

# THE CASE AND TREATMENT OF PROMINENT HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER GAO ZHISHENG

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## HEARING BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS SECOND SESSION FEBRUARY 14, 2012

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# **THE CASE AND TREATMENT OF PROMINENT HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER GAO ZHISHENG**

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2012**

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE  
COMMISSION ON CHINA,  
*Washington, DC.*

The hearing was convened, pursuant to notice, at 12:31 p.m., in room 2118, Rayburn House Office Building, Representative Chris Smith, Chairman, presiding.

Also present: Senator Sherrod Brown; Representative Tim Walz; Representative Frank Wolf.

## **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. CHRIS SMITH, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW JERSEY; CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA**

Chairman SMITH. The Commission will come to order. I want to welcome all of our distinguished panelists and guests, and thank you for being here.

Ladies and gentlemen, as President Obama welcomes Vice President Xi Jinping, Chinese Leader-in-Waiting, to the White House today, our Commission will hear testimony from two wives who are appealing for the immediate release of their jailed husbands, great human rights leaders back in China. We will also hear from two human rights experts as well who will give great insight and detail as to the issues before us.

As Chairman, I hope that President Obama does not put human rights last on the agenda, or not at all, as he did when President Hu Jintao visited the White House on January 19, 2011.

One of the wives, Li Jing, says that “only the United States can make this case to China,” that is the case of her husband and the case of the disappeared and incarcerated human rights leaders. Please, President Obama, listen to these courageous women, Geng He and Li Jing, and act decisively.

The China Commission hopes that the issue of human rights abuses in China will be raised in a serious and visible way during the Vice President’s visit, and particularly that the detention of Gao Zhisheng, Liu Xiaobo, Chen Guangcheng, Guo Quan, Liu Xiabin, Pastor Yang Rongli, and Alimujiang Yimiti, and others is raised often and discussed in detail.

This important and timely hearing recognizes one of China’s most important human rights leaders and lawyers, Gao Zhisheng. In early 2000, Mr. Gao, a self-trained lawyer, emerged as a champion of human rights causes and a defender of marginalized groups

in China. Today, we know little about Mr. Gao's current condition or his whereabouts.

Then the issue of Guo Quan, who is an academic and professor who published an open letter to President Hu calling for multi-party elections, posted a charter for a new democracy party online and called for the end of China's notorious reeducation through labor system. For that, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Gao Zhisheng's brilliant legal advocacy on behalf of marginalized groups in China, including religious practitioners, the Falun Gong, and others, Christians, rural workers, human rights activists, and more, resulted in him being sentenced on trumped up inciting subversion charges in 2006.

He was sentenced to three years imprisonment, but granted a five-year suspended sentence or period of parole. During this time, however, Mr. Gao was subjected to years of brutal torture and he repeatedly "disappeared." An outspoken Christian, Mr. Gao has been disappeared into official custody since February 2009, with only a brief reappearance under official supervision in March and April 2010.

Information on Mr. Gao's enforced disappearance and current condition remain a closely guarded secret. For months and years we heard nothing of Mr. Gao's ongoing detention or torture. Two months ago, however, Chinese officials announced that Mr. Gao would be forced to serve out his original three-year criminal sentence a week before he should have finished his five-year parole period.

The announcement claimed that Mr. Gao violated the conditions of his parole. Of course, no details were provided. One can only wonder what violations Mr. Gao committed since he has been held incommunicado during a majority of his parole period and has been, as I said, brutally tortured by the Chinese Government throughout.

In the past month, his brother and other family members have been turned away in their attempts to visit Mr. Gao. We have received no word on his health or condition. An expert witness will demonstrate the official case against Gao Zhisheng is not only rife with villainy, but also bereft of any semblance of humanity.

In an account of Mr. Gao's torture, made public by the Associated Press in January 2011, Mr. Gao disclosed to that reporter the excruciating details of his detention:

The police stripped Gao Zhisheng bare and pummeled him with handguns in holsters. For two days and nights they took turns beating him and did things he refused to describe, it was that horrific. He recalled for 48 hours "my life hung by a thread." Authorities reportedly threatened to kill Mr. Gao, to dump his body in a river. Authorities taunted him by saying, "You must forget you are human."

To the Vice President of China: We will not forget. We do not know if Mr. Gao is alive or dead. In solidarity with Mr. Gao and his family and his lovely wife, who is here today, we know that we will honor Mr. Gao's accomplishments, his rights advocacy, and his brave witness for the truth. We will not let those who hold Gao Zhisheng destroy his legacy. We will not allow these criminals to dispose of his significance. We will not forget him, not now and not ever, and we will continue to press for his release.

We are also honored to hear from two specialists with unique insights, including Jared Genser, founder of Freedom Now and a member of Gao Zhisheng's international pro bono legal team. Mr. Genser will discuss the recently filed petition with the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention on behalf of Mr. Gao which seeks an opinion on whether his imprisonment violates international law.

We will also hear from Pastor Bob Fu, founder and president of ChinaAid Foundation. Pastor Fu, who also spent time in the laogai when he was still in China, will discuss the "Free Gao" campaign and the need to hold China accountable for its ongoing harassment.

The case of Guo Quan, a former criminal court officer and university associate professor, illustrates how Chinese officials target citizens who attempt to form independent political parties or use the Internet to organize or to pose online opinions deemed too politically sensitive.

In 2007, Mr. Quan began posting a series of open letters to top government leaders, advocating on behalf of laid-off workers, demobilized military cadres, and displaced farmers. He also wrote letters calling for a multi-party rule and for democratic reforms. Because of his writings, because they were considered too critical of the government, he lost his university professorship, and then he was further demoted from a Communist democratically state-approved party, and then formed his own party. For that and these other things, he has gotten a 10-year prison sentence.

The hearing today continues the Congressional-Executive Commission on China's work to monitor China human rights and the rule of law developments and to give voice to the persecuted. In the past year, the Commission has consistently raised China's ongoing violations of international law and human rights standards in its reports and events. Recent hearings have been able to boldly shine a light on some of China's gravest human rights abuses and injustices and on its darkest policies.

In December 2011, just a few months ago, our Commission held a hearing on Liu Xiaobo, a year after he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in absentia. No one, not even his wife, was allowed to travel to Oslo to receive that coveted award and he remains incarcerated unjustly by the Chinese Government.

In November 2011, last year, just a couple of months ago, we held a hearing on the illegal detention and abuse of Chen Guangcheng and his family. A self-trained legal advocate, Mr. Chen was wrongfully imprisoned for exposing China's brutal forced abortion policy and his heroic activism on behalf of the women victims in Linyi which caused the ire of the dictatorship to come down with full force.

As I think we all know, China's one-child-per-couple policy is state-sponsored cruelty and constitutes a massive crime against humanity. The Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunals properly construed forced abortion as a crime against humanity. Nothing in human history compares to the magnitude of China's 33-year assault on women and children. Chen spoke out. Chen and his wife continue to pay a price.

That policy, as we all know, has made brothers and sisters illegal. It has led to the absence of upward of 100 million girls who have been killed by way of sex selection abortion as part of this

one-child-per-couple push, and that has led to a massive increase in human trafficking because the women simply are not there.

We held a hearing at which we heard that between now and 2020, something on the order of 40 to 50 million men will not be able to find wives because they have been systematically killed as part of the one-child-per-couple policy. So, it is a very serious policy. Chen spoke out and paid the price.

I would also note that I and members of our staff have tried to visit Chen Guangcheng. We have appealed repeatedly and applied repeatedly to the Chinese Embassy here for a visa to go and visit him. Turned down. It is an ongoing request. My hope is that they will grant it, and grant it soon.

Again, I want to thank our distinguished witnesses. I would like to turn to my good friend and colleague, Cochairman Brown, for any opening comments you might have.

**STATEMENT OF HON. SHERROD BROWN, A U.S. SENATOR  
FROM OHIO; COCHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE  
COMMISSION ON CHINA**

Senator BROWN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be brief. Thank you all for attending today's important hearing on the treatment of Chinese human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng.

We are here to show support for a man who has devoted his life to defending the rights of his fellow citizens. A special thank you to his courageous wife, Ms. Geng He. Thank you very much for being here today. We look forward to hearing from you about your husband's life and career defending marginalized groups in the People's Republic of China and know that his and your life's devotion to human rights is a source of inspiration for so many people in the United States and China and across the world. Thank you.

Thank you also to Li Jing, the wife of imprisoned Chinese dissident Guo Quan. She, too, will share her husband's story of standing up for basic human rights in the face of intimidation and imprisonment. Today's hearing comes at an important time in the relationship between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China.

As the Chinese Vice President attends meetings just minutes away from here with our top officials, we are reminded that the real China is represented by the brave individual imprisoned in China under a cloud of secrecy who is the focus of today's hearing.

In understanding Gao's story we understand not only what Gao stands for, but the challenges that we face in China today. Mr. Gao has devoted his life to trying to make the law work for those he represented—the underprivileged and the underserved. He stood up for those kicked off their land by greedy and corrupt officials and developers. He stood by factory workers protesting low wages and long hours. He spoke out for persecuted practitioners of Falun Gong.

In stark contrast, Chinese authorities showed no concern for Mr. Gao's rights or the law. They disbarred him, they jailed him. They have tortured him and somehow made him disappear. Chinese authorities have used Mr. Gao to send a chilling message to other would-be human rights defenders: Stay quiet, don't challenge us, don't hold us accountable, or else.

Mr. Gao himself would say that his case is about more than just his own experience. As he wrote in his book, "A China More Just," behind each case in China are systemic problems. From the problems that Mr. Gao has faced, the utter disregard for the rule of law by his government and the Communist Party, we see why our Nation faces so many systemic problems with China today.

Mr. Gao's case and the cases he worked on show us how easy it is for Chinese officials to cheat, to bend the rules, to game the system. They show us how easy it is for China to ignore labor laws and environmental standards, hoard raw materials, manipulate its currency. They brazenly tell us and then sell us—with the help of some of our own companies, I might add, in this country—toxic toys, tainted pet food, consumer products made by overworked and underpaid workers.

While I and others in our government are doing what we can to ensure the safety and health of our citizens in a fair trading relationship with China, we know that we cannot do it alone. We need brave citizens like the men each of you are married to to defend their rights to make sure they have a fair and living wage, their food is safe, that their environment is clean.

That is why Mr. Gao's case is so important, because if Chinese citizens can defend their rights we all benefit. We all benefit in my State, in my country, and around the world when we know the products we buy from China are made by workers who are treated well in good, cleaner conditions.

We all benefit from a rule of law that ensures the citizens of China the possibility to hold their government accountable and to petition grievances to effect change. But until Mr. Gao and countless other political prisoners in China are released from their shackles, that day will remain in the distant future. That is why we on this commission and our government must continue to do all we can to spotlight these cases and secure Mr. Gao's release. We want to help in any way we can. Treatment of basic human rights deserves nothing less.

Thank you, all of you, for joining this hearing.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Senator Brown.

I yield to Ranking Member Tim Walz.

Representative WALZ. I yield to the chairman of the Lantos Human Rights Commission and an outspoken advocate on behalf of human rights in China; Frank Wolf.

**STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK WOLF, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM VIRGINIA; MEMBER, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA**

Representative WOLF. I want to thank you, Mr. Smith, and also Senator Brown, for your work on these issues. I do have a statement I want to read, and say I woke this morning to read a powerful but thoroughly unsettling piece by China dissident Yu Jie that was in the Washington Post. He opens with the following. He said, "Chinese dissident writers exiled to the West today get a very different response than Soviet writers received not long ago."

I would even go further than Mr. Yu. Chinese defectors get a very different response, as evidenced by a story that broke days ago about a senior Communist Party official in China that reportedly

attempted to defect to the United States and was turned away after his request for asylum was rejected.

Returning to Yu Jie, this soft-spoken man who I recently met endured beatings and torture from Chinese secret police. He asserts that “China is a greater threat than the Soviet Union ever was, but now the West,” he said, “lacks visionary politicians such as Ronald Reagan to stand up to that threat.” I could not agree more.

In fact, just last week, along with a number of other Members, we urged President Obama in a letter signed by a number of Members to do what Reagan has done. We urged him to meet with the families of these dissidents. We urged the President to publicly and privately raise the cases of six prominent Chinese citizens who have suffered greatly at the hands of their own government, among them, Gao.

We will have the honor of hearing his wife momentarily. We also urged the President and the Vice President to meet with Mr. Gao’s wife prior to the meeting with China’s Vice President to hear firsthand about the plight of these dissidents.

While the Vice President’s trip to the United States is already under way, the administration could still get Gao’s wife the courtesy of a meeting—the courtesy of a meeting—after the fact, given that they rolled out the diplomatic red carpet for the very government who has imprisoned and tortured her husband. So can’t they now meet with her, even if it’s afterward, if they ignored it before?

It’s clear that the current approach to China is not working. We are losing jobs. Quiet diplomacy whereby grave human rights and religious freedom abuses are reportedly discussed in private meetings, but rarely if ever raised publicly, has not yielded any results and in fact has emboldened—it has emboldened—the Chinese Government.

We should not forget the persecuted church. The Cardinal Kung Foundation says that 25 Catholic bishops in the underground church are under house arrest. Protestant pastors are in jail. A Tibetan nun just set herself aflame on Sunday because of the activity, and the list goes on.

But when you look at this in context with this next thing, these issues would have featured, I am sure prominently, in a trip that Suzan Johnson Cook, the State Department’s Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom, was ready to take to China last week. It is my understanding that her trip has been canceled.

Her request to meet with Chinese Government officials was denied and a visa was denied. So the special ambassador for this administration cannot get to China, cannot even get a visa. And yet when you have people who are putting people in jail and torturing people, it begs the question, has the department protested this action? Has the Secretary or the White House protested that their own ambassador cannot even get a visa to go to China?

I have more, Mr. Smith, but I will end on this last comment. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. famously said, “In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies but the silence of our friends.” America is a friend to the imprisoned human rights lawyer. America is a friend to the young Tibetan nun who just set herself aflame. America is a friend to the tortured human rights advocates,

the Catholic bishops, the Protestant pastors, and we should not be silent, as this administration has been.

I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Chairman Wolf.

I would like to now introduce our distinguished panelists.

Just very briefly, Geng He, who is the wife of human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng. Geng completed her university studies in accounting in China. She and Gao Zhisheng married in August 1990. Between 2000 and 2006, she worked as a paralegal and accountant at a Beijing law firm, a law firm founded and directed by her husband.

In March 2009, a month after Chinese officials reportedly detained her husband, Geng left China with her two children. Since arriving in the United States, she has advocated tenaciously on behalf of her husband through interviews and by, today, of course, testifying. But she has been just everywhere, speaking out for her persecuted husband.

We will then hear from Li Jing, wife of human rights and democracy advocate Guo Quan. She has a B.A. from Nanjing Normal University in Nanjing City. She and democracy advocate Guo Quan married in November 1999. She worked for Modern Express newspaper for five years. Li also worked in import and export businesses. She arrived in the United States in January of this year, 2012, and has publicly advocated on her husband's behalf.

Guo is currently serving a 10-year sentence for subversion of state powers, as I said before, after a court found that he used the Internet to organize an illegal political party and to publish, allegedly, reactionary statements online.

We will then hear from Jared Genser, who is the founder of Freedom Now, an independent nonprofit organization that works to free prisoners of conscience worldwide. He is also managing director of Perseus Strategies, a law and consulting firm focusing on human rights and humanitarian projects.

He was a partner in the Government Affairs practice of DLA Piper and a management consultant with McKinsey & Company. He has worked with this Commission, as well as with my committee. I chair the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health and Human Rights of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. He has been a great source of actionable information concerning human rights in general, but political prisoners in particular.

Then we will hear from Pastor Bob Fu, who was one of the leaders of the 1989 Student Democracy Movement in Tiananmen Square, and later became a house church pastor and founder, along with his wife. In 1996, authorities arrested and imprisoned them for their work.

After their release, they escaped to the United States and founded ChinaAid Foundation. He has been, again, like Mr. Genser, a great source of information that is accurate as well as actionable. So, I thank him for his leadership on behalf of people of all faiths, including and especially Christians who are suffering so much in the People's Republic of China.

I would like to now ask Geng He if she would present her testimony.

**STATEMENT OF GENG HE, WIFE OF HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER  
GAO ZHISHENG**

Ms. GENG. Good afternoon, everyone, and happy Valentine's Day. Greetings, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Cochairman. Thank you for inviting me to speak about my husband, imprisoned Chinese human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng. I would like to thank the Congressional-Executive Commission on China for holding this hearing today and everyone in attendance for your interest in Zhisheng's case.

My husband, Gao Zhisheng, is a lawyer in China. He represented some of the country's most vulnerable citizens. He represented plaintiffs who lost their land to development projects like the 2008 Summer Olympics. He defended factory workers that were arrested after they demonstrated against low wages and long hours.

He also represented members of Christian house churches and practitioners of the banned Falun Gong spiritual movement. His righteous actions have brought him persecution by the Chinese authorities. As lawyer Gao Zhisheng once said, "You cannot be a rights lawyer in China without becoming a rights case yourself."

In November 2005, the government suspended Zhisheng's lawyer license and closed his law firm after he refused to drop his most sensitive cases. He was convicted of inciting subversion in 2006, after confessing in the face of threats against our children.

Since then, our lives have been turned upside down. The government placed our family under constant surveillance and police moved into our apartment building and followed us everywhere. The government has repeatedly abducted and tortured Gao Zhisheng—more than six times in the past few years.

In September 2007, authorities disappeared Zhisheng and held him for over 50 days after he wrote an open letter to the U.S. Congress exposing human rights abuses in China. Policemen covered his head with a black hood and took him into a room, where they stripped him naked and beat him.

They used electric batons to shock him all over his body, especially his private parts, which turned his skin totally black. It was so painful that Zhisheng was rolling around on the ground. After losing consciousness from the torture, he woke up covered in urine.

Later, his captors used cigarette smoke to burn his eyes so severely that he could not open them. They even stabbed his genitals with toothpicks. Zhisheng asked them to lock him up in prison, but they refused. They said "You are simply dreaming if you want to go to prison. We can make you disappear whenever we want to." That is what they have done. This torture lasted more than three days.

In order to protect our children, I escaped with them to the United States in January 2009. The next month, authorities abducted Zhisheng again. This time the government held him for over a year before he briefly reappeared the following spring.

In an interview with the Associated Press, Zhisheng described even more torture during the disappearance. Police beat him with handguns for two days and nights. He said this was the worst beating he had ever endured, that his life hung by a thread. Soon after the interview, he disappeared again.

I last spoke to Zhisheng on April 17, 2010, on the birthday of my daughter, Grace. Since then, our family has been burdened with constant uncertainty. Zhisheng's absence has caused my daughter severe emotional anguish. She often dreams that her father is dead. My son has tears in his eyes on Father's Day. He tells his teacher that he does not have a father. Recently, we were forced to endure rumors that the guards had tortured Zhisheng to death.

Then in December 2011, less than one week before Zhisheng's probation was scheduled to end, Chinese authorities added to our uncertainty by claiming that he would spend the next three years in prison in Xinjiang. This news came just before the holidays.

Some people have asked us if we are relieved because the government says that he is alive, but the news has not brought us any peace of mind. In fact, we are more worried than ever before. How can we trust them? How many times have they lied to us? We do not know what to believe. We do not know if he is still in prison in Xinjiang.

This morning, Vice President Xi Jinping was meeting with President Obama and Vice President Biden. Before their meeting I requested to meet with them, but I did not get any reply. I was very disappointed. I am so grateful that the United States has provided protection to my family from the Chinese Government.

I also need to ask all of you, including President Obama, Vice President Biden, and Secretary of State Hilary Clinton to continue to call on the Government of China to respect human rights for all its citizens. Actually, I would like to request a meeting with them to tell them the story face to face.

I ask you to continue to report on this case so the truth about Zhisheng's treatment at the hands of the Chinese Government will be known to the world, and I hope and pray that with your help my husband will regain his freedom and my family can be together once again. Thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak here today. I welcome any questions you may have.

At the end, I would request that the Commission include the following articles for the record. The first one is Cai Zhuohua's case, regarding the persecution of Christians in China. The second is three open letters by lawyer Gao Zhisheng. This is about Falun Gong's persecution. The third is a letter that lawyer Gao Zhisheng wrote. The title is "Dark Night, Dark Hood: Kidnapped by the Black Mafia." The last one is an interview with the Associated Press by lawyer Gao Zhisheng.

Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Ms. Geng, thank you very much for your very moving testimony, an appeal of a wife on behalf of her husband who has been persecuted and disappeared, and the terrible, devastating impact it is having on you, your family, and, of course, on Gao Zhisheng as well.

Without objection, the request you have made for those documents to be made a part of the record, they will be made a part of the record.

I would include another one, one that I remember we received on September 27, 2007, that was actually used against Gao Zhisheng. It was an open letter to the U.S. Congress, a very incisive letter with quotations from Madison, the quotation from Dr. Martin Lu-

ther King, Jr., where Dr. King said “injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.” Without objection, that, too, will be made a part of the record.

I would like to now invite our second wife whose husband is being unjustly persecuted, Li Jing, for your testimony.

[The articles submitted by Geng He appear in the appendix.]

[The letter from Gao Zhisheng to the U.S. Congress appears in the appendix.]

**STATEMENT OF LI JING, WIFE OF DEMOCRACY ADVOCATE  
GUO QUAN**

Ms. LI. Distinguished Mr. Chairman, Cochairman, ladies and gentlemen, and friends, my name is Li Jing. I would like to thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak out on the persecution of my husband and our family. My husband, Guo Quan, is currently in prison serving a 10-year sentence for peacefully expressing his opinions about democracy and human rights.

After several years of harassment, my son and I arrived in the United States three weeks ago. We are exiled in this country, currently enjoying freedoms here that hopefully will someday be enjoyed by everyone in China.

Because I now have the freedom to speak, I want to tell you a little about my husband’s case. He is an academic and a professor at Nanjing Normal University, with a degree in law and a doctorate in philosophy. He started to publicly advocate for great democracy and human rights in 2007.

Because of his public advocacy, my husband suffered. He cannot teach again. He was stripped of his associate professor’s salary and allowed to work for only minimum wage. It makes him feel that human rights have not improved and have gotten even worse. Of course, this demotion did not stop his advocacy.

In less than a year’s time, he published online the “Herald of Democracy,” a collection of 347 articles criticizing a one-party dictatorship, spreading the ideas of democracy and constitutional government.

To push democracy in China, on December 17, 2007, my husband posted the “China New People’s Party Charter” just online, announcing the founding of this party. Even without action and members he suffered. On November 13, 2008, Nanjing police detained my husband on the charge of “subversion of state power.” He was formally arrested on December 19, 2008, and sentenced on August 7, 2009, to 10 years in prison, with three years’ probation of political rights.

I was also forbidden by Nanjing police to go to the trial or speak to the international media about this case. He is currently serving his prison term at Nanjing Pukou Prison. From the first published letter, my family experienced the continued harassment by police. Our lives have been turned upside down for the simple expression of political opinion.

Our home was raided several times in the middle of the night, and they forcibly confiscated our computers and some of my husband’s manuscripts which were never returned. They even do not give us our house rights certification that belongs to my family. My employers told me that the public security officer submitted to him

three times and he was asked to monitor my activities. I had no opportunity to be promoted and my career also came to an end.

My husband's advocacy also affected the life of our nine-year-old son. He was continually blamed by some teachers. Before his father was arrested he held some leadership positions in his class and in his school, but he has been stripped of this. Previously active and outgoing, he has become more and more withdrawn and lacking in confidence.

My husband is innocent. He loves our country. He is a college professor who thinks he has a commitment to our country, but a devoted Christian whose conscience leads him to advocate peacefully for rights and freedoms that are universal.

For this, he was given a 10-year prison term. This is egregious political persecution. His mother is elderly and sick and his son and I miss him greatly. I cannot imagine my son not being able to see his father for another seven years.

I am very grateful to ChinaAid for helping me in the United States to live in exile. I appeal to the U.S. Congress and the U.S. Government to help reunite my family and to urge China's leaders to release my husband immediately and without condition, as well as the many other political prisoners who are penalized for speaking out. Thanks be to God. Thank you all.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you so very much for joining us and for your very courageous appeal on behalf of your husband. I hope that the White House, the House and the Senate, and I hope that Xi Jinping is listening to this appeal from two wives for your individual husbands, but also all the other left-behind family members on behalf of the tens of thousands of political prisoners and religious prisoners in China. So, thank you for your outstanding statement.

I would like to now ask——

Ms. LI. Sorry.

Chairman SMITH. Yes?

Ms. LI. I also want Congress to keep my husband's articles, the 347 articles and 2 letters to Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao.

Chairman SMITH. All right. Thank you. We will receive those articles.

Ms. LI. As congressional record. Okay. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. Genser?

**STATEMENT OF JARED GENSER, FOUNDER, FREEDOM NOW  
AND MANAGING DIRECTOR, PERSEUS STRATEGIES, LLC**

Mr. GENSER. Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Cochairman, and thank you for the opportunity to speak with all of you today. I want to begin by thanking the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, and in fact all the members and staff here today, for the really fabulous work that you are doing on behalf of the United States. It is a real service to our country to have such scrutiny of the Chinese Government's human rights record.

As international pro bono legal counsel to imprisoned Chinese lawyer Gao Zhisheng, I want to provide you with a brief overview of his case and my explanation as to why his continued detention violates both Chinese and international law.

I will also reflect on why, although Mr. Gao is only one of many Chinese prisoners of conscience, his case is a bellwether that deserves especially close attention. Gao Zhisheng was a prominent Chinese lawyer who ran afoul of the government after he took on politically sensitive cases, particularly those of religious minority groups.

In 2005, the government shut down his law firm. In August 2006, the authorities arrested Mr. Gao and accused him of inciting subversion, a charge frequently used to silence government critics like 2010 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Liu Xiaobo, who is also a pro bono client of mine.

The government prevented the family's chosen lawyers from meeting with Mr. Gao and used threats against his wife and children to extract a confession. The trial lasted less than a day and the government failed to even notify the family or their chosen counsel of the proceedings.

On December 26, 2006, the Beijing First Intermediate People's Court handed down a suspended three-year sentence, subject to a five-year probationary period. Despite the formal suspension of his sentence, Mr. Gao was not free. Over the next five years, the government repeatedly disappeared and tortured him. In September 2007, authorities disappeared him for 50 days after he publicly criticized China's human rights record.

Then in February 2009, the government again abducted Mr. Gao, shortly after his family sought asylum in the United States. Denied access to a lawyer, Mr. Gao was held in secret for more than a year. Although he mysteriously reappeared in March 2010, Mr. Gao disappeared again a few weeks later. He has not been seen or heard from since.

On November 19, 2010, the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, an independent and impartial body, including experts from Chile, Norway, Pakistan, Senegal, and Ukraine, issued opinion number 262010, finding his ongoing detention to be in violation of international law.

After 20 months without credible information regarding Mr. Gao's whereabouts or well-being and just days before the probationary period was to end, Chinese state media announced last December that Mr. Gao would now serve his three-year prison sentence. The government claimed that Mr. Gao violated his probation, and he was therefore taken to Xia County Prison in remote Xinjiang Autonomous Region.

Prison authorities turned Mr. Gao's family away after they traveled some 22 hours by train to see him, incredulously claiming that Mr. Gao did not want to see his family and that he could not receive visitors during a three-month "educational" period. No independent party has been able to confirm Mr. Gao is alive or actually at that prison.

The government's imprisonment of Mr. Gao, if in fact he is at the Xia County Prison, is illegal for three reasons. First, Mr. Gao has already spent more than three years in government custody since his arrest in 2006 on subversion charges. Quite simply, he has already served his full sentence.

Second, the charges against Mr. Gao for inciting subversion arise out of his written and spoken criticism of the Chinese Government.

Imprisoning Mr. Gao for exercising his fundamental right to freedom of expression is a flagrant violation of China's international obligations and its own Constitution.

Finally, the prosecution of Mr. Gao failed to meet international standards for due process. During the trial the government relied on a forced confession and denied Mr. Gao the right to counsel of his own choosing. Thus, in revoking Mr. Gao's probation we have subsequently seen that the government has acted without any legal process whatsoever yet again. We filed a new petition to the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, urging it to find this new period of detention is also in violation of international law.

Although he is only one of many Chinese prisoners of conscience, Mr. Gao's case is an important bellwether for three reasons. First, Mr. Gao is not a traditional dissident, he is a lawyer. A vanguard of the Weiquan, or rights defending, movement, Mr. Gao attempted to promote the rights of his clients from working within the system. His case shows the government's willingness to persecute those that promote the rule of law from within, but he is not alone.

The government continues to hold prominent lawyer Chen Guangcheng under strict house arrest with his wife and daughter. Chen, also a self-trained lawyer, rose to prominence after he organized a class-action lawsuit exposing abuses under China's one-child policy. The government is also moving forward with the prosecution of Ni Yulan, a well-known tenants' rights lawyer.

Second, the continued detention of Mr. Gao is instructive because it is part of a larger crackdown in which the Chinese Government continues to stifle freedom of expression. As Ambassador Locke noted last month, repression in China has only worsened since the uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa.

In December and January, activists Chen Wei, Chen Xi, and Li Tie all received long prison sentences of 9 or 10 years and authorities put a fourth activist, Zhu Yufu, on trial. Each was charged with subversion or its incitement. This larger crackdown will only be exacerbated by the government's incredulous moves to potentially legalize disappearances like Mr. Gao's under Chinese law. Such a cynical move would render the whole idea of the rule of law meaningless.

Finally, Mr. Gao's case is striking for how brazen the government has become in its willingness to publicly and transparently lie about the circumstances of his detention. After the government disappeared Mr. Gao in 2009, a security agent told the family that Mr. Gao had "lost his way and went missing."

Later, the Foreign Ministry spokesman indicated that Gao was "where he should be," an ominous reference, but when pressed later smiled and said he didn't know where Mr. Gao was and couldn't be expected to know the whereabouts of all of China's 1.3 billion people.

Then the government released a photograph of Mr. Gao purporting to show him alive and well, but in it Mr. Gao was wearing a distinctive bracelet he had given his daughter Grace before she, Geng He, and their son Peter fled to the United States.

After his wife Geng He pointed this out in an interview, an unknown woman tried to steal this bracelet from Grace on a New

York City subway. Now authorities are claiming that Mr. Gao, a loving husband and father, would rather not see his family.

The Chinese Government's treatment of Mr. Gao and his family is nothing short of shocking, and its contradictory claims show a total disregard for the international community. If the government's lies are not publicly and directly confronted, it sends a message to Beijing that respect for the rule of law and basic human rights are no longer a priority.

I thank you for the opportunity to share my thoughts with you today and would of course welcome any questions. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you so very much for your incisive testimony.

I would like to now ask Pastor Fu if you would proceed.

**STATEMENT OF BOB FU, FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT,  
CHINAID ASSOCIATION**

Mr. FU. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cochairman, and the honorable members of the CECC. Thank you for the Commission's professional staff and for your excellent work in documenting and pursuing the human rights issue in China.

ChinaAid's mission is to promote the establishment of a loving and just civil society in China that abides by the rule of law. In pursuit of this mission and out of a profound respect for Gao Zhisheng and to support his work, ChinaAid has spared no effort in launching a worldwide campaign aimed at winning Gao's release.

Over the past five years we have expended huge manpower and financial resources in ceaselessly mobilizing efforts in this regard. As a very small NGO, we are limited in what we can do but we know that our efforts have some value in the same way that those voices against slavery before the American Civil War eventually led to the full awakening of the forces of justice.

Three years ago, we set up the Free Gao Zhisheng Web site called "FreeGao.com" to draw attention to Gao's plight and to launch a worldwide petition on his behalf. So far, we have collected more than 150,000 real name signatures from 196 countries. We printed out the signatures today and we want to give them to the CECC for the record.

These names, these voices, these people spoke up. From Sudan to Afghanistan, from South Africa to Norway, from China to America, 150,000 people of conscience coming from various faith backgrounds, political systems, and family backgrounds of different occupations and of all ages have signed this petition.

For more than three years we have been looking night and day for Gao Zhisheng. We have never stopped asking, where is Gao Zhisheng? How is he doing? I, myself, have traveled all over the United States and to Europe many times, calling for Gao's release.

Unfortunately, the situation is getting worse. We do not even have a way of confirming that Gao Zhisheng is still alive today. Our fears grow with each passing day, so we earnestly hope that the free Western world will abandon its so-called quiet diplomacy and speak up and urge China, a country that is a signatory to both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to abide by both its own do-

mestic law as well as international laws to abolish the use of torture and to immediately release Gao Zhisheng and stop persecuting his family because of him. China should be held accountable for Gao's case.

On the occasion of the visit to the United States by Vice President Xi Jinping, the next leader of China and the Chinese Communist Party, we are filled once more with some hope, hoping that these meetings between America's top leader and Xi Jinping can facilitate Gao Zhisheng's release.

We do not forget that without the countless Americans who, under the leadership of President Abraham Lincoln, died to free the black slaves, and without the price paid by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and his supporters, the first African-American President in U.S. history would not be sitting in the White House today. This glorious history reminds us that those who have been freed must not forget the virtue of those who fought for freedom.

Furthermore, they have the obligation to carry on this tradition and to show compassion and support for those around the world who are still being oppressed. This is the spirit of Martin Luther King and Gao Zhisheng, and it is a noble reason that should compel us to continue to fight for their cause.

Mr. Chairman, I was very much moved this morning by the actions of my friend, Michael Horowitz, on behalf of the "China Six" prisoners of faith and all other Chinese prisoners of conscience, and I think Mr. Horowitz is here today.

I was especially moved by his effort to cause the Obama administration to deal with the human rights issues with the priority attention that such leaders as President Reagan and the late Tom Lantos gave it. Michael was arrested in front of the White House this morning for engaging in a quiet and respectful demonstration.

As I saw the police place handcuffs on him and drive him away in a squad car, I realized how great America's heart can be. I also realized the great things that America's friends of freedom can do for oppressed people in China and elsewhere. Before his arrest, Michael prepared a statement which I hope can be entered into the hearing record.

As you know, Michael played an important role in working with you, Mr. Chairman, and with Congressman Wolf and others on such legislation as the International Religious Freedom Act and the North Korea Human Rights Act. His statement reflects a great understanding of what a determined America can do through peaceful means to make China and the world a better and a safer place.

Let me conclude with the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. himself: "And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true."

Thank you very much.

Chairman SMITH. Pastor Fu, thank you very much. Without objection, your request to include the statement by Michael Horowitz from the Hudson Institute will be made a part of the record.

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

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

[The Free Gao petition is retained in Commission files.]

Chairman SMITH. Like you, I do greatly admire his work as well on behalf of human rights. Today's action is just another discernible manifestation of that deep concern for fundamental human rights in China and everywhere else, so thank you for your testimony.

Just to begin the questioning, let me just ask Ms. Geng He, if I could: You point out in the testimony that Gao Zhisheng once said that "you cannot be a human rights lawyer in China without becoming a rights case yourself." I would say this as to Ms. Li as well.

