeasement of a government that persecutes as many as one hundred million believers is neither consistent with our values or our tradition, nor will it serve our long-term interests. History has demonstrated that American interests are best served by relations predicated on the defense of principles that are shared by civilized nations around the world.

Mr. Chairman, the Commission believes that the Administration has made a great forward stride in producing the report, and most importantly in prioritizing American concerns. We look forward to working with the Administration and Congress over the next critical three months when policies are to be developed regarding China, Sudan and the other cpc's. It is critical, now this process has begun, that there be appropriate follow-through in terms of policy action. In China, Sudan, and the other "countries of particular concern" the lives of millions of religious believers are quite literally at stake.

appropriate focus and the concerted attention of the U.S. State Department, Congress and our Commission, as well as others in the non-governmental sector, by virtue of this designation. It is this cpc designation that triggers under the Act a Presidential announcement within 90 days of what policies the Administration will adopt to improve religious freedom in the countries in question.

China and Sudan are the two countries that the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom has decided so far to review during its first year of work as countries with "severe and ongoing problems of religious persecution." China has the world's largest number of religious prisoners, while Sudan's government is waging the largest genocidal war in the world today, replete with slavery, scorched-earth bombings and calculated starvation, against its religious minorities in the south and central part of the country.

Arguments can be made that many other countries should be included on today's list. Mr. Chairman, I believe that the issuance of this highly-selective cpc list that includes China, the world's largest religious persecutor, and Sudan, the world's most hideous persecutor, will send the strongest possible signal both to officials here and to governments throughout the world of a renewed recognition of the salience of religious freedom to American foreign policy.

I believe there is no better way to help the persecuted religious believers in Vietnam, Pakistan, Egypt, North Korea, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere than to see China and Sudan become first cases on a short-list of countries where the U.S. is prepared to spend political capital to end the scourge of religious genocide and persecution. Targeting a powerful nation like China and a rogue state like Sudan in a foreign policy priority listing signals that business may not be conducted as usual -- that the United States may be adopting a zero tolerance policy for hard-core religious persecutors. This possibility of a change in movement in foreign policy will be the best assurance to persecuted peoples everywhere. We have observed that foreign governments are keenly aware of the report and, as of this morning, are on notice that America has a deep abiding concern for

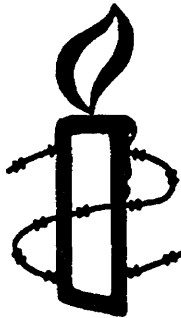
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# Amnesty International Testimony

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## STATE DEPARTMENT ANNUAL REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Before the Subcommittee on International Operations  
and Human Rights



Presented by

Stephen Rickard  
Director, DC Legislative Office  
Amnesty International USA

October 6, 1999

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Mr. Chairman, it is an honor to be invited to testify before you today on the first annual Department of State report on international religious freedom. Few people do more – day in and day out – to raise important human rights issues and to help human rights victims than you, Mr. Chairman, along with other members of this Committee and your incredibly dedicated staff.

I'm also pleased to be invited to testify on the same panel with Paul Marshal and Nina Shea, two people who have done so much to raise the profile of this issue and who have done and continue to do so much important work in this area. Winston Churchill reportedly said of Clement Attlee that he was "a modest man ... who had much to be modest about." Today I feel very much like Clement Attlee, testifying on the same panel with Nina and Paul and before you, Mr. Chairman.

Among many other things, I am grateful to all of you for several selfish reasons. The first is that you, and others, like Frank Wolf, have reached a large and important audience and helped mobilize them to protest human rights violations. It is an audience that, for whatever reasons, others were not always able to reach and mobilize. Four years ago Amnesty International ran a worldwide campaign on the terrible human rights crisis in Sudan. The 300,000 Amnesty members in the US and the 1.1 million members worldwide who sat at kitchen tables, in church basements and in high school classrooms writing letters to the State Department and the government in Khartoum are grateful – even thrilled – that literally millions of people are now aware of and working to stop the merciless killing going on there.

I am also grateful for the work you have done to build bridges among people working on human rights issues. Not everyone has taken this approach. In particular, there have been some who have publicly charged that, for instance, the outstanding human rights champions at Human Rights Watch do not care about religious persecution. For those who actually know the facts about the dedicated, passionate work of my colleagues at Human Rights Watch this charge is incomprehensible. All day, every day they work to save lives, including the lives of people all over the world suffering from religious persecution. These attacks have been unfair, unhelpful and, most important of all, they've been untrue. They ought to stop. In that context, I think that Paul's approach to this issue in *Their Blood Cries Out* was particularly thoughtful and helpful. While he praises our work, he also had strong suggestions about how Amnesty, Human Rights Watch and Freedom House, among others, can do a better job. I thought that many of his points were well taken, but even the ones I disagreed with were thoughtful and presented with great respect for the difficulties and challenges of this work.

I do not want to duplicate the testimony that Nina and Paul will offer as true experts who have specialized in this field. Both of them, I know, have extensive firsthand experience and have traveled to many of the countries we will be discussing to speak with victims there. Instead, I would like to offer some comments about US policy,

the process of issuing and using the report and then look at a limited number of the reports, including, particularly, those reports where, for various reasons, the temptation to color the truth might have been greatest. My remarks are in no manner intended to be a comprehensive survey.

Mr. Chairman, Amnesty International was founded in 1961 when a single individual named Peter Benenson read about a human rights violation in the newspaper and was so angered by it that he decided to act. His call for an "Amnesty" for prisoners of conscience struck a chord, and within 12 months there were 70 Amnesty International groups in Europe. Just a small group of people with a crazy idea – that individuals speaking out for other individuals could make a difference. This is Amnesty International's first every "Annual Report". It states that the organization's original purpose was to defend individuals who were imprisoned for exercising their rights under Articles 18 and 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As you well know, Mr. Chairman, Article 18 states:

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Pursuant to this founding purpose, the very first conference organized by any Amnesty section was a Conference on Religious Persecution held in Paris in 1961. More than a third of the original Amnesty Board of Trustees were clergymen, and the first investigating mission ever undertaken by Sean MacBride, in the first year of Amnesty's existence, was to Czechoslovakia to document and protest the imprisonment of Archbishop Beran and that he also gathered information "about the conditions of other religious prisoners."

By the late 1970's, Amnesty had become a well-established and won the Nobel Peace prize. And its members were still working on religious persecution. In fact, one of my favorite Amnesty stories involves an Amnesty group in Chicago which found a Russian interpreter and sweet-talked their way through a series of Russian switchboard operators until they were actually on the line with the commandant of the Soviet labor camp which held the Pentecostal prisoner whose case they were tracking. I can hardly imagine the reaction of this Soviet official hearing that a group of people in Chicago, US of A, were watching what he was doing, were concerned about this prisoner they had never met and would be following his health and treatment closely. As I said, the issue of religious persecution is close to our hearts, and we are grateful to those who have done so much in the past several years to raise the profile of the issue.

Mr. Chairman, one of the shortest and most powerful credos ever uttered was offered by the Apostle James when we wrote: "As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead." Faith without works is dead. It is a powerful challenge to any person of conviction, no matter what their particular religion or beliefs.

So it is with any human rights report, whether issued by the Department of State or Amnesty International. Reports without action are dead. So, I agree with Nina Shea's view that the publication of this report is a "milestone", we also agree that the true test will come in the months to come when the Administration fulfills its obligation under other sections of the legislation which mandated the report, to come forward with a concrete plan of action to address the human rights violations which it documents.

As I have commented repeatedly in the past, we are grateful for the outstanding people in the State Department and elsewhere in the Administration, many of whom work tirelessly to help human rights victims. It was my privilege to work with many of them for two years, and it was one of the most solemn responsibilities of my life to represent the United States people at the funeral of one of them, Gary Durrell, who, along with another American employee was murdered in Karachi when gunmen attacked a US consulate shuttle bus. To say that people in the State Department don't care about human rights or aren't doing anything about religious persecution is indefensible. To say that as a nation we are not doing enough, or that much more needs to be done, however, is indisputable. That is an important distinction to keep in mind.

But the efforts of those in the State Department who truly care about human rights, including Secretary Albright, have been undermined and they continue to be undermined by the perception that at critical moments the US commitment to human rights takes a backseat to other goals, like fighting drugs or terrorism, or promoting trade or "stability". There is, as I have said before, a view that human rights remains in far too many ways an island off the mainland of American foreign policy. The report is very impressive. Much more impressive will be a comprehensive and forceful plan to address the violations which it documents.

I also want to say a few words about the role of the Congress. It was the Congress which mandated the creation of the human rights bureau at the State Department. Congress mandated the annual human rights report. Congress raised the profile of religious persecution and mandated the report we are discussing today. In so many ways, Congress has led the way within the US government on human rights.

But Congress has also backed away from taking some important actions which, you, Mr. Chairman, and other human rights champions in the Congress fought for. Amnesty International takes no position for or against economic sanctions. But no matter what your opinion on sanctions, one cannot help but think that the failed effort to impose import sanctions on Sudan because certain US companies have a financial stake in a fruit juice additive imported from there did much to undermine the message Congress wanted to send to the government of Sudan about religious persecution. I, for one, believe that the American people would be willing to pay a few pennies more, or be willing to shake up their orange juice bottles before they drank them, if it meant helping people who are being tortured, enslaved, starved and murdered by the hundreds of thousands, and even millions, in Sudan.

Likewise, Amnesty believed that one of the most important parts of the original Wolf-Specter legislation, which I praised when I testified about it, was the positive steps it took toward undoing the deeply retrograde changes which have been made in recent years in US policy on political asylum. Mr. Chairman, I applaud you for having led this fight, even if it was a losing one. For all those people concerned about religious persecution in the world and want to know what they can do to help, well, charity begins at home. Write, call or better yet visit your representatives in Congress and tell them that you believe that Americans want the US to be a welcoming haven for those fleeing all forms of persecution in the world. We simply have to get the word out to the American people that Christians fleeing persecution in Sudan, women facing forced abortions in China, victims of every kind from around the world now must run a gauntlet of obstacles before the lucky few obtain safe haven in the United States. I simply do not believe that the millions of Americans who have come to care passionately about religious persecution in the world would tolerate this situation if they understood it.

Finally, it is the fundamental constitutional responsibility of the Congress to determine how to spend our tax dollars and, again, poll after poll shows that the American people are willing to spend much more on helping other people abroad and on international relations than the Congress is appropriating. We all want the State Department to do more for human rights victims. Then we need to give our diplomats the resources to do so. Again, Mr. Chairman, you and this committee have been at the forefront of working to increase funding for human rights activities at the Department of State and deserve tremendous credit for that important effort. It is disappointing that the Department has resisted your proposal to increase human rights funding, especially given the miniscule amount of the total State Department budget which goes to the human rights bureau. Even with the severe reductions in foreign affairs funding which have occurred in recent years, these priorities are out of order and can and should be changed regardless of what happens to the overall State Department budget.

Speaking solely for myself, however, and not for Amnesty, I do sympathize with the very strong objections which Secretary Albright has raised to the dramatic reductions being considered for overall foreign affairs funding, including foreign aid. When I was thinking about this issue, I was reminded of the passage in Exodus in which Pharaoh responded to the appeals of Moses and Aaron by telling his taskmasters: "You shall no longer give the people straw to make bricks... let them go and gather straw for themselves." If the Department of State wants a strong and effective human rights bureau, it must give the bureau straw to make bricks. And if we want US diplomats to build an international human rights policy on a solid foundation and to have the tools to influence the behavior of other governments and to support freedom abroad, then we as a nation must provide the straw to make the bricks with which to build that foundation.

Mr. Chairman, I do have one very specific recommendation which would involve a joint effort by the Congress and the Clinton Administration. It is our strong recommendation that a joint effort be undertaken to significantly strengthen the ability of the United States to control the flow of potentially repressive commercial exports, such as electric shock weapons, from the United States. I know that this is a subject that you, Mr.

Chairman, have taken an interest in. The fact is, that, notwithstanding the efforts of the Executive branch, equipment which can be used to commit human rights violations has been exported and continues to be exported from the United States, including to countries which violate religious freedom, like Saudi Arabia. The Clinton Administration has repeatedly expressed its strong commitment to preventing such exports and has, I believe, recently written to you, Mr. Chairman, stating that, at least in some respects, its hands are tied by existing legislation. Amnesty believes that it would be extremely helpful to work together to provide the State and Commerce Departments with the authority, resources and mandate to control potentially repressive exports with at least the same rigor that we approach the export of dual-use nuclear and chemical equipment.

Turning to the report itself, let me say, overall, that our initial review of the contents is quite positive. We have some disagreements, not all of them minor, but, overall it would be wrong not to commend the Department, Ambassador Seiple and Assistant Secretary Koh for this important and useful document.

Obviously we have not had the opportunity to review all of the report or to consult with our colleagues in London about every aspect of it, and, as I said, I do not want to duplicate the testimony of my other panelists. So I thought that I might examine just a few of the specific reports, with particular emphasis on countries where one might presume that there was some temptation to soften the blow: US allies, countries in which the US has important trading interests and other traditionally "sensitive" countries. I have not selected countries because they are necessarily the worst violators of religious freedom as I might have if this was a hearing on the topic of religious freedom in general, rather than a hearing on the State Department's report. However, I am more than happy to answer questions, to the best of my ability, about any country and I look forward to the question period, as well as to hearing from the other distinguished panelists on these issues.

Saudi Arabia. One can hardly imagine a more forthright opening sentence than: "Freedom of religion does not exist." The State Department states this forcefully in its own voice. What follows is also detailed and helpful. However, we do agree with some who have observed that this particular report still fails to convey a genuine sense of the degree of harassment and intrusion which is visited upon those who do not subscribe to the established religion. While factually correct, there are sections which we find unnecessarily ambiguous. For instance, the report should say, as Amnesty does, "Christian meetings to worship are often the target of arrest, detention, torture and ill-treatment at the hands of Saudi Arabia's security and religious authorities." Instead it reads, "Proselytizing... is illegal... One Dutch and 14 Filipino Christian activists... were arrested in June 1998 for actively engaging in efforts to proselytize citizens." The wording used in the Department's report may be taken to simply imply that Saudi authorities restrict religious activities, but that if one simply "follows the rules" everything is fine. We think stronger language - matching the opening sentence - would be more appropriate.

Israel. The Israel report unflinchingly addresses the issue of the marked disparity between government support for Israeli Arabs and others in terms of quality of education, housing and employment opportunities as Jews. One omission in the report is Israel's discrimination in the area of conscientious objection to military service, where Israel often jails citizens after cursory trials. Israeli law contains a limited recognition of women's right to refuse military service on grounds of conscience, but it generally does not confer this right on men. Israel also discriminates unfairly in military service between people who hold different beliefs. For instance, Jewish orthodox women can receive an exemption from military service while others cannot.

Caspian Sea Region. One trend in the reports which is perhaps understandable, considering the scope of the issues it seeks to address, is the comparative scarcity of information on the situations in countries off the beaten path. In the past month alone since this report was released, alarming violations have continued. In Turkmenistan, according to the Keston News Service, two Hare Krishna devotees "disappeared" after the National Security Committee took them away in a car on Sept. 5. In Azerbaijan, according to the Keston News Service, two Baptist Church leaders were detained for fifteen days and were released on Sept. 22 after a raid on their church, and were charged with resisting arrest. In Armenia, at least nine Jehovah's Witnesses continue to languish in prison as conscientious objectors, and Armenia has failed to develop alternative service law for them.

Germany. The report on Germany goes into great detail about the problems of the Church of Scientology. We appreciate the willingness of the Administration to provide forthright criticism of this NATO ally.

Russia. Overall, the report on Russia is extremely detailed and helpful.