When we express dissatisfaction with a policy or with our government, we may get an editorial that is damning. As politicians, we may come under some kind of press scrutiny that we might not welcome, but nothing, nothing that even comes close to the consequences, the deleterious consequences that men and women who promote human rights face in China.

I think Americans need to become much more aware of the systematic use of torture, the systematic use of all means—I mean, there are no trials. They are all show trials. There is no due process of law in the People's Republic of China. It is a dictatorship. Yet, both of your husbands spoke out boldly, knowing that there might be severe and long-lasting consequences to themselves and to their families. What motivates that kind of courage? Because you have it as well. You bear the brunt and the scars of the dictatorship as well.

Ms. GENG. Thank you very much.

Chairman SMITH. If you could answer, why do they do it? Where does that courage come from to speak out when the iron fist of the secret police is waiting with a baton and with the implements of torture?

I would note parenthetically, in the 1990s I chaired a hearing in my Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health and Human Rights. We invited six survivors of the laogai, including Harry Wu, Paul Dingjatsu, who is a Tibetan monk, and they brought in the implements of torture that are routinely used against political and religious prisoners. Your husband spoke out. How and why did he do it?

Ms. GENG. My husband, Gao Zhisheng, grew up in the poor countryside. When he was eight years old, his father died. He hoped he could bring change to China, and he later started working very hard to obtain his law degree. He hoped to use the law to help more people, to help China. He was very happy that he could use his knowledge of the legal system to help many Chinese people. Actually, the first case he took was for poor people and he did it pro bono.

He successfully handled a case and he actually helped the victims get about 800,000 yuan Renminbi in rewards. So after this successful case, many people in China came to him to seek legal support. So because of this one case, people traveled more than 1,000 miles to Xinjiang in order to seek lawyer Gao Zhisheng's help.

Lawyer Gao Zhisheng's assistant met them immediately, and helped them settle down. Then they talked about the case and discussed what to do. Each time lawyer Gao Zhisheng met these kinds

of people he always recalled his mother who always helped people while she herself was in very difficult conditions. So, lawyer Gao Zhisheng has done so many good deeds in China. He still faces such severe persecution.

Even my family suffered a lot from it, and my daughter actually had to take the police bus to go to school. In class, the police sat behind her and there was almost 24-hour surveillance of her. So when we arrived in the United States, the first day my daughter did not choose to go to school. She actually chose to go to the hospital because she suffered tremendously mentally.

My children and I support lawyer Gao Zhisheng wholeheartedly because what he did is right and we believe in the righteous power in the world.

I also want to add here that his courage is also from his faith. He believes human rights are bestowed by Gods and cannot be deprived by any government. His book that was published in the United States is titled, "A China More Just," and its original Chinese title is "Fighting for Justice, With Gods Aside Us Shoulder to Shoulder." He believed that we will prevail because Gods will win over the evil.

Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Ms. Li?

Ms. LI. I think for my husband, first, we are a Christian family. The key word in the Bible is love. I think love is not just a feeling, but it is a commitment. For my husband, he wants to help the poor people to have a voice, so he did that. After the first persecution for him, he started to think, why can they treat him like this? It is because there is only one party.

He started thinking over this matter. Without the division of power, without checks and balances, they can do everything they want, so he started to support democracy in China. Every time when I saw him in prison he always told me, I am not wrong. Actually, if he promises he will not continue to write when he gets out, maybe the government will release him faster. But he always says no, I am not wrong.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you. Out of love. It is based on a faith-based conviction, which is an enormous motivator, and I thank you for sharing that, because it is the why of it. Even people like Lech Walesa, it was his faith that powered him to fight for solidarity in Poland. We know throughout China there are people of faith who are paying a very significant price, so I thank you for giving us an insight as to the why.

Let me ask you just a couple of questions before yielding to my friend and colleague Mr. Walz, and then to Mr. Wolf. In your testimony, Ms. Geng, you make the statement that it is no small irony that while you are speaking here on Capitol Hill, Chinese Vice President Xi Jinping is just up Pennsylvania Avenue meeting with President Obama at the White House.

You did point out your disappointment that you believed that your husband's plight has been down-played by the White House. I would say for the record, and I want this very clear, I have been in Congress 32 years, both Mr. Wolf and I have been, and we have never seen human rights issues as partisan issues.

If George Bush was dropping the ball as we thought he was doing, especially in the run up to the Olympics with regard to human rights in China, we spoke out very loudly. We even went there right before the Olympics to raise individual cases and set up a meeting with the White House with six dissidents before Bush went there, including Harry Wu and Wei Jinsheng and others to ensure that the human rights focus never left.

I have been concerned, and I say this and I know it is shared by many others, that this administration has been indifferent to a large extent, relying on lower level dialogues and conversations. I would respectfully submit that quiet diplomacy is just another name for indifference. This needs to be raised.

As I said in my opening, Hu Jintao came here. There was not one public expression by President Obama about human rights, and there he was, meeting with the captor and the jailer of Liu Xiaobo, who got the Nobel Peace Prize, and President Obama had gotten it just one year before.

So I would wonder, and perhaps the wives might want to speak to this, but maybe our other distinguished leaders here, because I think Ms. Li, you made a very profound insight when you said without U.S. leadership on human rights, few in Beijing will be listening. The United Nations certainly has not raised its voice in any reasonable way or any powerful way, so the United States really needs to be the ones to do it.

You said only the United States can make this case to China. If either of the two gentlemen or the two wives might want to speak to that, how would you rate how we are doing, how the White House is doing? Because it seems to me this is on a back burner, if it is even on that.

Mr. GENSER. I will begin by expressing my disappointment that we did not receive a response from the White House to the request to have Geng He meet with the Vice President. It is unfortunate, from my perspective, that the Vice President did not meet any actual victims of Chinese human rights abuses directly, or their families.

While we are grateful that Assistant Secretary Posner at the State Department has been repeatedly and persuasively relentless himself, the only way that we are going to see movement on these cases is by having the highest level of government officials engaged directly with the Chinese Government. I would submit that we have here today in the audience Dr. Yang Jianli, someone who I represented for five years and who Congressman Smith and Congressman Wolf—

Chairman SMITH. If he could stand just to be recognized. We all know him.

Mr. GENSER. Congressmen Smith and Wolf were both deeply engaged over years on his case. The way he got out, was President Bush raised the case twice to Hu Jintao, Secretary Rice raised it twice, Secretary Powell raised it once, and the U.S. Government had to be relentless. Without that kind of direct engagement, we are not going to see the release of people.

What I would say about quiet diplomacy is, I would be all for quiet diplomacy if it worked. If it was working, then I do not feel

the need to speak out in quite the same way. But if it is not working, clearly we need to change our strategies.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Fu or Ms. Li?

Mr. FU. Yes. I agree, Mr. Chairman, with your overall assessment. But in the past three years the so-called quiet diplomacy of the administration is in essence indifference diplomacy. Obviously this administration has put human rights, and especially religious freedom, on the backseat from day one. After two years of Obama in power, the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom was not even appointed.

The first official visit of hers was not really met with even the courtesy of assistance, I think, from the Chinese Government. I suspect the State Department or the White House, I think, have not done anything to protest this insult by refusing a presidential appointee, an ambassador, to visit her counterpart in China.

I think this almost self-humiliating attitude certainly emboldens the dictator's persecution and indirectly, I think, increases their human rights abuses in China.

Ms. GENG. For the past few years, the persecution of my husband, Gao Zhisheng, has gotten worse and worse. I strongly request to meet with high-level leaders in the U.S. Government. I feel it is very important because Gao Zhisheng's case is critical, and it is critical for breaking through the current situation.

Because, like last year, China arrested many human rights lawyers, like Jiang Tianyong and others, and the authorities actually asked them, "Have you heard of Gao Zhisheng? You probably know him, but so what? His wife, Geng He, who knows her? She went to the United States. So what? We can still make Gao Zhisheng just disappear. We have enough money." That is what the local authorities tell the human rights lawyers that are being arrested.

Right now it is very difficult for us to get any lawyers to help Gao Zhisheng, even if we wanted. We are willing to pay, but no lawyers can take the case. Nowadays, human rights lawyers in China all pay close attention to Gao Zhisheng's case because they know if this case improves, then the situation may be different. I really wish that I could have an appointment with the leaders in the United States so that we can move this case forward.

Chairman SMITH. And you have tried, but they have not gotten back to you, including Vice President Biden?

Ms. GENG. Yes. We tried to contact them with our lawyers, but no response yet.

Chairman SMITH. That, frankly, is totally—

Mr. GENSER. Yes. Let me just clarify. We did hear back from the State Department on the request to meet with Secretary Clinton. We were offered a meeting with Assistant Secretary Posner.

We have now been offered a meeting with Under Secretary Otero, which, of course, we will be happy to take, but we did not get a response from the White House. We sent in a request not just to the scheduler, but to numerous staff at the NSC [National Security Council] and the Vice President's office several times and got no response at all, not even a "sorry, we can't meet you."

Chairman SMITH. That is very disappointing, to say the least. I would say that when you juxtapose that with the Vice President's statement in China, when talking about the horrific one-child-per-

couple policy and its reliance on forced abortion. He said, "I am not going to second-guess the policy," and then sent out an email to some group suggesting that he's not really for the policy. But the damage was done. Those words—words do matter.

Meeting with individuals and getting fully informed about the plight of the wives and their husbands, that should have been a meeting that was sought after by the Vice President and the President's office, not declined.

I would like to now yield to Chairman Frank Wolf.

Representative WOLF. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

I think this administration has been a total failure, and quite frankly, I think all the groups around this country should know this and not pretend it is not true. The Coptic Christians in Egypt should know this administration has failed them. The Iraqi, Assyrian, and Chaldean Christians should know this administration has failed them. The Vietnamese in Vietnam, both Buddhists and Catholic, ought to know this administration has failed them. Of course, the Catholic bishops in China and the Protestant house church leaders in China should know that this administration has failed them. And the Dalai Lama ought to know that this administration has failed them. Eleven.

Now, Buddhists monks and nuns have set themselves aflame. But I want to bring it back to this, and I did not know that you had made a request. I would like to ask both of the wives if they would say publicly—I see the media here looking. What would you say? Because there is still an opportunity to meet after the Vice President from China leaves.

What would you say if you had an opportunity to meet with President Obama? And shame on them both if they do not meet. You know that President Reagan would have met with you. You know President Clinton would have met with you. You know President Bush would have met with you. You know President Jimmy Carter would have met with you. So, shame on them if they do, but maybe they won't. So this may be the only opportunity. What would both of the wives want to say if they were talking to President Obama and Vice President Biden?

Ms. GENG. If I had the opportunity to meet President Obama and Vice President Biden I would tell them my husband, Gao Zhisheng, is a good person and he always does good deeds. What he has done in China is to actually comply with the world's standards, international human rights standards. So why, in China, does he have to be persecuted? Why does he have to suffer from all kinds of torture? Please help me secure his release immediately.

Ms. LI. If I have the opportunity to see President Obama, I want to say my husband is innocent. Because of love he did some things, but it is the way to show how he loves his country. So, please help.

Representative WOLF. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Let me ask our witnesses if there is anything further. Mr. Genser, if you want to perhaps touch on what the United Nations is doing or not doing. I mean, the United States does play the lead, but certainly the European Parliament and other parliaments and lawmakers and leaders ought to be raising their voices on behalf

of the disappeared and the persecuted leaders of the human rights movement in China.

Mr. GENSER. Sure. Let me just say, briefly, the United Nations is engaging on a number of key cases. The High Commissioner for Human Rights is trying to go to China. It seems unlikely it's going to happen before the leadership transition, but clearly she should go and needs to raise her voice. She has, to her credit, raised her voice loudly on Gao's case and a number of other cases.

But the United Nations, frankly, needs to do a lot more. Gao's case has gotten a lot of attention internationally. Bob and many others, and myself, have raised the case in the European Parliament, all around the world, in lots of different contexts. There is a lot of support, of course, for Gao Zhisheng.

But I want to underscore that Geng He and her children live in the United States now. They have protection from the United States. This gives this case in particular a special connection to our country. We have given them asylum status in the United States.

Gao himself has residual asylum status based on his family's status, which means that if we can reappear him and if he is willing to go, he could immediately come to be free in this country and to live his life with his family. So we need the United States to recognize the special responsibility that we have taken on, to our great credit, as a country to Gao Zhisheng and his family and to raise this case at the highest levels.

The last thing I will just note is, my biggest fear about the President and Vice President or Secretary of State not meeting Gao's wife, Geng He, is not exclusively about the optics of that meeting taking place and the message it would send to the Chinese Government, though that is very important.

My biggest fear is that the Chinese Government has repeatedly and publicly lied about what is going on with Gao Zhisheng and the United States and other countries around the world have not publicly responded by saying "You are lying. You are not telling the truth." We have to speak truth to power and we have to tell the world what is really happening with this person's situation.

So it is not sufficient, in my view, to have a meeting with the Assistant Secretary at the State Department to see the kind of progress that we want to see on this kind of case.

Chairman SMITH. Pastor Fu?

Mr. FU. Before Vice President Xi's visit, I was invited, along with a few other leaders, to have a meeting with Ambassador Locke at the State Department. I was, on the one hand, glad to hear that he had made some very straightforward efforts to pursue Gao's whereabouts when he was missing, but on the other hand I hope that the U.S. Embassy or consulate can send a diplomat, if not the Ambassador himself, to go to the Shaya Prison and to verify or ask the Chinese Government to accept a representative from the International Red Cross.

The problem is, we do not know whether he is alive or not. I think the policy of just diplomatic courtesy or informality cannot work anymore. I remember, in 2005 when one of the pastors in Beijing, Pastor Cai Zhuohua, was about to be sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for printing Bibles, according to the lawyers who had knowledge with the court judge.

It was when that news came out and I communicated with the National Security Council of the Bush administration and President Bush was on the way to visit Beijing. On his stop in Tokyo, he made a pointed speech and specifically mentioned about that case. Later, of course, attorney Gao Zhisheng was one of Pastor Cai's attorneys at that time. He was later sentenced to three years imprisonment instead.

I think it is time, yes, to break the silence. I give you one illustration of the wrong signal that the administration, especially the President, has sent. When he visited China, that one morning I received a phone call from a few human rights lawyers. They said they heard the President is waiting to meet with them. So they were waiting outside the embassy compound.

So I was on the phone with the consulate general or deputy general consular of the U.S. Embassy, coordinating, telling him where they are. The consular actually asked me to wait and call back, and I was waiting.

A half an hour later, instead of the U.S. consulate or anyone coming out to visit them, this group of human rights lawyers, including attorney Jiang Tianyong, including Dr. Fan Yafeng, who was later kidnapped and tortured, and they were met with more than 200 Chinese military police and they were rounded up.

The President chose to visit the Great Wall. I was told by the consular later that because there is no guarantee for security, for the President's security, so he could not meet with these human rights lawyers outside the compound of the U.S. Embassy. I thought, "What kind of a signal do you want to send to the Chinese dictators, to these oppressors?" I think that certainly emboldened them and made the human rights record worse.

Chairman SMITH. Well, I would just point out, Pastor Fu, that the signals of indifference and really being uninformed about how powerful, if used, the leverage and the voice of the President, Vice President, and Secretary of State could actually be in getting people out of prison who are suffering unjustly.

I remember when the Secretary of State was en route to Beijing, or to China for her first visit. She said I'm not going to allow human rights to interfere with peddling U.S. debt and global climate change. That threw the dissidents under the bus. Any amount of reparative statements that might be made later—and there weren't many—certainly doesn't undo the damage in terms of what is really in the heart.

My hope springs eternal that this administration will see what they are doing to the cause of democracy and the individuals who suffer for it, a grave injustice by its indifference and wrong signal sending. I would ask the question, how will China ever matriculate from dictatorship to democracy if all of the lawyers like Gao Zhisheng and others who might go that route—but it does have a chilling effect on what they might do if they know that you are going to be met with torture and disappearance, and the same would go with Ms. Li and her husband. The intellectuals, the professors, knowing that they, too—Liu Xiaobo, the others. We need to stand in solidarity with the oppressed, not with the oppressor. Regrettably, we are doing just the opposite.

I would like to ask Chairman Wolf if he has any final comments.

Representative WOLF. No.

Chairman SMITH. I would like to ask our distinguished witnesses, starting with you, Pastor Fu, if you have any final comments and leave the final words to our two distinguished wives who are here, very strong and brave women, and we thank them especially for their testimony.

Pastor Fu, anything?

Mr. FU. I think real change will depend on two factors. The most important factor is of course from inside China. I think in spite of the increasing persecution—last year was perhaps the worst in two decades—we still are hopeful. We are still seeing some signs. It is not because of any relaxation of the totalitarian regime, but I think because of the growing rights awareness and consciousness by the Chinese people.

Look at what happened to the Wukan village in Guangdong province, and 50,000 people. When they were united, they were able to win the fight, at least temporarily. They were allowed to have their first free and democratic election and elect their own leaders in that 50,000-person village. It's a small step, a baby step, but it shows the people's power.

I think of the thousands—hundreds of thousands—of Chinese petitioners, who in spite of the black jails and imprisonment, arbitrary arrests and torture, they still organized and went to the Chinese leadership compounds in Shanghai and Beijing.

And hundreds of house church members, like Beijing Shouwang House Church, in the past 10 months, since April of last year, every Sunday—every Sunday—in the capital city of Beijing, there are arrests, from 20 to more than 100 members of this church have been arrested every Sunday for simply going outdoors for worship.

All the leaders, including Senior Pastor Jin Tianming and all their five elders, had been under house arrest without any freedom of movement. But the members are still going there every Sunday, knowing that they are going to be arrested. I think these are the hopeful signs which we can count on.

Of course, I think of the secondary contribution for China's democracy and freedom is outside, external. I think we do need the external aid. I think the Chinese persecuted people will be greatly encouraged and their morale would be greatly bolstered if they hear from the President of the United States of America tell the Chinese dictators clearly and unwaveringly that we are with you, we are with the persecuted instead of the persecutors.

Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Pastor Fu.

Jared?

Mr. GENSER. Thanks so much. I just want to make three brief closing comments. The first, is to emphasize a point that, Mr. Chairman, you made earlier, which I agree with fully but needs to be emphasized.

This is not a partisan issue. This is something that there is strong bipartisan support to keep pressure on the Chinese Government to improve the fundamental situation of human rights in the country. This is a core value of this country, which this country was built upon. For us as a country, we need to stay true to our fundamental values.

Second, I wanted to say to the administration that there's never a wrong time to do the right thing. Frankly, it's not too late. We may be disappointed. I personally am disappointed that we did not get these meetings that we wanted for Geng He.

But it is an opportunity at this moment to turn the ship around, or to at least change its course, and to recognize that at the end of the day any administration, I believe, should be measured by results and not by effort. I do not care how hard any administration tries, I care about what they achieve.

I think it is quite clear that, regardless of efforts being made—and we might disagree on how strong those efforts are—the results are not there yet. At the end of the day you need to change your tactics if you want to get the results, because clearly this approach is not working.

Last, I just want to thank both of you, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Wolf, for your tremendous leadership on these issues in the Congress, not just on China but on human rights around the world. It is a pleasure to work with both of you and with your offices. You take tremendous leadership on behalf of the U.S. Congress on all these issues and it is greatly appreciated by me.

Most importantly, of course, it is appreciated by the victims of human rights abuses around the world who see the United States as a shining example of what they want their own countries to become. We may be imperfect as a Nation, we may have a lot of flaws and problems that we need to work on, and that is all true. But we cannot forget where we come from and both of you deserve huge credit for your ongoing efforts over so many years.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Genser.

Ms. Li?

Ms. LI. I will speak Chinese.

I feel the Chinese Government right now is a vast interest group. Even though they may realize how gigantic the problems they are confronted with, it is extremely difficult for them to overcome these problems and to make amends. Therefore, in order to change China it indeed calls for more and more people to be able to stand up and speak out.

As was pointed out by my husband before he was put in jail, the mines have to be explored and have to be trod on for them to explode. If you do not test the field, you will never know the borderline and you will never know how Chinese democracy will emerge and whether or not China can be democratized. Therefore, it falls on common effort made by all of us.

As was pointed out in my testimony today, the United States of America plays an extremely important role in all of this. I very much hope that the United States of America will help China to make amends and to make a change. Thanks.

Ms. GENG. The suffering of my husband, Gao Zhisheng, and my family actually showcases the widespread problem of human rights abuse in China. I repeatedly requested to meet with the highest leaders in the United States, President Obama, Vice President Biden, and also Secretary Hilary Clinton. I wish I could meet with them.

I also hope that the embassy in China can send a delegation to meet Gao Zhisheng and to at least verify whether he is alive or not.

I really hope that the highest-level leaders in the United States can pressure China to release Gao Zhisheng unconditionally so that our family can be reunited sooner. Thanks.

I firmly believe that 1.3 billion Chinese people still do not have basic human rights right now. If this situation still continues in China, the whole human civilization will not have a perfect civilization.

So, I hope that the whole Western world and civilized world can give more support to China's human rights situation and can support those human rights advocates and warriors in China so that they can be consoled when they are fighting in the dark.

This kind of support not only can bring China's human rights efforts into a brighter era, this will also encourage support for more people to bring out their human nature, the light of human nature, and it will also provide tremendous courage for all the human rights warriors in China when they struggle in the dark. Hopefully this kind of support can bring much more encouragement to these warriors. I thank all of you from the bottom of my heart. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you so much for your testimonies. The people of China deserve better than what they are getting from the dictatorship. Your husbands, and you and the others like you, who are languishing in prison are the future of China and we need to stand in solidarity with you and with them. So, thank you so much.

Bob Fu?

Mr. FU. Yes. Just to make one more point to bring true change to China. I think it is very important for Congress to work together to pass the Global Online Freedom Act. I thank the leadership of Congressman Wolf to champion this. That will provide a tremendously efficient tool to break down this firewall in China and certainly will enhance and improve the chance for rapid democratization in China. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

As you know, Mr. Fu, that bill, the Global Online Freedom Act, we hope to be marking that up very shortly in my subcommittee. It is an idea whose time has come. The enabling of high-tech to enable a dictatorship to find, apprehend, and incarcerate people of faith, the Falun Gong, the Christians, the Uyghurs, and to destroy dissident movements throughout the world calls out for this legislation, so I hope to have this bill out of committee very shortly. So, I thank you for bringing that up.

I would like to thank our distinguished witnesses again, and without further ado the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:10 p.m. the hearing was concluded.]



# APPENDIX

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## PREPARED STATEMENTS

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GENG HE

FEBRUARY 14, 2012

Greetings Mr. Chairman and Mr. Co-Chairman. Thank you for inviting me to speak about my husband, imprisoned Chinese human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng. I would like to thank the Congressional-Executive Commission on China for holding this hearing today and everyone in attendance for your interest in Zhisheng's case.

Zhisheng, a well-known lawyer in China, represented some of the country's most vulnerable citizens. He represented plaintiffs who lost their land to development projects like the 2008 Summer Olympics. He defended factory workers that were arrested after they demonstrated against low wages and long hours. He represented members of Christian house churches and practitioners of the banned Falun Gong spiritual movement. But as Zhisheng once said, "you cannot be a rights lawyer in [China] without becoming a rights case yourself."

In 2005, the government suspended Zhisheng's law license and closed his law firm after he refused to drop his most sensitive cases. He was convicted of inciting subversion in 2006 after confessing in the face of threats against our children. Since then, our lives have been turned upside down. The government placed our family under constant surveillance. Police moved into our apartment building and followed us everywhere. Even worse, the government has repeatedly abducted and tortured Zhisheng.

In September 2007, authorities disappeared Zhisheng and held him for over 50 days after he wrote an open letter to the U.S. Congress exposing human rights abuses in China. Policemen covered his head with a black mask and took him into a room where they stripped him naked and beat him. They used electric batons to shock him all over his body—specifically his private parts—turning his skin black. After losing consciousness from the torture, he awoke covered in urine. Later, his captors used cigarette smoke to burn his eyes so severely that he could not open them. They even stabbed his private parts with toothpicks. Zhisheng asked them to lock him up in a prison, but they refused. They said, "You are simply dreaming if you want to go to prison. We can make you disappear whenever we want to." And that is what they've done.

In order to protect our children, I escaped with them to the United States in January 2009. The next month, the authorities abducted Zhisheng again. This time the government held him for over a year before he briefly reappeared the following spring. In an interview with the Associated Press, Zhisheng described even more torture during the disappearance. Police beat him with handguns for two days and nights. He said these were the worst beating he had ever endured—that his life "hung by a thread." Soon after the interview he disappeared again.

I last spoke to Zhisheng on April 17, 2010, my daughter Grace's 17th birthday. Since then, our family has been burdened with constant uncertainty. Zhisheng's absence has caused my daughter severe emotional anguish; she dreams that her father is dead. My son has tears in his eyes on Father's Day. He tells his teachers that he doesn't have a father. Recently, we were forced to endure rumors that guards had tortured Zhisheng to death.

Then in December, less than one week before Zhisheng's probation was scheduled to end, Chinese authorities added to our uncertainty by claiming that he would spend the next three years in a prison in Xinjiang. All they said was that Zhisheng violated his parole; they didn't even say what he supposedly did wrong. This news came just before the holidays. In the past we tried to avoid the holidays, in no mood to celebrate without news about Zhisheng. But this year it was even worse.

Some people have asked us if we are relieved because the government says that he is alive. But the news has not brought us any peace of mind. In fact, we are more worried than ever. Zhisheng's brother and my father traveled a long distance to the prison in Xinjiang, but authorities rejected their request to see him. They claimed that he could not have visitors because he is undergoing a three-month "education period" and that he didn't want to see any family. The government has lied so many times that we don't know what to believe. We don't know if he is at the prison in Xinjiang. We don't know if guards are torturing him again. We don't even know if he is still alive.

Today, I would like to ask for your help. Please help my children get their father back. Please help free a voice for China's most vulnerable.

Zhisheng is a lawyer. His sense of justice and outstanding eloquence moved even the hearts of judges in the Chinese communist system. Zhisheng's case shows that the Chinese communist regime is simply lying when it claims to respect the rule of law—the rule of law that Zhisheng fought so hard to protect. By locking him away, the government has silenced his voice. Now, the international community must speak out on his behalf. I have brought with me some of Zhisheng's writings and an Associated Press article about the torture he faced and ask that they be included in the record so that Zhisheng's own words will be a part of these proceedings.

It comes as no small irony to me that while I am down here speaking to you, Chinese Vice President Xi Jinping is just up Pennsylvania Avenue meeting with President Obama at the White House. While I am always pleased to be among such great friends and champions for human rights, I would have wanted just a moment with Vice President Xi to ask why he and the Chinese government has to continue to torture my husband, me, and my two young children.

I am so grateful that the United States has provided protection to my family from the Chinese government, which we so desperately needed. I only ask that you continue to call on the Government of China to respect the human rights of all its citizens, including Zhisheng. I ask that you continue to report on his case so that the truth about his treatment at the hands of the government will be known to the world. And I hope and pray that with your help, my husband will regain his freedom and my family can be together once again. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak here today. I would welcome any questions you may have.

Finally, I request that Congress keep the following articles as a permanent record of the case (for understanding human rights lawyer Mr. Gao Zhisheng and the rescuing effort of Mr. Gao Zhisheng):

1. Case of Cai Zhuohua (the case regarding a Christian)
  2. Three open letters to Mr. Hu, the Chinese President (the case regarding Falun Gong)
  3. "Dark Night, Dark Hood and Kidnapping by dark mafia" by Gao Zhisheng (the case regarding torture)
  4. An interview with the Associated Press.
- Thank you!

Li Jing's Testimony at CECC hearing  
the Congressional-Executive Commission on China  
**Tuesday, February 14, 2012, 2:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.**  
**2118 Rayburn House Office Building**

Distinguished Mr. Chairman, Cochairman, ladies and gentlemen and friends,

My name is Li Jing. I would like to thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak about the persecution of my husband and our family. My husband Guo Quan is currently in prison serving a ten year sentence for peacefully expressing his opinions about democracy and human rights. After several years of harassment, my son and I arrived in the United States three weeks ago. We are exiles in this country, currently enjoying freedoms here that hopefully will someday be enjoyed by everyone in China.

I am here today to ask Members of Congress and the Obama Administration to help reunite my family, free my husband from prison, and to stand firmly with those in China who peacefully seek greater freedoms. Only the United States can make this case to China. It is very important for the world community to raise the case of my husband, and many other prisoners who are persecuted for simply speaking out—China must know that the world is united against the imprisonment of peaceful dissidents and rights defenders. But without U.S. leadership on human rights, few in Beijing will be listening.

Because I now have the freedom to speak, I want to tell you a little about my husband's case. He is an academic and professor at Nanjing Normal University with a degree in law and a doctorate in philosophy. He started to publicly advocate for greater democracy and human rights in 2007, when he published an open letter to President Hu Jintao calling for "multi-party elections under a comprehensive welfare system." Several days later, he published another letter, this time to Premier Wen Jiabao, defending the rights of 590,000 employees laid off by China National Petroleum Corporation and China Petroleum Chemical Corporation and arguing for the abolishment of the "re-education through labor" system. He wrote several other letters defending the rights of workers laid off by the China Industrial and Commercial Bank and regarding demobilized soldiers and the nationalization of the military.

Because of his public advocacy, my husband suffered. On Dec. 6, 2007, the Communist Party Committee of Nanjing Normal University fired him from his job as professor. He was transferred to the university library to work in data management. He was stripped of his associate professor salary and allowed to work for only minimum wage. Of course, these demotions did not stop his advocacy.

On Dec. 17, 2007 my husband posted the "China New Democracy Party Charter" online, announcing the founding of this party, with himself as the temporary chairman. In less than a year's time, he published online the "Herald of Democracy," a collection of 347 articles criticizing one-party dictatorship and corrupt government, defending 10 social groups whose

rights had been violated, spreading the ideals of democracy and constitutional government, and systematically promoting his own political views.

On Nov. 13, 2008, Nanjing police detained Guo Quan on the charge of “subversion of state power.” He was formally arrested on Dec. 19, 2008 and sentenced on Aug. 7, 2009 to ten years in prison, with three years’ deprivation of political rights. I was forbidden by Nanjing police to go to the trial or speak to international media about his case. He is currently serving his prison term at Nanjing’s Pukou prison.

From the first published letter, my family experienced continuous harassment by police. Our lives have been turned upside down for the simple expression of political opinion. Our home was raided several times in the middle of night. They smashed the locks on our door, ransacked our cupboards and chests, and forcibly confiscated our computers and some of my husband’s manuscripts, which were never returned.

In the apartment complex where I live, police installed surveillance devices in the hallway and in the elevator and monitored by home phone, internet, mail and cell phone. On important public holidays or so-called “sensitive days,” my home phone line and internet access would be cut off. My employer told me that the Public Security officers visited him three times and he was asked to monitor my activities. I had no opportunities to be promoted. Later, I had no choice but to become self-employed, but they used various means to disrupt the normal business activities of my company.

My husband’s advocacy also affected the life of our 11 year old son. Since his father is a well-known political prisoner, he has suffered discrimination at school. He is continually mocked by teachers and students. Before his father was arrested, he held some leadership positions in his class and in his school, but he has been stripped of these. Previously active and outgoing, he has become more and more withdrawn and lacking in confidence.

My husband is innocent. He is a college professor and a devoted Christian whose conscience led him to advocate peacefully for rights and freedoms that are universal. For this he was given a ten-year prison term. This is egregious political persecution. His mother is elderly and sick and his son and I miss him greatly. I can’t imagine my son not being able to see his father for another seven years. I am very grateful to ChinaAid for helping us come to the United States to live in exile. I appeal to the U.S. Congress and the U.S. government to help reunite my family and to urge China’s leaders to release my husband immediately and without condition, as well as the many other prisoners of conscience who were penalized for speaking out.

Thanks be to God! Thank you all. Li Jing 2-2-2012

美国国会行政中国事务委员会听证会李晶女士证词

尊敬的主席和共同主席先生！各位尊敬的议员，女士们，先生们和朋友们，我叫李晶，首先我要感谢你们，让我有机会给大家讲述我丈夫和全家多年来在中国遭受迫害的经历。

我的丈夫郭泉出生于1968年。1996年毕业于南京大学社会学系，获法学硕士学位。1999年毕业于南京大学哲学系中国哲学专业，获哲学博士学位。2001年在南京师范大学完成文艺学博士后课程之后留校任教，担任文学副教授、硕士生导师。主要著作有：《隋唐佛教圆融思想研究》、《自由与文学》、《韩国佛教圆融思想研究》、《解构主义的童话文本》、《自由文学阐释学派2005》。

郭泉于2007年11月14日发表致胡锦涛、吴邦国的公开信，呼吁建立“全面福利条件下的多党竞选的民主政治体制”。同年11月18日，郭泉就中石油、中石化59万下岗人员维权工作和中国的“劳动教养”制度等问题写了第二封致温家宝的公开信，后又为在中国工商银行“减员增效”、“改革政策”中成为牺牲品的13.8万多下岗职工发出声音。12月5日郭泉就中国各地军转问题和军队国家化问题第四次上书国家领导人。

郭泉因主张在中国实行多党制、给国家领导人发表公开信并在网上发表系列批评政府、宣传自由民主理念的文章而受到中共的打压。2007年12月6日被南师大党委撤销副教授职务，不准教书并调任图书馆资料员，同时取消他的副教授职务津贴，只保留基本资。2007年12月14日，中国民盟南师大委员会开除了他的民盟盟籍。

2008年8月奥运会期间，郭泉被南京市鼓楼区公安分局行政拘留一个月。

在郭泉被捕前的半年内，南京市公安数次半夜来我家抄家，几次门锁被强行砸烂，翻箱倒柜，把我家的电脑和郭泉的一些文稿强行收走从不归还。

2007年12月17号，郭泉在互联网上发表《中国新民党党章》，成立中国新民党并宣布出任代主席。他在不到一年的时间里在网上发表了347篇《民主先声》的文章：批评一党专制和政府腐败，为中国十类利益被侵犯的群体积极维权，传播民主宪政理念并系统推广自己的政治主张。

2008年11月13日郭泉被南京市公安局以颠覆国家政权罪刑事拘留，12月19日被正式逮捕。2009年8月7日，郭泉被控“颠覆国家政权罪”在江苏省宿迁市中级人民法院开庭审理。我被南京市公安局限制不准许去法院旁听。2009年10月16日，郭泉被江苏省宿迁市中级人民法院以“颠覆国家政权罪”判处有期徒刑十年并剥夺政治权利三年。目前在南京市浦口监狱服刑。

从 2007 年到今年 1 月，因为郭泉的原因，我的家庭受到了持续不断的打压和干扰。在郭泉被逮捕后到被送往监狱服刑之间一年多的时间内不允许我探望我丈夫。我被公安传唤过多次。我数次被他们威胁恐吓，不准我接受任何媒体采访，不准会见任何敏感人士。他们在我住的小区过道及电梯里安装了监视设备。他们长期以来监控我家的电话、网络、信件和我的手机。在重大节日或所谓敏感日子期间会切断我家的电话和网络。国保三次找到我单位领导，关注我的言论，导致我也没有任何晋升的机会。我后来只能自己创业，但他们用种种方式干涉，我的公司无法正常开展经营活动。

我和郭泉在 1999 年 11 月 8 日结婚，我们有一个儿子，今年已经 11 岁了。由于他父亲成了中国知名的政治犯，连累他在学校也受到某些老师的歧视和不公平的对待。在他父亲被捕前，他担任的一些学校和班级的学生干部被全部撤职。原来活泼可爱的他变得越来越内向和自卑。

我的丈夫是无罪的。他是中国高校的一名教师，一名虔诚的基督徒。他仅仅以和平、理性的方式发表言论，呼吁中共进行政治改革，推动中国的民主化进程。中共判他十年重刑是纯粹的政治迫害。他的母亲年迈多病，我更无法想象我们的儿子在十年内竟然见不到父亲。我很感谢 China Aid 帮助我和儿子来到美国，我呼吁美国国会和政府能帮助我们全家，在和中共领导人的接触中能呼吁中共立即无罪释放我的丈夫，同时也释放其他因言获罪的良心犯。

感谢上帝！谢谢大家。

李 晶  
年 2 月 14 日

2012

Congressional Executive Commission on China

*Hearing on Prominent, Imprisoned Human Rights Lawyer Gao Zhisheng*

Testimony of Jared Genser<sup>1</sup>, Founder of Freedom Now and International *Pro Bono* Legal Counsel to Gao Zhisheng

February 14, 2012

Good afternoon Mr. Chairman and Mr. Co-Chairman and thank you for the opportunity to speak with you today. I would like to begin by thanking the Congressional-Executive Committee on China for your stalwart support of Gao Zhisheng and your commitment to providing an essential forum for exposing human rights violations in China.