Turkey. Turkey continues to struggle with religious freedom. For example, the police used water canons to forcefully break-up a group of female university students wearing headscarves last spring. We think that the report on Turkey is quite good in chronicling these issues, and we wish to take this opportunity to commend Assistant Secretary Harold Koh for the outstanding contribution to human rights that he made in his recent trip to Turkey. Here our concern is not with the facts, but with policy. Both the Administration and the Congress need to have one policy on Turkey, a policy where human rights is not the only issue, but it is a central issue which is consistently advanced by both the Department of State and the Department of Defense. We cannot look the other way when major arms sales are on the horizon or decide that we'll return to our human rights demarches somewhere down the road.

Viet Nam. Because the Administration has worked so hard to upgrade US diplomatic relations with Viet Nam and because there are significant commercial interests at stake, this is another country where there might be a temptation to shade the facts. While the report is good in covering many of the most important facts, and we applaud Ambassador Seiple for his visit there and his consultations with the NGO community before his departure, there are some omissions from the report which would

have helped the reader appreciate the degree of antipathy to religion and religious institutions and to international criticism on this issue. First, the report does not state that all religious organizations are required to be affiliated with the Communist Party-run Fatherland Front, and important restriction. Second, the report mentions but does not provide details concerning the severe reaction to the UN Special Rapporteurs report. The report does note – and this is welcome – that the Administration responded to the government's criticisms, but more information about the government's bitter denunciations would have been very helpful.

China. The China report, like the Saudi Arabia report, is in most ways an extremely comprehensive and useful report. Again, however, we share the concern that some have expressed that the totality of the report does not convey the full degree of harassment and government antipathy to any independent religious activity, of the government's close association of religious activities in Tibet and Xinjiang with political opposition. For instance, we do not feel that the claim that Tibetan religious ceremonies are permitted so long as they do not support independence fully captures the actual degree of demonstrated hostility to any religious activities.

Overall, as I stated, we commend the Administration's effort on this report. We think that in most instances it passes the basic litmus tests for candor and meets Assistant Secretary Koh's promise to "tell it like it is". There are areas where it can go even further in helping to convey a more accurate picture of the total situation, but there is no doubt that many countries will be deeply angered by the report nor that this did not prevent the Administration from meeting the objectives set for them by Congress in most instances. We look forward to working with the Administration on future reports, for which this report has established an impressive beginning benchmark.

Mr. Chairman, tyrants fear religions and people of faith. They fear anyone who is willing to assert allegiance to a higher, non-secular authority. They fear those who organize themselves and congregate and who may have others outside of the national territory who care about and for them. It is one of the astonishing, miraculous facts of human nature that human beings are willing to suffer and even die for their religious beliefs. We owe it to our own commitment to religious freedom and to those individuals to stand with them and work to protect them.

Thank you very much for permitting me to testify. I look forward to answering your questions.

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## TESTIMONY ON THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT ANNUAL REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR 1999

PRESENTED BY PAUL MARSHALL, SENIOR FELLOW,  
CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, FREEDOM HOUSE

BEFORE THE  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS  
AND HUMAN RIGHTS

October 6, 1999

I believe that after Boswell and Dr. Johnson had been invitees to see a dancing dog, Boswell remarked that the dog did not dance very well. Dr. Johnson replied "the wonder is not that it is done well, it is that it is done at all." So too with the State Department's First Annual Report on International Religious Freedom. The mere fact that this report has been prepared is itself an important step and shows that the growing awareness of the vital importance of religious freedom and religious persecution around the world is bearing fruit. Since members of this committee have played an important role in the movement to make us aware of these events, you deserve our commendations.

Furthermore, in fact the report, unlike the dog's dancing, is done very well. Currently I am a General Editor of a World Survey of Religious Freedom for the Center for Religious Freedom at Freedom House, and am collating research from a group of some 60 writers and reviewers. Consequently I am in a position to crosscheck much information in the Report. In my view the Report is in general very good, and it is often a mine of information. It also has (rare for government documents) an eloquent and powerful introduction. Consequently I would like to commend and thank the State Department and particularly the people who worked on the Report. In addition, the list of Countries of Particular Concern singles out some of the worst persecutors, including two on which we do much work - China and Sudan.

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The Report does however have some problems, and in my testimony I would like to address three of these. First there are, what I think are occasional errors, such as can and do occur in almost every large work. I will note two of these but not dwell on them.

- In Nepal, three people are reported as injured in a demonstration by Christians protesting a ban on a Good Friday service in a public park. Other reliable sources say that 20 people were hospitalized.
- In Mauritania, the report says, "the few Christian citizens practice their religion openly and freely." Reports that Freedom House has from in country describe Christian nationals as hiding their religion for fear of repression.

Secondly, in several instances it downplays the severity or significance of restrictions on religious freedom, perhaps in deference to the governments concerned. This appears in reports on Egypt, China, and Saudi Arabia.

- The Report says that the Coptic Orthodox Church was established in the fifth century, when in fact the church has been a major center of Christianity since the first century. Similarly Egyptian textbooks omit the first five centuries of Coptic history. The Report also merely notes "discrepancies in official and unofficial accounts" of the torture and abuse of over 1,000 Copts in El-Khoshsh. Finally it credits Egypt for improvements in permits for church construction and repair. But some of the construction permits were for churches already built - some in the fourth century.
- While the China section contains numerous details of persecution, it eschews the conclusion that China persecutes believers, stating the weaker conclusion that it "restricts" some religious believers (although the executive summary uses the term "persecution"). It even avoids making conclusions as to whether the highest ranking member of the Roman Catholic Church in China, Bishop James Su Zhimin, is in detention, stating only that his whereabouts "remain unclear," though Catholics from his diocese state he was arrested two years ago. The report flags the early release from re-education camp of 78 year-old Bishop Zeng Jingmu when in fact, as the report states itself, he was simply transferred to house arrest and is thus still prevented from carrying out his episcopal duties.
- In Saudi Arabia the report is misleading in making the positive assertion that "non-Muslims are required to worship privately in Saudi Arabia." Public worship by Christians, Jews and other non-Muslims is in principle a capital offense and the *muttawa* religious police have been known to enter private homes searching for evidence of private worship by non-Muslims. In recent years, non-Muslims have been flogged, imprisoned and reportedly killed for private worship. As the Report says, the Saudis are easing up but the Report is too positive.

Thirdly, and I think most importantly, the Report sometimes gives a truncated view of religion. This is not a mere definitional quibble of interest only to academics: it is central to the proper implementation of the entire International Religious Freedom Act. The focus

of the Act is not human rights violations against "religious" people. After all, since most people in the world claim some form of religious identity, the most human rights violations of any kind are against religious believers. Rather the Act is concerned not with all forms of restrictions or persecution of religious people, but with persecution where the focus or the grounds are themselves in part religious -- where a person's or community's religion is a component of the persecution or discrimination they suffer. (Therefore it would not address genocide in Rwanda - even though most of those killed had a religious identity - since their death was related to their being Tutsis.) Hence a truncated view of religion would lead inevitably to a truncated implementation of the Act.

The Report is aware of the difficulties of defining the role of religion and uses the example of Kosovo to illustrate it. To quote the relevant section at some length ("Introduction" pp. 3-4)

One of the difficulties in writing about violations of religious freedom is identifying and assigning significance to the religious element of a predominantly ethnic, or "identity" conflict. In Kosovo, for example, Serb atrocities were visited predominantly on Kosovar Albanian Muslims. The key question for this report is the extent to which the religion of the victims played a part in Serb behavior. If religion were a significant factor, then the Milosevic regime is responsible for a particular virulent form of religious persecution -- alongside its other crimes against humanity-- involving prolonged arbitrary detention, torture, mass executions, mass deportations, and rape. By the same token, if religion were not a factor, or constituted an insignificant factor, then religious persecution should not be added to the bill of particulars against the regime.

This is an issue on which people of good will hold strongly differing views. In the Kosovo case, many would argue that the predominant causes of the Serb campaign were political (Milosevic's usual tactic of initiating conflict as a means of retaining power), nationalist (the drive to retain a province central to Serbian identity and power) and ethnic (a determination to cleanse the nation of a non-Serb, unassimilated ethnic minority--the Kosovar Albanians). This view would hold that religion played an insignificant role in to conflict. It would note that Serb forces targeted Kosovar Albanians of every religion, including the 15 percent of Kosovar Albanians who are Christians (Orthodox and Catholic), and not simply Muslims. It would note that Muslims who are not Albanian (Slavs, Roma, and Turks) were not targeted. Some would add that religion does not play a significant role in the culture and identity of Kosovar Albanians.

By contrast, others argue that the ethnicity of the Kosovar Albanians is inextricably bound to their Muslim heritage, both in their own minds, and more importantly, in the minds of their Serb tormentors. According to this view, any historical explanation of the 1999 Serb campaign that omitted religion as a significant factor would be inaccurate and misleading. This

argument would assert that Serbs view Kosovo as the cradle of Orthodoxy; neither the methodical nature of their effort to drive Kosovar Albanians from Kosovo nor its ferocity can be understood without reference to the religion of the Serbs and the religion of most Kosovar Albanians. It would assert that the importance of religion in the Milosevic campaign was apparent in the destruction of mosques, and has been manifest in attacks on churches and Orthodox sites by Kosovar Albanian Muslims who have returned to their homes in the wake of the NATO campaign.

Serbia is not the only case in which religion is difficult to quantify as a factor in human rights violations. In many countries where there is violent persecution against a religious minority, there are also nonreligious factors at work--the ethnicity and separatist policies of the minority, for example. In Sudan Christians are being persecuted by an Arab regime that is Muslim. In China Tibetan Buddhists who are associated with separatism are being persecuted by an atheist government. In this first annual report to the Congress, we have attempted to assess and describe the nature and extent of violations of religious freedom in each country report and to highlight some of them in the Executive Summary. In cases of persecution where religion is but one explanatory factor among many, we generally have noted that the persecution occurred in part on basis of religion. Such wording reflects a judgement that the factor of religion is distinctive enough to warrant its inclusion in the report.

Clearly people of good will can have differing views on such things but we must realize it is true that the pervasiveness and importance of religion. This is especially true since many in the west unfortunately mistake the separation of church and state for the separation of religion from community life, and then project this on to societies where religious influences are pervasive.

Hence as Edward Luttwak has pointed out: "policy makers, diplomats, journalists, and scholars who are ready to over interpret economic causality, who are apt to dissect social differentiations ever more finely and who will minutely categorize political affiliations, are still in the habit of disregarding the role of religion...in explaining politics and even in reporting their concrete modalities." One consequence is that religion is also ignored even in day to day description, often by redefining it as that nebulous term "ethnic." When, in 1997 Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed railed against speculators, especially George Soros, with the claim, "We are Muslims and the Jews are not happy to see the Muslims progress," the *Los Angeles Times* described him as "race-obsessed." Perhaps the *Times* took its cue from media descriptions of Bosnia. In that tortured land, the war raging between the Orthodox, Catholics, and Muslims was usually referred to as "ethnic," and attacks on Bosnian Muslims referred to as "ethnic cleansing." There are many other such examples of media misunderstanding. The *Economist* headlined a 1997 story about attacks on 25 churches and a temple in eastern Java that were prompted by a Muslim heresy trial as "Race Riots." A 1998 *New York Times* editorial on rampant violence in Indonesia cited "tensions between Indonesia's Muslim majority and Chinese minority" as if there were no

Chinese Muslims and no non-Muslims except for the Chinese. Given these misperceptions, it is vitally important that we do not also minimize the nature and influence of religion.

The Report occasionally does this, however, and, often explicitly, describes various events, actions and beliefs as "political" or "cultural" or "economic" rather than "religious," as if these were always distinct categories. But many things are "political" and "religious": Europe and Latin America have lots of Christian Democratic Parties, China is officially atheist, and Iran is officially Islamic. Or "cultural" and "religious": Tibetan culture and religion are interwoven, as are Mexican or Indian. Or "economic" and "religious": The Sudanese government's self-proclaimed *jihād* strives for control over oil fields and hydroelectric power stations; in Chiapas, Mexico, Protestants are persecuted by local caciques because they refuse to pay extortionate prices for goods to be used in religious ceremonies which they reject. In fact, outside of radical Islamicist settings, it is relatively rare for religion separate from any other factor to be grounds for persecution: and it is usually not only an additional factor but is also intimately interwoven with other factors. Since religion refers to our ultimate beliefs it is only to be expected that it is deeply connected to every other area of human life: a fact emphasized by nearly every religion in the world.

The Report's tendency to minimize religion creates problems with its coverage of Sudan. The Sudan report does a very good job of detailing religious persecution in the areas under the direct control of the Khartoum regime and it describes the practice of slavery. However the conduct of the war itself - with a death toll higher than that of Rwanda, Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya, Algeria and all the Arab-Israeli war combined, with up to 5 million displaced people, and widespread massacre, rape, torture and forced starvation - is absent from the report. The reason is, we must assume, that the war itself is not understood as "religious." Consequently, what I would regard, in term of size and intensity, as perhaps the world's worst situation of religious oppression is absent from the Report.

This is akin to disregarding race in describing South Africa's military actions and repression of the opponents of apartheid. After all, there were blacks allied with the government, and whites fighting for the ANC. Nelson Mandela was not imprisoned for his race but for terrorism. The government would have imprisoned anyone of any race who it believed to be a terrorist, and it would have imprisoned anyone for terrorism for a reason unconnected to apartheid. The South African troops in Namibia and Angola were not fighting on direct racial grounds. Would we say then that the South African conflict was political not racial, economic not racial, cultural not racial? Of course not, because we are well aware that it was the policy of apartheid and the exclusion of non-whites from the political process that drove the government's opponents, black and white, to take the steps they did. Racism lay behind all government policies so that acts which were not separately racist were undertaken to defend a system which was.

A similar pattern holds for Sudan. The Khartoum government is described in the Report as "an Arab regime that is Muslim" when in fact it is, legally and in self-description, a Muslim regime. The ruling party is the National Islamic Front. The regime has repeatedly described the war as a *jihād* and a religious duty, has publicly declared its goal to forcibly

Islamicize Sudan, and has declared *shari'a* the law of the whole country. While there are of course many factors in this, as in every war, and while the regime also persecutes those Muslims (the majority) who oppose its views, southern leaders have stressed repeatedly, including here in Washington 3 weeks ago, that the government's refusal to change its stand on *shari'a* and Islamicization is a major barrier to peace. In this situation, religious persecution marks and shapes the whole conduct of the war just as South Africa's racism pervaded its entire repression and military action in Namibia and Mozambique.

In contrast to its treatment of Sudan, the Report correctly and fully outlines Saddam Hussein's vicious persecution of Shiite Muslims and of Assyrian and Chaldean Christians. However the grounds for calling these issues of religious freedom or religious persecution are less than they are in the Sudanese war. Clearly Saddam will, without discrimination, kill anyone of any or no religion whom he perceives as a political threat. Religion *per se* is not a motive or independent factor for him. Yet the Report is correct to detail his depravities, for their result is a monumental denial of religious freedom. However, the State Department should have addressed Saddam's ally, Sudan, with the same insight.

Some other examples:

- In Indonesia, conflict between Christians and Muslims, claiming hundreds, perhaps thousands of lives, is related to immigration which has disturbed the "ethnic balance" of the area. But it is the change in the religious balance which has precipitated the conflict.
- In Nigeria, the report describes 31 followers of Shiite leader Ibrahim El-Zakzaky as having been detained for "political" not "religious beliefs." Since for El-Zakzaky there "is no government but Islam" here the distinction of "political" and "religious" does not make much sense.
- In Taiwan, in reference to Jehovah's Witness conscientious objectors who have been imprisoned for refusing military service the Report says there "is no indication [they] have been singled out for their beliefs." But their religious beliefs in this instance are precisely that they must not do military service.
- In Sudan, Faki Koko (an "apostate" from Islam) is described as "the only person known to be imprisoned on formal religious grounds." What are "formal religious grounds?"
- In Bhutan, the opening paragraph reads "The law provides for religious freedom and the government generally respects their right in practice; however, the Drukpa sect ..... is the state religion and the law prohibits religious conversions. Citizens of other faiths may not proselytize." For this paragraph to make sense then changing one's religion or talking to someone about it must not be regarded as elements of religious freedom.
- In Bhutan, the expulsion of Hindu/ethnic Nepalese is described as "political," "economic," and "cultural" rather than "religious." However it is also noted that the Hinduism of ethnic Nepalese is one way of identifying them. What is to be gained by

this apparent divorce of religion from everything else in life? Surely it is clear that here "religion" permeates "politics," "economics," and "culture."