As international *pro bono* legal counsel to the imprisoned Chinese lawyer Gao Zhisheng, I will provide you with a brief overview of his case and an explanation of why his continued detention violates Chinese and international law. I will also reflect on why, although Mr. Gao is only one of many Chinese prisoners of conscience, his is a bellwether case that deserves especially close attention.

Gao Zhisheng was a prominent Chinese lawyer who ran afoul of the government after he took on politically sensitive cases, particularly those of religious minority groups. In 2005, the government shut down his law firm. In August 2006, authorities arrested Mr. Gao and accused him of inciting subversion—a charge frequently used to silence government critics like 2010 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Liu Xiaobo, who is also a *pro bono* client of mine. The government prevented the family’s chosen lawyers from meeting with Mr. Gao and used threats against his wife and children to extract a confession. The trial lasted less than a day and the government failed to even notify the family or their chosen counsel of the proceedings. On December 22,

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<sup>1</sup> Jared Genser can be contacted at [jgenser@freedom-now.org](mailto:jgenser@freedom-now.org) or (202) 320-4135.

2006, Beijing's First Intermediate People's Court handed down a suspended three-year sentence subject to a five-year probationary period.

Despite the formal suspension of his sentence, Mr. Gao was not free; over the next five years, the government repeatedly disappeared and tortured him. In September, 2007, authorities disappeared him for 50 days after he publicly criticized China's human rights record. Then, in February, 2009, the government again abducted Mr. Gao shortly after his family sought asylum in the United States. Denied access to a lawyer, Mr. Gao was held in secret for more than a year. Although he mysteriously reappeared in March, 2010, Mr. Gao disappeared again a few weeks later. He has not been seen or heard from since. On November 19, 2010, the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention – an independent and impartial body include experts from Chile, Norway, Pakistan, Senegal, and Ukraine – issued Opinion No. 26/2010, finding his ongoing detention to be in violation of international law. After 20 months with no credible information regarding Mr. Gao's whereabouts or wellbeing and just days before the probationary period was to end, Chinese state media announced last December that Mr. Gao would serve the full three-year prison sentence. The government claimed that Mr. Gao violated his probation and was therefore taken to the Shaya County Prison in remote Xinjian. Prison authorities turned Mr. Gao's family away after they traveled 22 hours by train to see him, incredulously claiming that Mr. Gao didn't want to see family members and also that he could not receive visitors during a three-month "education period." No independent party has been able to confirm Mr. Gao is alive or actually in this prison.

The government's imprisonment of Mr. Gao—if he is in-fact at the Shaya County Prison—is illegal for three reasons. First, Mr. Gao has already spent more than three years in government custody since his arrest in 2006 on subversion charges. Quite simply, he has already

served the full sentence. Second, the charges against Mr. Gao for inciting subversion arise out of his written and spoken criticism of the Chinese government. Imprisoning Mr. Gao for exercising his fundamental right to freedom of expression is a flagrant violation of China's international obligations and its own constitution. Finally, the prosecution of Mr. Gao failed to meet international standards for due process. During the trial, the government relied upon a forced confession and denied Mr. Gao the right to legal counsel of his choosing. Then, in revoking Mr. Gao's probation, it appears the government acted without any legal process whatsoever. We have filed a new petition to the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention urging it to find this new period of detention also in violation of international law.

Although he is only one of many Chinese political prisoners, Mr. Gao's case is an important bellwether for three reasons. First, Mr. Gao is not a traditional dissident; he is a lawyer. A vanguard of the *weiquan* or "rights defending" movement, Mr. Gao attempted to promote the rights of his clients by working from within the system. His case shows the government's willingness to persecute those that promote the rule of law from within, but he is not alone. The government continues to hold the prominent lawyer Chen Guangcheng under strict house arrest with his wife and daughter. Chen, also a self-trained lawyer, rose to prominence after he organized a class action lawsuit exposing abuses under China's one child policy. The government is also moving forward with the prosecution of Ni Yulan, a well-known tenants' rights lawyer.

Second, the continued detention of Mr. Gao is instructive because it is part of a larger crackdown in which the Chinese government continues to stifle free expression. As Ambassador Locke noted last month, repression in China has only worsened since the uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa. In December and January, activists Chen Wei, Chen Xi, and Li Tie all

received long prison sentences of nine or ten years, and authorities put a fourth activist, Zhu Yufu, on trial. Each was charged with subversion or its incitement. This larger crackdown will only be exacerbated by the government's incredulous moves to potentially legalize disappearances like Mr. Gao's under Chinese law. Such a cynical move would render the "rule of law" meaningless.

Finally, Mr. Gao's case is striking for how brazen the government has become in its willingness to publicly and transparently lie about the circumstances of his detention. After the government disappeared Mr. Gao in 2009, a security agent told the family that Mr. Gao had "lost his way and went missing." Later, the Foreign Ministry spokesman indicated that Mr. Gao was "where he should be," but when pressed later smiled and said he didn't know where Mr. Gao was and couldn't be expected to know the whereabouts of all of China's 1.3 billion people. Then, the government released a photograph of Mr. Gao purporting to show him alive and well, but in it, Mr. Gao was wearing a distinctive bracelet he had given his daughter Grace before she fled to the United States. After his wife, Geng He, pointed this out in an interview, an unknown woman attempted to steal it from Grace in a New York City subway. Now, authorities are claiming that Mr. Gao, a loving husband and father, would rather not see his family.

The Chinese government's treatment of Mr. Gao and his family is nothing short of shocking and its contradictory claims show a total disregard for the international community. If the government's lies are not publicly and directly confronted, it sends a message to Beijing that respect for the rule of law and basic human rights are no longer a priority.

I thank you for the opportunity to share my thoughts with you today and would welcome any questions.

# South China Morning Post

## 南華早報

January 26, 2012

# Harmful effects

Jerome A. Cohen and Jared Genser say China's international reputation is suffering because of the continuing disregard for the rule of law in the detention and torture of lawyer Gao Zhisheng

**O**n December 22, 2006, a Beijing court sentenced Chinese rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng (高智晟) to three years in prison for "inciting subversion", the charge frequently used to silence independent voices like that of 2010 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo (劉曉波). But the court suspended Gao's sentence subject to five years of probation. What seemed like a light sentence, however, soon turned into a nightmare of "disappearances" and torture.

Gao was last seen on April 20, 2010. For 28 months afterwards, there was widespread uncertainty about whether he was still alive. Then, last December 16, just days before his five-year probation would have been completed, the Chinese government announced that it had been revoked and that he would begin serving the three-year prison term. On January 1, the government notified Gao's brother that it is now holding him in a prison in far-western China. Today, Gao's International pro bono legal team submitted a petition to the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, asking a determination that this latest imprisonment violates international law.

Gao's case demonstrates how far the Chinese government will go to suppress legitimate criticism by its citizens. A self-trained lawyer and once rising star in China's legal establishment, Gao found himself under attack after representing some of China's most vulnerable citizens - victims of illegal government land grabs and religious persecution. While lawyers in countries that respect the rule of law are often lauded for such work, in China they are often punished.

In 2005, authorities closed Gao's law firm. He and his family were placed under surveillance, repeatedly harassed, and even physically abused, because Gao continued his work. In August 2006 police detained him. While in custody without access to counsel, interrogators tortured him, ultimately securing a forced confession after threatening his wife and children. The family and their lawyers were not notified of Gao's "trial", which lasted less than a day and focused on his writings that were critical of the government. The probation he was granted proved to be like no other. Not content to hold him in almost complete isolation under de facto house arrest, the government repeatedly "disappeared" and tortured him.

In September 2007, Gao wrote an open letter exposing this misconduct. The government reacted by abducting and holding Gao in secret for over a month. His captors ferociously beat him. They subjected him to electric shocks in the face and genitals. They pierced his genitals with toothpicks and held lit cigarettes to his eyes. When Gao passed out from the pain, guards urinated on him. His skin turned black. Before releasing Gao, authorities threatened to

torture him in front of his family and kill him if he disclosed the torture.

The government again disappeared Gao in February 2009, briefly releasing him in March 2010. Although that mysterious disappearance lasted less than a month, Gao was able to reveal in horrific detail even more abuse by Chinese authorities. In the vain hope of ending the torture, Gao had pleaded to be put into an ordinary prison, but was told: "You going to prison, that's a dream. You're not good enough for that. Whenever we want you to disappear, you will disappear."

Despite the Chinese government's well-worn claims that it respects the "rule of law" and its commitment to the international convention against torture, Gao's mistreat-

ment and trial violated international law as well as Chinese law. Recognizing this, in 2010 the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention found that Gao's disappearance constituted "a clear and obvious violation of the international norms relating to the right to a fair trial" and resulted from his exercising fundamental rights and freedoms. This independent body of experts from around the world testified for his immediate release.



Undeterred by this unequivocal ruling, the Chinese government continued to hold him in secret until the Beijing court's recent, last-minute announcement, without elaboration, that Gao had "seriously violated" probation rules a number of times". Neither Gao nor we will ever know what those violations were and whether they were committed during the brief periods of his probation that he was not in police custody. The court apparently made its decision without notice to Gao or his family and without granting him opportunity for assistance of counsel and a court hearing.

Moreover, a fair court would have taken into account that, since his detention on charges of inciting subversion, Gao has already spent more than three years in government custody.

He should have been afforded credit for time served instead of being ordered to start his three-year term.

To add insult to injury, this month, after Gao's brother travelled thousands of miles to visit the remote Jijiang (集寧) prison where authorities now claim to hold Gao, officials turned him away, stating that Gao "didn't want to see family" and that visits would not be allowed until after a three-month "observation period". This latest attempt to isolate Gao from the outside world leaves the family with the inevitable fear that the government is hiding the results of even more torture.

It is time for the Chinese government to end the long and ludicrous legal charade over this case that has done so much harm to China's reputation as well as the cause of human rights. Gao should be released immediately, and the international community should seize this moment to demand nothing less.

Jerome A. Cohen, an NYU law professor and co-director of its US-China Law Institute, is a ten adjunct senior fellow at Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations. Jared Genser is founder of Freedom Now. They serve as the international counsel to Gao Zhisheng.

**It is time for the Chinese government to end the long and ludicrous legal charade over this case**

**The Chinese Government Should be Held Accountable  
for the Persecution of Gao Zhisheng and his Family**

ChinaAid Statement  
at the Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China  
February 14, 2012

Distinguished members of the CECC, Congressmen, government officials, and guests,

On the occasion of the visit to the United States of China's next president and Chinese Communist Party general-secretary, Mr. Xi Jinping, we are grateful to the CECC for holding this hearing on Chinese human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng, who has been the victim of sustained Chinese government persecution.

**I. The suffering of Gao Zhisheng and his family**

Gao Zhisheng, who was born on April 20, 1966, has been the target of intense government persecution following his sentencing in 2006 to three years' imprisonment for defending the rights of persecuted religious groups.

Gao is an award-winning lawyer who handled a number of high-profile human rights cases, including a well-known case in China in which the government trampled on the rights of private investors when it seized oil fields in Shaanxi province. He also defended persecuted Christians in Kashgar, in the far western region of Xinjiang, and Falungong practitioners (<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/12/13/international/asia/13lawyer.html?pagewanted=1&r=1&ei=5094&en=2603f28ce2c9c2c4&hp&ex=1134536400&partner=homepage>). In November 2005, the Beijing Judicial Bureau ordered his Shengzhi Law Office shut down. On Dec. 22, 2006, Gao was convicted of "inciting subversion of state power," sentenced to a three-year prison term, with five years' probation and one-year deprivation of political rights, and released home.

On Sept. 21, 2007, Gao was taken into official custody again. When he was released 50 days later, he wrote "Dark Night, Dark Hood, Kidnapping by Dark Mafia," (<http://www.freegao.com/2011/07/dark-night-dark-hood-and-kidnapping-by.html>) in which he recounted how he had been tortured, including having toothpicks inserted into his penis. On Jan. 9, 2009, his wife, daughter and son fled Beijing and have taken refuge in the United States. On Feb. 4, 2009, Gao was abducted by Chinese authorities and disappeared into official custody. He suddenly re-appeared on March 27, 2010, under the surveillance of Domestic Security Protection agents, then disappeared again on April 20.

On Jan. 10, 2011, Charles Hutzler of the Associated Press reported in a piece entitled "Missing Chinese lawyer told of abuse" that nearly a year earlier, on April 7, 2010, he had met Gao in a Beijing teahouse for an extended interview during which Gao revealed that during his disappearance he had been held variously in Beijing, Shaanxi province and Xinjiang, and described in detail the brutal torture that had been inflicted on him (<http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/01/ap-exclusive-missing-chinese-lawyer.html>).

On Dec. 16, 2011, the official Xinhua News Agency reported in a short English-only dispatch that because Gao had violated the terms of his probation, he was being sent back to prison to serve his three-year sentence. He is currently incarcerated in a prison in remote Shaya county, in far western Xinjiang (<http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/01/disappeared-human-rights-lawyer-gao.html>). Last month, his relatives in China made the long and arduous trip to this remote prison in order to visit him, but they were refused permission to see him.

## **II. The significance of Gao's case to China's rule of law, human rights and religious freedom**

Gao is a pioneer in China's rights defense movement. Like the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. of the United States, Gao's Christian faith and his ethical values have been the great spiritual motivator spurring him to defend the legal rights of those who have been persecuted or marginalized, and that Christian faith and those ethical values have given him the courage to make great sacrifices, even to the point of giving up his life, for this civil rights movement. The emergence in China of a group of human rights lawyers—men of integrity and courage, who are fighting on the frontlines for human rights, rule of law, and religious freedom in China—is due entirely to the power of the example set by Martin Luther King Jr. and Gao Zhisheng.

In the same way in which Martin Luther King waged his struggle, Gao's approach is also one that rejects violence and uses the legal system to defend rights. What makes them different is that Martin Luther King, who was a pastor and a Christian theologian, was more apt to use a cultural weapon, that is, Christian ethics, whereas Gao as a lawyer has mainly used legal means. The former paid with his life for the civil rights of the black people, the latter has suffered long-term imprisonment and torture for the sake of China's rule of law, religious freedom and basic human rights, to the point where he's now paying with his life, and his family and relatives also are paying a heavy price. Neither of these two men are bombastic rhetoric-spouting theorists out for fame and glory. Rather, they are great warriors who willingly put their lives at risk on the most dangerous frontlines.

Martin Luther King's fight changed America. Justice was served because the government he confronted was one that adheres to the rule of law and was elected by the people. Gao Zhisheng's fight has not changed China because the government he is confronting is a totalitarian one that uses the law to punish the people. Nonetheless, we ought not underestimate the significance of the positive impact Gao's fight has had on China and the rest of the world: he has inspired the emergence of many more Chinese Martin Luther Kings, and they together are amassing sufficient strength and paying the price necessary to change China.

## **III. ChinaAid's efforts and hopes**

As the CECC knows, ChinaAid's mission is to promote the establishment of a loving and just civil society in China that abides by the rule of law. In pursuit of this mission and out of profound respect for Gao Zhisheng and to support his work, ChinaAid has spared no effort in launching a worldwide campaign aimed at winning Gao's release. Over the past five years, we have expended huge manpower and financial resources in ceaselessly mobilizing efforts in this regard. As a very small non-government organization, we are limited in what we can do. But we know that our efforts have some value, in the

same way that those faint voices against slavery before the American Civil War eventually led to the full awakening of the forces of justice.

Three years ago, we set up the “Free Gao Zhisheng” website to draw the attention to Gao’s plight and to launch a worldwide petition on his behalf. So far, we have collected more than 150,000 real name signatures from 196 countries: from Sudan to Afghanistan, from South Africa to Norway—and also from China to the United States—more than 150,000 people of conscience coming from various faith backgrounds, political systems, and family backgrounds, of different occupations and of all ages have signed this petition. For more than three years, we have been looking night and day for Gao Zhisheng. We have never stopped asking, “Where is Gao Zhisheng? How is he doing?” I myself have traveled all over the United States and to Europe many times calling for Gao’s release. On Dec. 10, 2010, I travelled to Oslo, Norway, to attend the Nobel Peace Prize award ceremony. While there, I went to the Chinese Embassy in Norway to submit the “Free Gao Zhisheng” petition with its 150,000-plus signatures. The same day, ChinaAid also coordinated submission of the petition to 14 Chinese embassies and consulates around the world.

ChinaAid has also been providing long-term, consistent support to Gao’s wife and two children who have taken refuge in the United States, and we stay in close contact with his wife, Geng He.

We also maintain close contact and cooperation with the U.S. government, Congress, the European Union and the European Parliament as well as many NGOs, working together for the release of Gao Zhisheng.

Unfortunately, the situation is getting worse. We don’t even have a way of confirming that Gao Zhisheng is still alive today. Our fears grow with each passing day, so we earnestly hope that the free Western world will abandon its “quiet diplomacy” and speak up and urge China, a country that is a signatory to both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to abide by both its own domestic law as well as international laws, to abolish the use of torture, and to immediately release Gao Zhisheng and stop persecuting his family because of him. China should be held accountable for Gao’s case.

On the occasion of the visit to the United States by Xi Jinping, the next leader of China and the Chinese Communist Party, we are filled once more with hope—hope that this meeting between President Obama and Xi Jinping can lead to Gao Zhisheng’s release.

**Conclusion: “No one is free, until everyone is free.” —Martin Luther King**

We do not forget that were it not for the countless Americans who, under the leadership of President Abraham Lincoln, died to free the black slaves, and were it not for the price paid by Martin Luther King and his supporters, the first African-American President in U.S. history would not be sitting in the White House today. This glorious history reminds us that those who have been freed must not forget the virtue of those who fought for freedom. Furthermore, they have the obligation to carry on this tradition and to show compassion and support for those around the world who are still being oppressed. This is

the spirit of Martin Luther King and Gao Zhisheng, and it is the noble reason that should compel us to continue to fight for their cause.

Let us today, as ordinary American citizens, as the Obama administration, as the Congress, and as civil organizations, let us all stand up and speak up. On behalf of free people and governments, let us say “No” to a government that oppresses its people. Let us urge this government to release Gao Zhisheng, release Liu Xiaobo, and release all the other illegally detained prisoners of conscience.

Let me conclude with the words of Martin Luther King himself: “And if America is to be a great nation this must become true.”

Respectfully submitted by Rev. “Bob” Xiqiu Fu, president, China Aid Association

**Next Page:** Submission for the Record

***ChinaAid 2011 Annual Report of Chinese Government Persecution of Christians & Churches in Mainland China from January – December 2011***

# CHINAaid 对华援助协会

**2011 Annual Report**  
**Chinese Government Persecution of**  
**Christians & Churches in Mainland China**  
**January – December 2011**

China Aid Association, USA  
February 2012

Mailing address:  
PO Box 8513  
Midland, Texas 79708

[www.ChinaAid.org](http://www.ChinaAid.org) (English)  
[www.ChinaAid.net](http://www.ChinaAid.net) (Chinese)  
[info@ChinaAid.org](mailto:info@ChinaAid.org) ; [ChinaAid@Gmail.com](mailto:ChinaAid@Gmail.com)

Toll-free number: 1-888-889-7757  
Fax number: 1-432-686-8355

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WWW.CHINAID.ORG

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**CONCLUSION: "BEIJING TERRORISM" CANNOT DEFEAT CHRIST'S CHURCH**

PREFACE

**“They were all trying to frighten us, thinking, ‘Their hands will get too weak for the work, and it will not be completed.’ [But I prayed], ‘Now strengthen my hands.’”**

*Nehemiah 6:9*



On April 10, 2011, the first day that Beijing Shouwang Church held its Sunday worship service outdoors, more than 160 church members were taken into police custody. This Reuters file photo shows police herding onto buses church members detained at the church's designated outdoor worship site.



Authorities in Linfen, Shanxi province, prohibited the Linfen church from celebrating Christmas. This photo, provided by overseas Chinese Christians Jenny Chen and Li Fei, shows police vehicles and an armored personnel carrier guarding the road outside the Jindeng Church, the Linfen church's main meeting site. Chen was later kidnapped by Tianjin Domestic Security Protection agents and beaten.

## I. SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS AND CHURCHES IN MAINLAND CHINA IN 2011

### *The Year of “Beijing Terrorism” and of the Church Shining Bright*

Government persecution of Christians and churches in China worsened significantly in 2011. In comparing the total number of persecution cases, the number of people persecuted, the number detained, the number sentenced, the number of abuse cases and the number of people abused with the same figures for 2010, the cumulative total of all six categories showed a jump of 42.5% over the previous year. Compared with the statistics compiled in ChinaAid’s previous annual reports, this trend of worsening persecution has persisted for the past six years, with an average geometric annual increase of 33.1% in the total of all six categories of persecution statistics tracked by ChinaAid.

#### 1. Comprehensive Analysis of the Main Characteristic of and Reason Behind 2011 Persecution: To Curb the Influence of Christianity on Society

In addition to continuing the 2008 and 2009 practice of “targeting house church leaders and churches in urban areas” and 2010’s “attacking Christian human rights lawyers groups and using abuse, torture and mafia tactics,” the focus of the persecution in 2011 was on increasing the intensity of attacks against Christians and house churches with societal impact.

In December 2010, the Communist Party Central Committee’s Public Security Commission issued a secret document to target China’s house churches in the implementation of its special suppression campaign “Operation Deterrence.” The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom in an April 20, 2011 statement said, “In a February 2011 speech, Wang Zu’on [*sic* – correct spelling is Zuo’an], head of China’s State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA), called on government officials to renew efforts to ‘guide’ unregistered Protestants to worship in state-sanctioned churches and ‘break’ large churches like Shouwang into small groups. He also outlined efforts to further deny Chinese Catholics the freedom to make bishop appointments with the Vatican’s approval, require Muslims to pass political tests to go on pilgrimages, and better manage Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and unregistered shrines.” (<http://www.uscirf.gov/news-room/press-releases/3582-china-uscirf-urges-halt-to-detentions-during-easter-roll-back-of-new-efforts-to-control-religious-groups.html>)

Looking back at the situation in 2011 reveals that the persecution inflicted on churches as a whole and the deterioration of religious freedom overall in China resulted from the strict implementation of Wang Zuo'an's guidelines, which were undoubtedly the policy decision of the Communist Party Central Committee. The effect of this policy-making decision was to suppress the ever-expanding influence on Chinese society of religion, especially of Christianity.

Two major cases are representative of the 2011 practice of targeting influential house churches for persecution: the large-scale suppression of Beijing Shouwang Church for 38 continuous weeks, and the continued strict surveillance and suppression of the Linfen church in Shanxi province since it was banned in 2009.

**Targeting Churches with Societal Influence:** In the 38 weeks beginning on April 20 and continuing through Dec. 25, there were more than 1,000 detentions of members of Beijing Shouwang Church. Several hundred other church members were placed under house arrest by the police and Domestic Security Protection agents. During this time, some believers were verbally and physically abused while in detention, and some lost their jobs or were evicted due to government pressure on their employers and landlords. The church's pastors and elders were confined under house arrest the entire time and deprived of their liberty.

The church in Linfen, Shanxi province is still being suppressed and under strict surveillance today. From September to November 2009, some 5,000 Christians from the church in Linfen were persecuted by the government, including more than 100 who suffered injuries from beatings and 10 church leaders who were sentenced to prison terms ranging from two to seven years. Subsequently, the government continued to persecute the Christians from this church, strictly prohibiting the church from resuming its activities. During the 2011 Christmas season, large numbers of police vehicles, and even at least one armored personnel carrier, were mobilized to seal off the church's main meeting point, Jindeng (Golden Lampstand) Church.

Special mention needs to be made of the fact that, when an overseas Chinese Christian from Canada, Jenny Chen, and her daughter made a special trip to China during the Christmas season to visit with the brothers and sisters of Beijing Shouwang Church and the Linfen church in Shanxi, they were followed and threatened by Domestic Security Protection agents. In January 2012, Ms. Chen was abducted by Tianjian Domestic Security Protection agents and secretly interrogated and beaten. (See <http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/01/new-years-visit-to-shouwang-church.html> and <http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/01/overseas-christians-pay-christmas-day.html>.)

There were also some more typical cases. They include the detention of 11 house church leaders and Christians in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa in or around October 2011. They were held for nearly a month before being released at different times. During that same period, some other Christians were verbally abused and beaten and had some 2,000 copies of the Bible in Tibetan confiscated. This case of persecution also was due to the growing societal influence in Tibet of Christians and the church. In September 2011, Mengfu (Blessed) Student Fellowship in Ulanqab, Inner Mongolia, was banned and its leader detained and fined. His crime was evangelizing students.

**Targeting Christians with Societal Influence:** The Chinese government's suppression in 2011 of Christians with societal influence actually began in December 2010 with the persecution of Dr. Fan Yafeng and Yu Jie. Fan Yafeng is a well-known scholar of constitutional law, a church leader and a leading activist in the citizens' rights protection movement; Yu Jie is a well-known Christian writer and public intellectual. After putting Yu Jie under house arrest for more than a year, the government in January 2012 allowed him and his wife and their young son to leave for the United States. Fan Yafeng, his wife and their young son remain under house arrest to this day, with Domestic Security Protection agents standing guard round-the-clock at the door of their apartment.

In 2011, some other Christians with societal influence were also persecuted in various ways. The Uyghur house church leader Alimujiang in Xinjiang has now served four years of his prison term, and in February 2011, his appeal was rejected and his original 15-year sentence was upheld; the vice-president of the Chinese House Church Alliance, Shi Enhao, was sentenced in July 2011 to two years of re-education-through-labor. Many well-known Christian human rights lawyers were persecuted: Jiang Tianyong and Li Fangping in Beijing and Guangzhou's Tang Jingling all were abducted and tortured by the government; Beijing human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng, after being abducted by the authorities and "disappeared" for 20 months, was sent to a remote prison in the far western region of Xinjiang to serve a three-year prison sentence. Some well-known Christian lawyers and political dissidents also were punished: Chen Wei from Sichuan province and Chen Xi from Guizhou province were sentenced to nine- and 10-year prison terms, respectively; Zhu Yufu from Zhejiang province is still in jail awaiting the result of his trial nearly a year after his arrest; and Beijing's Ni Yulan and her husband, Dong Jiqin, are in jail awaiting trial and sentencing. A well-known Christian in the film and visual arts, Jiang Yaxi, is also in prison awaiting trial. For other similar cases, see our top 10 list of 2011's persecution cases: <http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/01/chinaaid-picks-2011s-top-10-cases-of.html>

Against the backdrop of China's dark political and cultural environment, it is inevitable that the rapid growth of the church would create "a city on a hill—a light in society"

effect, giving the Chinese people great hope and the powerful force of transformed lives. This kind of positive influence clearly has had the effect of putting the Communist ideology under attack, which is exactly what those defenders of totalitarianism fear and is why they so ruthlessly engage in harsh repression and splitting and dividing. This is the attitude and the policy taken by the ultra-leftist political ideologues represented by the Hu Jintao government toward Christianity and all religions that have a powerful influence on society.

## 2. Statistical and schematic analysis of the overall persecution of Christians and churches in 2010

Government persecution of Christians and churches in China worsened significantly in 2011 as compared with 2010. The total of six categories of persecution statistics tracked by ChinaAid (number of persecution cases, number of people persecuted, number detained, number sentenced, the number of abuse cases and the number of people abused) showed a jump of 42.5% over 2010. It should be noted that the information collected by ChinaAid about persecution cases in China is but the tip of the iceberg. Be that as it may, these cases come from most of the provinces and municipalities across China, are diverse, and affected urban and rural house churches, Three-Self churches, Catholic churches, as well as individual Christians, including clergy, human rights lawyers, political dissidents and artists. Taken together, they are sufficient to reflect the overall situation and severity of the persecution suffered by churches and Christians in 2011.

In 2011, ChinaAid collected information on 93 cases of persecution across the country, up 3.3% from 2010. The 4,322 people who were persecuted (337 of whom were clergy) represented a 29.3% increase over the previous year. The 1,289 people who were detained (267 of whom were clergy) was an increase of 131.8% over the previous year. Four people were sentenced, a 33.3% drop over the previous year. There were 24 cases of abuse (beating and verbal abuse, torture, and physical and mental abuse), an increase of 33.3% over the previous year. Seventy-six people were abused, up 20.6% over the previous year.

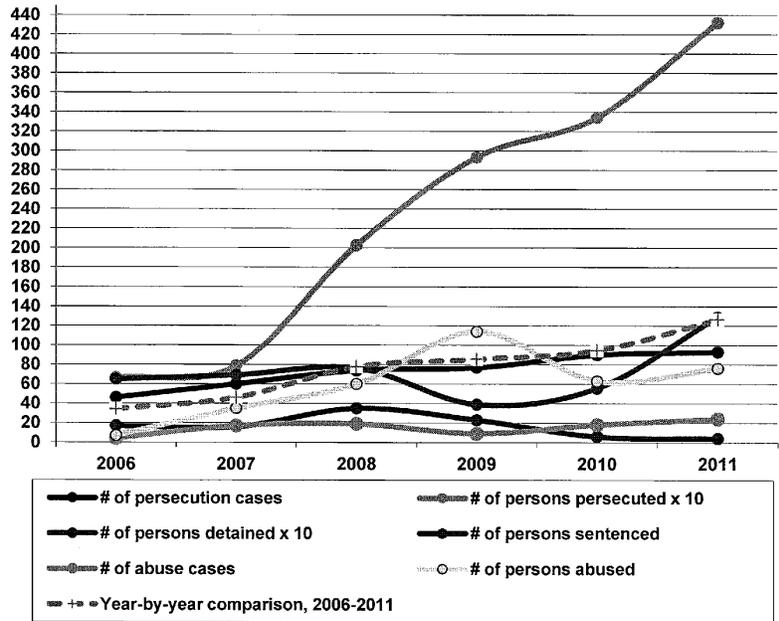
Comparing the data in the above six categories – total number of persecution cases, total number of people persecuted, number of people arrested, number of people sentenced, total number of abuse cases, and total number of people abused – the overall situation of persecution can be statistically represented as being 42.5% worse than in 2010, 63.7% worse than in 2009, 95% worse than in 2008, 261% worse than in 2007 and 318.1% worse than in 2006. Please see the table below for details.

Comparison by year of persecution nationwide (2006 to 2011)

(1) Table

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2011 comparison with 2010
# of cases	46	60	74	77	90	93	↑ 3.3%
# of people persecuted	665	788	2027	2935	3343	4322	↑ 29.3%
# of people detained	650	693	764	389	556	1289	↑131.8%
# of people sentenced	17	16	35	23	6	4	↓ 33.3%
# of abuse cases	4	17	19	9	18	24	↑ 33.3%
# of people abused	7	35	60	114	63	76	↑ 20.6%
Statistical representation of the worsening trend of persecution overall	As the graph below shows, persecution overall can be statistically represented as being 42.5% worse in 2011 as compared with 2010, 63.7% worse than in 2009, 95% worse than in 2008, 261% worse than in 2007 and 318.1% worse than in 2006.						

(2) Graph



Having reported on the overall situation of church persecution in mainland China and the five main characteristics of the persecution, the rest of this report will examine the situation in 2011 in greater detail through case studies, statistical analysis and diagrams.

## II. CHART: CASES OF PERSECUTION OF GOVERNMENT CHRISTIANS AND CHURCHES IN MAINLAND CHINA IN 2011

**Cumulative data of known cases in 2011 as compared with 2010**

2011	2010
Number of cases: 93	Number of cases: 90
Total number of persons persecuted: 4322 (Church leaders: 337)	Total number of persons persecuted: 3343 (Church leaders: 336)
Total number of persons detained: 1289 (Church leaders: 267)	Total number of persons detained: 556 (Church leaders: 121)
Number of persons sentenced: 4	Number of persons sentenced: 6
Number of abuse cases: 24	Number of abuse cases: 18
Number of persons abused: 76	Number of persons abused: 63

NOTE: Because house churches are the main focus of our organization, in the charts and statistics below, the terms “Christian,” “church,” “meeting” or “training” all refer to those in the house church context. Where Three-Self churches or Catholic churches are involved, they are so indicated. In some of the cases listed below, no links are provided to the case report. This is because ChinaAid did not report these cases in order to protect the victims.

Also, wherever possible, we have included links to the case report in English. In some cases, however, only Chinese-language reports were available, and in those cases, the link is to the report on ChinaAid’s Chinese-language website.

### 1. Municipalities: Beijing

(Total municipality persecution cases: 50, last year: 27; number of persons persecuted: >2,122, last year: >153; number of persons detained: 1,070, last year: 19; number of persons sentenced: 1, last year: 0

Date	Case (50)	Legal punishment	Abuse (>14 cases, 62 persons)	Number of persons
<b>Beijing</b>				
Jan.-Dec.	Ongoing persecution of leading Christian human rights law activist Dr. Fan Yafeng and his family	house arrest		> 3
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/01/fan-yafeng-under-house-arrest-for-more.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/01/fan-yafeng-under-house-arrest-for-more.html</a>				
01/30	Xu Yonghai, head of Sheng'ai Fellowship, put under house arrest	house arrest		> 5
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.net/2011/03/blog-post_5827.html">http://www.chinaaid.net/2011/03/blog-post_5827.html</a> (no English report available)				
02/01	Three rights lawyers barred from attending seminar in the U.S.			3
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/three-lawyers-barred-from-leaving-china.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/three-lawyers-barred-from-leaving-china.html</a>				
02/19	Christian human rights lawyer Jiang Tianyong kidnapped, "disappeared" for 60 days		tortured	1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/kidnapped-christian-lawyer-returns-home.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/kidnapped-christian-lawyer-returns-home.html</a> <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/chinaaid-likens-china-to-pre-wwii.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/chinaaid-likens-china-to-pre-wwii.html</a>				
March	Clergy and seminary student training raided, foreign pastor conducting training expelled	more than 100 detained		>100
March	Pastor Shi Weihai, released after serving his full sentence, is subjected to continued surveillance	under surveillance & threatened		1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/shi-weihai-released.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/shi-weihai-released.html</a>				
04/10	Shouwang Church outdoor worship service raided, 160 detained, hundreds of others under house arrest	detained, interrogated		>500
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/bulletin-on-shouwang-church-outdoor.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/bulletin-on-shouwang-church-outdoor.html</a>				
04/06-12/29	Christian human rights lawyer Ms. Ni Yulan criminally detained	criminally detained		2
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/beijing-human-rights-lawyer-ni-yulan.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/beijing-human-rights-lawyer-ni-yulan.html</a>				
04/16	Shouwang pastors Jin Tianming and Li Bai and Li Bai's wife are brought in for police interrogation	detained, interrogated		3
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/update-detained-shouwang-church-pastors.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/update-detained-shouwang-church-pastors.html</a>				
04/29	Christian human rights lawyer Li Fangping is kidnapped, "disappeared" for five days		tortured	1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/chinaaid-likens-china-to-pre-wwii.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/chinaaid-likens-china-to-pre-wwii.html</a>				
05/01	Pastor Wang Shuanyan of Xinshu	detained		1

	Church detained for 48 hours for attending Shouwang outdoor worship service				
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/police-criminally-detain-beijing.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/police-criminally-detain-beijing.html</a>					
11/12	Ms. Jiang Yaxi criminally detained for distributing "Beyond" documentary	criminally detained			1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/police-criminally-detain-beijing.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/police-criminally-detain-beijing.html</a>					
04/17-12/25	For 38 consecutive weeks, Shouwang church members are persecuted, church leaders under house arrest or in detention	more than 800 detentions	More than 60 people beaten, abused on more than 11 separate occasions		>1500
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/beijing-shouwang-church-announcement-on-27.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/beijing-shouwang-church-announcement-on-27.html</a>					
12/16	Christian human rights lawyer, "disappeared" for more than 20 months, to serve three-year prison term		long-term torture, abuse		1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/01/disappeared-human-rights-lawyer-gao.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/01/disappeared-human-rights-lawyer-gao.html</a>					
Beijing persecution cases: 50	Number of persons detained: 1,070	Number of abuse cases: 13	Number of persons sentenced: 1	Total number of persons persecuted	>2122

## 2. Northeast: Liaoning

(Total persecution cases in this region: 1, last year: 5; number of persons persecuted: >20, last year: >416; number of persons detained: >2, last year: >401; number of persons sentenced: 0, last year: 0)

Date	Cases (1)	Legal punishment	Abuse (0)	Number of persons	
Liaoning					
05/18	Qianbai village house church in the Nanlou development zone of Dashiqiao city is raided, American teacher and others detained	at least 2 persons detained		>20	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/05/american-detained-during-raid-on-house.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/05/american-detained-during-raid-on-house.html</a>					
Liaoning persecution cases: 1	Number of persons detained: > 2	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted	>20

**3. North China: Inner Mongolia, Hebei, Shanxi**  
 (Total persecution cases in this region: 5, last year: 8; number of persons persecuted: >965, last year: >912; number of persons detained: 22, last year: >72; number of persons sentenced: 0, last year: 0)

Date	Case (5)	Legal punishment	Abuse (0)	Number of persons	
<b>Inner Mongolia</b>					
07/26	Wuhai house church training session raided, church leaders detained	21 people criminally detained		21	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/08/21-house-church-leaders-in-inner.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/08/21-house-church-leaders-in-inner.html</a>					
09/15	Ulanqab "Blessed" student house church persecuted, church leader Mr. Liang Guang detained	group banned, leader fined, detained		>20	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/10/authorities-ban-christian-student.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/10/authorities-ban-christian-student.html</a>					
Inner Mongolia persecution cases: 2	Number of persons detained: 22	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted	>41
<b>Hebei</b>					
June, Aug. & Sept.	Randy C. Shan, younger brother of ChinaAid spokesman Mark Shan, and family (all house church Christians) are implicated	threatened, under strict surveillance, tailed		4	
Hebei persecution cases: 1	Number of persons detained: 0	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted	4
<b>Shanxi</b>					
May	Century-old evangelical church forcibly demolished by government, to make way for Buddhist school			>20	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.net/2011/05/blog-post_27.html">http://www.chinaaid.net/2011/05/blog-post_27.html</a> (Chinese only)					
Dec.	Jindengtai church in Linfen is surrounded by armed police and armored vehicles to prevent Christians from celebrating Christmas			>900	
Shanxi persecution cases: 2	Number of persons detained: 0	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted	> 920

**4. West China: Xinjiang, Gansu, Shaanxi**

(Total persecution cases in this region: 5, last year: 5; number of persons persecuted: 45, last year:

56; number of persons detained: 32, last year: 45; number of persons sentenced: 0, last year: 0)

Date	Case (5)	Legal punishment	Abuse (1 case, 1 person)	Number of persons
<b>Xinjiang</b>				
mid-Feb.	Higher court upholds Alimujiang's 15-year prison sentence	15-year imprisonment		1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/court-upholds-15-year-sentence-of.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/court-upholds-15-year-sentence-of.html</a>				
04/08	Xinjiang Aksu Christian's persecuted by Domestic Security Protection agents	summoned for police interrogation, property confiscated		2
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/on-pretex-of-investigating-falungong.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/on-pretex-of-investigating-falungong.html</a>				
Xinjiang persecution cases: 2	Number of persons detained: 0	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted: 3
<b>Gansu</b>				
Aug.	Leaders of underground Catholic church in Tianshui diocese are detained	dozens detained		> 20
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/freedom-of-religion-and-rule-of-law-in.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/freedom-of-religion-and-rule-of-law-in.html</a>				
Gansu persecution cases: 1	Number of persons detained: >20	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted: > 20
<b>Shaanxi</b>				
03/13	House church in Baihe county raided	12 people detained		> 12
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/house-church-in-shaanxi-raided-by.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/house-church-in-shaanxi-raided-by.html</a>				
04/07	Wang Zhanhu, pastor of a house church in Hua county, and others persecuted		shocks from electric cattle prods put Pastor Wang into coma	> 10
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/police-seriously-injured-two-christian.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/police-seriously-injured-two-christian.html</a>				
Shaanxi persecution cases: 2	Number of persons detained: >12	Number of abuse cases: 1	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted: > 22

5. East China: Shandong, Anhui, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Fujian

(Total persecution cases in this region: 16, last year: 17; number of persons persecuted: >915, last year: >1,227; number of persons detained: 26, last year: >17; number of persons sentenced: 1, last year: 0)

Date	Case (16)	Legal punishment	Abuse (4 cases, 5 persons)	Number of persons	
<b>Shandong</b>					
01/06	Evangelistic rally in Cangshan county is raided, Taiwan preacher Lü Daihao detained	forced to disband		>3	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/01/police-break-up-large-evangelical.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/01/police-break-up-large-evangelical.html</a>					
04/17	Subu Church in Zaozhuang's Fencheng district is raided	7 people detained		>7	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/police-surround-shandong-house-church.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/police-surround-shandong-house-church.html</a> <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/chinese-house-church-alliances-urgent.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/chinese-house-church-alliances-urgent.html</a>					
April	Leader of Cangshan county's Jesus Family house church is detained	car confiscated		2	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/police-surround-shandong-house-church.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/police-surround-shandong-house-church.html</a>					
10/26	Woman preacher Liu Xiuying from Liangshan Three-Self in Jinan church is persecuted	detained for 5 days		1	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/10/shandong-preacher-persecuted-files.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/10/shandong-preacher-persecuted-files.html</a>					
Nov.	Three-Self church in Tai'an city's Taishan district is forcibly demolished		more than one elderly believer beaten	> 150	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/century-old-anglican-church-in-shandong.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/century-old-anglican-church-in-shandong.html</a>					
12/28	Authorities cut electricity to house church in Qingdao, impose other penalties, ban Christmas celebration			> 300	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.molihua.org/2011/12/blog-post_1790.html">http://www.molihua.org/2011/12/blog-post_1790.html</a> (no English report available)					
Shandong persecution cases: 6	Number of persons detained: 11	Number of abuse cases: 1	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted	>463
<b>Anhui</b>					
08/11	House church summer camp in city of Guangming is raided	4 people detained		>30	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/08/authorities-surround-house-church-camp.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/08/authorities-surround-house-church-camp.html</a>					
Anhui persecution cases: 1	Number of persons detained: 4	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted	>30
<b>Zhejiang</b>					
12/13	Xitan village church in Rui'an city's Linxi township is raided	3 people detained	1 person beaten	> 100	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/china-officials-shut-down-outdoor.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/china-officials-shut-down-outdoor.html</a>					

12/23	Christmas celebration by Hongtang village church in Dongyang county's Huangtianfan township is raided	6 people detained	2 people beaten	>100
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/christmas-2011-special-report-churches.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/christmas-2011-special-report-churches.html</a>				
Zhejiang persecution cases: 2	Number of persons detained: 9	Number of abuse cases: 2	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted >200
Jiangsu				
01/30	Pastor Zeng Zhengliang's house church in Zhong village, Yancheng city, Jianhu county is attacked	church is padlocked		>200
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.net/2011/03/blog-post_1066.html">http://www.chinaaid.net/2011/03/blog-post_1066.html</a> (no English report available)				
02/24	Church meeting in Huai'an is attacked			>10
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/house-church-raid-in-jiangsu.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/house-church-raid-in-jiangsu.html</a>				
03/04	Pastor Shi Enhao apprehended and sent back to Jiangsu to be held in custody	detained	beaten	1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/christians-persecuted-in-henan-and.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/christians-persecuted-in-henan-and.html</a>				
May & June	Chinese House Church Alliance deputy chairman Shi Enhao sentenced	Two years re-education through labor		1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/07/breaking-news-house-church-alliances-no.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/07/breaking-news-house-church-alliances-no.html</a>				
08/13	Three elders of Suqian house church are persecuted	administratively detained for five days		3
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/08/persecution-escalates-against-jiangsus.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/08/persecution-escalates-against-jiangsus.html</a>				
10/01	Suqian house church lay leader sister Chang Meiling is persecuted	detained, put under house arrest		1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/10/house-church-of-pastor-shi-enhao-in.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/10/house-church-of-pastor-shi-enhao-in.html</a>				
11/14	Suqian church's ay leaders and Shi Enhao's family are persecuted	threatened, put under surveillance		>6
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/china-aid-association-suqian-city.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/china-aid-association-suqian-city.html</a>				
Jiangsu persecution cases: 7	Number of persons detained: 2	Number of abuse cases: 1	Number of persons sentenced: 1	Total number of persons persecuted >222

### 6. South China: Guangdong

(Total persecution cases in this region: 2, last year: 6; number of persons persecuted: >13, last year: >233; number of persons detained: 4, last year: 2; number of persons sentenced: 0, last year: 0)

Date	Case (2)	Legal punishment	Abuse (1 case, 1 person)	Number of persons
<b>Guangdong</b>				
02/22	Christian human rights lawyer Tang Jingling is "disappeared" for five months, his wife and mother are also "disappeared" for a short period	tortured, put under house arrest		3
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/chinaaid-likens-china-to-pre-wwii.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/11/chinaaid-likens-china-to-pre-wwii.html</a>				
July	Lay leaders training session raided, a Chinese-American trainer detained	forced to disband		> 10
Guangdong persecution cases: 2	Number of persons detained: 4	Number of abuse cases: 1	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted >13

### 7. Central China: Henan, Hubei, Hunan

(Total persecution cases in this region: 7, last year: 11; number of persons persecuted: >118, last year: >151; number of persons detained: >114, last year: >95; number of persons sentenced: 0, last year: 6)

Date	Case (7)	Legal punishment	Abuse (2 cases, 4 persons)	Number of persons
<b>Henan</b>				
02/24	Pastor Zhang Mingxuan detained while in Kaifeng, Henan province	detained, deported		1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/pastor-bike-detained-by-henan-police.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/pastor-bike-detained-by-henan-police.html</a>				
03/01	Domestic Security Protection agents raid Hanzhen village house church in Xiayi county	3 people detained		>5
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/christians-persecuted-in-henan-and.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/christians-persecuted-in-henan-and.html</a>				
03/04	Nanyang Church is raided, Pastor Zhang Mingxuan forced to go on trip	detained		>3
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.net/2011/03/blog-post_10.html">http://www.chinaaid.net/2011/03/blog-post_10.html</a> (no English report available)				
04/25	Hengshui village's church workers training in Mengjin county is raided	15 people detained		15
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/church-training-in-henan-raided-by.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/04/church-training-in-henan-raided-by.html</a>				
05/10	Zhengzhou Weishi county police raid house church training session	40 people detained, 2 people deported		49
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/05/update-49-house-church-leaders-released.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/05/update-49-house-church-leaders-released.html</a>				
Henan persecution cases: 5	Number of persons detained: >69	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted >73

Hubei					
02/23	Authorities in Zaoyang city, Hubei province, raid Christian legal training session	25 people detained	more than 3 people beaten, slapped in face	>25	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/authorities-in-zaoyang-municipality-of.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/02/authorities-in-zaoyang-municipality-of.html</a>					
05/22	House church in Tieshansi village, Dianzi township, Yunxi county, Shiyan city is raided	More than 20 people detained	1 person beaten	>20	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/05/forty-police-in-hubei-round-up.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/05/forty-police-in-hubei-round-up.html</a>					
Hubei persecution cases: 2	Number of persons detained: 45	Number of abuse cases: 2	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted	>45

#### 8. Southwest China: Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou, Tibet

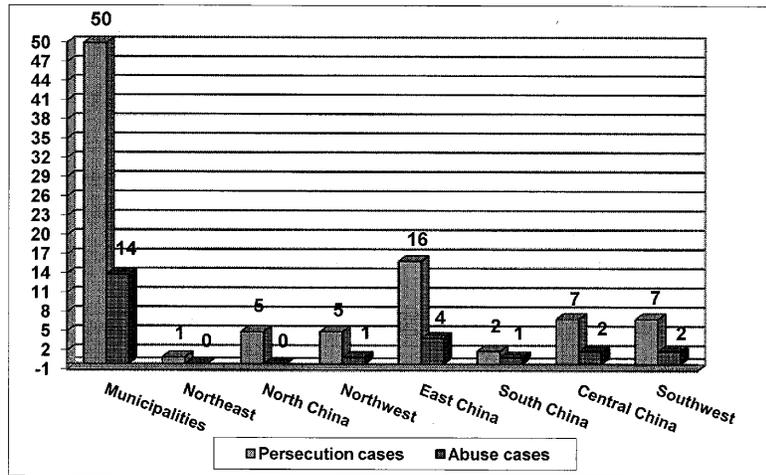
(Total persecution cases in this region: 7, last year: 6; number of persons persecuted: >124, last year: >99; number of persons detained: 19, last year: >37; number of persons sentenced: 2, last year: 0)

Date	Case (7)	Legal punishment	Abuse (2 cases, 3 persons)	Number of persons	
Sichuan					
03/10	Liao Zhongxiu, head of Youqing Church in Qu county, is arrested	arrested		1	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/liao-zhongxiu-leader-of-house-church-in.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/03/liao-zhongxiu-leader-of-house-church-in.html</a>					
06/24	Shangxi house church in Lizhou district, Guangyuan city is persecuted, banned	banned		>50	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/09/officials-ban-house-church-in-sichuan.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/09/officials-ban-house-church-in-sichuan.html</a>					
12/23	Christmas worship service of Gaoxue village house church in Dazhu county is raided	5 people detained	2 people beaten	>50	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/urgent-authorities-in-sichuan-zhejiang.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/urgent-authorities-in-sichuan-zhejiang.html</a>					
12/23	Democracy activist and Christian Chen Wei of Suining sentenced	9-year prison term		1	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/china-activist-given-10-years-in-jail.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/china-activist-given-10-years-in-jail.html</a>					
Sichuan persecution cases: 4	Number of persons detained: 7	Number of abuse cases: 1	Number of persons sentenced: 1	Total number of persons persecuted	>102
Yunnan					
2008-2011	Christian brother Li De of the Hani minority group in the Yi autonomous prefecture is persecuted		Water and electricity supplies have been cut for years	1	
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/09/christian-familys-hard-choice-between.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/09/christian-familys-hard-choice-between.html</a>					
Yunnan persecution cases: 1	Number of persons detained: 0	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted	1

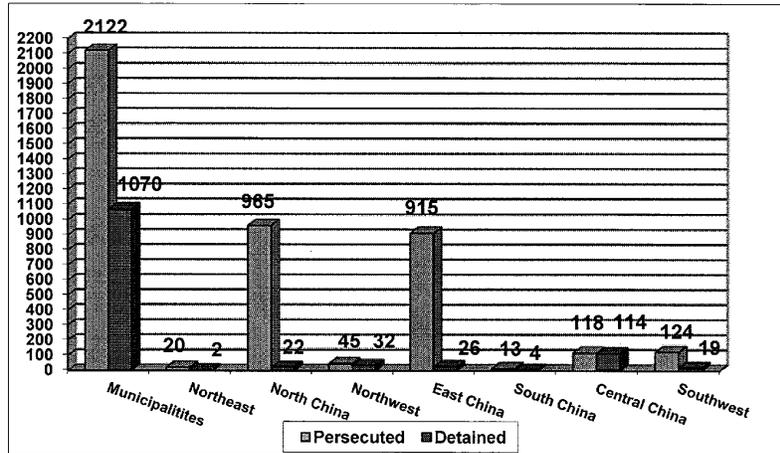
Guizhou					
11/29	Dissident and Christian Chen Xi sentenced	10-year prison sentence			1
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/china-defends-human-rights-record.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/china-defends-human-rights-record.html</a>					
Guizhou persecution cases: 1	Number of persons detained: 1	Number of abuse cases: 0	Number of persons sentenced: 1	Total number of persons persecuted	1
Tibet					
Sept.-Oct.	Lhasa house church persecuted, large number of Tibetan Bibles confiscated	11 people detained	1 person beaten		>20
For details, see: <a href="http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/in-historic-first-authorities-detain.html">http://www.chinaaid.org/2011/12/in-historic-first-authorities-detain.html</a>					
Tibet persecution cases: 1	Number of persons detained: 11	Number of abuse cases: 1	Number of persons sentenced: 0	Total number of persons persecuted	>20

III. DIAGRAMS ILLUSTRATING GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS AND CHURCHES IN MAINLAND CHINA IN 2011

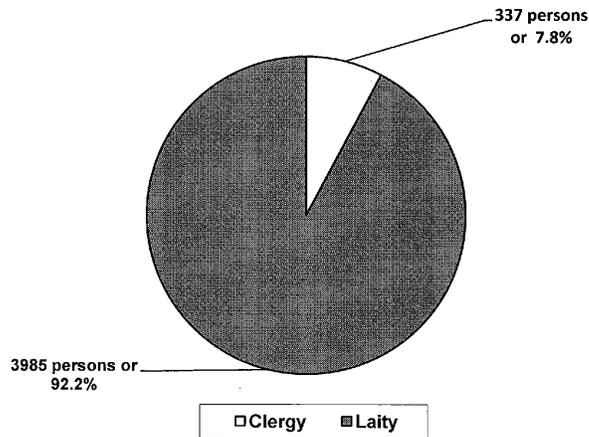
1. Breakdown by region of cases of persecution, abuse



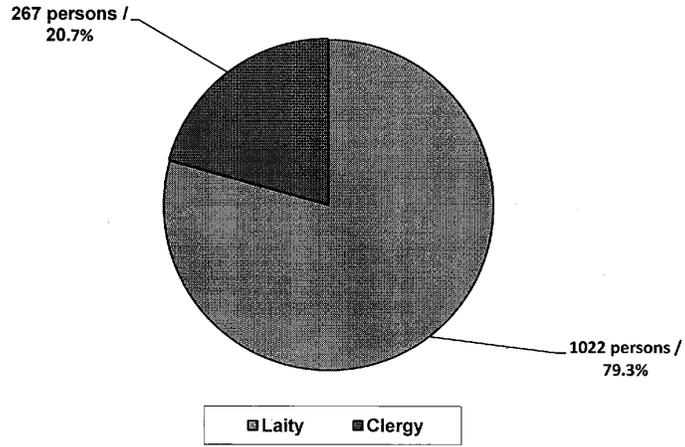
2. Breakdown by region of number of people persecuted, detained



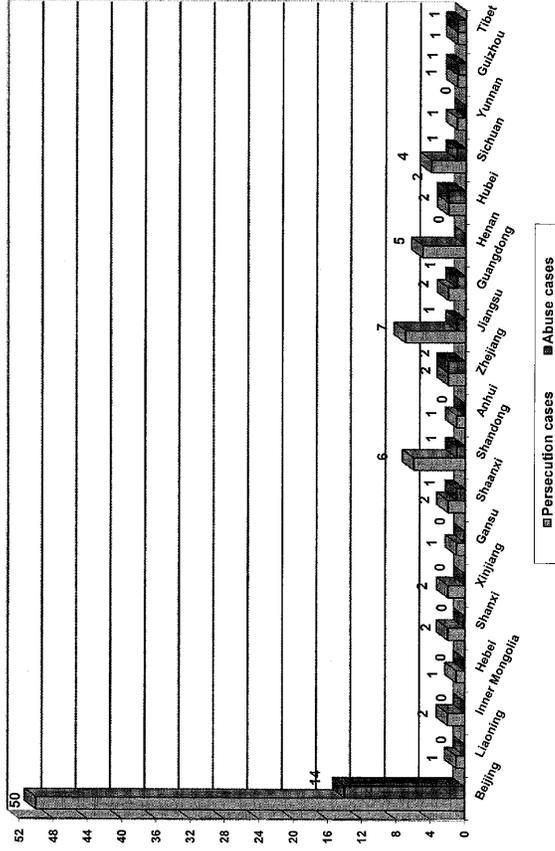
3. Ratio of clergy vs. laity persecuted (Note: total number of persons persecuted is 4,322)



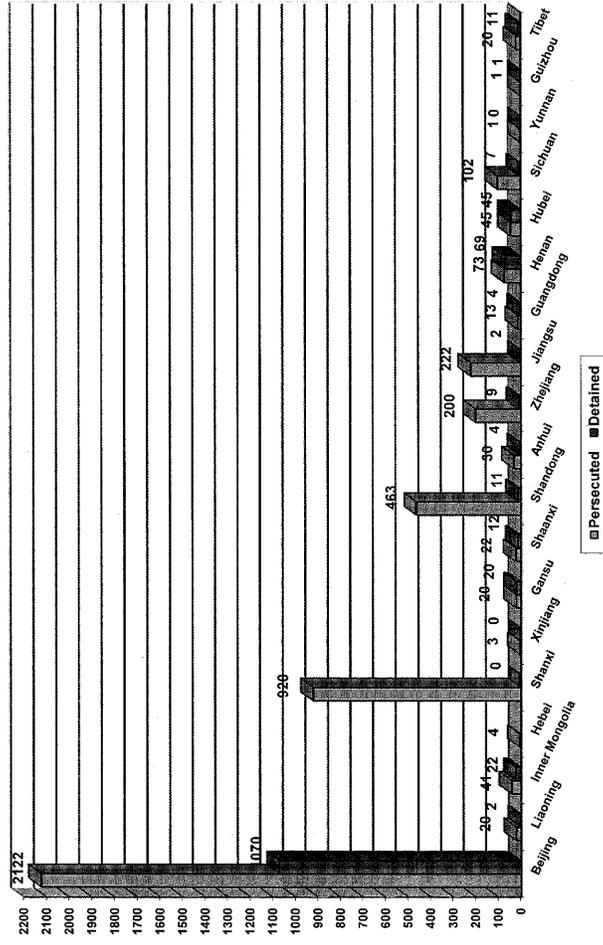
4. Ratio of clergy vs. laity detained (Note: Total number of detainees is 1,289 people.)



5. Breakdown by municipality & province of cases of persecution, abuse



6. Breakdown by municipality and province of number of people persecuted, detained



**CONCLUSION: BEIJING TERRORISM CANNOT DEFEAT CHRIST'S CHURCH**

In the year just ended, China's Communist regime has succeeded in creating throughout the country but particularly in Beijing an atmosphere of terror among the Chinese people by skirting the nation's judicial system to punish its own citizens, in violation of the nation's laws, through abduction, forced disappearance, torture, abuse, mentally and physically destructive abuse, treating family members as guilty-by-association, etc. In 2011, more than 100 influential lawyers and human rights activists—both Christians and non-Christians—were “disappeared,” tortured, put under surveillance or sentenced. The number of people who were threatened by or forced “to drink tea” with police or Domestic Security Protection agents exceeded 1,000.

In 2011, Christians and churches in Beijing experienced wide-ranging persecution, accounting for a large proportion of the persecution nationwide and throughout the year. Across the country, many Christians and churches were forced, after they had been terrorized by the persecution, to keep quiet; they were too afraid to say anything openly about their suffering. That's why ChinaAid has not reported some of the cases it has collected information about, or delayed in reporting some cases.

This kind of “Beijing terrorism” persecution is carried out in two main ways: **torture** and **guilt-by-association**. These measures were first used on human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng and became standard procedure starting with the treatment of Dr. Fan Yafeng, a leader in the rights defense movement.

The methods of **torture** that have been used so far have been varied, but all are aimed at destroying a person's body, will and spirit. One frequently used method is repeated blows to the head. This kind of violent abuse designed to destroy a person's spirit has been inflicted on Gao Zhisheng, Fan Yafeng, Yu Jie, Jiang Tianyong and the overseas Chinese woman Jenny Chen from Canada, as well as others. In the Chinese cultural context, being beaten in the head is an extreme form of insult; to a man, it is no less mortifying than a sexual assault is to a woman.

**Guilt-by-association** is another form of “Beijing terrorism.” Starting with Gao Zhisheng, nearly all the families associated with those persecuted churches or Christians with societal influence have without fail been punished or threatened to varying degrees. Commonly used methods include: house arrest, being followed, threats, surveillance, insults, harassment, beatings, and putting pressure on adults through their workplaces or on students and children through their schools. Victims of this form of persecution include Gao Zhisheng's wife and children, Fan Yafeng's wife and child, Jiang Tianyong's wife and child, Tang Jingling's wife and mother, Shi Enhao's children, and ChinaAid spokesman Mark Shan's brother, Randy C. Shan, who lives in China.

Torture and guilt-by-association have a long history in China. After Deng Xiaoping, who suffered greatly from these methods during the Mao era, took power in the late 1970s, he was partially successful in doing away with the evil tradition of guilt-by-association. In the past five years, however, the Hu Jintao government has resumed the rampant use of torture and guilt-by-association. Once this Pandora's box in Chinese culture is opened, it will be difficult to close, and will become a vicious cycle.

The existence of "Beijing Terrorism" is not just because of the Hu Jintao government's pursuit of ultra-leftist ideology and governance that undermines the rule of law, it also is related to the weak attitude taken by the Western world. Through its treatment of Gao Zhisheng, Liu Xiaobo, Fan Yafeng, Teng Biao, Chen Guangcheng, and Uyghur Christian Alimujiang, the Beijing regime was using these typical cases to test just how weak the response might be from the Western world, especially the United States, when the human rights of the Chinese people, including the minority groups, are trampled upon. As a result, Beijing is becoming ever more emboldened in its internal repression and external "money diplomacy."

These embarrassing facts are not just China's sorrow, they are also evidence of the failure of the power of world justice. The failure of international efforts to bring about justice is not necessarily because Communist China today is stronger and more powerful than Germany and Japan were during World War II or the Soviet Union was during the Cold War. Rather, it is because the international community—in particular the Western world—is no longer staunchly guarding and holding fast to the concepts of freedom, justice and human rights as it once had. The result is fear when noble sacrifice is necessary and retreat when a price must be paid. Added to which is the lure of money and personal interests. All of these factors corrupt the spirit and dissipate courage, spreading ever wider—just like the current economic crisis.

In this unsettling situation, however, there is reason for hope. And that is because the church in China, in defending and fighting for its rights strictly for faith reasons, is doing so in a non-violent, law-abiding way. And the effect this has had on society, politics, culture and ethics is further reason for hope. This has demonstrated that China's house churches have become the backbone of efforts to promote freedom of religion, human rights and the rule of law and is the cornerstone for the development of a civil society in China.

ChinaAid founder and president Bob Fu has said, "House churches in China which are committed to the sole headship of Christ in the church and to evangelism must operate as illegal groups conducting so-called 'illegal religious activities,' and consequently must be ready to suffer the administrative penalties inflicted by the state."

Indeed! China's Christians need not place their hopes on any government or any organization, but rather, they rely entirely on the head of church alone—the Lord Jesus Christ—and remain faithful to this great God. Over the past 60 years of bloody punishment by the state, the church in China has steadily grown and matured. Is this not the most powerful testimony to the work of the Holy Spirit? So let us boast in the Lord Jehovah, and in this way answer those who persecute and ridicule us.

**“May the favor of the Lord our God rest upon us; establish the work of our hands for us—yes, establish the work of our hands.”**

*Psalm 90: 17*

(END)

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If quoting from this report, please provide proper attribution.

ChinaAid Contacts

Bob Fu, President; Mark Shan, Spokesperson

Cell: (267) 205-5210 Email: [info@ChinaAid.org](mailto:info@ChinaAid.org)

LA Office: Eddie Romero

Tel: (323) 521-6777 Email: [ChinaAid.LA@gmail.com](mailto:ChinaAid.LA@gmail.com)

**China Aid Association, USA**

**Website: [www.ChinaAid.org](http://www.ChinaAid.org)**

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER SMITH, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM  
NEW JERSEY; CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

FEBRUARY 14, 2012

As President Obama welcomes Vice President Xi Jinping, China's leader-in-waiting to the White House today our Commission will hear testimony from two wives who are appealing for the immediate release of their jailed husbands—great human rights leaders—back in China.

As Chairman, I hope that President Obama doesn't put human rights last on the agenda—or not at all—as he did when Chinese President Hu Jintao visited the White House on January 19th, 2011.

One of the wives, Li Jing, says that, “only the United States can make this case to China.” President Obama, listen to these courageous women—Geng He and Li Jing—and act decisively.

The China Commission hopes that the issue of human rights abuses in China will be raised in a serious and visible way during Mr. Xi's visit, and particularly that the detention of Gao Zhisheng, Liu Xiaobo, Chen Guancheng, Guo Quan, Liu Xianbin, Pastor Yang Rongli, Alimujiang Yimiti and others are raised often and discussed in detail.

This important and timely hearing today recognizes one of China's most important human rights lawyers, Gao Zhisheng. In the early 2000s, Mr. Gao, a self-trained lawyer, emerged as a champion of human rights causes and a defender of marginalized groups in China. Today, we know little about Mr. Gao's current condition and whereabouts.

Guo Quan is an academic and professor who published an open letter to President Hu calling for multiparty elections, posted a charter for a new democracy party online and called for the end to China's notorious reeducation through labor system. For that he was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

GAO ZHISHENG

Mr. Gao Zhisheng's brilliant legal advocacy on behalf of marginalized groups in China—including religious practitioners, rural workers, and human rights activists—resulted in being sentenced on trumped-up “inciting subversion” charges in 2006. He was sentenced to three years imprisonment, but granted a five-year suspended sentence, or period of parole. During this time, Mr. Gao has been subjected to years of brutal torture and has been repeatedly “disappeared.” An outspoken Christian, Mr. Gao has been “disappeared” into official custody since February 2009, with only a brief reappearance, under official supervision, in March and April 2010.

Information on Mr. Gao's enforced disappearance and current condition remains a closely guarded secret. For months and years, we heard nothing on Mr. Gao's ongoing detention.

Two months ago, however, Chinese officials announced that Mr. Gao would be forced to serve out his original three year criminal sentence, a week before he should have finished his five-year parole period. The announcement claimed that Mr. Gao violated the conditions of his parole. No details, however, were provided. One can only wonder what “violations” Mr. Gao committed, since he has been held incommunicado during the majority of this parole period and has been brutally tortured throughout.

In the past month, his brother and other family members have been turned away in their attempts to visit Mr. Gao. We have received no word on his health or condition.

As expert witnesses will demonstrate, the official case against Gao Zhisheng is not only rife with villainy, but also bereft of humanity. In an account of Mr. Gao's torture, made public by the Associated Press in January 2011, Mr. Gao disclosed to a reporter the excruciating details of his detention: “The police stripped Gao Zhisheng bare and pummeled him with handguns in holsters. For two days and nights, they took turns beating him and did things he refused to describe.” He recalled, “For 48 hours my life hung by a thread.” Authorities reportedly threatened to kill Mr. Gao, to dump his body in a river. And, authorities taunted him by saying “You must forget you're human.”

To Vice President Xi, we will not forget. We do not know if Mr. Gao is alive or dead. In solidarity with Mr. Gao and his family, we know, however, that we are here to honor Mr. Gao's accomplishments, his rights advocacy and his image. We will not let those who hold him kill Gao Zhisheng's legacy. We will not allow these criminals to dispose of his significance. And, we will not forget Mr. Gao's profound humanity.

We are also honored to hear from two specialists with unique insights into Gao Zhisheng's case and the ongoing international advocacy efforts on his behalf. We will hear from Jared Genser, founder of Freedom Now and member of Gao Zhisheng's international pro bono legal team. Genser will discuss the recently filed petition with the United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention on behalf of Mr. Gao, which seeks an opinion on whether Mr. Gao's imprisonment violates international law. And, we will hear from Pastor Bob Fu, the founder and president of the China Aid Association. Pastor Fu will discuss the FreeGao campaign and the need to hold China accountable for the ongoing harassment and detention of Gao Zhisheng.

#### GUO QUAN

The case of Guo Quan, a former criminal-court officer and university associate professor, illustrates how Chinese officials target citizens who attempt to form independent political parties, use the Internet to organize, or post online opinions deemed too politically sensitive. In 2007, Mr. Guo began posting a series of open letters to top government leaders, advocating on behalf of laid-off workers, demobilized military cadres, and displaced farmers. He also wrote letters calling for multi-party rule and for democratic reforms. Because his writings were considered too critical of the government, however, Mr. Guo later lost his university professorship and was expelled from the China Democratic League, a state-approved "democratic" party under the direction of the Communist Party. Chinese authorities frequently detained Mr. Guo, because of his online articles and open letters to top officials. In 2008, Mr. Guo announced the formation of the China New Democracy Party. Authorities later detained Mr. Guo and sentenced him to ten years' imprisonment for "subversion of state power" for organizing an "illegal" political party, for recruiting members for the party, and for other acts to "overthrow" the socialist system. Despite his appeal, court officials upheld the verdict. Today, Mr. Guo is serving out his sentence in a Nanjing prison. His wife and young son have fled the official harassment and abuse they suffered in China, and they are now in the United States.