- With Burma, government policy is initially weakly described as imposing "some restrictions on certain religious minorities." Then follows a full, detailed, exact, precise and well nigh comprehensive outline of the repression visited on Burmese - Buddhists, Christians, Muslims, and others. This catalogue of horrors cannot be captured by the words "some restrictions."
- In India the current system is described as "as much a cultural and social phenomenon as a religious one" - but all religious phenomenon are also always cultural and nearly always social.

Finally, yesterday the government designated as Countries and Areas of Particular Concern: China, Sudan, Burma, Iran, Iraq, Serbia, and Afghanistan. I concur with these judgements. However, I would question the exclusion of Saudi Arabia, North Korea, Vietnam, and Pakistan. Saudi Arabia is not included as it is taking steps to improve the situation. North Korea is not included because of lack of information. However, while steps are being taken in Saudi Arabia, it still remains among the worst violators and, while we are ignorant of much about North Korea, almost everything we do know would place it among the worst violators of religious freedom and, indeed, of ever other human right. If China is included, why not Vietnam, which is similar in its repression? And Pakistan is regressing into a repression of dissenting religious views which may be worse than China's.

Politically it is wise to have a concentrated focus and I welcome it, especially the willingness to include China. But it does not necessarily reflect the worst situations.

In closing let me reiterate that my focus on problems should not overshadow the fact that this welcome report is very good indeed. We must now ensure that our actions are as full as our analyses. As President Clinton said to religious leaders two weeks ago, "the cause of religious freedom at home and around to world ... will continue to be something the United States will have to work and work and work on."

**CONGRESSIONAL HEARING ON  
THE FIRST ANNUAL STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT  
ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

**HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

OCTOBER 6, 1999

STATEMENT OF  
REV. NGUYEN HUU LE  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



**COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN VIETNAM (CRFV)  
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Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the Subcommittee,

I would like to thank you for the opportunity to testify not only on behalf of the Committee for Religious Freedom in Vietnam but, more important, also for the victims of religious persecution who have absolutely no voice and who continue to suffer tremendously in Vietnam.

Our committee applauds the publication of the Annual Report on International Religious Freedom in compliance with Public Law No. 105-292. It is one positive step in the right direction. We are however troubled by its lack of depth, its omissions of critical facts, and the inaccuracy of some information contained in the section on Vietnam. The following evaluation of the report is based on information that members of our Committee know first hand or on accounts obtained from reliable, well-placed sources inside the country.

First of all the report gives the false impression that religious repression in Vietnam does not stem from a sustained, consistent policy of the central government but arises from the arbitrary actions of local authorities. Vietnam's communist government is anti-religion by nature. Its communist doctrine views religions as enemies of the people. Its policy is to ruthlessly weed out all religious activities that it cannot control and exploit for its own ends.

Immediately after its takeover of South Vietnam in 1975, the communist government cracked down on the Protestant and the Catholic Churches, and outlawed the Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam (UBCV), the Hoa Hao Buddhist Church, and the Cao Dai Church. The government confiscated most church properties, including temples, cathedrals, schools, hospitals, libraries, orphanages... Hundreds of priests, nuns, and lay leaders were arrested, detained, tortured, humiliated, raped; many died in detention.

I myself spent 13 years in re-education camp, including 3 years in solitary confinement, for having defended religious freedom. In 1978 I was tortured, beaten, and left to die after a failed escape attempt from "re-education" camp. During those 13 years I witnessed the death of many religious and political prisoners.

While the government's treatment of religions appears to have improved in recent years, the reality behind this facade is as deplorable and as appalling as ever.

On April 17, 1997 Vietnam's Prime Minister issued Decree 31/CP on administrative detention, legalizing the arbitrary detention of suspects for up to two years without a charge. All religious leaders released as part of last year's general amnesty are currently held under administrative detention. The Most Ven. Thich Quang Do, Secretary General of UBCV, recently remarked that he had been released from one prison only to be placed in another prison: his own temple.

In order to wipe out all vestiges and influence of the independent Churches, the government replaces them with state-sanctioned organizations. The role of these organizations is to help the Government enforce its policies on religions. For example, the Committee of Hoa Hao



Buddhist Representatives formed in May of this year is headed by Muoi Ton, a communist cadre. This Committee has since banned the commemoration of the disappearance of the Church's founder, any reference to the Hoa Hao holy land, and the use of several standard Hoa Hao terminologies. In its section on Hoa Hao Buddhism, the Department of State made a mention to this Committee but fails to elaborate on these facts.

As for the Catholic Church, the government has deftly created "a Church within a Church" to "divide and conquer" the Catholic community. The role of the government-created Catholic Patriotic Association is to infiltrate the Catholic community, control Church activities, and keep tab on non-conformist priests. Priests who belong to this association are rewarded with privileges unavailable to their non-conformist brethren: opportunities to travel abroad, the right to collect donations, permission to renovate their churches. The *"wide latitude in practicing their faith, including some educational and humanitarian activities"* reported by the Department of State is accorded only to religious persons who work with or for the government.

The Government has set up and is perfecting a multiple-layer system to control all aspects of religious activities. The Government's Office of Religious Affairs makes and enforces policies at the national level. The activities of individuals are monitored at the local level by the public security police. The Committee on Religions, part of the Communist Party's Fatherland Front, controls the government-created religious organizations. The People's Committees, staffed with local communist party members and sympathizers, control the day-to-day activities of black-listed priests, lay leaders, and followers.

In recent months, the government has stepped up its rigorous effort to harass, intimidate, and persecute religious leaders, and to impose further restrictions on religious activities. On April 19 Prime Minister Phan Van Khai signed Decree 26/ND-CP ordering that *"Congresses and assemblies or religious organizations at the national level... shall obtain authorization of the Prime Minister,"* that *"the printing and publication of prayers, of books, of religious publications... is under the regulation of the State,"* that *"buildings, land and other properties passed on ... to the organs of the State... are now the property of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam."*

In May, members of the Committee on Religions and the security police interrupted the summer retreat of Buddhist monks in Saigon and threatened harsh punishments if the latter were found to support the banned UBCV. In August, Most Ven. Thich Quang, Ven. Thich Duc Nhuan and Ven. Thich Tue Si were taken into custody for questioning. On September 7, Ven. Thich Khong Tanh, released in 1998 after three years of imprisonment, was arrested the same day Secretary Albright arrived in Vietnam; after intense interrogation, he was told that the government had a pending order to re-arrest all UBCV leaders. Mr. Tran Quang Chau, a Cao Dai leader, has been held under house arrest after he co-signed an open letter asking the government to recognize independent Churches and to return all confiscated church properties. The Department of State's report does not reflect this reality in Vietnam.

While the report recognizes on-going acts of religious repression, it attributes them to the arbitrary, isolated attitude of certain local officials in certain remote areas. In reality, religious repression is a policy of the central government that is being carried out systematically throughout the country. In the major cities such as Saigon and Hanoi, this intensifying repression against religions is better camouflaged and therefore not as easily detectable. This may have contributed to the regrettable omissions and inaccuracies in the report.

We understand that the Bureau of International Religious Freedom will make recommendations to the President based on its findings. We would like to suggest the following.

1. The Department of State should work to facilitate the visit to Most Ven. Thich Huyen Quang, Supreme Patriarch of UBCV, by a delegation of American Buddhist leaders and medical doctors. The Most Ven. Huyen Quang, 81, has been detained for the past 22 years. His health is deteriorating due to old age and lack of medical care.
2. The U.S. consular offices in Vietnam should make every attempt to identify victims of religious persecution and process their applications for refugee status.
3. The U.S. should use all diplomatic and trade-related leverages to persuade Communist Vietnam to officially recognize the independent Churches, to allow them to freely conduct charity and humanitarian work, and to return confiscated properties to these Churches. With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit a partial list of confiscated church properties for inclusion in the congressional record of this hearing.

We hope that next year's report will include a detailed account of the progresses of these three efforts on the part of our government and will evaluate Vietnam's degree of cooperation with these efforts.

- Abdughupur Kadirhaji
- Uyghur American Association
- October 06, 1999
- House Committee on International Relations
- Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights

Dear Mr. Chairman, Members of Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen:

My name is Abdughupur Kadirhaji. I am a Uyghur Muslim from Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. I thank you for giving me this opportunity to testify before you on the religious persecution of the Uyghur people in China.

The Chinese government perceives religion as the number one threat to its existence in China, especially in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. The Chinese Communist Party sees religion as opium to drug the people.

(1) According to my wife, who worked in the Foreign Relations Office for the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Regional government, in 1996, the Chinese Social Science Academy and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Regional Social Science Academy conducted a joint-research project and published a book on the religious history of Xinjiang from 1949 to 1996. This research project was directly supported and funded by the Chinese central government. This book clearly explains that Islam and religious ideas are dangerous to the unity of nationalities in Xinjiang and to the unification of China, and the government should do whatever necessary to root out this religious threat. The book was distributed to high-level Chinese government officials. The name of this book is "Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism in Xinjiang". My wife has one copy of this book.

(2) Religious education is not allowed in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Communist party members, teachers, students, workers and any Uyghur who works for a state-owned enterprise are not allowed to go to mosques and religious schools. Those who disobey this rule will be fired from their jobs and will lose all the social benefits altogether. Many Uyghur students have been expelled from schools for going to mosques and worship.

Nevertheless, some Uyghur parents still send their children to Muslim countries to study Islam. In many cases, the Chinese government has successfully put diplomatic pressure on these Muslim country's governments to return the Uyghur students. In one case, a group of Uyghur students were returned from Pakistan to China. When they got to the Chinese border, the Chinese police immediately detained them. Some of the older Uyghur students protested but they were arrested and imprisoned. The others though were released but denied many social benefits, like public education and health care.

(3) In my hometown, one incident occurred where a man in his early thirties named Abdusalam returned from his Islamic study in Egypt. He went to a mosque and the government-trained communist imam was saying in his service that Allah says that if someone oppresses you, you should be patient and not fight back and that you should be obedient to your government and shouldn't complain. Abdusalam, having studied Islam in a predominantly Muslim country, challenged this and said that Allah said if someone hurts you, you should defend yourself. He was basically saying that what the imam was saying was not true according to the Quran.

Abdusalam was arrested and he was later sent to a hospital with serious injuries. We believed that he was tortured in prison by the Chinese guards. He was later reported dead. The Chinese police claimed that Abdusalam committed suicide by throwing himself out of a third floor window. However, the townspeople don't believe that he committed suicide because he was a very pious Muslim. In Islam, committing suicide is a great sin. A Muslim always has to be hopeful even in the worst situation. The parents obtained the body. His body was so mangled and so deformed that they found it hard to recognize their own son. The townspeople believed that he was tortured to death by the Chinese police.

Abdusalam had never been politically active. He had never participated in a demonstration. All he did was point out that the communist Chinese government propaganda that the imam was spreading to the Uyghurs in the mosque was wrong. All of this happened in a very short time.

(4) One of my relatives went to Pakistan. There he studied Islam with several renowned Islamic scholars in

Xinjiang. He had a reputation as a very knowledgeable man in Islamic theology. The Chinese government felt threatened by him and tried to corrupt him by giving him a religious title. He was appointed as the head of religious affairs in Ghulja City. By appointing him, the Chinese government attempted to involve him in spreading the Chinese communist propaganda instead of the Islamic truth. He defied them and visited all of the mosques in the city and told the imams that the mosque was not the place for the Chinese communist propaganda-only Quran and the traditions of the prophet Muhammad.

After several months, he went to Urumqi to bring his relatives' passports for visas to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Chinese government used this as an opportunity to arrest him. The Chinese police claimed that he was trying to escape China. But, he wasn't even bringing his own passport; he was bringing other relatives' passports. The Chinese police arrested him and he stayed in jail for nothing. They checked and he didn't have his own passport. Then, he was severely tortured by the Chinese prison guards. For fear of his death, the Chinese jailer took him to the military hospital. His whole body was swollen and bruised. He was then taken to a main hospital in China because he was in a critical condition.

(5) Under Chinese constitution, people have the right to religious freedom. But China is not ruled by law but by the documents of the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese government's religious policies are totally different from what is written in the law. The communist imams are government-trained and only serve the brutal, repressive communist regime. They worship the Chinese Communist Party instead of God. They put the Party above God. In their sermons, they only preach about obeying the Chinese government, having a good relationship with the Communist Chinese, unifying all nationalities and implementing the one-child policy. There are informants and spies disguised as pious Muslims inside many mosques to monitor what the Uyghur religious leaders and people do and say.

The Chinese government claims that it sends thousands of religious students abroad each year to study, but almost all the Uyghurs religious students from abroad have been arrested. The Chinese government claims that it supports Uyghurs going for pilgrimage to Mecca. But the Chinese government only supports and funds the informants and spies

in the pilgrimage group to monitor the Uyghurs words and actions throughout the entire journey.

In many cases, the Chinese government never approves those Uyghurs who want to conduct pilgrimage on their own. Early of this February, while I was in Beijing, more than 400 Uyghurs, who had legal passport, visa and round-trip tickets to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, were deported back to Xinjiang because they were not part of the state-approved pilgrimage delegation. Each year, the Chinese government only approves a very small number of chosen and well-checked loyal Uyghurs to go for the pilgrimage and excludes anyone it perceives as not loyal to the communist party. Besides, the Chinese government charges 25'000 yuan (roughly equals to \$3'000 US dollars), which is much higher than the private pilgrimage.

The most degrading and humiliating thing is, the Chinese government sends people to receive the Uyghurs back from pilgrimage and offer them alcohol to drink so as to desecrate their holy pilgrimage. Many people, for fear of their jobs and positions, have to drink without choice. Not only in times of pilgrimage does the Chinese government humiliate the Uyghur people but also in times of Ramadan, the holy month of fasting in Islam. During the month of Ramadan, the Chinese government often intentionally offers free food and alcohol in the form of banquets and feasts to the Uyghurs who fast for the sake of God. The government also offers bread and drinks to the Uyghur students in high schools, colleges and universities to make sure they are not fasting in the name of God.

Religious freedom, guaranteed in the Chinese constitution, is a sheer lie. It is aimed at deceiving the world that China respects the right to religious freedom, especially the right of minorities to choose and worship their own religion. On the contrary, the Chinese government often denies the legitimate rights of Uyghur people to worship and study Islam and force them to obey the government through communist Chinese propaganda. In China, religious freedom is only on the paper not in practice. There is not religious freedom in China under the atheistic communist Chinese government.