The hearing today continues the Congressional-Executive Commission on China's work to monitor China's human rights and rule of law developments and to give voice to the persecuted. In the past year, the Commission has consistently raised China's ongoing violations of international law and human rights standards in its reports and events. Recent hearings have been able to boldly shine a light on some of China's gravest injustices and its darkest policies.

In December 2011, the Commission held a hearing on Liu Xiaobo—a year after he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in absentia. The hearing highlighted China's increasing crackdown on inspiring human rights advocates and peaceful reformers.

In November 2011, we held a hearing on the illegal detention and abuse of legal advocate Mr. Chen Guangcheng and his family. A self-trained legal advocate, Mr. Chen was wrongfully imprisoned for exposing China's brutal forced abortions and for his heroic activism on behalf of victims of China's one child policy. Since his release, Mr. Chen and his family have been maliciously deprived of basic freedoms—and repeatedly beaten. They remain confined to their home, under an illegal form of house arrest and under the watchful eye of armed thugs. We are unsure of whether Mr. Chen, like Mr. Gao, is even still alive. Our prayers are with him and his family. As Chairman of this Commission, I and staff have made repeated attempts to visit Mr. Chen in Shandong province, but the Chinese government has denied our access, as well as access to the many human rights advocates in China that have tried to see Mr. Chen. Even actor Christian Bale was intercepted en route. Mr. Chen and his wife have been maliciously because he fights for women and children who have been irreparably harmed by the one child policy.

China's one child policy is state sponsored cruelty and constitutes a massive crime against humanity. The Nuremberg Nazi war crimes tribunal properly construed forced abortion as a crime against humanity—nothing in human history compares to the magnitude of China's 33 year assault on women and children. The Chinese government's one child per couple policy, with its attendant horrors of mass forced abortion and rampant sex selection abortion, is utterly without parallel. In effect since 1979, the coercive one child per couple policy is, in scope and seriousness, the worst human rights abuse in the world today. Few outside of China understand what a massive and cruel system of social control the one child policy entails.

The price for failing to confirm to this system is staggering. A Chinese woman who comes pregnant without a permit will be put under mind-bending pressure to abort. She knows that "out of plan" illegal children are denied education, healthcare and marriage, and that fines for bearing a child without a birth permit can be up to 10 times the average annual income of both parents, and those families that can't

or won't pay are jailed or their homes smashed in or their young child killed. If the brave woman still refuses to submit, she may be held in a punishment cell, or if she flees, her relatives may be held, and very often, beaten. Group punishments will be used to socially ostracize her. Her colleagues and neighbors will be denied birth permits. If the woman is, by some miracle, still able to resist this pressure, she may be physically dragged to an operating table and forced to undergo an abortion. Her trauma is incomprehensible. It is a trauma she shares, in some degree, with virtually every woman in China, whose experience of intimacy and motherhood is colored by the atmosphere of fear created by the government—by government threats and determination to intrude itself in a deadly fashion in the most private aspects of her life.

Today in China, rather than being given maternal care, pregnant women without birth control permits are hunted down and their babies forcibly aborted. They are mocked, belittled and humiliated. There are no single moms in China—except those who somehow evade the family planning cadres and conceal their pregnancy. For three decades, brothers and sisters have been illegal; a mother has absolutely no right to protect her baby from state sponsored violence.

Mr. Chen courageously pushed back against this horrific policy—and today suffers unspeakable abuse for his compassionate work.

Finally, we gather here today to ask that China's future leader Xi Jinping take China in a new direction. We ask that Mr. Xi put an end to China's oppression of human rights heroes and allow these inspiring men and women to return to their families without delay. We ask for the immediate release of Gao Zhisheng, of Guo Quan, of Chen Guangcheng, Liu Xiaobo and all the others.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. SHERROD BROWN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM OHIO;  
COCHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

FEBRUARY 14, 2012

Thank you all for attending today's important hearing on the treatment—or mistreatment—of Chinese human rights lawyer, Gao Zhisheng.

We are here to show support for a man who has devoted his life to defending the rights of his fellow citizens.

A special thank you to his courageous wife, Ms. Geng He, for being here today. I look forward to hearing from you about your husband's life and career defending marginalized groups in China.

And know that his—and your—life's devotion to human rights is a source of inspiration for so many people in China, here in the United States, and across the world.

Thank you also to Ms. Li Jing, the wife of imprisoned Chinese dissident Guo Quan.

She, too, will share her husband's story of standing up for basic human rights in the face of imprisonment and intimidation.

Today's hearing comes at an important time in the relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

As Chinese Vice President Xi Jinping attends meetings just minutes away with our top officials, we are reminded that the real China is represented by the brave individual whose fate remains a mystery and who is the focus of today's hearing.

In understanding Gao Zhisheng's story, we understand not only what Gao stands for, but the challenges we face with China today.

Mr. Gao has devoted his life to trying to make the law work for those he represented—the underprivileged and underserved.

He has stood up for those kicked off their land by greedy developers and corrupt officials.

He has stood by factory workers protesting low wages and long hours, and the persecuted practitioners of Falun Gong.

In stark contrast, Chinese authorities showed no concern for Mr. Gao's rights or the law.

They disbarred him. They jailed him. They have reportedly tortured him, and somehow made him “disappear.”

Chinese authorities have used Mr. Gao to send a chilling message to other would-be human rights defenders: Stay quiet, do not challenge us, do not hold us accountable—or else.

Mr. Gao himself would say that his case is about more than just his own experience.

As he wrote in his book “A China More Just,” behind each case in China “are systemic problems.”

And from the problems that Mr. Gao has faced—the utter disregard for the rule of law by his government and the Communist Party—we see why our nation faces so many systemic problems with China today.

Mr. Gao's case and the cases he worked on show us how easy it is for Chinese officials to cheat, bend the rules, and game the system.

They show us how easy it is for China to ignore labor and environmental standards, hoard raw materials, and manipulate its currency.

They brazenly sell us—with the help of some of our own companies—toxic toys, tainted pet food, and consumer products made by overworked and underpaid workers.

And while I and others in our government are doing all we can to ensure the safety and health of our citizens and a fair trading relationship with China, we know that we can't do it alone. We need brave Chinese citizens like Mr. Gao to defend their rights, to make sure they have a fair and living wage, their food is safe, and their environment is clean.

That's why his case is so important—because if Chinese citizens can defend their rights, we all benefit.

We all benefit—from Ohio and across the country—when we know the products we buy from China are safer and won't cause illness or death.

We all benefit—just as we do here—from a rule of law that ensures the citizens of China have the possibility to hold their government accountable and to rightly petition grievances to effectuate change.

But until Mr. Gao and countless other political prisoners in China are released from their shackles, that day will remain in the distant, unknown future.

That's why we on this Commission and our government must continue to do all we can to spotlight these cases and secure Mr. Gao's release.

Treatment—or mistreatment—of basic human rights deserves nothing less.

Thank you all again for attending today's hearing.

## SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

AN OPEN LETTER TO CHINA'S NATIONAL PEOPLES' CONGRESS—GAO'S FIRST LETTER  
TO CCP'S LEADERS

BY GAO ZHISHENG

[Special to The Epoch Times—March 25, 2006]

To the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Committee Chairman Wu Bangguo:

As a lawyer, I have recently received from various places, many petitions and requests for help regarding the sentencing of Falun Gong practitioners and the plight [of the practitioners being punished by] re-education through labor. On December 26, my associate and I went to Shijiazhuang City of Hebei Province to offer legal assistance to Huang Wei, who has been subject to so-called re-education through labor. After taking up the case, in the course of dealing with the administrative and judicial authorities, we discovered a series of phenomena that were beyond the imagination of today's people. These phenomena exist in both the legislative and judicial realms. As an attorney and a citizen of the present era, I feel extraordinarily down-cast and saddened in the face of such incredible phenomena. The first thought that came to me—after I had had negotiations with several courts in Shijiazhuang City—was that I would express such suffocating depression and sadness by submitting a letter as soon as I could to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and its Chairman Wu Bangguo. I did, with only some delay as I spent time and energy trying to decide what exact form the letter should take.

In 2003, in my capacity as a citizen of the People's Republic of China (PRC), I submitted three separate requests—each with the title “Request for Investigation into Constitution Violations”—through registered mail to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Made on the basis of the Constitution of the PRC (hereafter Constitution) and the Legislation Law of the People's Republic of China (hereafter Legislation Law), each of the three requests concerns one of the following issues: “Regulations Concerning the Management of Demolition and Relocation of Houses in the City,” the policy of private properties expropriated by the state for generating state income, and the obvious constitution violations by the People's Supreme Court in interpreting the laws regarding the policy. The three requests were met with the same outcome—no reply whatsoever. This time, after painful consideration, I have decided to write an open letter.

Huang Wei, a Shijiazhuang resident with a college education, was sent to a labor camp in 1999 for a 3-year term on the charge of “participating in evil cult activities to undermine the implementation of state laws.” Upon being released, he was only 34 years of age, but half of his hair had become grey. With hope for a good life and through incredible diligence and perseverance, he tried to run a small business and made a promising start. Although he and his family were still rather poor, they were happy and were determined to forget the bitter past and to work for a good life ahead. On April 13, 2004, at 7:30 a.m. Huang took his child to the kindergarten as usual. As he stepped out of the kindergarten to go to work, four unidentified people abducted him. He was taken to the National Security office, where he was thoroughly searched, and all his belongings, including his bike and cash, were taken away from him. Then he was sent to a detention center. All the way along, those who arrested him did not produce any official papers or identify themselves.

Later, local authorities got into Huang's apartment by themselves and conducted a search. Thirty-eight days after Huang had been detained, the police, not wanting to be blamed for detaining someone longer than the law allowed, placed him in a detaining room of the Public Security office for another 15 days, during which time, again, no effort to communicate was made, except for the “questioning and reporting” by two police officers who refused to identify themselves. (When Huang asked them their names and the government department to which they belonged, their answer was, “We are interrogating you, not being interrogated by you.”) Since the report did not reflect in the least the conversation in the questioning, Huang refused to sign it. To Huang's utter astonishment, however, one of the officers unhurriedly signed Huang's name on the report right in front of Huang and put his fingerprint on it. Huang later figured out that the purpose of the “questioning and reporting” was to extract evidence for sending him to the labor camp. On June 3, Huang Wei was once again given a 3-year term of re-education through labor. On June 4, leaving his “monitored life” in the detaining room, he was sent to the labor camp a sec-

ond time. Thereafter, each time Huang demanded the city government to review his case or his rights to due legal process, he had to go on hunger strike before his demand would be met. He was on hunger strike for a total of 42 days. One can imagine how sad and miserable his situation was!

In the morning of December 27, 2004, my associate and I arrived at the labor camp in Shijiazhuang City and, following the proper procedure, requested to meet with Huang Wei. The administration of the labor camp told us that they could approve requests for seeing any type of inmates except Falun Gong practitioners and that we would need special approval from the “610 Office” in order to see our client. Braving the bitter cold weather, we went back and forth between the “610 Office” under the labor camp administration and the “610 Office” under the Judicial Bureau. It took us more than three hours to get through all the red tape; but in the end we were allowed to see our client for less than three minutes. (Those at the scene jokingly remarked that it was three hours outside the law and three minutes within the law.)

On the afternoon of December 27, the lawyers [1] took all the documents of Huang’s complaint about the fact that Shijiazhuang City government had been ignoring his case to the Intermediate Court of Shijiazhuang City. They tried to file the case “The Silence of the Shijiazhuang City government to Huang Wei’s request” but to no avail. At 8:30 a.m. on December 28, the lawyers went to the same court with the same request and were again rejected. In a meeting with a judge at the court’s administrative chamber, the lawyers were told that the case should be brought to the court at Xinhua District. At 9:20 a.m., the lawyers arrived at the Xinhua District Court. A judge at the administrative chamber there with the last name Miao looked through the documents and said, “There is instruction from above that no case about Falun Gong should be accepted and that no document would be issued with respect to it.” When the lawyers pointed out to him the stipulations by relevant laws, he said the instruction came from “above” and that their job was only to implement them. He suggested the lawyers talk to the judge of the Case Filing Tribunal.

At the Case Filing Tribunal, two female staff members looked through the documents and became rather irritated. They told the lawyers that the court would neither accept cases involving Falun Gong nor issue any document with respect to it, adding that there were documents [directing they do so] from above. The lawyers expressed that the court should base its decision about whether to accept a case or not on state laws, and that if there was a conflict between any relevant documents and the laws, then such documents would be invalid. At this point, a young staff member at the scene burst into a near scream, “If you think the documents from above are invalid, you can ask the National People’s Congress to amend the laws.” As she finished, a judge whom she addressed as “the chamber chief” came forward saying, “You are probably not party members (referring to the lawyers) and have not studied the essentials of the Party’s National Congress, have you? Did you know lawyers are not allowed to take cases like this? The judicial court belongs to the Chinese Communist Party, so do the laws. Now there are instructions from above not to accept [such cases,] that’s it. You may talk to whomever you want to and file your case wherever you want.”

After that, there was no explanation from anyone anymore. Asked by the lawyers, another judge said the case should be brought to the court of the Chang’an District. At 10:30 a.m., the lawyers arrived at the third court [that day] and were, again, received by a judge from the administrative chamber. As soon as the lawyers said the case involved Falun Gong, the judge immediately returned the documents that he was reading to the lawyers and told the same story: the instructions from above stipulate that no Falun Gong cases would be considered, no documents would be issued regarding them, and no document justifying [the way it is handled] would be produced. The judge added, “What you lawyers are doing is very risky. If you continue with this, it will be necessary to write a judicial report (demanding disciplinary actions against you.)” That concluded the lawyers’ efforts to file a case at three courts involving two levels in Shijiazhuang City.

In handling the case of Huang Wei being sent to a labor camp, I found the following phenomena, which are at odds with the civilization of modern society as well as the rule of law that is advocated, implemented, and sought after by the public. These phenomena are much more prominent in the judicial realm, to such an extent that one feels horrified and in a hopeless situation. As a lawyer and a Chinese, I cannot choose to be silent!

From the perspective of the existing laws, the sentence and punishment of Falun Gong practitioners completely violates the basic legal principles and modern practices of the rule of law:

1. In any country that adopts statute law, the applicability of criminal law naturally circumscribes the time frame and the extent to which the regulation of the criminal laws can be applied (including the issue of people, events, and location). Theoretically, the “Criminal Law of the People’s Republic of China” (hereafter as “Criminal Law”) is no exception. It is a basic principle of our country’s “Criminal Law” that its rules do not apply to the past, that is, the “Criminal Law” does not apply to behaviors that took place prior to the legislation of the “Criminal Law.” On October 30, 1999, the promulgation by the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress of a “Decision to Eradicate Evil Cult Organizations and to Prevent and Punish Evil Cult Activities” (hereafter as “Decision”) served only a matter of formality, making up something that is needed in the legislation of criminal punishment [regarding the said activities]. And thereafter, the majority of the criminal punishment of citizens who practice Falun Gong was directed toward their behavior prior to the promulgation of the “Decision.” The sentencing of Huang Wei to re-education through labor in November of 1999 belongs squarely to this situation. This violation of basic principles of our country’s “Criminal Law” has been public, sustained, and large scale. That is to say, the majority of the citizens have been thrown into prison in a situation where our country’s basic legal principles are violated.

2. Whether a country adopts statute law or common law, criminal law can only regulate (or “attack,” a word commonly used in our country) people’s action, but not the thoughts or identity of a certain group of people. This is a result of the coming of age of criminal laws around the world. The punishing of many citizens who practice Falun Gong has been due to their identity as Falun Gong practitioners; Huang Wei being sent to a labor camp is a clear example. This is a revolt against modern civilization and the rule of law. Its direct result is rendering universal legal standards arbitrary, causing substantial long term damage to the rule of law that has been affirmed and pursued by our country.

3. The “Decision” has not offered any legal definitions for proper judgments in trials regarding: Falun Gong practitioners; the behavior of Falun Gong practitioners; the relationship between Falun Gong practitioners and Falun Gong as an organization; the relationship between the Falun Gong organization and so called “evil cult organizations; what an evil cult organization is; and in what ways Falun Gong practitioners, the behavior of Falun Gong practitioners, and the Falun Gong organization belong to the category of evil cult crimes. As a result, the majority of the sentencing and punishment of Falun Gong practitioners are based on “using evil cult organizations to obstruct the exercising of state laws.” And in the criminal charges, there is a lack of the necessary information about whether there is indeed any evil cult organization that could be used by the person charged with the crimes; whether the person did make use of any evil cult organization; when and where the person charged made use of an evil cult organization; whether the person charged did obstruct the exercising of state laws; and how the person obstructed the state laws. In the two times where Huang Wei was punished (even though [the reason offered] was for administrative purposes—[since no trial was involved]), the reason was simply for “using evil cult organizations to obstruct the exercising of state laws.” In this situation, there is no guarantee whatsoever that the criminal punishment is based on concrete evidence and is accurate, leaving the citizens in a dangerous situation without any protection.

4. The arbitrary sentencing of Falun Gong practitioners to labor camps in some places has reached a painful level, and the reasons used include “refusal to reform” or “refusal to convert.” (As I write this letter, a woman from Wuhan, Ms. Du Wenli, who just gave birth to a child three months ago, sent a fax to me, describing in desperation her husband Ni Guobin’s frightening experience. Ni was released after a three-year imprisonment, but on July 13 of this year, he was kidnapped on his way to work by some people whose identities were undisclosed. Ten days later, he was sent back with only one breath left. Queried by the 110 policemen, the kidnapers revealed that they were from the State Security Bureau. On December 3, Ni was kidnapped again, and to this day Du has no information about the whereabouts of her husband.) What should be pointed out here in particular is that the very existence of labor camps and their sentencing practices have clearly violated Articles 5, 22, 37, and 38 of the “Constitution,” Article 10 of “The Law of the People’s Republic of China on Administrative Punishment” (which states that administrative laws can issue administrative punishments other than the confinement of personal freedom), and Article 8 of the “Legislative Law.” A citizen’s personal freedom is deprived for years, and the deprived is not given any procedures for appeal, defense, or trial. The person is sent to labor camps after receiving a sentencing decision. This is

unthinkable in a lawful, civilized society. With freedom deprived, all channels of assistance that the victim is entitled to have become hypothetical. While in the labor camp, Huang Wei could not make any appeal. Every step in making an appeal had to be paid with the painful cost of many days on hunger strike. All citizens, including policemen, know that the labor camp system violates the constitution, basic laws, and modern legal civilization, but the system has continued, and the country is paying a higher and higher cost for this inhuman and uncivilized behavior. I ask the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and its chairman Wu Bangguo to please pay attention to this issue.

5. The conspiratorial promulgation of these detrimental phenomena on the part of the country and its local governments have directly led to the vicious behavior of legal workers. In Huang Wei's case, the legal workers' irresponsibility and their corrupt, un-professional conduct have reached an alarming level despised by any civilized society. More terrifying is that they did not consider their behavior shameful. Judges and courts of justice are guardians of legal values, and their professional code of ethics, expert knowledge, and civilized systems should function to raise their instinctual caution over possible deviations from legal values. This is a universal value standard of judges and courts of justice in all of humankind's civilized societies. But in Huang Wei's case, what we see is just the opposite. The judges and the courts of justice, while paying the role of "gate keepers," have not any sense of responsibility and morality in their treatment of state laws and legal principles. They attack, like dogs, anyone who attempts to uphold legal values. They have no respect for the sacredness of their profession, and are doing all they can to generate negative moral and social effects in the state's exercise of power. This really pains me (I assume Chairman Wu Bangguo must feel the same.)

As I began to write this letter, others warned me out of kindness that the Falun Gong issue is taboo and a "political issue." As a lawyer, I am well aware of the special social situation in China. In a society where political powers are used appropriately, there would be no taboos. The fact that taboos exist demonstrates distortion, illegitimacy and dishonesty in the usage of political power. On the other hand, why aren't citizens allowed to comment on political issues? Whose politics is it if it can't be discussed? Politics that can't be discussed must be illegitimate. When a society is left with only one voice, what kind of a situation will it become? Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang's era of the Ming Dynasty was too long ago. More recent examples are the Cultural Revolution and the regime in North Korea, one of the "axis of evil," both had just one voice. Who wants this to proliferate?

On many international occasions, we have called ourselves a responsible, large nation. No criterion for a responsible, large nation is more honest and valuable than acceptance from its own people. The fact that the government is afraid of citizens' reporting their survival problems shows how far we are from being a responsible, large nation.

In summary, writing this letter to the Standing Committee of the People's Congress and chairman Wu Bangguo of the Standing Committee is not to advocate for a certain group of people, nor is it to "sing a tune opposite of the CCP and the government." I love my nation. It is the only thing that inspires me in this era. At the same time, writing this letter is not just trying to change the unjust treatment that Huang Wei received. The most important goal for my letter is, with effort by the Standing Committee of the People's Congress and chairman Wu, to try to change the distortion in the current legislation and law enforcement processes through systematic changes. At the beginning of the human civilization, there were great differences between the cultures of each region. However, all the great civilizations, without communicating with each other, chose to invent written languages and establish common rules. In other words, following the rule of law is a methodical choice made by all human civilizations. In today's world, the nations that are against the rule of law are closed, underdeveloped, unstable, and savage. Every citizen's longing and passion for social stability are no less than that of the governing body. The lack of following the rule of law, disguised under the slogan "Stability trumps all," is the greatest source of instability in Chinese society today.

On the issue of Falun Gong, the government, especially those who implement the law, should first admit the practitioners' status as Chinese citizens. On the other hand, on this issue, the government and law enforcement officials must recognize that they represent the nation, and must follow the law in all their actions. If they act outside the boundaries of the law, whose power are they representing? For example, the court did not establish a case, follow any legal procedure, or allow a lawyer to represent the plaintiff in the case of Huang Wei. Even today, his wife and child are denied visits to see him. These are blatant, unconcealed actions in violation of the rules. What's even worse is that those who act against the rules are pre-

cisely the law enforcement officials whose job it is to protect the implementation of the rules. As time goes on, the law enforcement officials regard violation of the rules as something quite common. They no longer view protecting the rules of the nation as their professional responsibility. Continuously, their actions are undermining and destroying morals, culture and the legitimacy of the government's power. Whose needs are they meeting?—only the needs of the evil people who are the enemies of today's society. We must be extremely alert on this issue!

I hereby wish Chairman Wu Bangguo good health!

Beijing Shengzhi Legal Firm  
Gao Zhisheng  
December 31, 2004

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STOP PERSECUTING BELIEVERS OF FREEDOM AND MEND YOUR TIES WITH THE CHINESE PEOPLE—GAO ZHISHENG'S SECOND OPEN LETTER ABOUT THE PERSECUTION OF FALUN GONG

BY GAO ZHISHENG

[Special to The Epoch Times—October 24, 2005]

[*Gao Zhisheng published three open letters in which he called for an end to the persecution of Falun Gong. Previously, The Epoch Times had published this, the translation of the second letter, in an abbreviated form. We are now proud to bring our readers the complete letter.*]

October 18, 2005 Beijing, China

Dear President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao:

Greetings from Chinese citizen Gao Zhisheng!

Before I could sit down and send my greetings to you, my two fellow citizens, out of solicitude for another group of our common fellow citizens, Falun Gong believers, I went to several places outside Beijing to investigate the real situation about Falun Gong believers who are suffering a new wave of systematic, large-scale, organized, illegal persecution. During my days outside Beijing, I was hiding, laying low like a thief. That's why many in the outside world spread the hearsay that I was "missing."

This new round of continued, systematic, large-scale, organized, and brutal persecution targeting our fellow Chinese citizens who believe in Falun Gong is an ongoing reality. Recent letters addressed to us from different regions reveal this reality, and we also personally witnessed it during our trip outside Beijing. As a Chinese citizen, and as a lawyer, I am willing to bear any legal responsibility for witnessing and publicizing these facts.

Because I trust your basic human nature, I have decided to report to you what I have witnessed in the form of an open letter. I again put my trust and hope in you. I hope you will take prompt measures to halt as soon as possible the continuing persecution of our fellow Falun Gong citizens by authorities in all regions and at all levels.

It is not only a necessity for those citizens who are suffering illegal persecution to be set free from the tragedy, it also involves the issue of universally recognized values such as the value of China's constitution and rule of law, moral values, and justice. These are fundamental values for mankind. How can these values be allowed to become worthless in today's China?! How can these values be allowed to become worthless in your eyes?!

On October 15, I met Xu Chengben of Yantai City, Shandong Province. As soon as he saw me, he said to me:

My wife He Xiuling's body has been kept in a frozen state for almost two years, but to date no one is able to provide an explanation for her death; that's why we cannot go ahead and bury her. They were capable of subjecting her to prolonged torture and eventually torturing her to death. However, they are not capable of handling the case regarding the cause of her death almost two years after she passed away.

I was not allowed to see her until she was tortured to the brink of death. When I got there, she had already lost consciousness, but even so, she was cuffed to a bed and her lower body was completely naked. When I saw my loved one in such a tragic state, my heart broke! They are truly inhumane. I was only allowed to stay with her for a few minutes before they pushed me out of the room. She was only in her forties. That is the situation I witnessed on the

evening she passed away, after I got notified by the police and hurried to see her.

When my wife was alive, she was arrested five times. Once she was detained in Jinzhou City, Liaoning Province for three months for going to Beijing to appeal for Falun Gong. She was held in the restroom of a hotel in Zhifu District. The hotel was rented by the police specifically for detaining Falun Gong practitioners. The restroom is less than three square meters (32.3 square feet). Sixteen people were locked inside. Many of them could not bear the suffocating environment.

Because we demanded to have an autopsy performed to show the cause of her death, they did so. However, the officials responsible have refused time and again to give me the autopsy report. After numerous requests for the results of the autopsy, they told me verbally that she “died because she practiced Falun Gong.”

Du Kesong, a Falun Gong practitioner from Shihuiyao Village, Songcun Town, Wendeng City, was arrested in May. He was sentenced to labor camp. After more than 50 days of detention, he was dying and so was released. On September 27, he was again arrested by police. So far his whereabouts are unknown.

Yu Zhenghong, from Wendeng, in her forties, is from Siqian Village, of the Town of Songcun. On September 27, she was arrested and taken from her home. After the arrest, she went on a hunger strike for 15 days. She was then sent to a hospital, and the hospital later notified police that she was “about to die.” Later she was sent home by police.

Lin Jixiao, female, 40 plus years old, is from Dachuang Village, Songcun Town, of Wendeng City. On September 28, she was arrested and locked up in a detention center. She went on a hunger strike. When her family went to demand her release, the detention center said she had been sent to the Wangcun Labor Camp. But someone who had been released from the detention center said she was still in there and was dying. Her family went to the Wangcun brainwashing center to check but was told that she was not there. Her family then went to ask the 6–10 officials, but they said she had been sent to the City of Qingdao. Is she still alive? Where on earth is she? So far it is not clear.

Xiao Yong from Funshan District of the City of Yantai, has always been law-abiding and enjoyed a very good reputation. Just because he practiced Falun Gong for a few days, he was sentenced to 3.5 years imprisonment in July.

A retired teacher Liu Li (by her request, I am not using her real name here) quietly sat down and talked for almost two hours straight. She said:

I was first arrested in June, 2001. After one year of torture, my health became very poor, so they released me. After I was released in 2003, I found that since 2000, all my wages were confiscated by the 6–10 Office. I talked to staff at the 6–10 Office and our school director many times. I cannot even remember how many times, and the issue is still unresolved.

My husband was also jailed due to his practice of Falun Gong. He lost his memory as a result of brutal torture in jail. The whereabouts of our only bank account that he used to take care of is unknown after our home was ransacked. He could not remember it. During the 2003 Spring Festival, I gave 100 yuan [U.S.\$12.50], which was all I had, to my husband who was in jail. My daughter and I had not a single penny left during the Chinese New Year.

In June 2003, four to five police came to ransack our home. They found two Falun Gong books, and so they forcefully took me to the local police station and beat me. I asked why police were allowed to beat people. They were yelling while beating me: “Beat you—so what!” They interrogated me for a whole day and night. One police whose last name is Zhang said, “If you do not confess, you will really have bad luck!” He copied a written statement from another policeman’s writing and asked me to sign my name. I refused. Then he signed my name himself. The other policeman with last name Chen could not stand watching this and asked, “Why did you sign her name, since she refused?”

He gnashed his teeth and said, “I’ll let her suffer badly.” Later they used this fake record made in front of me to detain me for 15 days. Then I was sent to the Fushan brainwashing center. At the brainwashing class, they did not allow me to sleep, and forced me to “reform.” Until January 2002, I still did not “reform,” then they used that fake record and directly sentenced me to one year in prison.

Wang Yuefeng, Director of the 6–10 Office, sent me to a labor camp. The labor camp did a physical examination on me. Because my health was so poor, they refused to accept me. But Wang Yuefeng insisted on the forced labor camp taking me. They whispered for a while, and then a doctor gave an injection. I

resisted, so four to five people pushed me to a bed and forcibly give me the injection. In the end, they saw that my physical condition was too poor, I was sent back by Wang.

On Nov. 20, 2002, I once again went to the Communist Party Committee in Fushan Town to ask the mayor of the town, Mr. Che, about the illegal confiscation of my salary. I arrived at Che's office, and after I introduced myself, he stood up and went out. After I waited for a long time, he came back and told me: "I will let Secretary Zhao talk to you. You need to go to his office." So I went to Zhao's office.

Immediately after I entered the door, about four or five policemen rushed in from outside and dragged me into their car without giving any reason. They forcefully took me to Fushan brainwashing center where I was taken into custody. I was not released from the brainwashing center until Nov. 17, 2003.

During the time I was in prison, the policemen employed absolutely inhumane means to torture me. Once I was continuously hand-cuffed for as long as 43 days. With both of my hands cuffed behind my back, I was hung on an iron door and was beaten. After I was in prison for about a year, since they could not achieve the goal of having me give up the practice [of Falun Gong], they released me.

On Nov. 28, 2004, I was arrested again. The local police station sent me to Qixia detention center. After I was detained for seven days, I was transferred to Qixia brainwashing center and was not released until March 18, 2005. Within this period of time, they continued to torture me by depriving me of sleep. Once I was deprived of sleep for 26 consecutive days. Once my eyes closed, they would wake me up by beating me. I fainted many times. They had me stand continuously so I could not rest. In the meantime, they beat me. Each time they beat me so hard that they themselves became very tired and out of breath.

On the morning of Oct. 15, 2005, we met with Wang Dejiang, who is crippled. Even now, Wang's legs are still so swollen that no shoes can be worn. Wang said:

In the evening of Aug. 15, 2005, I was in a friend's house. Three men from the village security and Gaoling police station suddenly broke in, so my friend and I ran out. But they yelled loudly, "Catch the thieves!"

The villagers were fooled and we were caught. They began to beat us. The head of security abruptly picked up a chair and beat me with it. The chair immediately broke into pieces. After the blow, I was down on the ground and could not move. They still kicked me. One kicked my liver, and I lost consciousness right away. They lifted me into a car and took me to the emergency room at Gaoling Hospital.

After I woke up, I found myself being cuffed in the hospital bed. When trying to catch me, one policeman had tripped and fallen. Once I woke up in the hospital, he beat me with the sole of a shoe. The other policemen on the scene said, "Do not make too much noise when beating him in the hospital."

On the same night, two families were searched and ransacked. As a result, a total of six people were arrested, and among them was Xuejin Sun, an old man in his 70s. Afterwards, they sent me to the detention center, and forced me to register for the brainwashing class. I refused. The policemen in the prison twisted my handcuffs, asking me, "Are you going to sign or not?"

I refused. They twisted the handcuffs until they cut into my flesh. I still refused to sign. They had to turn away and leave. After that they ordered a prisoner to drag me into the cell, and the prisoner began to beat me. The security guard interrogated me once. Since I didn't cooperate with them, they sent me to the brainwashing class in Yantai City.

At the beginning, I was not allowed to sleep; instead, I was forced to sit on a little stool. They attempted to force me to write "three statements," including a letter to pledge (not to practice Falun Gong), a statement to denounce Falun Gong, and a repentance statement. They tried to break my will by incessant brainwashing, such as forcing me to watch videos that defame Falun Gong.

On the fourth day, they could not get any results. The Mouping national security staff discussed with Yu Gang, head of the 6-10 office at the Yantai Police Station, about sending me to Zhaoyuan brainwashing center. I heard them saying that only Zhaoyuan center could handle people like me. At that time, I already had had no food or sleep for seven or eight consecutive days.

After arriving in Zhaoyuan, they dragged me, kicking me at every single step. They repeated, "Let's wait and see if you reform or not."

After they put me down, I no longer had the strength to stand up. As a result, I had to lie on the ground. They continued to torture me. The director of the center began to step on my private parts. There was no expression on his face.

He even lifted my head with his foot, then quickly removed his foot, repeatedly letting my head hit the ground. He also kicked me. Only when he was tired of torturing me did they lift me into the cell. I felt that they had already completely lost their human nature.

At the Zhaoyan center, every practitioner was locked in one small room that was specially designed for brainwashing purposes. Although I could not even stand up, they still tied me to an iron chair with an iron chain, cuffed my hands, and shackled my feet. I still refused to give up practicing [Falun Gong].

On the 10th day they started to force-feed me [a form of torture that can cause death]. I began to vomit blood continuously. At that time, even they themselves could not bear the scene and started to vomit with me. They pressed down my head and force-fed me. The head asked me if I would give up practicing. I responded no. He said, at Zhaoyuan, don't even think about getting out of here if you do not give up. We have a lot of ways to deal with you.

They cuffed my hands behind my back and had one end of the handcuffs tied to a heat pipe. Only the tip of my toes could touch the ground. There was no light in the cell; it was dark 24 hours a day. I could somewhat sense that someone kept coming into the cell and putting his hand under my nose to test if I was still alive.

I didn't know how much time had passed by; my wrists had big cuts as the result of the tight strap. At that time, they also used wires to tie my mouth shut, making me unable to speak. Even now my mouth still drips as I speak. Being incessantly tortured, I suffered excruciating pain that was beyond description. Consequently, I had the thought of killing myself. I wanted to bite my tongue. But they added a few more wires into my mouth, making my mouth not able to move, until I fainted and lost consciousness.

After I woke up, I found my legs had already changed color and had started to turn dark black. The left leg became wider and wider, until it was twice as wide as the right leg. But the right leg got thinner and thinner. They still would not ease up on torturing me. When I wanted to go to the restroom, they supported my arm and lifted me up. At that point, I found that I could no longer walk; instead, I fell to the ground. Then they lifted me onto the bed, and still had my right leg tied and both hands cuffed.

At the time, the doctor there found my health condition was extremely bad, and asked them to send me to the hospital. The doctor at the hospital said I could die at any moment and that my legs had to be amputated. After that they sent me to Yuhuangding hospital, where the medical facility was the best. After spending a few days in the hospital, they asked my family to pay for my treatment. My family had no money, but later they took me home. Once I was back home, since I no longer could take care of my daily life, I had to be taken care of by my 80-year-old mom.

Wang Dejiang was handed over to his family by the local police when he was near death, and the nightmarish experience he and his family have gone through is still being experienced by many, many innocent fellow Chinese!