**APPENDIX G: SURVEY CHART****Alphabetical List of 838 Disappeared/Killed Persons**

Sl.No.	CC.No.	Name	Father Name	Vill. & P.O.
1	159	Ajit Singh	Boota Singh Jathedar	Bhakthana Boharwala PO. Bhakthana Tullian
2	203	Ajit Singh	Late S. Jata Singh	Bhajauli PO. Allapur
3	334	Ajit Singh	Balkar Singh	Kaplgari PO. Sosrao Kalan
4	344	Ajit Singh	Mangal Singh	Behla PO. Rataul
5	572	Ajit Singh	Narian Singh	Kairon
6	481	Ajmer Singh	Jagir Singh	Sihora
7	719	Ajmer Singh	Late S. Maghar Singh	Khanpur H.No. 1245
8	755	Ajmer Singh	Gurmukh Singh	Bhuchar Khurd PO Bhuchar Kalan
9	296	Amandeep Singh	Balraj Singh	Vill. Madhre PO. Udarwal
10	354	Amar Singh	Herchand Singh	Aloar Arakh PO. Bhawaniga
11	526	Amar Singh	Major Singh	Talwandi Dasundha Singh
12	053	Amarjit Singh	Inder Singh	Alal PO. Mulowal
13	058	Amarjit Singh	Hajura Singh	Dhūwan
14	063	Amarjit Singh	Gulzar Singh	Hans Kalan
15	076	Amarjit Singh	Tarlochan Singh	Kheri Salsatpur
16	119	Amarjit Singh	Dara Singh	Gagrewal
17	415	Amarjit Singh	Late S. Balarn Singh	Gauslan
18	426	Amarjit Singh	Late S. Sohan Singh (Subedar)	Kohala
19	485	Amarjit Singh	Gurbakhs Singh	Nooon PO. Ghanaali
20	537	Amarjit Singh	Late S. Harbans Singh	Kairon
21	618	Amarjit Singh	Late S. Gurnel Singh	Mehal Kalan
22	685	Amarjit Singh	Nachhater Singh	Landran
23	713	Amarjit Singh	Late S. Hardial Singh	Gagon PO. Bhaku Majra
24	810	Amarjit Singh	Dharam Singh	Varpal
25	495	Amarjit Singh Longia	Preetam Singh	Malakpur
26	145	Amarjit Singh Sandhu	Arjan Singh	Marari Khurd PO. Marari Kalan
27	038	Amrik Singh	Faqir Singh	Amargarh
28	179	Amrik Singh	Sewa Singh	Kauli
29	544	Amrik Singh	Mohinder Singh	Varpal
30	621	Amrik Singh	Bhan Singh	Ghanauri Kalan
31	808	Amrik Singh	Sulakhan Singh	Narii PO. Khaira
32	033	Amritpal Singh	Avtar Singh	Rajomajra
33	072	Angrej Singh	Gulzar Singh	Sanghna
34	121	Angrej Singh	Dara Singh	Gagrewal
35	654	Angrej Singh	Sewa Singh	Amritsar PO. Chire Wala Chowk

36	403	Arjan Singh	Ajaib Singh	Paracha
37	829	Arjan Singh	Boor Singh	Sohnera Kalan
38	543	Arur Singh	Late S. Bhamna Singh	Manochahal Kalan
39	680	Atam Parkash Singh	Mewa Singh	Manak Majra PO. Rangeel P
40	597	Atamjit Singh Mavi	Gurbachan Singh Mavi (Dr.)	9/19, PAU Ludhiana - 1410
41	573	Atma Singh	Naurang Singh	Mano Chahal Kalan
42	165	Avtar Singh	Banta Singh	Thetherke PO. Dera Baba Nanak
43	170	Avtar Singh	Veer Singh	Roopowali
44	184	Avtar Singh	Sampooran Singh	Mohammadpur PO. Bahadurgarh
45	227	Avtar Singh	Sewa Singh	Sanghna
46	255	Avtar Singh	Naib Singh	Ranjian PO. Morinda
47	274	Avtar Singh	Saudagar Singh	Kalanaur
48	372	Avtar Singh	Jasmail Singh	Man Khaira
49	504	Avtar Singh	Gorbakhsh Singh	Amritsar, 35-F, Jodh Nagar, Gali No.3
50	512	Avtar Singh	Gurdev Singh	Badla PO. Kotla Badla
51	602	Avtar Singh	Kundan Singh	Ludhiana, H.No.289, Shahe K.S. Nagar
52	639	Avtar Singh	Karnail Singh	Akar PO. Sehra
53	707	Avtar Singh	Telu Singh	Fatehgarh Sivian
54	746	Babu Singh	Jota Singh	Boparai Kalan PO. Khasa Dalla
55	657	Bachan Singh	Mastan Singh	Silh PO. Garanga
56	678	Bachan Singh	Late S. Heera Singh	Silh PO. Garanga
57	676	Bachitter Singh	Late S. Bachan Singh	Bakhtari PO. Bhawanigarh
58	351	Bahadur Singh	Late S. Hari Singh	Jionda PO. Rampura
59	275	Bahadur Singh	Kartar Singh	Mulowali PO. Dera Baba Nanak
60	191	Bakhtwar Singh	Banta Singh	Thande PO. Jwala Flour Mil Shahura
61	501	Balbir Kaur	Tarlok Singh	Indergarh
62	133	Balbir Singh	Bhagat Singh	Eesee PO. Meemsa
63	770	Balbir Singh	Bhag Singh	Gagrewal
64	008	Baldev Singh	Prem Singh	Sarchur
65	123	Baldev Singh	Bhajan Singh	Kairon
66	503	Baldev Singh	Virsa Singh	Burj Dhilwan PO. Ubha
67	538	Baldev Singh	Jagir Singh	Bhikhind
68	549	Baldev Singh	Jangir Singh	Sakhira
69	645	Baldev Singh	Karnail Singh Raja (Nai)	Bhamri
70	666	Baldev Singh	Sajjan Singh	Sheikh Chakk PO. Lalpur
71	724	Baldev Singh	Achhar Singh	Ghariali PO. Ghariala
72	750	Baldev Singh	Late S. Harbhajan Singh	Salama Jeevan Singh Sala P
73	824	Baldev Singh	Budha Singh	
74	254	Baljeet Singh	Krishan Singh	



75	284	Baljeet Singh	Gurcharan Singh	Salana
76	541	Baljeet Singh	Hari Singh	Lehra Bega Po. Bhucho Ma
77	137	Baljinder Singh	Gurraj Singh	Malluwal Kalan
78	146	Baljinder Singh	Virsa Singh	Sodhi Wala
79	295	Baljinder Singh	Sadhu Singh	Kalanaur
80	827	Baljinder Singh	Darshan Singh	Partap Nagar Bathinda, Ph.0164-280610
81	096	Baljit Singh	Late S. Mohan Singh	Khanowal PO. Pacca Shehar (Chamiani)
82	345	Baljit Singh	Ajmer Singh	Chachowali PO. Jaintipur
83	542	Baljit Singh	Darshan Singh	Lashkari Nangal PO. Guru Bagh
84	547	Baljit Singh	Ram Singh	Sohal
85	692	Baljit Singh	Kunan Singh	Bhujrawal PO. Jhabal Kalan
86	396	Balkar Masih	Suraj Masih	Jagriani
87	151	Balkar Singh	Sadhu Singh	Pabarali Kalan
88	339	Balkar Singh	Bacahan Singh	Sahpur PO. Batala
89	778	Balkar Singh	Kartar Singh	Kaler PO. Raja Sarri
90	836	Balkar Singh	Bhagat Singh	Takhu Chakk Jandoke PO. Jandoke
91	044	Balraj Singh	Swaran Singh	Natt PO. Chahal Kalan
92	416	Balraj Singh	Mahinder Singh	Manal PO. Kurad
93	774	Balraj Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Sarhali
94	307	Balraj Singh	Ajmer Singh	Kotla Gujjaran
95	391	Balwant Singh	Bawa Singh	Poochla PO. Nathana
96	722	Balwant Singh	Dara Singh	Dharali Khurd PO. Paracha
97	745	Balwinder Kumar	Late Chaudhary Ram	Dhaperi
98	136	Balwinder Singh	Charan Singh	Kaler PO. Rajasansi
99	162	Balwinder Singh	Sadha Singh	Jalalabad
100	166	Balwinder Singh	Shangara Singh	Mulowali PO. Dera Baba Nanak
101	168	Balwinder Singh	Bawa Singh	Nikko Saran PO. Tatwandi Rama
102	194	Balwinder Singh	Harjit Singh	Thetherke PO. Dera Baba Nanak
103	195	Balwinder Singh	Amar Singh	Lalpur PO. Kalanaur
104	225	Balwinder Singh	Darshan Singh	Jhabhal Kalan
105	253	Balwinder Singh	Karnail Singh	Sanghna
106	404	Balwinder Singh	Gurdial Singh	Rangian PO. Morinda
107	491	Balwinder Singh	Shamsher Singh	Veela Tejan
108	577	Balwinder Singh	Avtar Singh	Bherna Kalan PO. Uppal
109	608	Balwinder Singh	Bachan Singh	Jhabal Khurd PO. Jhabal Ka
110	620	Balwinder Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Gandhi Nagar PO. Nogwan Thagu
				Vill. Kanderori

111	624	Balwinder Singh	Naurata Singh	Pamaur
112	661	Balwinder Singh	Charan Singh	Sultanwind
113	697	Balwinder Singh	Prem Singh (Retd. Subedar)	Panjaula PO. Mianpur
114	756	Balwinder Singh	Karaj Singh	Manochahal Kalan
115	804	Balwinder Singh	Tarlok Singh	Chohla Sahib
116	817	Balwinder Singh	Gurmej Singh	Sakhira
117	823	Balwinder Singh	Dalip Singh	Kalu Dian Jhugian PO. Bhangala
118	833	Balwinder Singh	Pal Singh	Vanpal
119	435	Balwinder Singh	Sohan Singh	Jatana PO. Bela
120	144	Balwinder Singh		Guntala, Amritsar
121	524	Bawa Singh	Tarsem Singh	Mohalla Guru Ka Khooh, T Teran
122	607	Bhabhinder Singh	Harbhajan Singh	Kamalpara
123	022	Bhagat Singh	Uttam Singh	Salempur PO. Ghanauri Kal
124	019	Bhagwan Singh	Chitan Singh	Kumbharwal
125	459	Bhagwan Singh	Gurdev Singh	Hinsowal
126	423	Bhan Singh	Gurdit Singh	Ranghar Nangal (Nawan)
127	355	Bharpur Kaur	Preetam Singh	Jakhepal PO. Bhawanigarh.
128	301	Bhola Singh	Mithu Singh	Tiona
129	288	Bhupinder Singh	Hardial Singh	Doomwali PO. Sangat Mand
130	319	Bhupinder Singh	Amar Singh	Rangian PO. Morinda
131	359	Bhupinder Singh	Naranjan Singh	Balad Kalan
132	366	Bhupinder Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Bhawanigarh
133	413	Bhupinder Singh	Dilawar Singh	Amritsar
134	428	Bhupinder Singh	Dalbir Singh Sidhu	Jandiala
135	632	Bhupinder Singh	Joginder Singh	Alipur PO. Chheetan Wala
136	636	Bhupinder Singh	Balwant Singh	Yamuna Nagar, H.No.920-C
137	687	Bhupinder Singh	Harbans Singh	Balpurian PO. Bal
138	017	Bikkar Singh	Prithi Singh	Gurbakshpura PO. Tibba
139	049	Bikkar Singh	Jagroop Singh	Ghunasan
140	819	Boor Singh	Visakha Singh	Sehnsra Kalan
141	130	Boota Singh	Jagir Singh	Dugri PO. Dhotian
142	490	Boota Singh	Darbara Singh	Ghaniye Ke Bangar
143	791	Boota Singh Baggar	Nirvail Singh	Sur Singh
144	026	Budh Singh	Babu Singh	Mangewal PO. Kurad
145	056	Budh Singh	Kandal Singh alias Kahn Singh	Jagjit Pura
146	533	Buta Singh	Gurdeep Singh	Bhoora Kohna
147	704	Buta Singh	Kaur Singh	Moom
148	266	Chamkaur Singh	Sohan Singh	Rode
149	313	Chamkaur Singh	Harbachan Singh	Badla PO. Kotla Badla

150	467	Chamkaur Singh	Sajjan Singh	Rajo Majra
151	652	Chamkaur Singh	Nazar Singh	Naraingarh Sotian PO. Geh
152	628	Chand Singh	Late S. Nachhatter Singh	Chowki Mann
153	405	Channan Singh	Harbans Singh	Bhole Ke
154	594	Channan Singh	Kartar Singh	Chariala
155	089	Charan Singh	Bhagat Singh	Gossalan
156	813	Charan Singh (Baba)	Late S. Banta Singh	Pandori Rehmana PO. Takh Mal
157	208	Charanjot Singh	Avtar Singh	Rampura Phool
158	252	Charanjit Kaur		Chhadra
159	118	Charanjit Singh	Gurmej Singh (Ex- serviceman)	Gagrewal
160	479	Charanjit Singh	Tara Singh	Sangatpur Bhoki PO. Kalan Majra
161	444	Charanjit Singh Channa	Ram Kishan	Jhalian Khurd
162	803	Chhinda Singh	Hajara Singh	Varpal
163	562	Chhinderpal Singh	Gurmej Singh	Manihala Jai Singh PO. Kac Pucca
164	763	Daat Kaur	Malagar Singh	Dhotian
165	164	Dalbir Singh	Charnan Singh	Talwandi Goraya PO. Dera Baba Nanak
166	239	Dalbir Singh	Kapoor Singh	Khadoor Sahib
167	310	Dalbir Singh	Dasandha Singh	Khaliwal PO. Cheema Khod
168	340	Dalbir Singh	Late S. Harbhajan Singh	Dhardeo
169	605	Dalbir Singh	Sardool Singh	Varpal PO. Vadde Varpal Khurd
170	606	Dalbir Singh	Gurmukh Singh	Behloipur Tandian
171	615	Dalbir Singh	Jassa Singh	Khela, PO. Fatehabad
172	270	Daljit Singh	Sukhwant Singh	Gokhuwal PO. Batala
173	576	Daljit Singh	Pirat Singh	Jhawan
174	626	Daljit Singh	Bakhtawar Singh	Pathreri Jattan
175	634	Daljit Singh	Sher Singh	Sohana
176	105	Dalveer Singh	Shiv Ram	Bhauwal PO. Ropar
177	325	Dalvir Singh	Balwant Singh	Dhanda PO. Bararwala
178	329	Dalwinder Singh	Achhar Singh	Khiala Khurd PO. Khiala Kalan
179	091	Darbara Singh	Basta Singh	Bhambri PO. Khamaro
180	402	Darbara Singh	Chainchal Singh	Ramdas Arian PO. Ramdas
181	035	Darshan Singh	Tarlok Singh	Longowal
182	059	Darshan Singh	Amar Singh	Barnala
183	093	Darshan Singh	Man Singh	Goslan
184	210	Darshan Singh	Jagir Singh	Lasoi
185	244	Darshan Singh	Hardial Singh	Dalla
186	610	Darshan Singh	Ujagar Singh	Sobhan
187	631	Darshan Singh	Mahinder Singh	Sehke PO. Guara

188	083	Deputy Singh Dhillon	Late Bishan Singh	Sangrur
189	030	Devinder Singh	Achhat Singh	VPO. Kakkar
190	206	Devinder Singh	Gurdev Singh	Dhangrali
191	264	Devinder Singh	Malkit Singh	Rajjana
192	478	Devinder Singh	Gian Singh	Lehra
193	749	Devinder Singh	Late S. Gurbachan Singh	Kheri Salabatpur
194	784	Devinder Singh	Manjit Singh	Amritsar City, Ghannapur Kala Ghunsan
195	050	Dhanna Singh	Mehar Singh	Bariar
196	737	Dhanna Singh	Piara Singh	Jaura
197	129	Dharam Singh	Mukhtar Singh	Kashtiwai
198	174	Dharam Singh	Piara Singh	Bhangali
199	759	Dharam Singh	Mangal Singh	Karnooke PO. Butala
200	320	Dharamvir Singh	Late S. Harnam Singh	Ghania Ke Bangar
201	267	Dilbag Singh	Tasvir Singh	Bhakthana Tulian
202	190	Dilabagh Singh	Ravel Singh	Kohaji
203	326	Dilbagh Singh	Naranjan Singh	Jhabal
204	646	Dilbagh Singh	Dalip Singh	Kubarka
205	650	Dilbagh Singh	Ram Singh	Pheruman
206	767	Dilbagh Singh	Mehnga Singh	Varpal
207	809	Dilbagh Singh	Kartar Singh	Kurali, Ward No. 5
208	433	Dwarci Kaur	Atma Ram	Hathan
209	199	Ekam Singh	Narang Singh	Lakha Singh Awan
210	135	Gian Singh	Lal Singh	Sajada
211	644	Gian Singh	Milkha Singh	Dhamot Kalan
212	212	Gulab Singh	Gurmel Singh	Lehra
213	477	Gulab Singh	Dhian Singh	Tarn Taran, Jandiala Road
214	114	Gulshan Kumar	Chaman Lal	Khadoor Sahib Town
215	781	Gulwinder Singh	Balwant Singh	Khiala Khurd PO. Khiala Kalan
216	328	Gulzar Singh	Achhar Singh	Dhandra PO. Bararwal
217	452	Gulzar Singh	Mahinder Singh	Kharar, H.No. 1700-B
218	497	Gulzar Singh	Teja Singh	Manj Phaguwal PO. Ladho
219	671	Gulzar Singh	Tara Singh Sandhu	Sur Singh
220	578	Gura Singh	Pal Singh	Sur Singh Wala
221	796	Gura Singh	Late S. Pal Singh	Mehndipur
222	616	Gurbaj Singh	Mahinder Singh	Gagrewal
223	422	Gurbhej Singh	Mukhtar Singh	Panjwar Khurd
224	527	Gurbir Singh	Swaran Singh	Bhame Kalan
225	316	Gurbogh Singh	Bachan Singh	Rajo Majra
226	024	Gurcharan Singh	Jeet Singh	Daun Kalan
227	182	Gurcharan Singh	Raghvir Singh	Rode
228	265	Gurharan Singh	Bahadar Singh	Dhanaula
229	455	Gurcharan Singh	Mukhtiar Singh	Panaichan PO. Sanghlo
230	510	Gurcharan Singh	Tahal Singh	

231	570	Gurcharan Singh	Ganda Singh	Nagoke
232	729	Gurcharan Singh	Gurdev Singh	Rongla PO. Sidhuwal
233	305	Girdarshan Singh Mann	Jagjit Singh Mann	Gehri Bar Singh PO. Mehssa Khana
234	067	Gurdeep Singh	Chamel Singh	Rumana Chak PO. Tarpai
235	095	Gurdeep Singh	Charan Singh	H.N.268, Ward No.11, Singhpara Road, Kur Kairon
236	550	Gurdeep Singh	Ajit Singh	Jeobala
237	551	Gurdeep Singh	Mukhtar Singh	Bhauwal PO. Ropar
238	638	Gurdeep Singh	Jagir Singh Randhawa	Halwara
239	695	Gurdeep Singh Bola	Surjit Singh	Moom
240	029	Gurdev Singh	Santa Singh	H.No. E-9 Tripri Town
241	181	Gurdev Singh	Harnek Singh	Panj Graeen
242	196	Gurdev Singh	Sulakhan Singh alias Shah	Dhirpur PO. Dialpur
243	209	Gurdev Singh	Gurhachan Singh	Kale Ke
244	233	Gurdev Singh	Gurmit Singh	Riali Kalan
245	263	Gurdev Singh	Lakha Singh	Dhardeo
246	341	Gurdev Singh	Late S. Harbhajan Singh	Kaunke Kalan
247	446	Gurdev Singh	Gurdial Singh	Raipur Kalan
248	462	Gurdev Singh	Late S. Santokh Singh	Vill. Jamarai
249	623	Gurdev Singh	Ajit Singh	Pandori Rumana PO. Pandor
250	826	Gurdev Singh	Late S. Banta Singh	Takhat Mal
251	835	Gurdev Singh	Balvir Singh	Kot Khalsa
252	178	Gurdial Singh	Amar Singh	Kauli
253	587	Gurdial Singh	Karnail Singh	Nawan Pind PO. Bhagowal
254	684	Gurdial Singh	Channan Singh	Ghariaala
255	765	Gurdial Singh	Late S. Sucha Singh	Dhotian
256	777	Gurdial Singh	Mahinder Singh	Lal Pur
257	643	Gurinder Singh	Jaswant Singh	Khairabad PO. Phool Khurd
258	741	Gurinder Singh	Bakshish Singh	Baserke Gillan
259	003	Gurjant Singh	Dhanna Singh	Rureke Kalan
260	046	Gurjant Singh	Gurman Singh	Dhitwan
261	664	Gurjant Singh	Joginder Singh	Dhadogal
262	213	Gurjit Singh	Bhag Singh	Kamma PO. Isru
263	472	Gurjit Singh	Surjit Singh	Bamala, Rahi Basti, Nanaks
264	004	Gurdial Singh	Joginder Singh	Kaleke
265	142	Gurmeet Singh	Balmit Singh	Bharthala
266	337	Gurmeet Singh	Gian Singh	Bopa Rai Kalan
267	373	Gurmeet Singh	Lakha Singh	Kaleke
268	470	Gurmeet Singh	Ravinder Singh (Ghari Wala)	Rajo Majra
269	498	Gurmeet Singh	Darshan Singh	Tugalwala
270	500	Gurmeet Singh	Choochar Singh	Guru Ki Wadali
271	511	Gurmeet Singh	Dhanna Singh	Chhaju Majra Colony PO.

272	699	Gurmeet Singh	Nachhater Singh	Landran
273	747	Gurmeet Singh	Kartar Singh	Mehraj
274	782	Gurmeet Singh	Late S. Bachan Singh	Boparai Kalan PO. Khasa
275	790	Gurmeet Singh	Bhan Singh	Ganja PO. Dorangla
276	574	Gurmej Kaur	Ujagar Singh	Sur Singh
277	099	Gurmej Singh	Sulakhan Singh	Manochahal Kalan
278	153	Gurmej Singh	Sant Singh	Chachowali PO. Jaintipur
				Dhitwan PO. Kodi Soorat
				Malli
279	163	Gurmej Singh	Jaswant Singh	Dharamkot Randhawa
280	395	Gurmej Singh	Lakha Singh	Pabara Kalan PO. Paracha
281	505	Gurmej Singh	Chanan Singh	Marhian Wala
282	816	Gurmej Singh	Late S. Kehar Singh	Sakhira
283	064	Gurmel Singh	Hamir Singh	Kumbharwal
284	205	Gurmel Singh	Gurdial Singh	Dhangrali
285	216	Gurmel Singh	Tej Singh	Aluna Palla
286	318	Gurmel Singh	Zora Singh	Raipur
287	332	Gurmel Singh	Ajit Singh	Khiala Kalan
288	445	Gurmel Singh	Hari Singh	Kotla Nihang
289	565	Gurmel Singh	Jagir Singh	Bhauwal PO. Ropar
290	054	Gurmit Singh	Jagroop Singh	Bamala
291	261	Gurmit Singh	Lakhbir Singh	Jhalabad
292	417	Gurmit Singh Bhucho	Lakha Singh	Bhucho Mandi
293	094	Gurmukh Singh	Preetam Singh	Manupur Kalan
294	409	Gurmukh Singh	Kundan Singh	Zafarwal
295	107	Gumam Singh	Ajaib Singh	Kotla Sultan Singh
296	155	Gumam Singh	Late S. Sardul Singh	Mehta PO. Singhpura
297	349	Gumam Singh	Bua Singh	Gunopur PO. Saidowal Khu
298	536	Gumam Singh	Thakar Singh	Dulachipur PO. Kalha
299	805	Gumam Singh	Late S. Shingara Singh	Daabwala Kalan
300	392	Gumam Singh	Daleep Singh	Pabarali Khurd PO. Paracha
301	001	Gurpal Singh	Babu Singh	Mangwal
302	421	Gurpreet Singh	Bela Singh	Gagrewal
303	596	Gursahib Singh	Bahadar Singh	Datewal PO. Kot Isse Khan
304	237	Gursewak Singh	Ajit Singh	Mandiala PO. Boharu
305	200	Gurtej Singh	Dalbara Singh	Kotla Nihang
306	655	Gurvel Singh	Hamir Singh	Ghuzman Kalan
307	744	Gurvinder Singh	Ajit Singh	Khiala Kalan
308	052	Gurwinder Singh	Harbhajan Singh	Dhadiala Natt
309	420	Gurwinder Singh	Joga Singh	Ludhiana, H.No.2846
310	703	Hakam Singh	Kaur Singh	Kumbharwal
311	471	Halvinder Singh	Jagdev Singh @ Gama	Bhaini Kalan PO. Himmatar
312	125	Hamir Singh	Inderjit Singh	VPO. Kakkar
313	427		Hardev Singh	Aaron
314	375	Hansa Singh	Late S. Teja Singh	Khiala Khurd PO. Khiala

315	109	Harbans Singh	Mangal Singh	Kalan
316	451	Harbans Singh	Taru Singh	Kumagar Basti PO. Piareana
317	599	Harbhajan Singh	Santa Singh	Wajidpur Badhesha PO.
318	672	Harchand Singh	Jagat Singh	Mahamadpur
319	187	Harcharan Singh	Surjit Singh	Bibi Pur
320	032	Hardeep Singh	Darshan Singh	Salara Jeevan Singh Wala
321	192	Hardeep Singh	Gopal Singh	H.No. 152/B Azad Nagar
322	523	Hardeep Singh	Harbans Singh	Sirhind Road
323	659	Hardeep Singh	Late S. Prem Singh	Rajo Majra
324	700	Hardeep Singh	Jora Singh	Dharamkot Randhawa
325	831	Hardeep Singh	Inder Singh	Parowal
326	005	Hardev Singh	Garib Singh	Balaspur
327	197	Hardev Singh	Late S. Sulakhan Singh	Hamidi
328	308	Hardev Singh	Ajmer Singh	Chakk Sahu PO. Ghugiama
329	585	Hardev Singh	Mahinder Singh	Rurke Kalan
330	812	Hardev Singh	Narinder Singh	Panjgrreen
331	110	Harjial Singh	Hari Singh	Poohla PO. Nathana
332	383	Harjip Singh	Kartar Singh	Thatha PO. Ema Kalan
333	062	Hari Krishan	Jagdev Raj	Dehriwala PO. Baba Bakala
334	327	Harinder Singh	Piara Singh	Dhotian
335	092	Harjinder Singh	Gurmel Singh	Dhindsa PO. Kot Todar Mal
336	140	Harjinder Singh	Amarjit Singh	Kali Ke
337	246	Harjinder Singh	Lal Singh	Kohali
338	323	Harjinder Singh	Gurmit Singh	Charhi Kalan
339	489	Harjit Kumar	Harbans Lal (Vaid)	Adowali PO. Ranger Nangal
340	068	Harjit Singh	Jamail Singh	Manuke
341	128	Harjit Singh	Pooran Singh	Butala
342	180	Harjit Singh	Jamail Singh	Phool Town
343	568	Harjit Singh	Balbir Singh	Chakk Ramsingh Wala PO.
344	545	Harmanpreet Singh	Harbhajan Singh	Bhucho Mandi
345	442	Harmeet Singh	Joginder Singh	Valtoha
346	292	Harnej Singh	Labh Singh	Janherian
347	522	Harmander Singh	Ajit Singh	Sultanwind
348	183	Harnam Singh	Kartar Singh	Verka
349	221	Harnam Singh	Gura Singh	Bhauwal PO. Ropar
350	247	Harnek Singh	Naranjan Singh	Gill Kalan
351	425	Harnek Singh	Gurnam Singh	Shahpur PO. Tajpur
352	315	Harpal Singh	Jamail Singh	Haji Gate
353	369	Harpal Singh	Bhagwan Singh	Sanghna
354	408	Harpal Singh	Jagir Singh	Dalla
				Mallha
				Bhame Kalan
				Bhindran PO. Hermitage
				Zafarwal

355	443	Harpal Singh	Malkiat Singh	Chaurta Kalan PO. Jhalian Khurd
356	506	Harpal Singh	Mekhan Singh	Jammu, Simbal Camp
357	753	Harpal Singh	Chanchal Singh	Gagrewal
358	622	Harpal Singh Mann	Didar Singh	Gharokha PO. Mannki
359	552	Harphul Singh	Piara Singh	Jeobala
360	086	Harpinder Singh	Jaswant Singh (Retd. Hav.)	Hargobindpura
361	075	Harpreet Kaur	Ajit Singh	Sultanwind
362	322	Harpreet Singh	Gurmit Singh	Butala
363	513	Harpreet Singh	Gurdev Singh	Badla PO. Kotla Badla
364	432	Harsimranjit Singh	Avtar Singh	Datarpur
365	037	Harvinder Singh	Kartar Singh	Tahla Sahib PO. Maur Man
366	681	Harwinder Singh	Gurdeep Singh	Dhanetha
367	584	Heera Singh	Dial Singh	Kasel
368	569	Hoshiar Singh	Harpal Singh	Leharka PO. Chawinda Devi
369	172	Inder Singh	Naranjan Singh	Shahpur Goraya
370	228	Inderjit Singh	Harbhajan Singh	Sanghna
371	389	Inderjit Singh	Mahinder Singh	Maulvi Kot PO. Paracha
372	441	Inderjit Singh	Bachan Singh	Jatana PO. Bela
373	456	Inderjit Singh	Gurbakhsh Singh	Rattan Garh
374	612	Inderjit Singh	Harchand Singh	Sohian
375	493	Iqbal Singh	Bachint Singh	Bahga PO. Garhdiwala
376	521	Jadwinder Singh	Joginder Singh	Fattu DHINGA
377	730	Jagbir Singh	Sardul Singh	Nagoke
378	466	Jagdeep Singh	Krishan Singh	Rajo Majra
379	828	Jagdeep Singh	Joginder Singh	Amritsar, Bahadur Nagar, H.No.3477
380	363	Jagdev Singh	Gurbakhsh Singh	Kapial
381	154	Jagir Singh	Gurbakhsh Singh	Kalanaur
382	273	Jagir Singh	Late S. Darshan Singh	Kattu Sohail PO. Dehriwal
383	335	Jagir Singh	Dharam Singh	Daroga
384	099	Jagir Singh	Mchan Singh	Sehnsra Kalan
385	382	Jagjit Singh	Santokh Singh	Kala Afghana
386	241	Jagjit Singh	Pooraa Singh	Kesar Singh Wala
387	248	Jagjit Singh	Zora Singh	Manuke
388	519	Jagjit Singh	Amar Singh	Jagraon
389	649	Jagjit Singh	Avtar Singh Kanwal	Booh PO. Fattu DHINGA
390	188	Jagraj Singh	Mahinder Singh	VPO. Kbajiala
391	473	Jagseer Singh	Arjan Singh	N.Ho.1543/, B-II Sector 60
392	134	Jagtar Singh	Dalip Singh	Mohali
393	312	Jagtar Singh	Surjit Singh	Surjitpura PO. Barnala
394	330	Jagtar Singh	Dharam Singh	Kairon
				Galawal Bahga PO. Garhdiwala
				Khiala Khurd PO. Khiala