Mr. Yang Kemeng is a sophomore in Automobile Engineering at the Harbin Institute of Technology, Weihai campus. Because he openly announced his resignation from the Chinese Communist Youth League (CCYL), he was singled out by a central government official who issued an order to locate him. Since he didn't put down the name of his school in his resignation statement, the "6-10 Office" conducted a thorough search among all higher institutions in the country. In May 2005, Weihai City's "6-10 office" staff found him and asked if he practiced Falun Gong and whether he had withdrawn from the CCYL on the Internet. Mr. Yang replied: "I may withdraw as I wish." When the new school year started on Aug. 20, "6-10 office" staff came to Mr. Yang's school again and took him away on the 29th. His parents didn't know about it until they made a phone call to his dorm. On Sept. 7, Mr. Yang's parents, Mr. Yang Pinggang and Ms. Chang Lijun, Mr. and Mrs. Wang Shengli, and Ms. Wang from Jining City were arrested at the same time. Their whereabouts remain unknown till today. A teacher named Wang revealed his story to us.

Before the National Day of 2005, major officials in Shandong Province notified Laiwu City Police Department that if they could not catch Qi Yingjun, Chen Lianmei, Wang Jing and four other people, all departmental leaders would be removed from their offices. At 1 a.m. on Sept. 29, the aforementioned seven people were arrested. In fact, many police here don't want to search and arrest Falun Gong practitioners, but what other choices do they have? Also people from all over the country came to the Zhaoyuan Brainwashing Center to learn from their experience so that they could apply more cruel methods. While Hu

Jintao was visiting the U.S., an order was issued from the CCP Central Committee to focus on handling those persecuting Falun Gong. They were criticized for not having done their best recently and were told to intensify their effort to suppress Falun Gong. The Zhaoyuan Brainwashing Center in Shandong Province and another center in Shanxi Province were labeled as model centers by the CCP Central Committee. The outside world never knows the real situation inside these centers. "This kind of model center is a horrible place, even worse than hell. Very few people could survive there" said a believer who was once detained in the Zhaoyuan Brainwashing Center.

My name is Qi Xin. I am 19 years old and from Laiwu City, Shandong Province. I am the daughter of Qi Yingjun and Chen Cuilian. I have a younger brother who is 10 years old named Qi Yao. My parents started to practice Falun Gong in 1998. In 2000, my father was kidnapped from a park by the Laiwu City police while doing Falun Gong exercises. He was later sentenced to three years in Wangcun Labor Camp of Zibo City. My mother had to leave home to avoid pursuit by the police. But she was later caught and detained at the Xiaocaocun Division in Laiwu City. I was 13 years old and my brother was only four at that time. So I had to look after my younger brother at home alone, waiting for my mother's return. My father told me after his release, to force him to renounce his belief in Falun Gong, police at the forced labor camp in Zibo used eight electric batons on him simultaneously. His body could not help trembling incessantly on the floor and his skin gave off a burnt smell. Several weeks after the electric shocks, his scorched skin started to slough off layer after layer. Later after my parents both went back home, our family started to live together again. They re-opened their store selling military supplies. We thought that our ordeal was over until 1 a.m. on Sept. 30 this year. More than 20 armed police from Laiwu City police rushed into Aunt Shang's home in Wenyang Village and kidnapped her, her husband and my parents. Aunt Shang practices Falun Gong but her husband doesn't. In August, one month before the incident, learning that the police were after them, my parents left me with an auntie and they themselves went wandering abroad with my brother. Since their abduction, the whereabouts of my younger brother is unknown. I worried about him a lot and prayed for him everyday. At 3 p.m. on October 1, Liu Qing and Zhang Baode from the Laicheng District Office, Shao Shiyong from the Guansi Police Station and 20 other police broke into our home while we were all away. A police car with license plate Shangdong-S1030 parked outside of our apartment building. They opened our storage room downstairs with a key and broke our door lock. They searched our place until 7 p.m. Our family of four has been separated and displaced to four different locations, and nobody knows where to find my 10-year-old brother."

Jia Juxi of Fugou County, Henan Province, 58 years old, was abducted by local police on Aug. 18, 2005. He died after enduring over ten days' torture. His family requested an autopsy; but local police forcibly took his body to a crematory to be cremated. The police told his family: "Even if you appeal to Beijing, it is no use."

On June 8, 2005, Zhu Jiawen (I am not using his real name here) of Huizhou City, Guangdong Province was arrested when he was working on a construction job. Not until 54 days later was his family notified of his sentence to three years of labor.

On September 2005, late in the evening, several policemen broke into Shi Lei's (not his real name) home in Dongshan District, Guangzhou City. Before Shi Lei could argue with them, they abducted him and ran away.

"My husband didn't even have time to put on his shoes. As soon as the police went downstairs and got into their police van, they started beating my husband. I felt as if a knife were piercing my heart upon hearing the sound of the beating. Attorney Gao, we are simply too helpless. So far they have not provided any legal document." Mrs. Shi told me her family's tragedy over the phone while sobbing.

On Sept. 6, 2005, Duan Sheng and He Li of Shi Jiazhuang City were arrested. As of today, their whereabouts are unknown.

On July 19, 2005, Yuan Yuju, her son Liang Jinghui and another eight practitioners were arrested and have been incarcerated to date.

Shortly before the passing of Oct. 1, the National Day, large-scale arrests of Falun Gong practitioners occurred in different regions such as Beijing and Heilongjiang Province. During Mr. Hu Jintao's visit to other countries, the arrests in these regions obviously were carried out in a way that was meant to be shocking and terrible. All these plain facts happened in broad daylight; they simply cannot be covered up.

Mr. Hu and Mr. Wen, some local government authorities have been persecuting our fellow countrymen, Falun Gong practitioners, to such an extent that they use

any evil methods as they wish. We cannot accept that such blatant and brutal violence against humanity is still happening in the 21st century, or the reality that it is happening in today's China, where the situation cannot yet be called anarchy.

You two, as well as all of us, have to face the following reality. On the one hand, when you first got your positions, people inside China as well as the outside civilized world had great expectations of you. The principals you promote such as "govern the country according to the Constitution," "the people are our fundamental concern," "build a harmonious society" have for a long time raised people's expectations. However, the reality is cruel yet factual. Those citizens who are being persecuted have to face this reality, and so do you, and so do we.

Since you are the leaders of such a great nation, we of course are not willing to believe or accept that your judgment in this aspect is worse than that of ordinary people. If you are not aware of the situation that innocent Falun Gong believers are being brutally persecuted in broad daylight—a fact that even housewives and children are aware of—you are liable for such ignorance to your citizens. If you are aware of the situation and not trying to stop it, then what's the difference between your sin and that of the evil persecutors? In the same spirit that I am writing this open letter to you because I still have faith in you, so are many of those who are crippled and those who lost their loved ones or have their love ones crippled due to the persecution. During our investigation, we were moved to tears many times by those people's compassion and their high expectations of you.

But what you and I have to painfully face is that in this catastrophe that targets Falun Gong practitioners, some evil spirit lingers. The continuous evil which is utterly against humanity has not only caused devastation to an inconceivable number of kind men and women. Many were persecuted to death, but also the damage to the image of our government and our country in many areas such as legal, moral, and human civilization, continues as such brutal persecution continues. Even though this catastrophe didn't start with you, the fact that it continues under your administration, and because the tragedy targeting the spiritual believers hasn't been brought to an end by you, you are also liable for these crimes. If you don't make it stop right away, this will be the conclusion formed by history and not just one person's opinion. The continuous creation of tragedies aimed towards a targeted group has harmed not only the victims and their relatives but also the persecutors. We observe with utter grief that the persecutors who cruelly crippled and killed Falun Gong practitioners have completely lost their human nature. For example, the director from Zhaoyuan Brainwashing Center who routinely trampled on the private parts of Wang Dejiang, or the director of the "6-10 Office" and the two school principals who illegally withheld Liu's wages and denied numerous appeals for four years by Liu, threatening her survival. In a sense, they were also victims of the atrociousness of the persecution.

The officers and staff who carried out the appalling brainwashing and transformation against Falun Gong practitioners were only measured by the results of the reformation. They completely lost their human nature and yielded to economic gains. They lost their inborn instinct for sympathy, fear, guilt, shame, and morality.

The common sense shared by our civilization was ignored; the value system based on human conscience has been completely reversed. People for ages will condemn the horrible and inhumane suffering that He Xiuling underwent before her ultimate death. She was dying but was already pronounced dead and was sent to the mortuary. Her relatives, who were not allowed to visit her, finally knelt in front of her dying body. While enumerating the appalling sufferings she underwent, her relatives saw tears from the eyes of her "dead" body. Relatives wailed and ferociously tried to find a doctor. The doctor was indifferent. The coolness was only softened when one of the villagers who came to the funeral procession loudly blamed the doctor. When that doctor found out her heart was still beating, his first reaction was not to rescue her, but to tear the electrocardiogram into pieces. "I didn't see anything, I knew nothing", the doctor said while escaping. He Xiuling died with tears in her eyes while her relatives cried in despair.

I really don't know what your feeling is in face of such a reality! Our nation, our people, the values of our nation which we inherited from our ancient ancestors, as well as the moral image of all those state governments in the international society who have shamefully remained silent in face of this great calamity, have all practically become victims of this catastrophe.

It is worth emphasizing that the current reality has said it all: China's ruling leaders fall far short in terms of foreseeing and recognizing the changes in a society's spiritual realm as a natural result of the great economic growth. In a peaceful society in which the suffering from wartime has long become history, in a society that places the economy first, there is no way its people will forever indulge in all

kinds of material interests. People's growing need for spirituality will naturally bring about the large-scale grass-roots resurrection of religion and spiritual beliefs.

Spiritual pursuit, just like the science and culture that our government advocates as mainstream trends, comprises one aspect of a society; there is no contradiction among them. Modern civilization has long solved the issues of science and faith and arrived at the conclusion that they serve their respective purposes and each should be confined within its own realm. The liberty of an individual's belief will for sure result in the disintegration of a collective ideology. The expansion of individual's rights will for sure turn into a reduction of the infinite authority of the government. It is a reality that the ruling leaders must face and have to adapt to. This is the historical trend.

Here I have to say that, as for the cause and motivation behind the persecution, I am very confused and bewildered; so are many of my colleagues, friends, and neighbors. Why should a citizen's belief based on his own free choice and which has no pursuit in this mundane world, incur such a lasting, inhumane, and illegal crack-down? What on earth is the point? We cannot rationalize the persecution, other than arriving at the conclusion that those who initiated and continue to partake in the persecution are in a morbid state and have a damaged personality. From the perspective of the suppressors, their choice only serves to alienate themselves into a savage and illegal position, and serves to continually worsen their already extremely vile personality, the kind of vileness and viciousness that can make a normal person feel chilled to the bone. Other than that, there is nothing worthwhile or meaningful in their choice.

During the investigation, we not only learned the fact that the persecution, which was started six years ago, is still going on, but we also learned another fact, a concrete fact, which is, the failure of the persecution. Based on our observation at the places we visited, the more cruel the orders of suppression are and the more lasting the suppression is in a certain region, the more prominent the signs of the failure as well as the extent of the failure. For example, in three cities of Shandong Province, Jinan, Qingdao and Yantai, posters and flyers posted and distributed by Falun Gong believers and their supporters to protest the suppression and expose the crimes against them are everywhere. Falun Gong posters can be easily spotted at the front entrance of many police departments and police stations. Tenacious and enduring resistance is growing and intensifying, signaling how unpopular the suppression policy is. Conversely, the regions where the suppression isn't as harsh manifest a different scene. For example, in several districts in Shaanxi Province, the overall situation is relatively calm. In front of this plain fact, those who love and advocate violence should really feel ashamed.

Immeasurable capital resources and police manpower are groundlessly exhausted on the suppression of Falun Gong practitioners who simply practice peacefully to cultivate their mind and improve their health. The suppression is turning the society into a chaotic place. It is an utter crime, impinging on basic human rights. Frankly, I would like to tell you that both of you don't have any reason, any excuse, or any authority not to take immediate action to change the current situation.

China is one of the member countries of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." The declaration states explicitly: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person." "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile." "Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law."

Also, in the current Constitution of China, article 33 states: "The State respects and preserves human rights."

Be it international law and standards or China's Constitution, it is absolutely not allowed for anyone to violate human rights and persecute his own fellow citizen inhumanely with any excuse. This is precisely based on the belief in the universal values for mankind and the respect for rule of law. I solemnly suggest to both of you to decide as soon as possible to stop persecuting spiritual believers and amend your ties with the Chinese people, to truly achieve "rule of law and the constitution" and establish a new China on the basis of democracy, rule of law, and constitutional government.

Your doing this will gain infinite support from Chinese people and people all over the world!

Lastly, I need to stress specifically that you need to ensure that all individuals mentioned in this letter who have suffered tremendously will not have to suffer more brutal persecution because of this letter. We have to remind you of this matter because we had such an experience before; Falun Gong practitioner Hao Qiuyan of Shijiazhuang City was incarcerated for eight months because I mentioned her case in another open letter.

As long as I still enjoy personal security, I will continue to pay close attention to their safety. It is my right to be concerned about them, as a member of a civilized era, as a Chinese, as a citizen, and as a lawyer, although it is still very dangerous to do so in China.

Best Wishes for Both of You!  
Respectfully,  
Your fellow Chinese Gao Zhisheng

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WE MUST IMMEDIATELY STOP THE BRUTALITY THAT SUFFOCATES OUR NATION'S  
CONSCIENCE AND MORALITY—GAO ZHISHENG'S THIRD OPEN LETTER TO CHINESE  
LEADERS

[The Epoch Times—December 16, 2005]

[Editor's Note: Gao Zhisheng has been praised as "the conscience of Chinese lawyers" and "a great hero." China's Ministry of Justice rated him one of China's top ten lawyers in 2001. He has earned a reputation for courage in standing up against human rights abuses and is one of only a handful of lawyers in China who will defend those persecuted for their religious or spiritual beliefs. Recently, Mr. Gao published a statement ( Celebrated Chinese Lawyer Quits Chinese Communist Party ) withdrawing from the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), an act of great bravery. In that statement, he spoke of the investigation he had taken into the CCP's persecution of Falun Gong, of learning of the "indescribable violence done to our kind people" by the CCP, and of how spending a dozen days interviewing Falun Gong practitioners was a "shocking experience" to his soul. In the following open letter to CCP head Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao, Mr. Gao gives the details about what he uncovered in that investigation and the conclusions he has drawn regarding China's current condition and possible future rebirth. This is Mr. Gao's third open letter to Hu and Wen (Please see: "Gao Zhisheng Sends Another Open Letter Protesting Unjust Treatment" and "Laws Are Changeable in the Hands of the Communist Party")

**Warning: This Article Contains Graphic Descriptions of Torture.]**

Hu Jintao, Wen Jiabao, and all other conscientious fellow Chinese citizens:

I, Gao Zhisheng, send you my greetings from Changchun City. I would first like to convey my deepest mourning for the innocent fellow Chinese citizens killed by the Guangdong government, and my condolences and support for the family members of the victims.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, I would like to express my strongest protest against the brutality of slaughtering our kind countrymen. I strongly urge that the highest authorities follow the basic principles recognized by civil societies, punish the murderers and those responsible for these acts, and comfort and compensate the families of the victims.

Winter in Changchun is extremely cold. Although in "hiding" in a room that doesn't have water most of the time, my blood is boiling hot. The reason isn't because I am again writing an open letter to Hu and Wen. Instead, simply being able to work for the future of one of the greatest peoples in the world is enough to make any ordinary citizen's blood boil.

On October 18, also with red-hot enthusiasm, I wrote an open letter to Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao, two fellow countrymen of mine, urgently calling on their government to "Stop Persecuting Believers in Freedom and Mend Your Ties with the Chinese People." The next day, I received blatant threats over the phone at home. Starting the third day, at least 10 cars and 20 plainclothes police officers began circling, monitoring, and following my entire family every day, 24 hours a day. The 15th day after I wrote the letter, the Beijing Judicial Bureau illegally closed the law firm I ran. It is very regrettable how our country treats a citizen who openly makes suggestions.

Another strong reaction prompted by the open letter was that Falun Gong believers from various parts of China who have been persecuted have written me and invited me to their areas to learn more about their true situation. Quite a few of these letters were from the cities of Changchun and Dalian. Beginning on November 29, I spent almost 24 hours a day continuously traveling between Jinan City, Shandong province; Dalian and Fuxin cities, Liaoning province; and Changchun City, Jilin province to conduct another round of investigations. Unlike my usual practice of traveling solo, I was honored to be accompanied by Professor Jiao Guobiao.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, flocks of plainclothes police were still hovering around my home night and day, creating an atmosphere of terror and severely suppressing my entire family. On November 29, I escaped being followed and encircled by more than 20 plainclothes police and spent 15 days investigating the truth in my own way. I especially

would like to say here that we try our best to tell the truth of how this nation is being continually and brutally persecuted, especially at this time. This is also to remind our entire nation of the severity and urgency of the problems we are facing. It is time for our nation and each and every one of us to seriously face our problems. Any excuse or delay by any means is committing a crime against our entire nation!

In this letter, I will not avoid any of the real problems I saw, even if this means I may be immediately arrested when this letter is publicized. The 15 days of investigation again showed me the painful truth. The 6-10 Office is—or at least can be called—a gang that exists within the political power of the nation, yet is higher than the political power. It is a gang that can control and regulate all political resources. Although it is an organization that exists outside of the Constitution and the regulations of the country's power structure, the 6-10 Office is using many powers that are only supposed to be used by agencies of the national government, and even many powers that are beyond those of agencies of the national government. It uses powers that don't belong and have never belonged to the nation since the beginning of mankind's political civilization on this earth.

We can see that the power symbolized by the number 6-10 continues to “interface” with the public through ways such as killing a person's physical body and spirit, shackles, chains, electric shock tortures, and “tiger benches.”<sup>3</sup> The nature of this power has become that of a criminal gang. It continues to torture our mothers, sisters, children, and our entire nation. Mr. Hu and Mr. Wen, as members of our nation in special positions at this time, and especially as individuals who are perceived by the majority of the public as being conscientious, you should face everything together with all of us.

At this moment, with a trembling heart and a trembling pen, I am writing down the tragic experiences of those who have been persecuted in the last six years. Among the true accounts of unbelievable brutality, among the records of the government's inhuman torture of its own people, the immoral acts that shocked my soul the most were the lewd yet routine practice of attacking women's genitals by 6-10 Office staff and the police. Almost every woman's genitals and breasts or every man's genitals have been sexually assaulted during the persecution in a most vulgar fashion. Almost all who have been persecuted, be they male or female, were first stripped naked before any torture. No language or words could describe or re-create our government's vulgarity and immorality in this respect. Who with a warm body could afford to stay silent when faced with such truths?

At 4:20 p.m. on October 28, 2005, Ms. Wang Shouhui (mother) and Mr. Liu Boyang (son) from Changchun City were followed by 6-10 Office staff and were illegally arrested. The two were brutally tortured by the police. At about 8 p.m., 28-year-old Liu Boyang died from the torture. About 10 days later, his mother was also tortured to death. The bodies of the unfortunate duo are still in the hands of the 6-10 Office officials. It took the 6-10 officials three days to inform Liu's father of his death, while Ms. Wang's time of death remains unclear. Liu's father looked for a lawyer in his city, but no one dared to accept his case. The elderly man said, “In a society like this, it is harder to live than to die. Living brings more pain. After I take care of their burials, I'll follow them and leave, too.”

Ms. Wang Shouhui, her husband, and her son (Liu Boyang) began practicing Falun Gong in 1995. Since the persecution of Falun Gong started on July 20, 1999, they were continually harassed by police from the Zhengyang Police Station of Luuyuan District and officials from the Zhengyang Neighborhood Administration Office. Ms. Wang was illegally detained in October 1999 and sent to the Heizuizi Labor Camp in February 2000. At the labor camp, she was tortured with an electric baton eight times. She was also forced to work during the day. For five days and nights, she was prohibited from sleeping and was required to remain standing. She was tortured using a “death bed”<sup>4</sup> several times. The most serious time, she was beaten with two electric batons for over one hour while tied to the “death bed.” She did not have even one part of her body and face intact. She was only released after the torture put her life in danger.

On April 11, 2002, Ms. Wang was walking down the street when she was again abducted by the police from Zhengyang Police Station of Luuyuan District. She was blindfolded by the police from the First Division of the Changchun Public Security Bureau and was taken to a secret torture room in Jingyueshan, Changchun. She was tortured on the tiger bench for two days and one night, during which time she was also beaten with two electric batons on the breasts. Three men used their fists to punch her face, chest, and back. As a result, Ms. Wang's left cheekbone was fractured and she vomited a great amount of blood. Later, her lungs were infected. While at the police hospital, Ms. Wang's four limbs were confined when she received infusions. She was prohibited from using the restroom. Instead, the hospital forcefully inserted a tube into her bladder, but did not give her care. She could not move

for five days and five nights. Subsequently, her bladder was permanently damaged and she could no longer control her bladder.

On June 27, 2002, Ms. Wang and her family were again abducted to the Zhengyang Police Station by the Political and Security Division of the Luuyuan District Police Department. Ms. Wang was tied into the fetal position for an entire evening. Later, when she was illegally detained at the No. 3 Detention Center in Changchun City, the guards locked her handcuffs to her ankle shackles for 18 days and force-fed her for a month. She was then sent to the provincial police hospital, where her limbs were confined and she was force-fed for over 30 days. She wasn't released until her life was in danger. At the same time, several police from Zhengyang Police Station brutally tortured, beat, and kicked Liu Boyang. They also slapped his face with leather shoes, tied him with a rope, put a plastic bag over his head, tied his arms behind his back, and hung him from the ceiling using handcuffs. When Liu was hanging in the air, they shook his feet or dragged his feet down. Mr. Yuan Dachuan, a police officer conducting the torture, said shamelessly, "I have killed quite a few Falun Gong practitioners with torture. I don't have to bear any responsibility if I beat you to death." Every time they were tortured, the mother and son could hear each other's screams, which shook heaven and earth, ghosts and spirits!

On October 29, 2002, Liu Boyang was sent to two years of forced labor at Chaoyanggou Labor Camp in Changchun City. In December, the police forced him to sit on cold cement floors all day long and prohibited him from sleeping at night. During the day, he was forced to attend brainwashing classes. In June 2004, when his term was over, the labor camp refused to release him and found some excuse to add 47 days to his term. Liu was a graduate of a medical university. He was a good person, and was kind to children and respectful to the elderly. Every year he was a model worker at the hospital. A woman surnamed Wang told me the above experiences of Ms. Wang and Mr. Liu so rapidly she spoke almost in one breath.

Sun Shuxiang, a 48-year-old Changchun resident, was illegally arrested nine times in six years. Below are some of the experiences she described during her illegal sentence in labor camps:

One day in the latter part of 2001, the policeman Li Zhenping from the eighth section of Xingye Street Police Station came to my home with another man. They came to persuade my husband to divorce me. I said, "No." Li kept hitting my face until it was swollen. My eyes started to bleed, and I suddenly could not see anything. He asked again if I agreed to the divorce, and said if not he would send me back (to the labor camp). Under their constant terror, my husband divorced me. My good family was thus broken apart by the government. Now, I am still in exile.

In July of 2002, I was in my father's home. A plainclothes policeman suddenly broke into the house and asked if I was Sun Shuxiang. Before I answered him, I was kidnapped. The next day, police from the first section of Changchun Public Security Bureau put me in a car and drove me on a bumpy road for about two hours. Two policemen took me to a dark and terrifying basement, and took off the blindfold. Eight or nine policemen all rushed into the room. On a table there were three electric batons of large, medium, and small sizes and a bundle of rope, and on the other side were three tiger benches. Two policemen forced me on a tiger bench, and placed my hands on the armrests that each had a handcuff attached to it. My hands were locked in place with the handcuffs. The armrests on the tiger bench had a row of different size holes to fit different wrist sizes. The police skillfully fixed an iron rod as thick as the thumb on the two armrests, pressing against my chest and abdomen area and making it impossible for me to move. One policeman pointed at the torture tools and said to me, "Do you see that? If you cooperate, we can finish business in over an hour. Otherwise, we will have you taste all kinds of instruments." What happened to Liu Zhe and others [practitioners who were killed]? Only a few can come out of here alive.

A seemingly polite policeman slapped my face twice, and asked me if I knew any fellow practitioners. I said no. He took an electric baton, stuck its two claws between my ribs, and started to shock me. He asked again for my fellow practitioners' phone numbers, and I said nothing. He then used the electric baton over my fingertips, while asking me which practitioners I knew. He used the electric baton on my arms and then my head, then to the other side of my body. After one round over my body, he slowly traced my body another round with the electric baton. They then changed into a higher voltage, fully charged electric baton, and started from my toes and went over my body. I still remained silent. They started with the toes of the other foot to go over my body from the other side. I was still silent. They then used the electric baton on my eyes. I

felt like my eyes were going to pop out of the sockets, and I could not see anything. I still refused to tell anything, and they returned to electrify my ribs. The pain was unbearable. The electric baton moved to my chest, as they asked me with which practitioners I had remained in contact. The pain made it impossible for me to speak, and the familiar faces of practitioners appeared in front of me one by one. I had one thought: No matter what, I would not tell about any practitioners, since as soon as I told about anyone, that person would be arrested and tortured. The police stuck the electric baton inside my mouth. My mouth was all burnt and swollen, and blisters covered the outside. They said to me as they were shocking me, "If you do not speak, we will pry open your mouth." They again stuck the electric baton inside my mouth. After a day and a night's torture, I was just about to die . . .

In the beginning of 2004, I stayed temporarily at Ms. Xing Guiling's home. One midnight I heard loud pounding on the door. The double door was quickly broken. In terror, I saw a bunch of police with iron hammers and guns, shouting, "Do not move, otherwise you will be killed." We were arrested and taken to the Luuyuan branch of the Public Security Bureau, and locked up in a small iron cage. I was tied onto a tiger bench. They started to beat Xing Guiling in front of me, using a leather belt to strangle her neck. She cried heart-wrenchingly. I saw Xing Guiling beaten down; when she was down, they kicked her. When she got up, they beat her down again. They beat and kicked her, asking her to reveal her contacts with other practitioners. They kept torturing her over and over. They took their leather belt and strangled her again, till she could not breathe. The police shouted, "I will show you if you don't tell." Xing Guiling was tortured with only one breath left, but she did not reveal a single practitioner's name. They then started to torture me. After three days and nights of torture, they sent us to the No. 3 Detention Center.

On August 4, 2003, I was again arrested by the police. They took me to the Nanguan branch of the Public Security Bureau. A pockmarked policeman grabbed my hair and kept hitting my head on the wall. I was getting so dizzy. He then forced me to sit on a tiger bench and cuffed my hands tightly. Another policeman started to hit my arms, and my wrists began to bleed from being tightly caught by the handcuffs. They used iron rings to chain my ankles, and then stepped on the rings, making it tighter and tighter. My ankles were painful beyond endurance. They then used a plastic bag to cover my head, and tied it over my neck, suffocating me. When they saw that I was about to die, they took off the bag. After a while, they covered my head again, and took it off before I died. They did this three times and at the same time kept pressing the rings tighter into my ankles. It was so painful that I started to have a seizure. My ankles were broken and bleeding. I fainted. They used cold water to bring me back, and sent me to the No. 3 Detention Center. There, I refused to eat and drink, and went into a coma. After 27 days, I had just one breath left. They notified my family members to take me home.

Liu Shuqin, a 60-year-old lady from Changchun, was arrested and sent to labor camps five times in six years. This old lady calmly told us the barbarous torture she suffered:

I was first arrested in February of 2000. The police violently hit and kicked us to the police car, which took us to the Balipu Detention Center. I was locked up for 15 days without any legal procedures. Altogether more than 10 of us were arrested, and all experienced unspeakable torture. After that, the Neighborhood Administration Office and the police continued to harass me.

On December 31, 2000, I was arrested for the second time when I went to Beijing to appeal to the government. I held out a banner that said "Falun Dafa is Good," and the Tiananmen police hit my back violently with electric batons, forcing me onto a police car. Later I was thrown into a dungeon with walls covered with ice and frost. The police forced me to take off all my clothing, and ordered someone to shoot water on me from a big pipe. They left me to sleep on the bare floor naked, with nothing to cover my body. The toilet in the room stank so much and smelled so bad. Everyday, several policemen came to interrogate me. They did not allow me to sleep at night. After 38 days of interrogation, they did not get anything.

On December 31, 2001, several practitioners and I hung banners outside to expose the lies of the government about Falun Gong. Someone reported us and we were arrested. The police from the 6-10 Office beat me violently without stopping. At midnight that day, I was sent to the No. 3 Detention Center. There, a policeman punched my eyes with his fists. My eyes became blurry and I could not see anything. They hit my head a few more times. Faced with their

brutal behavior, I told them good and evil will be repaid. The police asked inmates to bring a heavy chain weighing 28 kg (approximately 61 lbs.) and put it on my ankles. I was detained for 22 days, during which I suffered tortures that were worse than death. Later on, the police took a lot of money from my family before they released me.

On February 28, 2003, a few days after my release, a bunch of police from the Luuyuan branch of the Public Security Bureau stormed into my home again. A policeman named Yuan Dachuan went through our drawers and took away over 4,000 yuan (about \$500) in cash without leaving any receipts. Another policeman pocketed a bottle of foreign perfume my child had brought me from overseas. When Yuan Dachuan was taking my money, I criticized his robbery. He punched me and handcuffed me. They did whatever they liked in my home and the house was all messed up. They abducted me to the torture chamber at the Luuyuan branch and tortured me on the tiger bench for two hours. They then tied me up with a thin rope, with my hands behind my back. The police tightened the rope on me. With my whole body tied up, I was pushed out of the torture chamber. Another group of people threw me into a car. They used my feather-filled coat to cover my head so tightly that I almost suffocated.

After about 20 minutes, the car stopped, and we arrived at another torture chamber (later on I knew this was at the Chaoyang branch). The room was filled with torture instruments. As soon as we arrived there, they forced me onto the tiger bench, and about six policemen handcuffed me and chained my ankles, fixing a steel rod across my chest (on the tiger bench). A young policeman used a foot-long iron rod to hit my left hand, which was cuffed to the tiger bench. After a dozen strikes, my hand was swollen severely and it turned purple-black. They asked me to tell about other practitioners, and I said I would not say anything. At this time, more than 10 police cuffed my hands behind me. They kept pulling the handcuffs and the ankle chains, and pushing the iron rod against my chest. Stretched under such a strong force, I felt as if my tendons and bones were about to break; I could not breathe. The pain was so unbearable that I fainted a few times. When I fainted, the police poured cold water on me. After I came to, they continued to torture me. I was tortured like this for a day and night, fainting and waking up. As the handcuffs and ankle chains were pulled by the police, they kept piercing into my flesh. Blood was mixed with flesh over my wrists and ankles, making a large pool of blood on the floor. The police treated an old lady like me with such savage tortures. Every nerve and bone hurt beyond endurance in my arms, hands, feet and legs. My whole body was unable to move.

One March 1, they sent me to the No. 3 Detention Center. They checked my heart and blood pressure—none functioned well; my legs could not walk. Even so, I was still sentenced for two years in the labor camp. In a coma, I was carried to the Heizuizi labor camp. I had to be carried to go to the bathroom. The policewoman Liu Lianying from the second team started to persecute me, saying that I was pretending not to be able to walk. Liu barbarously shocked me with an electric baton on my legs, chest, heart—all over my body. At the time, a criminal convict Yi Liwen (who had a good relationship with Liu) could not bear to see it; she took away the electric baton and said, “Don’t shock her anymore, look at what bad shape she is in.” Liu Lianying then stopped. Since I could not walk, the police often cursed me; they used all their conversion experts to try to “transform” me, and the police took turns brainwashing me.

After a day’s labor, they did not let me sleep, but conducted brainwashing in order to force me to sign this or that paper. I firmly refused. They tortured me like this for two months, and my blood pressure often reached over 200 and I suffered from serious heart disease. Seeing that I refused to be transformed, Jia Hongyan used prostitution convicts to torture me, monitoring me on a 24-hour basis at my side even during eating and sleeping. They forced me to transform, beating and cursing me almost every moment and every day. They did not allow me to speak; if I did they would curse me. Everyday, my body and heart were suffering in great pain. Over a year of persecution brought great harm to my body and mind. My body was numb, and my arms did not move well. I was diagnosed with brain infarction and atrophy. I was originally very healthy, but the one year’s persecution had turned me into such a state. Just because I want to be a good person, I have endured such inhumane torture for such a long time.

With a slow and gentle voice, Zhang Zhikui calmly narrated his experience of being persecuted in Changchun City:

After July 20, 1999 I went to Beijing to appeal for Falun Gong. Because I clarified the truth of Falun Gong to residents in Beijing, I was arrested by the

police in Beijing and transferred to the police of Changchun City's liaison office in Beijing. There, they tied my hands and feet together onto a wooden club and hung me between two tables by putting the two ends of the wooden club onto the two tables. I swung back and forth. Whenever the wooden club broke, I fell to the floor. As for other practitioners who were also arrested there, the police beat them with leather belts or hung them up. They beat my thighs with a white wood rod.

Later on, all of us practitioners were sent back to Erdaohezi District Police Substation in Changchun City. At that time, there were 10 or more practitioners. After we arrived there, the head of the Political Protection Department lifted me up and forced me to take off my pants. At that time, there were males and females present. Then, the head of the Political Protection Department beat my head with a leather belt. My head became numb, there was ringing in my ears, and I almost lost consciousness. He asked for my name and the date I went to Beijing. I was barely conscious following the beating, so I couldn't remember anything. Nevertheless, he continued beating me. And then, he stamped on my feet with his leather shoes, grinding my toes with the heel of his leather shoes. He just observed the expression in my eyes while he was doing this to me. I endured the severe pain and began to sweat profusely. He left me then and began to beat up other practitioners. After I was sent to Tiebei Detention Center, the guards instigated the criminals there to strip me and beat me. The criminals kicked me hard, ramming me into the wall of the restroom. I could barely get up from the ground. Immediately two pots of cold water were poured onto my body. Again they kicked me hard. My arms and legs bled, and there was a big wound on one leg. One month later, I was released from there without any documents and without any legal procedures having been followed.

At the end of November 1999, I went to China's Supreme Court in Beijing to appeal for Falun Gong. The officials of China's Supreme Court informed police and they arrested me there, sending me to the police of Zhaoyuan City's (in Shandong province) liaison office in Beijing. On my way back, they removed my belt and forced me to walk with my hands holding up my pants. They beat me as we walked. Upon my arrival at the liaison office, they again beat me severely with a strap, and they continued beating me for several hours during the night. The next day, they sent me back to Zhaoyuan City, Shandong province.

Upon my arrival at Zhaoyuan City Detention Center, the police instigated the criminals there to beat me. The criminals there saw that I did my duties actively and positively. They were all moved by me and didn't beat me any longer. Eventually, they sent a mute criminal to beat me up. One day, the guard there ordered me to extend my head out through a small hole in the iron gate of my cell, and then he trampled my head with his feet, beating my head as well. The practitioners in other cells all shouted at him together, "Do not beat people!"