395	668	Jagtar Singh	Maghar Singh	Kalan
396	589	Jagwinder Singh	Sarwan Singh	Kuharka PO. Shabbazpur Sirhind City
397	486	Jang Singh	Atma Singh	Nathewala PO. Nathuwala Garbi
398	561	Jang Singh	Atma Singh	Nathewala PO. Nathuwala (Garbi)
399	277	Jarnail Singh	Bachan Singh	Bhame Kalan
400	509	Jarnail Singh	Naranjan Singh	Badla PO. Kotla Badla
401	520	Jarnail Singh	Ranga Singh	Booh PO. Fatu Dzinga
402	042	Jasbani Singh	Maghar Singh	Kaul Chheli PO. Bhullar He
403	235	Jasbir Singh	Preetam Singh	Burj Wali Gali, Mustafabad, Amritsar
404	240	Jasbir Singh	Harnek Singh	Manuke
405	297	Jasbir Singh	Gurbaksh Singh	Vill. Madre, PO. Udanwal
406	820	Jasbir Singh	Joginder Singh	Amritsar, H.No.3477, Bahad Nagar
407	431	Jasmer Kaur	Bachan Singh	Salempur
408	458	Jasmer Singh	Jagir Singh	Khant
409	682	Jaspal Singh	Late S. Rachan Singh	Garanga
410	838	Jaspal Singh	Bhagat Singh	Natt PO. Chahal Kalan
411	214	Jaspal Singh Fajui	Jarnail Singh	Sihaura
412	218	Jasvir Singh	Nirmal Singh	Doraha PO. Doraha Mandi
413	257	Jasvir Singh	Bhupinder Singh	Pandori Bibi
414	368	Jasvir Singh	Gurdev Singh	Kakara
415	653	Jasvir Singh	Ajit Singh	Hargana
416	736	Jasvir Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Khuddi Khurd
417	229	Jaswant Singh	Sewa Singh	Sanghna
418	231	Jaswant Singh	Mohan Singh	Chand Ke PO. Dharmkot Bagga
419	269	Jaswant Singh	Roor Singh	Kalsruar
420	289	Jaswant Singh	Nachhattar Singh	Budhsingh Wala
421	457	Jaswant Singh	Darbara Singh	Chaklan
422	714	Jaswant Singh	Gurmel Singh	DeharPO. Chamkaur Sahib
423	825	Jaswant Singh	Isar Singh	Bhaini (Bhajan Singh) PO, Patti
424	055	Jaswinder Singh	Ajaib Singh	Jahangir PO. Kaheru
425	098	Jaswinder Singh	Late S. Mohan Singh	Chachowali PO. Jaintipur
426	106	Jaswinder Singh	Shiv Ram,	Bhuwal PO. Ropar
427	483	Jaswinder Singh	Brahman Singh	Rajoana
428	560	Jaswinder Singh	Mangal Singh	Singhpura
429	414	Jatinder Singh	Dilawar Singh	Amritsar

430	609	Jatinder Singh	Harnek Singh	Sohian
431	709	Jatinderpal Singh	Amrik Singh	N.No2210, Phase X, Mohali
432	555	Jeet Singh	Chanan Singh	Sidhwan Dona
433	633	Jeet Singh	Sajju Singh	Dadhera PO. Kalyan
434	752	Jeet Singh	Pooran Singh	Gagrewal
435	278	Jeevan Jot Singh	Lakhwani Singh	Hans Nagar Bathinda
436	715	Jhilmil Singh	Preetam Singh	Dehar
437	728	Jinderpal Singh	Ram Saroop	Gagar Pur
438	367	Joga Singh	Joginder Singh	Kakara
439	793	Joga Singh	Gurcharan Singh	Sur Singh
440	531	Joginder Kaur	Kirpa Singh (Husband)	Panjwar Khurd
441	424	Joginder Singh	Darshan Singh	Folariwal
442	690	Joginder Singh	Boota Singh	Kalanaur
443	769	Joginder Singh	Late S. Wassan Singh	Sanghna
444	299	Joginder Singh Bains	Babu Singh Bains	Guru Teg Bahadar Nagar Bathinda
445	282	Kala Singh	Amrik Singh	Bega Lehra PO. Bhucho Mandi
446	321	Kamaljit Kaur	Piara Singh	Butala
447	411	Kamaljit Singh	Naranjan Singh	Ghaniya Ke Bangar
448	300	Kanwaljit Singh	Bhagwan Singh (Capt. Retd.)	Bhatinda, Guru Arjun Dev Nagar
449	708	Kanwaljit Singh	Gulzar Singh	Verka
450	822	Kanwaljit Singh	Joginder Singh	Amritsar, Ramsar Road, H.No.7
451	502	Karaj Singh	Makhan Singh	Thande PO. Jwala Flour Mil
452	014	Karnail Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Tibba
453	185	Karnail Singh	Bachan Singh	Khanpur Barring PO. Suron
454	412	Karora Singh	Dial Singh	Badwali PO. Rattan Garh
455	104	Kartar Singh	Swaran Singh	Mann PO. Ghariala
456	343	Kartar Singh	Aasa Singh	Behla PO. Rataul
457	595	Kartar Singh	Bali Singh	Chuglewal
458	077	Kashmir Singh	Gulzar Singh	Dander
459	113	Kashmir Singh	Dalip Singh	Dhun, Dhahe Wale
460	317	Kashmir Singh	Labh Singh	Bhame Kalan
461	776	Kashmir Singh	Sucha Singh	Sathiala
462	801	Kashmir Singh	Charan Singh	Kuthali PO. Behrampur
463	786	Kashmir Singh Bhullar	Late S. Dalip Singh	Amritsar, H.N.102, Gali 9, F Vijay Nagar
464	358	Kesar Singh	Jangir Singh	Balad Kalan
465	815	Kesar Singh	Banta Singh	Pandori Rehmana PO. Pand Takhatmal
466	698	Kewal Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Burj Gill PO. Phul
467	356	Khem Singh Fauji	Nachhattar Singh	Balad Kalan PO. Bhawanig
468	437	Khushwinder Singh	Shamsher Singh	Booth Garh PO. Morinda
469	167	Kiranpal Singh	Sewa Singh	1446/21 Phase XI Mohali

470	530	Kirpa Singh	Surain Singh	Panjwar Khurd
471	020	Kirpal Singh	Gurdial Singh	VPO. Beara
472	469	Krishan Kumar	Lajja Ram	Rajo Majra
473	309	Kulbir Singh	Major Singh	Simbal Majra
474	434	Kulbir Singh	Khush Hall Singh	Jatana PO. Bela
475	012	Kuldeep Singh	Joginder Singh	Vill. Sangha
476	150	Kuldeep Singh	Swaran Singh	Kotla Sahian PO. Bhullar
477	336	Kuldeep Singh	Jarnail Singh	Bopa Rai Kalan
478	419	Kuldeep Singh	Ajaib Singh	Amrali PO. Hawara Kalan
479	440	Kuldeep Singh	Nirmal Singh	Lodhi Majra
480	480	Kuldeep Singh	Mehar Singh	Sahora
481	535	Kuldeep Singh	Jagir Singh	Fatehpur Badeshe
482	604	Kuldeep Singh	Kartar Singh	Kuhali PO. Rai Chalk
483	642	Kuldeep Singh	Tar Singh	Dansingh Wala PO. Sawai Mehma
484	679	Kuldeep Singh	Rachan Singh	Manak Majra PO. Rangeel P
485	711	Kuldeep Singh	Tarlok Singh	Usman Shaheed
486	837	Kuldeep Singh	Massa Singh	Varpal
487	141	Kuldeep Singh Gill	Sikandar Singh Gill	Gill
488	013	Kuldip Singh	Kartar Singh	Kuthala
489	015	Kuldip Singh	Makand Singh	Tibba
490	057	Kuldip Singh	Joginder Singh	Bhullarheri
491	088	Kuldip Singh	Sucha Singh	Thikriwal PO. Cahrhi
492	748	Kuldip Singh	Nand Singh	Fatehabad
493	082	Kuljinder Singh	Harbans Singh	Kheri Salabatpur
494	101	Kulwant Singh	Mohan Singh	Maur Khurd PO. Maur Man
495	156	Kulwant Singh	Late S. Shingara Singh	Kotli Soorat Malli
496	293	Kulwant Singh	Bachitter Singh	Lehra Bega
497	516	Kulwant Singh	Sohan Singh	Booh PO. Fattu Dhingra
498	567	Kulwant Singh	Jagir Singh	Bhanuwal PO. Ropar
499	583	Kulwant Singh	Ajit Singh	Kairon
500	658	Kulwant Singh	Prem Singh	Balaspur
501	733	Kulwant Singh	Bahadur Singh	Sehke PO. Guara
502	797	Kulwant Singh	Sajjan Singh	Burj 169 PO. Raja Taal
503	800	Kulwant Singh	Fauja Singh	Varpal
504	073	Kulwinder Singh	Gulzar Singh	Sanghna
505	097	Kulwinder Singh	Late S. Mohan Singh	Chachowali PO. Jaintipur
506	100	Kulwinder Singh	Ajaib Singh	Othian
507	147	Kulwinder Singh	Amrik Singh	Kalanaur
508	157	Kulwinder Singh	Bachan Singh	Mastkot PO. Dargabad
509	215	Kulwinder Singh	Late S. Kaka Singh	Palla Ahuna
510	362	Kulwinder Singh	Harneek Singh	Kapial
511	449	Kulwinder Singh	Balvir Singh	Dhuri, Guru Nank Nagar
512	677	Kulwinder Singh	Late S. Bachan Singh	Siilh PO. Garanga

513	768	Kutwinder Singh	Tara Singh	Pheruman
514	287	Labh Singh	Bhupinder Singh	Doomwali PO. Sangat Man
515	465	Labh Singh	Chhota Singh @ Sukhdev Singh	Rajo Majra
516	111	Lakha Singh	Virsa Singh	Algon Kothi PO. Kothi
517	818	Lakha Singh	Swaran Singh	Mannan PO. Aima Kalan
518	226	Lakhbir Singh	Late S. Bhan Singh	Sanghna
519	331	Lakhbir Singh	Mahinder Singh	Khiala Khurd PO. Khiala Kalan
520	669	Lakhbir Singh	Sardool Singh	Varpal
521	734	Lakhwinder Singh Sandhu	Late S. Balbir Singh	Anandpur Sahib, Academy Road
522	361	Lakhvir Singh (Patwari)	Bachan Singh	Kapial
523	138	Lakhwinder Singh	Bua Singh	Gehri Mandi
524	224	Lakhwinder Singh	Joginder Singh	Sanghna
525	379	Lakhwinder Singh	Chanan Singh	Behla PO. Rataul
526	738	Lakhwinder Singh	Ajaib Singh	Adliwala
527	775	Lal Singh	Apar Singh	Kotla Gujjaran
528	735	Lehbar Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Khaddi Khurd PO. Hindiaya
529	439	Maan Singh	Sarwan Singh	Dehar PO. Charnkaur Sahib
530	060	Maghar Singh	Labh Singh	Thuliwal
531	701	Maghar Singh	Mukhtiar Singh	Ladewal PO. Jabbo Majra
532	528	Mahinder Kaur	Kashmir Singh (Husband)	Panjar Khurd
533	258	Mahinder Singh	Karam Singh	Bhappal
534	230	Mahinder Singh (Bijliwal)	Mohan Singh	Bijliwal PO. Sarwali
535	061	Major Singh	Kaka Singh	Changali
536	302	Major Singh	Dasaundha Singh	H.No.2559 Mehna Mohalla
537	580	Major Singh	Jaswant Singh	Bathinda
538	598	Major Singh	Karnail Singh	Sur Singh
539	717	Major Singh	Ujagar Singh	Karnalpur
540	740	Major Singh	Darshan Singh	Rattangarh
541	220	Major Singh & Mohan Singh	Mohan Singh & Ganga Singh	Saboor
542	617	Major Singh (Sarpanch)	Late S. Kartar Singh	Kot Hirde Ram PO. Chawin Devi
543	081	Makhan Singh	Kehar Singh	Burj Kalara PO. Hathur
544	161	Makhan Singh	Kabal Singh	Wiring Suba Singh
545	018	Mal Singh	Prithi Singh	Chaura
546	262	Malkeet Singh	Saroop Singh	Gurbakshpura PO. Tibba
547	464	Malkeet Singh	Bhinder Singh	Alowal PO. Balowal
548	564	Malkeet Singh	Amar Singh	Rajo Majra
549	712	Malkeet Singh	Late S. Santa Singh	Budhapur PO. Phool Khurd
550	279	Malkit Singh	Baldev Singh	Chappar Chiri Khurd PO. Landran
551	566	Mandeep Singh	Mehar Singh	Virk Kalan
552	694	Mandeep Singh	Surjit Singh	Kharar
				Halwara

553	294	Mangal Singh	Swaran Singh	Butala
554	394	Mangal Singh	Ujagar Singh	Pabarali PO. Paracha
555	760	Mangal Singh	Dula Singh	Bhangahi
555	739	Mangal Singh	Kartar Singh	Adliwala
557	116	Manjinder Singh	Late S. Mukhtar Singh	Gagrewal
558	582	Manjinder Singh	Ajit Singh	Tarn Taran
559	460	Manjit Inder Singh	Gurdev Singh	Bhai Roopa
560	571	Manjit Kaur	Chanan Singh	Sehnsra Kalan
561	108	Manjit Singh	Sohan Singh	H.No.273, Phase VII, Mohal
562	126	Manjit Singh	Iqbal Singh	VPO. Nangali
563	132	Manjit Singh	Sardool Singh	Tanda PO. Tur
564	176	Manjit Singh	Sucha Singh	Alipur Arian PO. Patiala
565	304	Manjit Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Nathana
566	342	Manjit Singh	Late S. Harbhajan Singh	Dhardeo
567	673	Manjit Singh	Gurbachan Singh	Lohara PO. Pratapura
568	727	Manjit Singh	Balbir Singh	Alawal Pur PO. Bhambli
569	742	Manjit Singh	Late S. Japan Singh Lahal	Dudhrail PO. Bhala Pind
570	283	Manmohan Singh	Ranjit Singh	D-127 Thermal Colony
				Bhatinda
571	557	Manmohan Singh	Narinder Singh	110, Nawi Dana Mandi,
				Jalandhar City
572	487	Manna Singh	Gurdeep Singh	Nathewala PO. Nathuwala
				Garbi
573	430	Manpreet Kaur	Ramdass Singh	Jatana PO. Bela
574	268	Mastan Singh	Budha Singh	Kalanaur
575	002	Mehma Singh	Gulzar Singh	Dhiltwan
576	814	Meja Singh (Baba)	Late S. Banta Singh	Pandori Rehmana PO. Takh
				Mal
577	702	Mithu Singh	Surjit Singh	Kot Dunna
578	201	Mohan Singh	Surjan Singh	Khanpur PO. Kharar
579	518	Mohan Singh	Santa Singh	Fattu Dhinga
580	600	Mohan Singh	Baldev Singh	Araicha PO. Doraha
581	613	Mohan Singh	Surjan Singh @ Sajjan	H.No.2042, Agwar Gujran,
			Singh	Jagraon
582	047	Mohinder Singh	Ram Rakha Singh	Balian
583	306	Mohinder Singh	Arjan Singh	Bhai Bakhtaur PO. Meisar
				Khana
584	830	Mohinderpal Singh	Manjit Singh	Amritsar, H.N.1334/III-21,
				Gali Jeevanmal
585	665	Mukand Singh	Bhajan Singh	Dhaura
586	051	Mukhtiar Singh	Mahala Singh	Pakhoke
587	548	Mukhtiar Singh	Jagir Singh	Leharka
588	799	Mukhtiar Singh	Balwinder Singh	Bhago Kawan PO. Magar
				Mudian
589	102	Nachhatter Singh	Balkar Singh	Mam PO. Ghariala
590	667	Nachhatter Singh	Kartar Singh	Raiwal Bet PO. Lohian Kh