Afterwards, they sent my sister and me to Xinzhuang Township Police Station. Following July 20, 1999, my whole family was arrested. They detained my sister and me separately in small dark solitary confinement cells under the staircases. The solitary confinement cells were so short that we couldn't stand up straight inside them. They only allowed us to go to the restroom once every evening, and they locked us up like this for 10 days for each detainment. After that, they sent us back to the Zhaoyuan Detention Center and kept us there for a month. They tortured my sister and me like this back and forth for a total of six times. All these events made us feel that it is difficult either to live or die.

On National Day in 2000, I went to the Culture Square in Changchun City to unfurl a banner and I was arrested. All the news media in China lied. They did not speak a truthful word for us. Therefore, we wanted to tell people the truth in this way. Police chief Liang and other policemen stripped my coat off and wrapped my head with it. They cuffed my hands from behind, dragged me down from upstairs, and then escorted me to a car. The car traveled for about two hours and I felt that it was far away from the town. After we arrived at the destination, I was escorted to a house where the cloth on my head was removed. I felt terrible. There was a tiger bench in the room. I knew we were on a mountain and I heard the wind swooshing. Police Chief Liang and other policemen stripped all my clothes off and they forced me onto the tiger bench. My hands were tied behind my back to the crabstick. They inserted an iron stick at my chest, my thighs and my legs respectively. Both ends of these sticks were fixed to the tiger bench so that my whole body was tightly locked onto the tiger bench and I could not move. My feet were put in iron hoops and immobilized. Then Liang took out a sharp knife one third of a meter long and rubbed

it on his pants a couple of times. He threw the knife to the table and ferociously said to me: "Zhang Zhikui, I want you to die here; today I'll torture you to death and dig a hole and bury you. Nobody will know or find you." After saying that, Liang went outside. At least three policemen started to recharge the electric batons and another two policemen grasped my hands that were tied to the stick behind me, then they stretched my hands around my head from behind to front. I heard my bones cracking ceaselessly. This torture was repeated several times and the oppressive pain distressed me terribly. Later, an iron barrel was buckled onto my head; they hit the barrel violently with steel pipes. The intense tremor and harsh noise made my head feel like it was exploding. After I had suffered for a long period of time, the policemen burned my back with cigarettes and the unbearable pain made me lose consciousness. Then they poured cold water on me to wake me up. Finally they lit candles and used them to burn my back. After they scorched the flesh on my back, they poured the hot wax on it. The pain made my body endlessly shiver and jump. All I could hear was the cracking of the tiger bench that was shaken by me. Because there was not any good skin remaining on my body, the policemen started to shock my private parts with electric batons and pierced them. Afterwards they used an iron stick to smash my private parts. I passed out and I did not know how much time passed before I awakened. After one night's torture, my face was swollen to several times the original size and my whole body was drenched in blood. I looked badly mangled. I had twisted my body so much due to the pain that the skin and flesh at my ankles were cut through, with the bones and muscles exposed. However, when they saw that I was awake, they again dragged me outside. It was more than 10 degrees centigrade below zero outdoors and they poured cold water on my naked body. They abandoned me where I lay. They returned to the house. Half an hour later they came out to see if I was still alive. I did not know how much time passed before morning arrived. I was already at the brink of death. I was carried to the Changchun City police department. There were many small cells, each with a tiger bench inside. There were female Dafa practitioners on every tiger bench. Most of them had fainted, with their lower bodies naked or with only a cloth covering the body.

I was sent to the Tiebei Detention Center for further torture. I began a hunger strike for five days and they stopped the torture. After I stayed in the detention center for 40 days, they sent me to the fifth division of the Chaoyang District forced labor camp. There, I went on a continuous hunger strike. Over 10 Dafa practitioners joined me in the strike. There were 500 Dafa practitioners detained in the fifth division. The division head saw that we were on a hunger strike and he led some criminals to brutally beat us. The scene was horrendous. Finally the Dafa practitioners that were on the hunger strike were taken to the first division where the Dafa practitioners were most brutally persecuted. A criminal named Xu Hui often abused Dafa practitioners. One Dafa practitioner over sixty years old used to be a mid-level officer, but because he did not wear the prisoner's uniform he was beaten by Xu Hui until he was on his last breath. But he still did not stop beating him. I almost lost confidence in life, since I had endured unspeakable agony for a very long time. All the unbearable persecutions and tortures happened in the afternoons, in the evenings, and even in the middle of the night.

If the Falun Gong practitioners made a little bit of a sound when they were asleep, their fellow inmates would beat them up. All of this made the Falun Gong practitioners even dare not to go to sleep. I sometimes couldn't stop coughing at night; therefore, the inmates beat me for the whole night. They didn't allow me to cough at all. I didn't dare to drink water in the evening, since they didn't allow us to go to the restrooms at night. Once I couldn't help myself from going to the restroom, and I went quietly. When I came back, Xu Hui beat me up until I was almost on my last breath. He kicked me very hard in the area of my kidney, causing my kidney to move from its natural position. I couldn't move for several days.

Once, there was a Falun Dafa practitioner in his twenties named Sui Futao. The criminals found out that he had hidden our Teacher's articles in his clothing, so they had hit him with a wrench over 50 times. Not long after that, this practitioner was beaten to death. My younger sister was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, and at the same time, her husband was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. Furthermore, only because they practiced Falun Gong, their nine-year-old child was dismissed forcefully from school under the order given by the 6-10 Office. Among the Falun Gong practitioners who kept in touch with me, eight or nine practitioners had been beaten to death. Their names were Wang Shouhui, Liu Boyang, Liu Haibo, Liu Chengjun, Xu Shuxiang, Wang Kefei, Yu

Lixin and Deng Shiyang. As for the names of other practitioners who were persecuted to death, I couldn't even remember their names right now! All these are facts that are extremely cruel!

Zhang Shuchun is my second younger sister. When the police tried to arrest her, she jumped downstairs. Her broken ribs pierced into some of her organs. Her legs and arms were broken, too. She immediately fainted. Soon many passersby stopped to look at her and asked what happened. The policeman from the 6-10 Office said, "She had a fight with her husband about a divorce." Since she was a so-called "Wanted Criminal," the police took her to a hospital. But the doctors at the hospital thought it unnecessary to try to save a Falun Gong practitioner. They said, "Just throw her out," and surprisingly, the police did throw her out in a suburban area. Later, she was saved by some kind-hearted people. But the police put her back on the "Wanted" list again.

Wang Yuhuan is a female Falun Gong practitioner that the Changchun police arrested. She was detained at forced labor camps nine times in the past six years. She said:

You won't believe this. But at the forced labor camp, in order to collect money, police tried to sell sleeping space. The price was 2,000 yuan (around \$250) per month. Once you bought it, you would have the right to lie down on your back when sleeping. Otherwise, you would have to lie on your side since the cell was small. Meanwhile, those who bought the space were entitled to beat us up. As Falun Dafa practitioners, we wouldn't spend so much money to buy sleeping spaces. As more criminals bought sleeping space, the rest of the people had less space for sleep and it became more painful to sleep.

In August 2000, I was sent to the Heizuizi Forced Labor Camp. Police there tried to force me to "transform." I had to work 18 hours everyday. The workload was very high. It was to make products for export. Besides working, they forced me to write "repentance" reports. The criminals in my cell would beat me up if I refused to do so. In order to "transform" me, Sun Mingyan, the officer-in-charge of the No. 6 Squad, sat on my head and shocked my head and face with an electric baton for more than one hour. My hair was scorched and my face and neck were severely burned. I was bruised all over my face and body. When I was released in November 2001, I still wasn't able to pick up a bowl. The 6-10 Office also illegally took 2000 yuan (approximately \$250) from me when I was released.

On March 5, 2002, some Falun Dafa practitioners successfully broadcast a video clip about the truth of Falun Dafa on TV. The Central 6-10 Office ordered a large-scale arrest in Changchun. I was arrested then. Police arrested over 5000 Dafa practitioners at that time. Each cell at the detention center had to hold at least 50 people. They even detained Falun Dafa practitioners in bathrooms because of limited space. The First Department of the Changchun Public Security arrested me on March 11, 2002. They locked me in a 1.3 meter-high iron cage at the police substation near the Nanguan District Caishen Temple. I couldn't stand up at all. On the night of March 12, Gao Peng, Zhang Heng and some other policemen from the First Division of the Criminal Squad interrogated me. They handcuffed my hands behind my back and put a cloth bag on my head. They used a rope to tighten the bag on my neck so that I couldn't see anything and I could hardly breathe. Then they tied me up using ropes and put me in the trunk of the police car. They drove to a mountain where they brutally tortured Falun Dafa practitioners at will. Many fellow practitioners were tortured to death in this place. Mr. Liu Haibo was stripped of all his clothes and forced to kneel down. Police pushed the longest electric baton they could find into his bottom and gave his organs electric shocks. Liu died immediately on the site. Liu Haibo was a college graduate.

Liu Yi, a doctor from the Luuyuan District Hospital, was in his thirties when he was tortured to death in this devil's hole. Twenty-three practitioners were tortured to death there. I knew many of them. The police simply buried their bodies in a hole. Xiang Min, a pretty Dafa practitioner, was carried back after a round of torture. She told me that the police sexually harassed her by touching her bottom while giving her electric shocks. Close to 30 practitioners were tortured to death in that round of arrests.

It took them over two hours to drive me to this notorious place on a mountain. I heard them stop the car. Then they dragged me out, beating me up at the same time. The police kept cursing me and said they would torture me to death that day. They bumped me into trees and I stumbled my way to a building after 10 minutes or so. We went upstairs and downstairs, eventually entering a room. They took the cloth bag off of my head. The police said, "Let's wait

and see how you die today. Nobody has walked out of here alive!" I was in a small room of about 50 square feet. There was a small desk with three long electric batons with claws on them. There was also a rope and a bed. Later, I found out that the bed was for the police to lie down and rest while cursing us, when they got tired from beating us up. I saw a tiger bench and many police busy preparing to torture me. I heard wind blowing angrily. Next, a few police forced me onto the tiger bench. They tied me to the bench with my hands cuffed behind my back and behind the bench. They fastened the iron rods at the side of the tiger bench till I couldn't move and they tied down my ankles with two large iron rings. Every five minutes, they would start a round of torture on me. They moved my arms back and forth, and I could hear my bones cracking. The huge pain made me almost faint. My sweat and tears came immediately from the pain. They pushed my head toward my legs. Because I was tied down on the tiger bench, I felt my neck bones breaking and the iron rods piercing into my breast and stomach. I was about to suffocate every second. They tied ropes on the iron rings and pulled the ropes harshly. My ankles hurt so much. Pains all over my body made me tremble. They repeated the torture like this every five minutes. My sweat and tears and blood soaked my hair and clothing. Later, I fainted because of the unbearable pain. They then poured cold water or boiling water on me to wake me up. The boiling water burned my whole body badly. I couldn't stand the slow killing and huge sufferings. I wished they would kill me with a gun.

After inhumanely torturing me over four hours on the tiger bench, which had rendered me rather weak, they put an iron barrel on my head. Each of the seven police smoked three cigarettes at the same time and puffed smoke into the barrel. This was suffocating and I fainted. They poured cold water on me. When I was barely awake, they used the burning cigarettes to scorch my eyeballs. I would struggle a little when I began to gain consciousness. After that, they punched my head, face, nose, and teeth. They knocked out my two incisor teeth. My face swelled up and turned to dark purple. They also pierced my ears using thin sticks. I couldn't hear anything for the next two weeks. Eventually, they wore themselves out from torturing me and went to sleep at 2 a.m. "In March of 2002, they tortured me three times within 17 days in that devil's hole. Each time, the torture was more brutal. The last two times happened at midnight. Each time, seven or eight police came and took me from the cell and sent me back barely alive. One time, the police didn't want the others to see how badly I was tortured. They dressed me up in thick clothing. However, blood still came out. Then the police dressed me with more clothing but the blood soaked the clothing again. Practitioners there couldn't go to sleep because of the horror and concern over fellow practitioners.

The police "interrogated" all the practitioners on the 6-10 Office's blacklist everyday. They tied up each practitioner, put a cloth bag over the heads and cuffed the hands behind the backs. Then they would throw them into the trunk of the police car and drive to the mountain to the devil's hole where they viciously tortured them.

The relentless torture destroyed my body and health. They had to lie about my poor condition to get the No. 3 Detention Center to accept me. On the following day, I was sent to the Provincial Hospital and then the No. 3 Military Hospital for physical examination. The results indicated that my body had sustained injury nearly everywhere and was in a critical condition, and thus I did not meet the minimum health standard to be detained. That afternoon, police had taken Ms. Guo Shuashuai and me back to the prison hospital and launched a new bout of persecution there. We were tied onto a bed. Police injected me with some drug, which has made me unable to feel my legs ever since. My legs became ice-cold and completely numb.

Practitioner Jiang Yong was persecuted here, too. He passed away after seven months of torture. Police also injected him with an unidentified drug and drew a large tube of blood from him every day. These injections and blood drawing emaciated Yong. He died during a force-feeding.

It was terrible to witness the entire process of a person being tortured to death. The guards continuously force-fed Ms. Guo for over two months; the hard feeding tube was left in her throat the entire time. Refusing to accept the force-feeding, Ms. Guo swallowed down the 1.5-meter feeding tube. She tossed and turned in bed due to the excruciating pain. The prison hospital refused to release her in fear of her exposing the evil persecution, so it intensified the torture. Guo and I were stripped naked and tied with limbs spread apart on a bed. Police and male inmates lewdly stared at us everyday. One male prison doctor pinched and struck Ms. Guo's vagina. Unable to bear the extreme torture, Mrs.

Guo swallowed the spoon that was inserted into her mouth. She again tossed and turned in bed due to the pain. The prison doctor cut open her stomach to retrieve the spoon. He deliberately made an unnecessarily long incision, stretching from the chest all the way to the vagina. He roughly sutured the extremely long cut and sent Ms. Guo to die at home. Ms. Guo never recovered from the barbarous physical and psychological torture.

Ms. Zhao Xiaoqin and I were sent to the prison hospital the same day. 6–10 officers knocked her unconscious and pushed her down the stairs. The fall broke her left arm, caused a bump the size of a bowl on her head, and made her insane. To this day she cannot speak. The prison doctor did not change the cast on her arm the entire summer. Consequently, her arm festered, and bugs crawled around it. Seeing Ms. Zhao's suffering broke my heart. I also witnessed other atrocities in this persecution. We, the female practitioners, were all stripped naked and tied with limbs spread apart on a bed board for over 26 days. We suffered incessant humiliation and sexual assault from male police, doctors, and inmates.

I was transferred back to the No. 3 Detention Center for refusing to renounce Falun Gong. The Detention Center refused to accept me, because it heard that I would die soon, and it feared to take responsibility for my death. Outraged police then hung me on a door for six hours and beat me. I was taken back to the prison hospital for more persecution. I went on a hunger strike to protest. On the 50th day, a prison doctor cut open my vein and placed an IV needle in it. My blood seeped out and stained the bed and floor. Already accustomed to the bloody persecution, the police and prison doctors were not at all disturbed by my excessive bleeding. Each day, they administered 10 bottles of unidentified thick fluid to me. They left me to urinate and defecate on the bed—I lay in a pool of urine and feces for over 50 days. The full extent of the misery is beyond description. My veins collapsed due to the hunger strike, so the thick fluid could not pass through. The head surgeon just shook the bottle and squeezed the fluid into my vein. I passed out many times because of the excruciating pain.

Mr. Yang Guang, another practitioner, suffered even more frightening persecution. I quote part of the letter a witness wrote to me:

Yang Guang, who lived in Changchun City, Jilin Province, has been illegally detained since January 2000 and has suffered severe torture under the hands of Director Liang and officers in the Changchun Public Security Bureau. He was tortured with electric batons, tiger bench, straightjacket, hanging from the ceiling, plastic-bag suffocation, and force-feeding of strong alcohol. Persecutors occasionally torture him for 40 hours on end. The torture gave Mr. Yang a deaf left ear, disabled arms, paralysis from the waist down, necrosis in his right hip, a broken right leg, deformed feet, festered toes, kidney failure, and hydrothorax (fluids accumulated in his chest). Despite his life-threatening condition, Mr. Yang was sentenced to 15 years in the Jilin prison.

Mr. Yang is held in the so-called naked district, which is the prison section for disabled inmates. Here inmates are forbidden to wear pants all year long, so that cleaning is kept minimal. Inmates made the paralyzed Mr. Yang a special wheelchair out of steel pipes, four casters, and boards for the back and sides. The seat has a hole in the center, like a toilet seat. Whenever Mr. Yang needs to go to the restroom, inmates would push his chair to the bathroom. Because of the side boards on the chair and his disabled arms, Mr. Yang cannot clean himself afterwards. Urine, feces, and foul odor enshroud Mr. Yang all year long. This naked district receives no sunlight. The conditions are utterly inhumane. This district is boiling hot in the summer and freezing cold in the winter. The space for sleeping is less than 60 cm (23 in.) wide. The food is disgusting and extremely lean.

When Mr. Yang needs cleaning, inmates wheel him to the water room and spray him with a pressure hose, and wipe him with a mop that has nails sticking out. Inmates call this a "cosmetic shower." The prison authorities subjected Mr. Yang to these intolerable conditions to force him to renounce Falun Gong. Mr. Yang, however, remained firm in his belief. He was put into solitary confinement. He was let out only when he was on the brink of death. Mr. Yang was then transferred to a special district in the Tiebei Prison in Changchun. He was given absolutely no medical treatment. Nonetheless, the prison still extorts 1,000 yuan (approximately \$125) a month from Mr. Yang's family.

Mr. Yang only has an 86-year-old mother in his home who does not know that her son has been tortured to such a horrid extent. Whenever she sees people, she would sadly implore "Guang is a good person. Where is he now, I want my son!" Mr. Yang's wife divorced him, because there is no income to support the

family. Mr. Yang has also suffered extreme psychological pain. Relatives demanded his release, but the Prison, the Ministry of Justice, and the Prison Management Bureau refused.

Dalian practitioner, Chang Xuexia, is a graceful and quiet girl. She lowered her head in shame while recounting her painful and humiliating experience in a labor camp:

I was arrested for the first time for appealing for Falun Gong. I was illegally detained for 39 days in a rehabilitation center in Dalian. In January 2003, the authorities again tried to force me to renounce Falun Gong. They locked me in a small metal cage and brought in a variety of instruments of torture. Ms. Wang Yalin, the main persecutor of Falun Gong practitioners in the center, goaded several inmates to hang me by the wrists with my feet barely touching the floor. Wang ordered inmates to "Fix her well, all of you!"

The swarm of inmates struck and kicked me from every side. I passed out. They dropped me on the floor and forcefully stepped on my face and arm to see if I was faking. When I woke up, I could not move my left arm, for my elbow was dislocated. Inmates who refused to torture me were transferred and their sentences extended. I was hung up again. This time inmates put Teacher's picture inside my underwear, and wrote blasphemous words against Falun Dafa and Teacher on my face. They also beat me with a hard wooden plank. The bruises have not yet faded after a whole year.

I still refused to renounce Falun Dafa. They stripped me naked, and several inmates began pinching my breasts, plucking my pubic hair, and stabbing my vagina. They used a brush that usually cleaned the water tank. They then put a basin under my lower body to see if I was bleeding. Since no blood came out, the inmates switched to a larger brush and repeatedly stabbed my vagina with it. I could not bear the excruciating pain any longer and succumbed to their demand of not doing the Falun Gong exercises in the camp.

What I had suffered in the camp was not the most brutal. Another practitioner named Ms. Wang Lijun was tortured in the small metal cage three times. Inmates tied many knots on a thick rope and pulled it back and forth in a sawing motion across her vagina. Her entire lower body swelled up. The head police then ordered inmates to jab her swollen vagina with the thorny end of a broken mop stick. This torture caused Ms. Wang's vagina to bleed profusely. Her abdomen and vagina were so swollen that she could not pull up her pants, or sit, or urinate. Ms. Wang still could not sit upright two months after the sexual torture. Her legs were also disabled. I also witnessed these inmates applying this same torture on a virgin. The head police officer also put venomous bugs on female practitioners' bodies.

My name is Wei Chun (alias). I am 35 years old and live in Dalian. I started to practice Falun Gong in 1998. Because Falun Gong teaches people to live the principles of "Truthfulness, Compassion, and Forbearance," I have improved greatly, both mentally and physically. I can forgive others easily and elevate my moral character at the same time. In July 1999, the government started to oppress Falun Gong. I could not ignore its abuse of our basic human rights, so I went to Beijing to appeal for Falun Gong in March 2000. When I got on the train, I was stopped and asked by a policeman to say abusive words about Mr. Li Hongzhi. I refused, and so I was arrested. Afterwards, I knew that whoever traveled to Beijing at that time, whether by train or by bus, had to say some abusive words about Mr. Li or Falun Dafa, otherwise they would not be allowed to travel.

I was taken to the Dalian Drug Rehabilitation Center, and detained for seven days. When I was sent back to my work place, my supervisors demoted me to cleaning the factory in the morning and reflecting on my mistakes in the afternoon. They wanted me to renounce my belief and write statements slandering Falun Gong. I refused, so I was forced to quit my job. In April 2000, I found other employment. On March 15, 2001, Chen Xin and other policemen from the No. 1 Division of Dalian Public Security Bureau abducted me from my work place. They did not allow me to sleep for five days and nights. My hands were handcuffed behind my back the entire time. They put lit cigarettes into my nostrils and mouth. My mouth was filled with cigarettes. At one time, a policeman hit my head with an iron club. Afterwards, I was sent to the Dalian Detention Center and sentenced to labor for two years. On May 18, I was sent to the Fifth Team at the Dalian Labor Camp for reeducation.

On June 4, Mr. Liu Yonglai, Mr. Qu Fei, Mr. Huang Wenzhong, and myself were brought to the 4th floor. We were to be forced to defame Mr. Li and Falun Dafa. If we did not do so, they would punish us with electric shocks. If we did

so, they would take us downstairs to write the “three letters” defaming Falun Gong and Mr. Li, criticizing ourselves, and pledging not to practice Falun Gong again. They took off all of Liu Yonglai’s and my clothes, and handcuffed us together face to face. They used six electric batons on both of us, and shocked us on our heads, backs, thighs, genitals, both sides of our chests, and necks. We clenched our teeth, and struggled to avoid the electric shocks. As a result of struggling, the handcuffs became progressively tighter. They eventually cut into our flesh and down to our bones. It was extremely painful and we bled a lot.

The electric shocks continued for about one hour, and then they separated us. They handcuffed Liu’s hands behind his back, and made him crawl on the grass. They put two chairs on his back and asked two criminals to sit on the chairs. Then, another six criminals used six fully charged electric batons and repeatedly shocked his back, buttocks, neck, calves, soles of his feet, and genitals at the same time. They even pulled out his penis to shock it separately. As for me, I was tied to a chair. The legs of the chair, and the back of the chair were both tied with several electric batons. Then, they tightly tied me on the back of the chair with a rope. Another criminal held an electric baton to my head. Six batons were used to simultaneously shock me. My entire body was in convulsions. I felt that I would rather be dead than alive. I cried out in despair. My hopeless cries could be heard throughout the entire building. There were many Falun Gong practitioners on the 2nd and 3rd floors. It is said that they all wept upon hearing my shrill cries.

The torture continued for about an hour. Then, I exchanged places with Liu. He was forced to sit on the electric shocking chair while I crawled on the grass. Again, I was shocked with six electric batons at the same time for about one hour. I felt that I could no longer bear it, but I’d rather die than betray my belief, my conscience and not defame my Master and Falun Dafa. So I started to hit the ground with my head in hopes of inducing unconsciousness. Every time the six electric batons touched me at the same time, I felt as if ten thousand arrows had simultaneously been shot into my heart.

I felt that I had died several times. After the electric batons ran out, they would change to new ones with more voltage. I finally started to fear, so at last I submitted. Later, Liu could no longer endure it, either. He also submitted. The policemen who led the criminals to shock us were Qiao Wei, Zhu Fengshan, Jing Dianke and others. I don’t remember all the criminals’ names. Afterwards, I was told that when Huang Wenzhong was shocked, his face was burned and bloody. Qu Fe’s cheeks were beaten with shoes so severely that they swelled up like a bread loaf. After we were taken downstairs, we wrote the Guarantee Statements to renounce Falun Dafa. When we went back to the team, we had to write a full page with the same three sentences every day, defaming Master Li and Falun Gong. Meanwhile, we had to shout the three statements out every day. It was strangling my soul. The pain it brought to me was far greater than the torture to my body. But if we opposed it or refused to do so, we would be taken to the 4th floor to be shocked until we submitted again.

Afterwards, a Falun Gong practitioner called Li in class 3 could not endure the spiritual torture and chose to commit suicide by hanging himself. He was rescued. At that time, I did not want to live another moment. I was too humiliated. I did not want to endure the electric shocks anymore. I was afraid that I could not bear them. Nevertheless, I did not want to do such immoral things as defame our Master and Falun Dafa. I told Liu that if any practitioner dared to give his life, the guards would not dare not to persecute us like this. He said that he would sacrifice his life for the others. One day, when we were cleaning outdoors, Liu walked to the 3rd floor from the back of the building and jumped down head first. He died instantly. Soon thereafter, many Falun Gong practitioners recanted everything they wrote and said that what they had written violated their conscience, the facts were twisted due to torture and were invalid. They would firmly protect their belief and the truth. Because of this, the police put these practitioners who had recanted the three statements into the same class and put them into forced labor. They got up at 5:00 a.m. and worked until 11:00 p.m. every day. Then, they sent these nine practitioners to Guanshan Labor Camp to start a new cycle of persecution.

I realized that I could not cooperate with the guards any longer, so I stopped wearing a prison uniform, stopped marching, stopped singing, and started a hunger strike to protest the persecution. The whole class also started a hunger strike to protest with me. We were later separated, and I was sent to the third brigade where I continued the hunger strike. When a chief prosecutor asked me why I started a hunger strike, I said that I had no other means, as no court dares to accept my case. They are all Jiang Zemin’s judges and courts, and no

one dares to represent us. I can only use my life to protest the persecution against me, to protest Jiang Zemin and the government's persecution of Falun Gong. I have a son. When my son asks me in the future, "What did you do during that most severe persecution of just people?" I don't want to tell him that I submitted. I want to be a person that would "rather die with honor than survive in disgrace." On the 15th day of my hunger strike, they released me on October 24, using the excuse that I needed outside medical treatment in fear that I might die in the reformatory.

As we listened to those who had escaped death in this persecution, one by one, we were suffocating. Some of the true stories were told by those who had escaped death from the persecution several times. Their stories would move even a devil to tears. The unprecedented and unrivalled bloody scenes, the vicious, inhuman natures, the most disastrous torture techniques—all were so vividly terrifying. Facing these fellow countrymen, while they peacefully shared their stories of the barbaric persecution one after another, we must ask of those who wear the nation's emblem and the country's uniform to maintain the peace: "In the past six of the 60 years of communist rule, how many such inhuman acts have you perpetrated and concealed?"

Where did our system fail? It has bred so many vicious public officials who live among us, have been supported by us, who were raised by parents like ours, and have families like ours! The tragic experience of our fellow countrymen fully illustrates that, in our society, there is a group of public officials who persistently disregard the basic moral values of human society, and have been continuously using methods that are completely distant from basic human morality and human nature. They covertly scheme their dirty deals that are causing the very destruction of our nation's human nature, basic morals, kindness and conscience. All fellow countrymen, including Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabo must admit that none of us can deny that our system is constantly and progressively creating such a shameful reality. And such a reality reveals the totally immoral character of our system.

Hu, Wen and all fellow Chinese countrymen: it is a time of introspection for our nation! There isn't a people on this planet or in all of history that have suffered on such a large scale, enduring such a severe and disastrous persecution in peacetime because of their faith. This ongoing disaster has cost thousands of innocent people their valuable lives, and hundreds of thousands of people have been deprived of their freedom. The facts that we have seen showed us that all those who have been deprived of their freedom have also suffered bodily devastation and spiritual torment that is unbelievable to the civilized world. This completely inhuman persecution has caused over 100 million Falun Gong followers and their families to suffer from subpoena and threats, deprivation of employment, work opportunities and income, confiscation of assets to various extents, and a persecution that extends to various other means. How absurd, dangerous, and immoral this is! This is a continuous fight against the entire Chinese people, human civilization, and the moral foundation of all the world's people!

The situations with my law office and entire family are making clear the ongoing severe situation in China today: one who insists on telling the truth must pay the price. The country continually uses violent means to warn people publicly that the desire to understand and tell the truth is extremely dangerous.

In countries with civilized systems, the truth is in the hands of those who have the political power and resources. The understanding of the value of truth is the scale used for judging a regime's civilization and morality. But in the current Chinese society, the ability of the government in obtaining the truth is completely different. I have painfully observed that living together and maturing with the political regime has been the regime's mechanism for concealing the truth. This situation makes the regime completely unable to know the truth. The regime has completely lost the necessary moral condition for knowing the truth. It has destroyed that moral condition completely.

People like Ms. Wang Yuhuan and others who suffered in labor camps personally witnessed time after time the following. When higher authorities came to inspect, all the camps had an ironclad rule: gather those who might tell the truth, like Wang Yuhuan, to a place where the inspectors cannot find them. The common rule is: the visiting leaders leave with the "truth" that they have personally "seen" and "heard." When the iron gate closes behind the leaders, the crimes against our innocent fellow countrymen will quickly start again. The facts indicate that there is a coordinated collusion between the inspector and the inspected, both of whom know the truth without spelling it out.

Now that the regime has lost the capability of obtaining the real facts, the investigation conducted by citizens themselves becomes completely legitimate and necessary, because the value of real facts is associated with the future of our nation

and is closely associated with each individual who lives in this nation. We have the right to know how the power of this regime is linked to our people. We have the right to know how this persecution began six years ago. How could a country make such an immoral decision? Within these six years, how did the authorities carry out this decision? What did the country do? Within these six years, exactly how many of our innocent citizens have been illegally imprisoned behind the high walls? What exactly has happened behind that high walls? What is still going on today? Obtaining the answers to these questions is the fundamental moral obligation for the people of this country. Here we must emphasize that the government's cover-up of the truth is already worthless and is no longer an issue of only immorality. Those who have witnessed the facts will eventually enter society. In fact, many of them are already walking among people, tirelessly revealing the true facts.

Chinese government, you must realize that you are a government. Only in this way can you deal with the disastrous reality from the standpoint of a government, in the manner of a government, and through the logical actions of a government. Only in this way can we avoid tragedies like the Tiananmen Square Massacre, the bloody persecution of Falun Gong, or the recent shooting of farmers in Guangzhou. Nevertheless, we have to face such a reality often. The reality is that over a long period, similar crimes towards innocent people have been repeatedly committed without any reason. In response to the desperate anguish that disasters have brought to the people, the Chinese government has always been silent and has even suppressed the suffering people through brutality.

Our investigation has shown that, when facing the believers that are almost all "headstrong and refuse to transform," those responsible for "transforming" these individuals have completely lost their humanity. As a result, they treat those being transformed unscrupulously to the point of committing all manners of crimes. The whole system has exhibited insanity driven by desperation as the suppression has lasted six years without any success. The recent horrifying incident in which the policeman He Xuejian raped two female Falun Gong practitioners in Tunzhong City, Hebei province in front of his colleagues, is a clear example.

From several investigations, I have found that in their need to suppress the innocent, police can resort to any heinous crimes to achieve the goal of transformation. In the inhumane persecution against these believers, the Chinese police have completely become criminalized. They no longer have a conscience nor do they have any consciousness for law or justice; instead, they take for granted that their responsibility is to chop up people like fish or meat. In the prison within their jurisdiction, a cucumber can be sold to inmates for a price of 25 yuan (about \$3), a roasted-chicken can sell for up to a few hundred yuan. Even the sleeping space that originally belongs to public property is turned into tradable merchandise in the hands of the people's police. Every space as wide as a person's shoulder can be sold at a price up to 2,000 yuan (about \$250) per month. Many prisoners in the labor camp without money continue to be treated inhumanely in the night by having to sleep vertically on their sides.

Not only do the Chinese police have no morality, but they have also completely lost the fundamental sense of shame that is characteristic of a human being. In this investigation, another disgusting source of crime in our society is the system of re-education through labor, which has brought numerous disasters to our nation in the last half-century. The system of re-education through labor, a dirty business conducted by the Chinese State Council, has openly insulted and offensively treaded upon our constitutional principles; it has survived regardless. In human history, no government of any other nation can behave like the Chinese State Council, which completely disregards its own constitution. Since the birth of the country's constitution, the system of re-education through labor has always placed it in an embarrassing position. This demonstrates the Chinese government's lawlessness and also proves their so-called "ruling the country by law" as nothing but a hoax.

Besides the Constitution of China, a series of fundamental laws that were ratified later, including the Legislation Law of the People's Republic of China, Law of the People's Republic of China on Administrative Penalty, Administrative License Law Of the People's Republic of China, etc. all explicitly exclude the possibility of the Chinese State Council gaining the power to deprive people of their freedom. Fundamentally, the system of re-education through labor is the most illegal form of malpractice that prevents China from achieving the rule of law. It is the biggest enemy of the Constitution of China and of the fundamental laws and principles. It opposes the pursuit of the Chinese people for a China ruled by law.

Our investigation has shown that the system of re-education by labor, in its illegal deprivation of freedom, has been abusive beyond imagination. The elderly women Wang Yuhuan and Sun Shuxiang have been illegally arrested and detained nine times in six years. The procedure for re-education through labor is so informal and

poorly enforced that it might as well be a joke. The true facts have revealed the shocking abuse of power as well as the complete lack of morality! Today is the time when a confession to our nation must be made. I must especially emphasize that if this evil crime does not stop, then the interrogation of our nation by people like Gao Chengzhi will continue. The day when Chinese society becomes stable and harmonious will not arrive. People have lost their patience with power-abusers who cast aside their conscience day and night. The storm of protests created by these people is constantly shaking the country's foundation and rocking what people have been used to for decades. How could anyone ignore this phenomenon?

Through my experience of continuously communicating with those citizens who are firm in their beliefs, I have truly seen the existence of something most precious to our nation today. Those who can calmly describe with a smile their experiences of dealing with the dreadful process of being persecuted have shaken my soul. I was often moved to tears. In our nation, I have finally seen the spirit that remains faithful and unyielding, holding onto the intangible quality of principles.

The tribulation in the last six years has created a large group of people who have this unmatched and noble human dignity. Their firmness towards faith, the way they treat the brutal custody with scorn, as well as their optimism that our nation will have a beautiful future earns one's deep respect. Another trend we found in our investigation is that every Falun Gong follower who has stepped out of custody, no matter how long he or she was in custody, becomes more faithful. The most typical example is Ms. Han from Fuxin City, Liaoning province, who was arrested and placed in custody several times. After being released from a brutal custody that lasted for a few years, the head of the local police station tried to make her promise not to practice Falun Gong any more. To this, she told the policeman, who represents the people's government, firmly yet peacefully: "Even if you arrest me one hundred times, I will still continue to practice. The fact that we practice is nothing wrong, let alone a crime. After I returned home from custody, through constantly telling our family members and the people around me the truth about Falun Dafa, over thirty of them have joined the practice."