591	286	Naginderpal Singh	Bhupinder Singh	Doonwali PO. Sangar Man
592	554	Nahar Singh	Atma Singh	Alipur Khalsa PO.
593	625	Nahar Singh	Inder Singh	Mahamadpur Pamaur
594	418	Naib Singh	Sardara Singh	Gill Khurd PO. Balianwali
595	048	Narain Singh	Bant Singh	Dhiltwan
596	3910	Narain Singh	Mohinder Singh	Paracha
597	272	Naranjan Singh	Dalbir Singh	Kalanaur
598	731	Naranjan Singh	Sher Singh	Chabba
599	028	Narinder Singh	Baldev Singh	Dangarh
600	546	Narinder Singh	Hukam Singh	Thathi Khara PO. Doburji
601	647	Narinder Singh	Mehar Singh (Sukhdev Singh)	Dawali PO. Jandiali
602	675	Narinder Singh	Inder Mohan Verma	Bhago Majra
603	725	Narinder Singh	Lakhwinder Singh	Batala
604	757	Narinder Singh	Balwanti Singh	Vegowal
605	027	Nasib Kaur	Dal Singh	Thuliwal
606	438	Nasib Singh	Preetam Singh	Dahir
607	762	Navroop Singh	Kashmir Singh	Burj Rai Ke PO. Sirbali
608	069	Nazar Singh	Bachan Singh	Dhiltwan (Nabha)
609	641	Nehru Singh	Natha Singh	Dansingh Wala PO. Mehma Sawai
610	378	Niranjan Singh	Boor Singh	Behla PO. Rataul
611	023	Nirbhai Singh	Dharam Singh	Alal PO. Moolowal
612	034	Nirmal Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Rajo Majra
613	347	Nirmal Singh	Joginder Singh	Nepal PO. Jastarwal
614	766	Nirmal Singh	Piara Singh	Dhotian
615	496	Nirmal Singh Sarpanch	Mohan Singh	Hothian
616	575	Nirvail Singh	Atma Singh	Manochahal Kalan
617	779	Nirvail Singh	Jagir Singh	Kotla Bajja Singh PO. Dadi Nazara
618	637	Nirwair Singh	Jagir Singh	Bhauwal PO. Ropar
619	393	Nishan Singh	Ajit Singh	Pabarali Kalan PO. Paracha
620	461	Nishan Singh	Bahal Singh	VPO. Raniya
621	450	Pala Singh	Taru Singh	Wajidpur Badhesha PO. Mahmadpur
622	066	Paljitt Singh	Chamel Singh	Rumana Chak PO. Tarpai
623	065	Paltej Singh	Chamel Singh	Ramana Chak PO. Tarpai
624	039	Palwinder Singh	Gurbachan Singh	Gehlan FO. Mehsampur
625	260	Palwinder Singh	Ajit Singh	Khalehra PO. Getri Mandi
626	271	Param Satinderjit Singh	Sawinder Singh Gambhir	Jangla PO. Nash Chak
627	031	Paramjit Singh	Joginder Singh	Gehla Bagha Patti PO. Mahisampur
628	070	Paramjit Singh	Harnam Singh	Hoera Nagar, PO. Netaji Nagar, Salem Tabri

629	217	Paramjit Singh	Late S. Naranjan Singh	Dhamot
630	232	Paramjit Singh	Gurmukh Singh	Talwandi Nahar
631	245	Paramjit Singh	Gurnel Singh	Manuke
632	276	Paramjit Singh	Gurdit Singh	Guru Gobind Singh Nagar
633	303	Paramjit Singh	Chand Singh	Bathinda
634	401	Paramjit Singh	Tehal Singh	Mahi Nangal PO. Rama Ma
635	447	Paramjit Singh	Darshan Singh (Ex-Subedar)	Fazalabad
636	532	Paramjit Singh	Sawinder Singh	H.No.10-L, Model House,
637	591	Paramjit Singh	Harnek Singh	Jalandhar
638	611	Paramjit Singh	Harchand Singh	Mallian
639	761	Paramjit Singh	Narinder Singh	Phoolwala
640	792	Paramjit Singh	Mohan Singh	Sohian
641	772	Pardeep Singh	Beant Singh Malhi	Bahmani Wala
642	084	Pargat Singh	Avtar Singh	Sur Singh
643	579	Pargat Singh	Preetam Singh	Baoli Inderjit
644	794	Pargat Singh	Charan Singh	Bhangali Kalan
645	243	Parivar Singh	Dalip Singh	Sur Singh Wala
646	821	Parjinder Singh	Parminder Singh	Dalla
647	290	Parminder Singh	Bant Singh	Sehnsra Kalan
648	429	Parminder Singh	Piara Singh	Gill Kalan
650	540	Parminder Singh	Hardeep Singh	Amritsar, H.No.13, Guma
650	710	Parminder Singh	Amrik Singh	Nagar
651	352	Piara Singh	Bhagwan Singh	Jhabal Kalan
652	553	Piara Singh	Meja Singh	1263 Phase 3B-II, Mohali
653	691	Piara Singh	Surain Singh	Alo Arakh PO. Bhawanig
654	177	Pipal Singh	Gurbachan Singh	Jeobala
655	592	Prabhjit Singh	Harnek Singh	Tibbar
656	370	Prem Singh Dalladi	Ghuman Singh	Dhrolewal
657	780	Pritam Singh	Bhan Singh	Phoolwala
658	117	Prithipal Singh	Sucha Singh	Dalladi PO. Nabha
659	689	Punjab Singh	Bachan Singh	Narpur PO. Chor Sidhwa
660	721	Punjab Singh	Mahan Singh	Gokalpur
661	148	Rachhpal Singh	Late S. Jagir Singh	VPO. Khajala
662	149	Rachhpal Singh	Late S. Banta Singh	Dhapei
663	732	Rachhpal Singh	Hari Singh	Kalansur
664	806	Rachhpal Singh	Anokh Singh	Kalansur
665	250	Rachhpal Singh Chhandra	Late S. Ranjit Singh	Faridkot
666	783	Raghuveer Singh	Bant Singh	Jhander
667	407	Rajbir Singh	Preetam Singh	Chhandra
668	357	Rajinder Singh	Nachhatter Singh	Goslan
669	746	Rajinder Singh	Saudagar Singh	Zafarwal
670	718	Rajinder Singh	Late S. Ajmer Singh	Balad Kalan
671	529	Rajwinder Singh	Kashmir Singh	Fategarh Sivian
				Khanpur, H.No.1245
				Panjwar Khurd

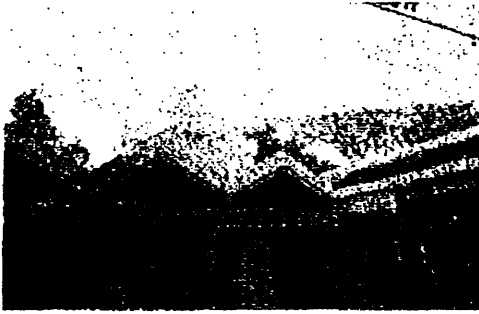
672	143	Rakesh Kumar	Vishwa Mitter	Chachowati PO. Jampur
673	482	Ram Saroop Singh	Hukam Singh	Sihora
674	186	Ram Singh	Gurmail Singh	Daun Kalan
675	795	Ram Singh	Late S. Gura Singh	Sur Singh Wala
676	832	Ram Singh	Bahadar Singh	Varpal
677	011	Ram Singh Billing	Himmat Singh	Dhadogal
678	324	Ranbir Singh Manshahia	Jarnail Singh Manshahia	Dabwali Road Bathinda
679	036	Randhir Singh	Sinder Pal Singh	Amargarh Dhuri Road
680	285	Randhir Singh	Mastan Singh	Dangian
681	074	Randhir Singh (Jahedar)	Chanan Singh	Mal Chak PO. Kang
682	593	Ranjit Kaur	Rachan Singh	Gharuan
683	009	Ranjit Singh	Gurdev Singh	Jakhlan
684	090	Ranjit Singh	Swaran Singh	Bhambri PO. Khamano
685	171	Ranjit Singh	Kirpal Singh	Thetharke PO. Dera Baba
686	219	Ranjit Singh	Lal Singh	Guara
687	251	Ranjit Singh	Late S. Sampooran Singh	Chandra
688	492	Ranjit Singh	Inder Singh	Nagoke
689	629	Ranjit Singh	Gurdev Singh	Chowki Mann
690	640	Ranjit Singh	Sardara Singh	Pathan Majra PO. Gharam
691	648	Ranjit Singh	Hamek Singh	Bathinda, 22162, Gali No.
692	716	Ranjit Singh	Pala Singh	Datarpur PO. Rattangarh
693	771	Ranjit Singh	Sewa Singh	Kaler Mangat PO. Luddar
694	693	Rattan Singh	Virsa Singh	Amam Nagar PO. Karhali
695	499	Ravinder Singh	Bela Singh	Dugahwal
696	514	Resham Singh	Bhagwan Singh	Booh PO. Fattu Dhinga
697	726	Resham Singh	Tara Singh	Kuharka PO. Shahbazpur
698	785	Resham Singh	Bakshish Singh	Amritsar, PO. Vijay Nager H.N. 55-56
699	507	Rulda Singh	Dharam Singh	Atari PO Bela
700	085	Rupinderjit Singh	Bhajan Singh	Kang, Patti Talwandi Di
701	525	Sadhu Singh	Bant Singh	G.T.B. Garh Rode
702	603	Sadhu Singh	Teja Singh	Phoolwala
703	122	Sahab Singh	Dara Singh	Gagrewal
704	175	Sahib Singh	Piara Singh	Kashtiwai
705	374	Sahib Singh	Piara Singh	Kaleke
706	588	Sahib Singh	Kirpal Singh	Sangan
707	743	Sahib Singh	Late S. Soorta Singh	Sahoora
708	834	Salwant Singh	Mukhtar Singh	Jeobala
709	558	Salwinder Singh	Mangal Singh	Singhpura
710	662	Salwinder Singh	Shabsig Singh	Manihala Jai Singh PO. K Pucca
711	764	Salwinder Singh	Late S. Sucha Singh	Dhotian
712	380	Santokh Singh	Saroop Singh	Behla PO. Rataul



713	448	Santokh Singh	Sher Singh	Saron
714	559	Sarbjit Singh Jauhal	Balvir Singh Jauhal (Jathedar)	Jauhal
715	016	Sarbjit Singh	Balbir Singh	Bhadarvadh
716	080	Sardara Singh	Late Bur Singh	Kaleke PO. Khilchian
717	751	Sardool Singh	Late S. Pooran Singh	Rahal Chahal PO. Sangatp
718	124	Sardul Singh	Aasa Singh	Gagrewal
719	311	Saroop Singh	Preetam Singh	Nangal Khunga
720	534	Sarup Singh	Santokh Singh	Fatehpur Badeshe PO. Mia
721	040	Satgur Singh	Kaku Singh	Palasaur PO. Bhalwan
722	103	Satnam Singh	Harbars Singh	Dalla PO. Leel Kalan Qadi
723	127	Satnam Singh	Gulzar Singh	Jalalabad
724	563	Satnam Singh	Prem Singh	Mahadian
725	683	Satnam Singh	Jarnail Singh	Kairoa
726	720	Satnam Singh	Sohan Singh	Dhapei
727	773	Satnam Singh	Mahinder Singh	Jallupur Khaira
728	207	Satpal Singh Satyal	Late S. Surjit Singh Stayal	H.No. 250, Satyal Niwas
729	043	Saudagar Singh	Kartar Singh	Mangewal PO. Kurad
730	071	Savinder Singh	Joginder Singh	Bagge Khurd PO. Bagge
731	131	Sawinder Pal Singh	Jeevan Singh	Jaura
732	189	Sawinder Singh	Dalip Singh	Athwal PO. Fatupur Dehar
733	234	Sawinder Singh	Pooran Singh	Kale Ke PO. Khilchian
734	314	Sawinder Singh	Amar Singh	Kalanaur
735	619	Sawinder Singh	Bhagal Singh	Padde, PO. Pheruman
736	202	Sewa Singh	Late S. Cheta Singh	Gharuan Uchand
737	398	Sewak Singh	Balkar Singh	Kala Afghana
738	353	Shamsber Singh	Chhota Singh	Aloa Rakh PO. Bhawaniga
739	333	Sher Singh	Bakhshish Singh	Khiala Kalan
740	291	Shingara Singh	Jagar Singh	Bega Lehra PO. Bhucho
741	517	Shingara Singh	Atma Singh	Booh PO. Fattu Dhinga
742	807	Shingara Singh	Boota Singh	Rose PO. Pakiwan
743	281	Sikandar Singh	Harnek Singh	Lehra Bega PO. Bhucho
744	377	Skattar Singh	Niranjan Singh	Behla PO. Ratual
745	298	Sohan Singh Butter	Phoola Singh @ Tar Singh	Dan Singh Wala
746	079	Soma	Tirath Ram	Ghanupur PO. Chheharta, Wala Khu
747	158	Suba Singh	Late S. Lakha Singh	Shahpur Goraya
748	696	Suba Singh	Gurbachan Singh	Shakoor
749	556	Subash Singh	Diwan Singh	Jathuwal
750	789	Subeg Singh	Dhian Singh	Sur Singh
751	112	Sucha Singh		VPO. Thande
752	397	Sucha Singh	Teja Singh	Pabarli Kalan PO. Parach
753	802	Sucha Singh	Pal Singh	Varpal
754	350	Sudagar Singh	Late S. Hari Singh	Bakhtari PO. Bhawaniga
755	381	Sudama Singh	Sahib Singh	Dheri

756	041	Sukh Sagar Singh	Jatinder Singh	Beehla
757	249	Sukhbir Singh Khalsa	Tara Singh	Sujo
758	494	Sukhbir Singh Kunnar	Jagpal Singh	Kot Gangu Rai
759	037	Sukhchain Singh	Santokh Singh	Mann Khehra
760	468	Sukhdeep Singh	Darshan Singh	Rajo Majra
761	007	Sukhdev Singh	Bhan Singh	Vill. Dhotian
762	025	Sukhdev Singh	Santa Singh	Moom
763	173	Sukhdev Singh	Late S. Kesar Singh	Qadian Gujran PO. Shahp
764	371	Sukhdev Singh	Sudagar Singh	Daun Khurd PO. Boharpur
				Janherian
765	386	Sukhdev Singh	Shingara Singh	Kala Afghana
766	388	Sukhdev Singh	Mahinder Singh	Maulvi Kot PO. Paracha
767	474	Sukhdev Singh		Main Bazar, Ghanapur
768	539	Sukhdev Singh	Chanchal Singh	Vill. Naurangabad
769	581	Sukhdev Singh	Sardool Singh	Sur Singh
770	627	Sukhdev Singh	Late S. Nachhatter singh	Chowki Mann
771	635	Sukhdev Singh	Sher Singh	Sohana
772	651	Sukhdev Singh	Dan Singh	Baba Bhan Singh Kothe
773	674	Sukhdev Singh	Surjit Singh	Loham
774	758	Sukhdev Singh	Karam Singh	Chachowali PO. Jaintipur
775	787	Sukhdev Singh	Late S. Sardool Singh	Sur Singh
776	198	Sukhdev Singh Lali	Sulakhan Singh	Panjraeen
777	476	Sukhjinder Singh	Ajaib Singh	Vill. Janian PO. Bundala
778	463	Sukhjiti Singh	Harpal Singh	Rajo Majra
779	242	Sukhmandar Singh	Major Singh	Dalla
780	385	Sukhpal Singh	Jagir Singh (Babe Ke)	Kala Afghana
781	120	Sukhraj Singh	Hazara Singh	Gagrewal
782	400	Sukhwant Singh	Preetam Singh	Bamb PO. Rai Mall
783	406	Sukhwant Singh	Kartar Singh	Marhian Wala PO. Batala
784	754	Sukhwant Singh	Kashmir Singh	Lohar PO. Jauhal Dbahe
785	387	Sukhwinder Kaur	Ram Singh	Kala Afghana
786	010	Sukhwinder Singh	Ram Dhan Singh	Wajidpur Badeshan PO
				Mahamadpur
787	115	Sukhwinder Singh	Gian Singh Nambardar	Mallian
788	160	Sukhwinder Singh	Niranjan Singh	Chaura PO. Dera Baba Na
789	211	Sukhwinder Singh	Punjab Singh	VPO. Kakkari
790	238	Sukhwinder Singh	Shingar Singh	Batala
791	360	Sukhwinder Singh	Randhir Singh	Masani PO. Nadampur
792	376	Sukhwinder Singh	Atar Singh	Kohali
793	590	Sukhwinder Singh	Darshan Singh	Fatehgarh Sahib
794	614	Sukhwinder Singh	Dildar Singh	Khela PO. Fatehabad
795	656	Sukhwinder Singh	Mahinder Singh	Manihala Jai Singh PO. K
				Pucca
796	488	Sukhwinder Singh	Tara Singh	Badbar
		Bhatti		
797	193	Sulakhan Singh	Late S. Sohan Singh	Panj Graeen

798	475	Sutkhan Singh		Vill. Bhakra
799	798	Sufkhan Singh	Kulbir Singh	Hemraj Pur
800	006	Suleman Khan	Jora Khan	Sehna
801	348	Sumitter Singh	Faqir Singh	Mulanwal
802	259	Suriander Singh	Ram Chand	Churni Kalan
803	453	Surinder Singh	Nachhattar Singh	Dhanda PO. Barawal
804	788	Surinder Singh	Late S. Veer Singh	Sur Singh
805	686	Surienderpal Singh	Inder Singh	Dhndhipura PO. Naushehr Singh
				Tibhar
806	688	Surjan Singh	Surain Singh	Kathu
807	045	Surjit Singh	Amar Singh	Attari PO. Bela
808	204	Surjit Singh	Dharam Singh	Sanghna
809	222	Surjit Singh	Mahinder Singh	Guru Har Sahai
810	346	Surjit Singh	Sher Singh	Tharu
811	586	Surjit Singh	Inder Singh	Bhanri
812	723	Surjit Singh	Mahnider Singh	Sultanwind
813	660	Sukhwinder Kaur	Hardial Singh	Dhindsa PO. Kot Todar M
814	384	Swaran Kaur		Naubad Mari PO. Algon K
815	554	Swaran Singh	Kartar Singh	Aladinpur
816	410	Swaranjit Singh	Channan Singh	Tola Nangal PO. Raja San
817	811	Talwinder Singh	Hardial Singh	Sagarpara PO. Chaudhary
818	169	Tara Singh	Wasawa Singh	Manj Phaguwal PO. Ladh
819	670	Tara Singh Sandhu	Ishar Singh	Sadhpora Chogawan
820	152	Tarlochan Singh	Late S. Harbhajan Singh	VPO. Gtuman
821	256	Tarlochan Singh	Daulat Singh	Kapial
822	364	Tarlochan Singh	Man Mohinder Singh	Ludhiana, H.No. 289, Sha
823	601	Tarlochan Singh	Kundan Singh	Nagar Ludhiana
				Sehke PO. Guara
824	630	Tarlochan Singh	Jagit Singh	Rurka Kalan
825	663	Tarlak Singh Khalsa	Gajjan Singh	Sanghna
826	223	Tarsem Singh	Ashar Singh	Vero Nangal PO. Rangar
827	236	Tarsem Singh	Sohan Singh	Dander
828	078	Tasbir Singh	Jathedar Anoop singh	Lehra Bega PO. Bhucho
829	280	Tej Kaur	Harnek Singh (Husband)	Fatehgarh Sivian
830	705	Teja Singh	Basant Singh	VPO. Satkoha
831	508	Tejinderpal Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Bhaku Majra
832	436	Tejpal Singh	Hazara Singh	Jahangir PO. Kaheru
833	021	Veer Singh	Sundar Singh	Kaler PO. Raja Sansi
834	338	Vir Singh	Mahinder Singh	Booh PO. Fattu Dzinga
835	515	Virela Singh	Jagir Singh	Bure Nangal PO. Rangar
836	139	Waryam Singh	Nazar Singh	Bhawanigarh
837	365	Yadvinder Singh	Bhajan Singh	Harike Pattan
838	484	Yadvinder Singh	Angrej Singh	

**Committee for Religious Freedom in Vietnam (CRFV)****Confiscated Church Properties**

Reformed Presbyterian Church at 2 bis Le Duan Street, Saigon, transformed into a state-owned night club.



One of 800 Recital Minarets of the Hoa Hao Buddhist Church confiscated by the government after 1975. This place where religious leaders once preached, communist cadres now use to dry their laundry.

### UNIFIED BUDDHIST CHURCH OF VIETNAM (UBCV)

The UBCV has been outlawed and all of its properties have been confiscated. Some 10,000 schools, hospitals, universities, orphanages... of UBCV have been appropriated by the state; temples are turned over to the state-sponsored Buddhist Church. Following are some examples of temples transferred to the state-sponsored church or transformed for government use.

1. Phap Van Temple, at 244 Nguyen Van Dau, Phuong 11, Quan Binh Thanh. It now belongs to the state-sponsored church.
2. Vietnam Quoc Tu (National Shrine of Vietnam) in Saigon, transferred to the state-sponsored Buddhist Church of Vietnam.
3. Buu Quang Temple, Xa Cam Thanh, Huyen Tu Nghia, Quang Ngai. It was also the provincial office of the UBCV. In 1976 the government confiscated this temple and sent its abbot Thich Quang Y to prison. The temple is now used for rice storage.
4. Quang Duc Temple, 294 Nam Ky Khoi Nghia.
5. Van Hanh University, Le Van Sy Street, 3rd District, Saigon
6. Van Phuoc Temple in Binh Duong.
7. Thien An Temple in Binh Duong
8. Phap Hoa Temple, Da Nang, now transformed into government office.
9. Dinh Tam Temple, Da Nang.
10. Phuoc Vien Temple, Da Nang, completely razed.
11. Hue Nghiem Institute of High Buddhist Study.
12. Phu Xuan Temple, Nha Be, Gia Dinh, Saigon. It has been transformed into a government warehouse.
13. Quang Duc Temple, Khanh Hoa, transformed into a handicraft center.
14. Van Hoa Temple, Kien Giang, Rach Gia, transformed into a training center for Communist cadres.
15. Khanh Minh Temple, Long An, transformed into a maternity ward.
16. Bo De Highschool, Qui Nhon, Binh Dinh Province, transformed into dormitories.

### HOA HAO BUDDHIST CHURCH

Right after the takeover of Saigon on April 30, 1975, the communist government ordered the dissolution of the entire Hoa Hao Buddhist Church (HBC) hierarchy. They confiscated all HBC properties including offices, temples and shrines, the Hoa Hao University in Long Xuyen province, and all recital minarets, including the following.

1. HBC Headquarters Office at Hoa Hao village, now transformed into the Administrative Office of Phu Tan district, An Giang Province. Hoa Hao Holy Land is now called: Phu My Village, Phu Tan district, An Giang Province.
2. Office of Management Board of Hoa Hao Holy Land, transformed into the Information and Cultural Office of Phu Tan district.
3. HBC Library of Hoa Hao Holy Land, transformed into Phu My People Committee, Phu Tan district.

4. Boarding house for Hoa Hao Buddhist pilgrims at Hoa Hao Holy Land was levelled. The land was used to build the District Treasury.
5. HBC Relief Station now is the District Education Office.
6. HBC Lecture Hall at My Huong market now is a government sport club office.
7. Mess Hall No. 1 for Hoa Hao Buddhist pilgrims near My Huong market was levelled. It is now a restaurant.
8. Mess Hall No. 2 near HBC's headquarter was also levelled to build a food storage.
9. Hoa Hao Representatives Office, 114 Bui Thi Xuan Street, Saigon.
10. Office of Hoa Hao Saigon Management Board, facing the Hoa Hao Representatives Office.
11. Office of Hoa Hao An Giang Management Board, 80/1 Nguyen Truong To St. Long Xuyen City.
12. Office of Hoa Hao Phong Dinh Management Board, 42 Ly Thai To St. Can Tho City.
13. Office of Hoa Hao Interprovincial Phong Dinh-Chuong Thien Management Board 42 Ly Thai To St, Can Tho City.
14. Seat of Hoa Hao Interprovincial Phong Dinh-Chuong Thien, 16-18 Tran Quoc Tuan St, Can Tho City.
15. Office of Hoa Hao Chau Doc Management Board transformed into Nguyen Ai Quoc Party School, Chau Doc City.
16. HBC & Vietnamese Democratic Socialist Party's Soldier Cemetary was levelled. Built on it now is the District Chau Phu Committee Office.
17. HBC Soldier Cemetary of Binh Minh district was also levelled.
18. Office of Hoa Hao Vinh Long Management Board, located at Vinh Long-Can Tho square, transformed into Vinh Long Printing office.
19. Office of Hoa Hao Sa Dec Management Board, 2km from the former Sa Dec Provincial Administrative Headquarters.
20. Office of Hoa Hao Tan Chau Management Board transformed into Tan Chau Light Industry office.
21. Lecture Hall of Long Phu village, Tan Chau district is now being used as maternity hospital.
22. Office of Hoa Hao An Phu Management Board, transformed into An Phu Tax Branch.
23. Seat of the Viet Nam Social Democrat Party, affiliated with HBC 480 Hong Thap Tu St, Saigon.

In all, before 1975, the HBC had:

- 28 provincial or City Offices,
- 82 district offices,
- 476 village offices
- 3,100 hamlet offices
- and over 800 Recital Minarets which were visibly established along the main arteries cutting through all the villages of the Mekong delta.

### CATHOLIC CHURCH

Most properties of the Catholic Church have been confiscated in 1975 and have remained confiscated. The return of the following properties has been officially requested by the Church but to no avail.

1. Giao Hoang Hoc Vien (Papal Institute), Dalat  
Over the years, the Catholic Bishops Conference of Vietnam has requested the return of this property, which belongs to the Vatican, but to no avail.
  2. Nha Huu Duong Dong Dong Cong (Retirement Home of the Church of Mother-Co-Redemptrix), 34/2 Ap Phu Chau, Xa Tam Phu, Huyen Thu Duc: 15 acres of orchard, retirement home, and all equipment and furniture confiscated on September 7, 1988. Rev. Tran Dinh Thu has written a letter to the government to request the return of this property. His request has been ignored.
  3. Dac Lo Church (Alexandre de Rhodes Church of the Jesuit Order), 161 Ly Chinh Thang Street (formerly Yen Do Street), 3rd District, Saigon. It has been transformed into state-owned Tuoi Tre (Youth) Publishing Company.
  4. Thanh Mau Primary and Secondary School, property of the Hoa Khanh Catholic Congregation, Lien Chieu District, Da Nang City. It has been appropriated by the Da Nang College of Pedagogy, which converted it into a public housing facility and an animal farm. Since 1991 the Hoa Khanh Congregation has requested the return of this property to no avail.
  5. Lasalle Taberd Highschool, 53 Nguyen Du Street, First District, Saigon.
  6. Highschool of the Dominican Order, 44 Tu Xuong, 3rd District, Saigon.
  7. Highschool of the Dominican Order, 190 Le Van Sy, Phu Nhuan, Saigon.
  8. Seminary of the Co-Redemptrix Order, Tam Ha Village, Thu Duc, Saigon.
  9. St. Paul Vincent de Paul Seminary, 42 Tu Xuong, 3rd District, Saigon.
  10. Nguyen Ba Tong Highschool, 73 Bui Thi Xuan, 2nd District, Saigon.
  11. St. Paul Highschool, 4 Cuong De (now Ton Duc Thang), Saigon.
  12. St. Thomas Highschool, 698 Le Van Sy, 3rd District, Saigon.
  13. Lasalle Mossard Highschool, Thu Duc, Saigon.
  14. Regina Mundi Girl Highschool, 228 Cong Ly (now Nam Ky Khoi Nghia), 3rd District, Saigon.
  15. St. Paul Hospital, Phan Thanh Gian, 3rd District, Saigon.
  16. Seminary Hoan Thien, 11 Dong Da, Hue.
- Note: In Saigon alone, 300 schools of the Catholic Church were confiscated in 1975.

### PROTESTANT CHURCHES

All properties of the Pentacostal Church have been confiscated after 1975. Following is a complete listing of these properties.

1. Pentacostal Primary and Secondary School in Saigon
2. Pentacostal Hospital in Saigon. It has been turned into a state hospital reserved exclusively for high ranking officials.
3. Pentacostal Hospital near Tan Son Nhat airport. It has been turned into a commercial center.
4. Pentacostal Hospital in Phu Nhuan. It is presently used as the office of a state oil enterprise.
5. Pentacostal Church in Thu Duc, Bien Hoa
6. Pentacostal Church in Da Lat (on former Hai Ba Trung street)
7. Ai Nghia Church in Duc My, Quang Nam. It has been demolished. Its ground is now used for an outdoor market.
8. Pentacostal Chapel in Binh Chanh, Cho Lon
9. Phu Hoa Church in Quang Nam. It has been turned into a grain storage.

10. Can Tho Elementary School in Can Tho
11. Vam Nhon Elementary School in Can Tho
12. Pentacostal Church in Da Nang (on former Phan Chu Trinh Street)
13. Pentacostal Elementary School in Da Nang. It has been turned into state-owned Da Ly Huong pre-school.
14. Cho Lon Elementary School for Chinese ethnics in Cho Lon (on former Ba Hat street)
15. Protestant Church, 3 Nguyen Van Thoai, Saigon.
16. Protestant Church, at An Dong Market, Cho Lon.

Other properties of Protestant Churches that have been confiscated:

1. Reformed Protestant Church at 2 bis Le Duan Street, Saigon. It has been transformed into a night club.
2. Protestant Church at 7 Tran Cao Van, Saigon. It is now used as a child care center.
3. The Nha Trang Bible College in Nha Trang has been turned into a hotel reserved for communist officers.
4. Protestant Church at 1 Ly Thuong Kiet, Street, Da Nang became a beer and wine factory after 1975.

### CAO DAI CHURCH

Most properties of the Cao Dai Church, all located in Tay Ninh, have been confiscated after 1975 and converted into state properties. Following is a sample list.

1. The Religious Civil Affair Building, now turned into the Provincial Communist Youth School
2. The Congregation Hall, now used for the continuing education institution for Communist cadres
3. The Holy Legislative Body Department, now turned into the office of the Provincial Culture & Arts Association
4. The Holy Administrative Body Department, now turned into the Agriculture Vocational Center
5. The Holy Guard Headquarters, now used for the People's Court of Tay Ninh
6. The Holy Ground Diocese Office, now used as the Sheriff Department of Tay Ninh
7. The Buddhist Heritage Compound, now turned into the office of the Fatherland Front of Tay Ninh
8. The Central Vietnam Diocese Office, now turned into the 19th of May Preschool
9. The Cao Dai Chinese Holy Administrative Body, now turned into the Provincial Lumber Factory
10. The North of Vietnam Diocese Office, now turned into a lumber factory office
11. The Amnesty and Charity Holy Compound, now transformed into the Career Training College for Communist Cadres
12. The Holy-See Orphanage, now turned into the Provincial Medical College
13. The Holy History Research Branch, now turned into public housing complex for Communist cadres
14. The Universal Amnesty Services, now turned into a movies theater
15. The Minority Group Holy Body, now turned into the Interior Administrative Office



16. The Holy Guard Post, now turned into the Hoa Thanh Post Office
17. The Holy Auditorium, now turned into the Unification Conference Hall
18. The Natural Woods (owned by the Cao Dai Church), now turned into a kindergarten playground and cafeteria
19. The Holy Radio Broadcasting Studio, now turned into an operetta house
20. The Holy Music and Arts Department, now turned into the Culture and Arts School
21. The Holy Rites Department, now turned into the Hoa Thanh Pharmacy
22. The Main Gate Boulevard, now occupied by a fire station, a food warehouse, and housing for communist cadres
23. The Archbishop Hall, now turned into the headquarters of the Hoa Thanh Fatherland Front
24. The Holy Architecture Branch, now turned into the office for social services for the handicapped
25. The Linh-Duc Sewing and Cutting Company, now turned into a provincial orphanage
26. The Holy Amnesty Medical Services, now turned into the Country Medicine Association
27. The Holy Library, now turned into the Fitness and Gymnastic Club
28. The Holy Agriculture Department, now turned into a machine shop
29. The Holy Industrial Department, now turned into an auto repair shop
30. The Holy Health Department, now turned into a hospital
31. The Holy Hospital, now turned into government-owned Hoa Thanh Hospital
32. The Holy Guard Compound, now turned into Hiep Ninh Open Theater Site
33. Cao Dai University, now turned into Solidarity University of Pedagogy
34. Dao Duc School, now turned into Ly Tu Trong Highschool
35. Le Van Trung High School, now turned into Le Qui Don Junior High
36. The Holy Centennial Park, now turned into the Solidarity Flower Garden