This time, during my stay with the Falun Gong group, I also found another delightful fact. In contrast to the current situation where the humanity, conscience, morality, compassion, and responsibility of our society is suffering an overall deterioration, these cultivators, as a group reborn from the old nation, have impacted all of these areas in a positive way. One can feel the powerful way in which faith can change one's soul. Indeed it has allowed me to see a spark of hope for rescuing our nation from its current depraved state.

Through my acquaintance with these believers, I was deeply moved by their calmness when narrating their unprecedented calamity, their compassion toward those that tortured them, and their optimism towards our nation's future. These people take fame and profit very lightly. They continue to quietly assist fellow practitioners whose lives are in danger due to the ruthless oppression. Their patience in assisting the vulnerable children or the elderly relatives of Falun Gong practitioners, who were either illegally detained or killed, is beyond a typical human being's imagination or understanding. How one's belief has such a strong influence over one's soul and morality is unbelievable.

For instance, Zhu Xiaoguang, who is 33 years old, told me that when he was first thrown in the prison, malicious interactions among inmates were the only type of communication. People there gained the upper hand by being more ruthless than the others. No one wanted to be tamed or required to exercise any self-restraint. Later on, Falun Gong practitioners miraculously cleansed the prisoners' souls and guided 100 people to begin practicing Falun Gong. He said, "I calmed myself through a complete transformation of my spirit." As a result, many new inmates were dumbfounded to find kind and helping hands in place of "tone-down lessons" upon their arrival at the prison.

The experience of Zhang Linyou, a former policeman in Kungchuling Detention Center, was even more astonishing. He told me that practicing Falun Gong led him to become the only policeman in that gigantic prison who stopped torturing prisoners and turned down any bribes. He said that he was under constant agony the first year he decided to quit his bad habits. It was extremely painful for him to see his colleagues accept bribery and to resist the temptation when he himself was short of money! He proudly told me that cultivation completely transformed his soul! Later on the 60 inmates under his charge were very grateful to him and believed that all the Chinese police should practice Falun Gong. If that happened, the prisoners said, the Chinese police would become the most civilized in the world. Nevertheless, Zhang Linyou was later illegally sentenced to forced labor and dismissed from his job for practicing Falun Gong.

Yet we are distressed to see that the transformation of people in China is going in the opposite direction. Public political pressures and temptation have annihilated the last trace of kindness in the police. The evil side of human beings is rapidly dominating their behavior, while a basic conscience is no longer valued. The police are, in fact, victims of this fanatical movement to eliminate human nature.

Belief and morality are the most important elements for securing the longevity and advancement of a nation. What our nation has missed the most over the last few decades is the underlying belief that upholds and enhances our nation's moral values. This is the cause of China's continued chaos for the past few decades. Hence, for the long-term well being of our country, one must grant and protect people's freedom of belief. Only through transforming people's hearts can we create a world with hope. What our government has been doing in the past six years is utilizing violent and barbaric tactics to impede our nation from striving towards a bright future.

In this open letter, I would also like to bring several requests to the government's attention. These are to end immediately the violent persecution of people who uphold their beliefs and to free and compensate Yang Guang and other prisoners of conscience! Yet we are not asking for the government to reinstate the good name of Falun Gong people. For in their own hearts, as well as in the hearts of ethical members in our society, no one has ever claimed that this group of people was problematic. A system that has ruthlessly tortured a nation for over half a century no longer has the moral values or qualifications to reinstate anyone's good name. Moreover, to allow such a statement to be made by this system is an insult to the victims! I hereby warn those who still endorse violence to cease their barbaric acts since this is your last chance!

Lastly, allow me to tell Mr. Hu Jintao and Mr. Wen Jiabao with respect that we must have the courage and morality to admit that the political machine, which has ruthlessly tortured our nation for half a century, is tainted with the blood and tears of innocent people and that the piteous fate of the Chinese people, owing to coercion and oppression by the dictatorship of thousands of years, is still without end. We must acknowledge that our nation, our people, have the right to pursue democracy, freedom, the rule of law, and human rights, and that this yearning has never before been this fervent. Today, any attempt to obstruct people's pursuit for the abovementioned rights will end in vain. Please pardon my frankness but all the blood debts have been engraved in the people's eyes, experiences, and tainted memories. Gentlemen, only when the safety of the suffering people is in your hearts can you find true security. Likewise, only when you genuinely care for the future of our nation will you have equally as bright a future!

Wishing Mr. Jintao and Mr. Wen Jiabao safety and health in the New Year.

May the New Year bring a new world for my fellow citizens!

May God bless the Chinese people!

Your fellow citizen,

Gao Zhisheng

December 12, 2005—Changchun City, Jilin Province

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<sup>1</sup>On Dec. 6 paramilitary police fired on villagers in Shanwei, in Guangdong province, killing dozens. The villagers were protesting the confiscation of their land without fair compensation.

<sup>2</sup>Dr. Jiao Guobiao, a journalism professor at Peking University, was recently fired for his outspoken views on censorship.

<sup>3</sup>The "Tiger Bench" is a torture device. Victims are forced to sit on a small iron bench that is approximately 20 cm (6 inches) tall. Victims' knees are tightly tied on the small bench—the Tiger Bench. Several inmates are assigned to watch over the practitioners and force them to remain motionless while sitting on the bench. Usually some hard objects are inserted underneath the victims' lower legs or ankles to make the pain more intense. For an illustration, please see: <http://www.clearwisdom.net/emh/articles/2001/11/24/16156.html>

<sup>4</sup>In the "Death Bed" torture the four limbs are stretched out and tied to the four corners of an icy-cold metal bed. The victim cannot move at all. Neither is he allowed to get up to eat, drink, or go to the bathroom. This treatment would last from several hours up to more than a dozen days. This type of cruel torture causes severe damage both mentally and physically. See illustration on <http://www.clearwisdom.net/emh/articles/2004/12/15/55600.html>

## DARK NIGHT, DARK HOOD AND KIDNAPPING BY DARK MAFIA

[My Account of More Than 50 Days of Torture in 2007]

BY GAO ZHISHENG

These words from me today will be finally revealed one day. They will expose the true face of today's China and will disclose the unimaginable heart and characteristics of the "ruling party" in China.

Of course, these words will inevitably bring unpleasant and even disturbed, embarrassed feelings to those global “good friends” and “nice partners” of today’s Chinese Communist Party—IF these global “good friends” and “nice partners” still have some concern in their hearts for the value of human conscience and morality.

Today, the suddenly well off CCP has not only gained more and more global “good friends” and “nice partners” but also has spoken more and more loudly such perverted slogans as “China is a country with rule of law.” Both will be disastrous to the progress and development of the human rights of the Chinese people.

Around 8 p.m. on Sept. 21, 2007 the authorities notified me orally that I should go for a mind re-education talk. I found there were some unusual things happening this time. The secret police, who used to follow me very closely, kept a greater distance. I was walking down the street that day and, when I turned a corner, about six or seven strangers started walking towards me. I suddenly felt a strong blow to the back of my neck and fell face down on the ground. Someone yanked my hair and a black hood was immediately pulled over my head.

I was brought to a vehicle and was put in it. Although I couldn’t see, it seemed to me that it had two benches with a space in the middle. I was put in the space in the middle on the floor. My right cheek was on the ground. All of a sudden a boot was stepped on my face holding me down. Many hands started searching all over me. My belt was pulled off and then used to tie my hands behind my back. At least four people stepped their feet on me holding me down.

About 40 minutes later I was dragged out of the car. My pants were falling down around my knees and I was dragged into a room. No one had said anything at all to me until that time. The hood was pulled off of my head at this time. Immediately men began cursing and hitting me. “\*\*\*, your date of death has come today. Brothers, let’s give him a brutal lesson today. Beat him to death.”

Then, four men with electric shock prods began beating my head and all over my body. Nothing but the noise of the beating and my anxious breathing could be heard. I was beaten so severely that my whole body began uncontrollably shaking.

“Don’t let him rest!” shouted a guy I later learned is named Wang. Then a very strong and tall (approximately 6’ 1”) man grabbed my hair and pulled me up off the ground. Then Wang began beating me on the face terribly.

“\*\*\*, you are not worthy to wear black clothes. Are you a Mafia leader? Pull off all of his clothes.”

All my clothes were pulled off and I was totally naked. Wang yelled again, and someone kicked me in the back of my legs, and I collapsed to the floor. The big guy continued to pull my hair and forced me to lift my head to see Wang.

At this time, I could see that there were five people in the room. Four of the men were holding electric prods, and one was holding my belt.

“You listen, Gao, today your uncles want nothing but to make your life worse than death. I tell you the truth, your matter is not only between you and the government.

“Look at the floor! There is not a single drop of water. After a while the water will be above your ankles. After a while you will learn where the water will come from.”

While Wang was saying this, the electric shock prods were thrust on my face and upper body shocking me.

Wang then said, “Come on guys, deliver the second course!” Then, the electric shock batons were put all over me. And my full body, my heart, lungs and muscles began jumping under my skin uncontrollably. I was writhing on the ground in pain, trying to crawl away. Wang then shocked me in my penis.

My begging them to stop only resulted in laughing and more unbelievable torture. Wang then used the electric shock baton three more times on my penis while shouting loudly.

After a few hours of this I had no energy to even beg, let alone try to escape. But my mind was still clear. I felt my body was jerking very strongly when the baton touched me. I clearly felt some water sprinkled on my arms and legs as I was jerking. It was then I realized that this was sweat from me, and I realized what Wang had meant about the water.

It seems that the torturers themselves were also tired. Before the dawn came, three of them left the room. “We will come back later to give him the next course,” Wang said.

The two left in the room, put a chair in the middle of the room and pulled me up and set me in the chair. One of them had five pieces of cigarettes in his mouth. One man stood behind me and the man with the cigarettes was in front.

The man behind grabbed my hair and pulled my head forward and down. The other man used the cigarettes to fill my nose and eyes with smoke over and over. They did this with the utmost patience. After a while I didn’t have any feeling except for some tears dropping on my legs.

This continued for about two hours. Then some other guys came in replacing the previous two. My eyes could not see because they were now swollen shut.

The new guys started talking, "Gao, are you still able to hear with your ears? I tell you the truth, these guys are experts in cracking down on Mafia guys. They are heavies. This time they are chosen specifically and carefully by the higher authorities for this purpose.

"Can you hear who I am? My last name is Jiang. I followed you to Xiajiang after you were released last year."

"Are you the one from Penglai City, Shandong?" I asked.

"Yes, your memory is still good. I told you, you would come back sooner or later. When I saw you the way you behaved in Xiajiang, I knew you would be back. You even looked down upon our police.

"Shouldn't we help you have a better lesson? You wrote that letter to American Congress. Look at you, you traitor. What could you be given by your American lord? The American Congress counts for nothing. This is China. It is the Communist Party's territory.

"To capture your life is as easy as stepping on an ant. If you dare to continue to write your stupid articles, the government has to make its attitude clear. Now, did you see that attitude tonight?" Jiang spoke slowly.

I asked, "How can you treat taxpayers using such Mafia tactics? How could you face billions of Chinese in the future?"

"That is why you deserve to be beaten," said Jiang. "You are more clear in your mind than most people. Taxpayers count for nothing in China. Don't talk about this term 'taxpayers.'"

While he was saying this, someone else entered the room. I recognized the voice to be Wang's. "Don't talk to him with your mouth. Give him the real thing. Your uncles have prepared 12 courses. We only finished 3 last night.

"Your chief uncle doesn't like to talk and so after a while you will see that you will have to eat your own S\*\*\* and drink your own piss. A toothpick will touch your light [sexual organs]."

"Don't you talk about torture by the Communist Party yet, because we will give you a comprehensive lesson now!"

"You are correct, we torture Falun Gong. Everything is right. The 12 courses we're going to give to you were practiced on the Falun Gong. To tell you the truth, I am not afraid that you continue to write. We can torture you to death without your body being found.

"You stinky outsider [meaning, not from Beijing]! How dare of you being so arrogant in Beijing? Let's teach him the lesson again."

In the following hours of torture, I passed out from time to time because of lack of water and food, and heavy sweating. I was lying down on the cold floor naked. I felt several times someone come and open my eyes and shine a flashlight in them to see if I was still alive.

When I would come to, I smelled the strong odor of stinky urine. My face, nose, and hair were filled with the smell. Obviously, but I don't know when, someone had urinated on my face and head.

This torture continued until around noon on the third day. I don't know where I got the strength to endure, but somehow I struggled to get away from their grasp and suddenly ram my head again the edge of the table.

I was shouting the names of my two children (Tiangyu and GeGe) with such a sad and remote voice and trying to kill myself. But my attempt did not succeed. I thank Almighty God for this. It is He who rescued me. I truly felt God dragged me back from that state and gave me my life.

My eyes were full of blood, though, because of my head-banging. I fell on the ground. Immediately, three people sat on my body. One was on my face. They were laughing. They said I used my death to try to scare them. They said they have just seen this too many times.

They then continued the torture again until that night. I could not see anything with my eyes anymore. I could still hear my torturers though, and again they gathered after they had dinner.

One of them came and pulled my hair, dragging me up. "Gao, are you hungry? Tell us the truth!"

I said, "I am very hungry."

"Do you want to eat? Tell us the truth!"

I said, "I want to eat." Immediately, they slapped my face repeatedly, a dozen times or more, and I again collapsed to the ground. A boot stomped on my chest, and someone shocked me on the chin with the baton. I screamed. Then someone thrust the baton into my mouth.

“Let’s see how different your mouth is from others. Don’t you want to eat? You said you are hungry. Are you worthy?” The baton was in my mouth but was not turned on. I was wondering why?

“Gao, do you know why we didn’t destroy your mouth?” then Wang said. “Tonight your uncles want you to talk the whole night. We want you to talk about nothing except about how you are a womanizer. You are not allowed to say you are not one. You are not allowed to say there are just a few women, either. Don’t forget any details. You can’t leave any details out. Your uncles like this. We have slept and eaten enough, it’s your time to talk.”

“Why didn’t he talk? Beat him up brothers!” Wang shouted. Three batons began shocking me. I was crawling all over trying to get away and was still naked. After more than 10 minutes, I was shaking uncontrollably again.

I begged them. “I didn’t have an affair. It’s not that I don’t want to tell you.” I heard my voice was quivering.

“Are you becoming a fool?” said Wang. “Let’s use the baton to light you and see if you start talking.”

Then two people stretched out my arms and pinned them to the ground. They used toothpicks to pierce my penis. I can’t use any language to describe the helplessness, pain, and despair that I felt then. At a point like that, language and emotion do not have the power to explain. Finally I made up stories, telling them about affairs that I had with four women. After more repeated torture, I had to describe how I had sex with each of these women in details. This continued until dawn the next day.

At that time, I was dragged to where I had to sign the transcript of my confession about my affairs. “If we send this out, you will become stinky dog’s \*\*\* in half a year,” Wang said loudly.

After I was released, I learned that the day after the torture the interrogator named Sun informed my wife of “the truth” they had learned about my affairs. My wife told them: “I do not need government’s help to get to know my husband. In my eyes, he is still the one who wrote 3 open letters to urge the government to stop persecution of Falun Gong.”

After being tortured for days, I often lost consciousness and was unable to determine the passage of time. I don’t know how long had passed. A group of them were preparing to torture me again.

Another guy came in, though, and rebuked them. I could hear it was a deputy director from the Beijing PSB. I had seen him many times before. I thought him to be a good person.

I could not see him though, because my eyes were still swollen. My whole body was beaten and skins were all bruised and unrecognizable. He sounded angry because of my condition. He found a doctor to attend to me. He said he was appalled and surprised. He said, “This torture doesn’t represent the Communist Party!”

I asked him, “Who directed this?”

He didn’t reply. I asked to be sent back home or even just back to prison. He didn’t reply. He brought my torturers back into the room and rebuked them. He ordered them to buy clothes for me and give me a blanket and food. He told me he would try his best to either get me back to prison or back home.

As soon as the deputy left, Wang began cursing me. “Gao, you even dream to go to prison? No, that is too easy. You won’t have any chance to do that as long as the CCP is still in power. Don’t even think about that.”

That same night, I was transported to another location, but I didn’t know where, since I had a black hood over my head again. I was continuously tortured there again for more than 10 days.

Then one day, they put the hood on me again, and I was put into a vehicle. My head was forced in between my legs, and I had to remain that way for more than an hour. The suffering was more than I could stand, and I wanted to die.

After another hour, at a new location, the hood was removed. Four of the previous five torturers were not there. Instead, I saw the same group of secret police who used to follow me.

From then on, the physical torture stopped, but emotional torture continued. I was told the 17th Communist Party Congress was starting and that I had to wait for the higher authorities’ opinions about my case.

During that time, some officials came to visit my cell. Their attitude was softer, and I was also allowed to wash my face and brush my teeth.

Some officials proposed to me to use my writing skills to curse Falun Gong instead, and that I could charge whatever I wanted for doing that. I said it is not a technical problem but an ethical problem.

“So, if that is too hard, then write articles praising the government, and again charge whatever you want,” they suggested.

Finally, they proposed, "If you write that you and your family were treated well after prison and that you were fooled by Falun Gong and Hu Jia, things will go well. Otherwise, how can you find an end to your suffering? Think of your wife and children."

In exchange, I did write an article that said the government treated my family well. In that article, I explained that I wrote the open letter to the U.S. Congress because I had been fooled by Falun Gong and Hu Jia.

Before I was released to go home, though, I was brought to Xian city to make a phone call to Hu Jia.

On the date of the mid-autumn festival, the authorities asked me to call my wife and comfort her since she was holding a protest and trying to commit suicide over the government's treatment of our family.

The content of the call was all designed by the authorities (Later I learned that my wife's response was also choreographed.). I could still not open one of my eyes at that time due to the previous torture. Since the call was being taped, I was told to explain that it was from a self-inflicted wound.

In the middle of November 2007, after I got home, I learned that my house had been thoroughly searched again, without a single document or search warrant having been produced. During those more than 50 days of horrifying torture on my body and spirit, I had many strange feelings. For example, sometimes I could really hear "death" and sometimes I could really hear "life."

On the twelfth or thirteenth day of my kidnapping, when I could again partially open my eyes, I saw my body was in a horrifying condition. Not a single square centimeter of my skin was normal. It was bruised and damaged over every part.

Every day while I was being held, the experience of "eating" was unusual. Whenever I was at the point of starving, they would bring up "mantle" [steamed bread] and offer it to me. If I would sing one of the three famous revolutionary Communist Party songs, I could have some bread.

My deepest desire was that I wanted to live until that was no longer possible. My death would be torturous for my wife and children, but at the same time I didn't want to dirty my soul. But in that environment, human dignity has no strength. If you don't sing these songs, you will continue to be starved, and they will continue to torture you, so I sang.

When they used the same tactic, though, pressuring me to write articles attacking Falun Gong, I didn't do it. But I did compromise by writing my statement saying the government didn't kidnap and torture me and that they treated my family well. I did sign that document.

During these more than 50 days, more horrible evils were committed than I have told here. Those evils are not even worthy of any historical records by any human governments. But those records will further enable us to see clearly how much further the leaders of the CCP are willing to go in the CCP's evil crimes against humanity in order to protect its illegal monopoly on power! Those evils are so dirty and disgusting that I don't want to mention them at this time and perhaps will never mention them in the future.

Every time when I was tortured, I was always repeatedly threatened that, if I spelled out later what had happened to me, I would be tortured again, but I was told, "This time it will happen in front of your wife and children."

The tall, strong man who pulled my hair repeated this over and over during the days I was tortured. "Your death is sure if you share this with the outside world," he said. This was repeated many times. These brutal, violent acts are not right. Those that did it, themselves, knew this clearly in their hearts.

Finally, I want to say a few words that won't be liked by some folks. I want to remind those so-called global "good friends," "good partners," so-called by the CCP, that the increasing degree of brutality and coldness against the Chinese people by the CCP is the direct result of appeasement by both you and us (our own Chinese people).

Gao Zhisheng

Written on November 28, 2007 at my besieged home in Beijing

Authorized to be released to international community on February 9, 2009



**AP Exclusive: Missing Chinese lawyer told of abuse**

By CHARLES HUTZLER

The Associated Press

Monday, January 10, 2011; 6:21 AM

BEIJING —

The police stripped Gao Zhisheng bare and pummeled him with handguns in holsters.

For two days and nights, they took turns beating him and did things he refused to describe. When all three officers tired, they bound his arms and legs with plastic bags and threw him to the floor until they caught their breath to resume the abuse.

"That degree of cruelty, there's no way to recount it," the civil rights lawyer said, his normally commanding voice quavering.

"For 48 hours my life hung by a thread." The beatings were the worst he said he ever endured and the darkest point of 14 months, ending last March, during which Gao was secretly held by Chinese authorities.

He described his ordeal to The Associated Press that April, but asked that his account not be made public unless he went missing again or made it to "someplace safe" like the United States or Europe. Two weeks later, he disappeared again. His family and friends say they have not heard from him in the more than eight months since.

Police agencies either declined to comment or said they did not know Gao's whereabouts. The AP decided to publish his account given the length of his current disappearance. Gao had been a galvanizing figure for the rights movement, advocating constitutional reform and arguing landmark cases to defend property rights and political and religious dissenters, including members of the Falun Gong spiritual movement. His disappearance in 2009 set off an international outcry that may have played a role in winning his brief release last year.

Among democracy and rights campaigners, Gao appears to have been singled out for frequent, harsh punishment beyond the slim protections of China's laws.

"It seems to be that they are afraid of Gao in a way they aren't of others," Maran Turner, the executive director of Freedom Now, a Washington-based group that advocates for political prisoners, Gao among them. Gao's wife, brother and friends fear for his safety.

They hope publicizing his account will place renewed pressure on the government to disclose Gao's whereabouts and refocus international attention diverted to Liu Xiaobo, the imprisoned dissident writer awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

"We've had no word of him all this time," his wife, Geng He, said last week in a telephone interview from the San Francisco area, where she and their children live.

"This could help us get some news of him and gain his freedom." Gao spoke to the AP in a nearly empty Beijing teahouse watched outside by plainclothes police.

Weary-looking rather than his normally forceful self, he said that over those 14 months police had stashed him in hostels, farm houses, apartments and prisons in Beijing, his native province of Shaanxi and the far western region of Xinjiang, where he lived for many years.

Weeks of inactivity were punctuated by outbursts of brutality. He was hooded several times. His captors tied him up with belts, made him sit motionless for up to 16 hours and told him his children were having nervous breakdowns. They threatened to kill him and dump his body in a river.

"You must forget you're human. You're a beast," Gao said his police tormentors told him in September 2009.

Excessive even for China's often abusive police, the treatment given to Gao highlights the authoritarian government's willingness to breach its own laws to silence critics.

Gao had been jailed on subversion charges in 2006 for his increasingly public activism. But unlike most convicted subversives, Gao was released, his three-year sentence suspended. Watched constantly, he had run-ins with police who harassed him and his family.

His wife and two children fled China, escorted by human traffickers overland to Southeast Asia. Gao in April said that police seemed intent on casting him into a limbo that kept him at their whim. "Why don't you put me in prison?" Gao said he asked Beijing police at one point. "They said, 'You going to prison, that's a dream. You're not good enough for that."

Whenever we want you to disappear, you will disappear." The Public Security Ministry, which oversees police forces, did not respond to telephoned and faxed inquiries about Gao.

Police in Beijing, Shaanxi and Xinjiang - locations where Gao said he was held - declined comment on his current predicament as well as his past treatment.

"We didn't handle the case of Gao Zhisheng and we don't know who did. As far as we know, he did stay in Xinjiang to visit his relatives for a period of time," said a Ms. Li from the information office of the Xinjiang Public Security Department. Gao described snippets of his disappearance to close friends who corroborated parts of the account he gave the AP. But there are also discrepancies in accounts among Gao and his supporters. During his 2009-10 disappearance, Gao's family and human rights groups said his whereabouts were unknown.

But Gao said in the April interview that he had a few moments of contact with relatives: a 90-minute visit with his older brother near their family home in June 2009; a visit with his mother-in-law at his in-laws' in Xinjiang's capital, Urumqi, a few weeks later; and later a furtive phone conversation with his wife that she said was via a policeman's mobile phone.

Gao told the AP that he wanted to be reunited with his family and would even go abroad, but rejected a U.S. diplomat who offered to help days later.

Turner of Freedom Now said accounts by political prisoners under authoritarian regimes often contain inconsistencies, frequently to protect themselves, family or others. Gao said that in February 2009, police first spirited Gao from Beijing to Yulin, a poor area of barren yellow hills where he grew up. Within weeks, police brought him back to Beijing by car, covering his head with a pair of underwear.

There, he said he was kept in a room with lights on 24 hours a day, its windows boarded up, and fed rotten, dirty cabbage twice a day. On April 28, he said, six plainclothes officers bound him with belts and put a wet towel around his face for an hour, bringing on a feeling of slow suffocation.

Two months later, he was sent back to Yulin and then on to Xinjiang's capital, Urumqi, where his treatment improved. He said he was occasionally allowed evening strolls, police escorts trailing behind, during the several months he was kept in the Wild Horse apartment block on Urumqi's outskirts. The most brutal period of Gao's 2009-10 disappearance began with a Sept. 25 walk. A group of Uighurs, a largely Muslim minority group, approached him and punched him in the stomach.

They handcuffed him, taped his mouth and eyes shut and took him into the upstairs room of a building, beginning a week of mistreatment that culminated with the 48 hours of pistol-whipping and other abuse. Earlier that summer, communal violence erupted between Uighurs and members of the Han Chinese majority, and the city was tense.

But Gao said he knew his assailants were plainclothes police.

"Bandits would never use handcuffs," he said. His captors told him they were members of a counterterrorism unit and boasted about their harsh interrogation methods. Gao said the torture was worse than a previous disappearance in 2007, when security forces gave him electric shocks to his genitals and held burning cigarettes close to his eyes to cause temporary blindness.

Gao said he learned later that he was being held in Xinjiang's Public Security Department detention center. His guards told him he was being held with suspects from the deadly July communal riots. "I said,

'All people, criminals should have their rights protected.' They bent me over, forcing my head to bow 90 degrees while standing. It was painful," Gao said.

Conditions improved after U.S. President Barack Obama's Beijing summit in November 2009. Police, Gao said, sent him back to Yulin, but to an isolated area near the desert. They pressured him to write a letter asking his brother to stop traveling to Beijing to seek his release. A group of 10 officials from Beijing arrived late in February 2010 to negotiate with Gao terms for his limited freedom.

"They said that if I wanted to see my family and wife, I must play along in a performance," Gao said. Gao was taken to Mount Wutai, a Buddhist retreat, and police told his family that he went there to seek peace.

The explanation spread - police put Gao's mobile number on Twitter - but it seemed so out of character for the talkative, argumentative Gao that it triggered speculation about the bargains struck for his release.

Soon he returned to Beijing. Gao only alluded to compromises in the interview: "In reality, even today I have not gained my freedom." He apologized for the disappointment he said he was likely to cause supporters by no longer being at the forefront of the rights movement. He also hinted at inner conflicts.

"Mankind's path to constitutional government is one that no obstruction can stop," Gao said.

"In China, I never see the risks. My character is one that is unwilling to be controlled by other people. I want to go on."

--- Associated Press videographer Isolda Morillo contributed to this report.



美联社原文翻译：失踪的中国律师高智晟谈虐待

内容摘要：警察剥光高智晟，用套在皮套里的枪干殴打他。两天两夜里，他们轮流殴打他，并对他做了难以言述的事情。当所有三个人员累了，他们用塑料袋绑住他的胳膊和腿，把他扔到地上，直到他们呼吸平缓后，又继续开始虐待。“这种残酷的程度，没有办法叙述。”这位人权律师说，他一向威严的声音颤抖着。“那 48 小时里我命悬一线。”这些殴打是直到三月份的 14 个月以来最糟糕的经历和最黑暗的一幕。

美联社独家报导

Charles Hutzler/美联社

星期一，2011年1月10日；6:21am 北京

警察剥光高智晟，用套在皮套里的枪干殴打他。两天两夜里，他们轮流殴打他，并对他做了难以言述的事情。当所有三个人累了，他们用塑料袋绑住他的胳膊和腿，把他扔到地上，直到他们呼吸平缓后，又继续开始虐待。

“这种残酷的程度，没有办法叙述。”这位人权律师说，他一向威严的声音颤抖着。“那48小时里我命悬一线。”这些殴打是直到三月份的14个月以来最糟糕的经历和最黑暗的一幕。

在此期间，中共当局秘密关押着高智晟。他在四月向美联社描述了他的苦难，但要求他的讲话不要公开，除非他失踪了，或去到“安全”的地方如美国或欧洲。

两个星期后，他又消失了。他的家人和朋友说，八个多月没有听到他的消息了。公安部门或拒绝发表评论、或说他们不知道高智晟的下落。基于这次失踪的长度，美联社决定公开这段讲话。

高智晟一直是人权运动的关键人物，提倡宪法改革和讨论具有里程碑意义的案件，保护财产权利、以及政治和宗教异见人士，包括法轮功精神运动。他的2009年失踪掀起了国际抗议，可能促使他去年得到短暂的释放。

在民主和人权活动家中，显然只挑了高智晟进行这么多次酷刑，超出了中国纤弱的法律所保护的。“这似乎是说，他们害怕高智晟的某些方面，是别人所不具备的”马兰特纳说，他是《现在自由》的执行主任，这是个位于华盛顿的一个组织，它为政治犯们说话，高智晟是其中一个。

高智晟的妻子、兄弟、和朋友都担心他的安全。他们希望公开这段讲话以重新给政府压力透露高智晟的下落，并请关注刘晓波的国际社会转变焦点。刘晓波是监禁期间获得诺贝尔和平奖的异议作家。

“我们一直没有他的消息”他的妻子耿和在上周旧金山地区接受电话采访说，在那里她和子女同住。“这可以帮助我们得到一些他的消息，带来自由。”高智晟是在一个几乎空了的北京茶馆和美联社记者交谈的，茶馆外有便衣警察看守。不像以往的强有力，他看起来很疲惫。他说，那14个月警察曾经把他藏在旅馆、农屋、公寓、和监狱，地点分布在北京、他的家乡陕西、以及他生活了好多年的新疆西部。

闲了几个星期的时间又被残暴所打断。他被蒙头几次。他的绑架者用皮带把他绑上，让他16个小时一动不动，对他说他的孩子们患上精神崩溃了。他们威胁要弄死他，并把他的尸体扔到河里。

“‘你得忘了你自己是人类。你是个动物。’”高智晟说，2009年9月折磨他的警察这么告诉他。

这即使对中国常施虐的警察也是过了头了，对高智晟的待遇突显了这个独裁政府的意愿：违反自己的法律来压制批评。

高智晟曾因越来越多的公开活动在 2006 年以颠覆罪名被判入狱。但是，与大多数被定罪的颠覆分子不一样，高智晟被释放，并得到三年缓刑。不断被监视着，他与骚扰他和家人的警察发生口角。他的妻子和两个孩子逃出中国，偷渡头子通过陆路把她们送到东南亚。高智晟去年 4 月说，警察似乎随心所欲地就把他投入地狱。

高智晟有一次问北京警察：“为什么你们不把我关在监狱里？”

“他们说，‘你想进监狱，做梦。你还没好到那个程度。现在只要我们想让你失踪，你就失踪。’”

负责监督警察部队的公安部并没有回应查询高智晟的电话和传真。而高智晟所说的他被关押的北京、陕西、和新疆等地的警察拒绝评论他目前的状况，以及他之前的遭遇。“我们没有处理高智晟案件，我们不知道是谁处理的。”

“据我们所知，他的确留在新疆探访了他的亲戚一阵子。”新疆公安厅信息办公室的李女士说。

高智晟向他几个熟悉的朋友描述了他失踪的片段，他们证实了高智晟向美联社说的部分。但高智晟和他的支持者所说的也有出入。

2009-10 年度失踪期间，高智晟的家人和人权团体说他的下落不明。但是，高智晟在四月份采访时说，他有几个机会接触亲戚：2009 年六月到他哥家附近探访他哥；几个星期后在新疆首都乌鲁木齐岳母家探望他岳母；后来又和他的妻子有一个秘密电话交谈。她说是通过一个警察的手机。

高智晟告诉美联社说，他希望能与家人团聚，甚至出国，但几天后拒绝了美国外交官的帮助。

《现在自由》的特纳说，为了保护自己、家人、或其他人，独裁政权下的政治犯所说的话会有出入。

高智晟说，2009 年 2 月，警方首先把他从北京带到榆林，一个他长大的黄土贫瘠山区。几周之内，警方用车把他带回北京，用两条内衣包住他的头。在那里，他说他被关在一个 24 小时开灯的房间，它的窗口用木板钉上，并喂他吃腐烂的脏白菜，一天两次。

4 月 28 日，他说，六名便衣人员用皮带绑起他，用湿毛巾把他的脸包上一个小时，让他缓慢感觉窒息。

两个月后，他被送回榆林，然后到新疆的首府乌鲁木齐，在那里他的待遇改善了。

他说，偶尔会让他晚上散步，警察在后面尾随。那几个月他被关押在乌鲁木齐市郊区的野马公寓楼区。

在他失踪的 2009-10 年期间，最残酷的时期是在一次 9 月 25 日的步行开始时。一群维吾尔人(这大部份是穆斯林少数民族)，走近他并打他肚子。他们给他戴上手铐，胶带封上他的嘴巴和眼睛，

把他带到一个建筑物的楼上房间里，开始了一个星期的虐待，其高峰就是 48 小时的枪干鞭打和其他的虐待。

那年夏天早些时候，维吾尔和大汉族社区之间爆发暴力冲突，城市很紧张。但是高智晟说，他知道那些行凶者是便衣警察。他说：“土匪绝不会使用手铐。”

抓他的人告诉他，他们是一个反恐成员单位的人，并炫耀他们严酷的审讯手法。

高智晟说，这次酷刑比上次 2007 年失踪时还要严重，那次国安电击他的生殖器，并在他眼睛附近举着点燃的香烟导致他短暂失明。

高智晟说，他后来得知他是在新疆公安部门拘留中心。他的警卫告诉他，他是和七月份社区暴乱的嫌疑犯关在一起。

“我说，‘所有的人，包括罪犯的权利应受到保护。’他们把我弯过去，迫使我的头 90 度鞠躬站立。这是很疼痛的。”高智晟说。

2009 年 11 月美国总统奥巴马到北京会议后情况得到改善，高智晟说，警方把他送回榆林，但却是一个接近沙漠的隔离区。他们施加压力，逼他写了一封信，要求他的哥哥停止前往北京要求释放他。

一组来自北京的十名官员在 2010 年 2 月下旬抵达，和高智晟进行谈判，以得到有限的自由。“他们说，如果我想看到我的家人和妻子，我必须配合表演。”高智晟说。

高智晟被带到五台山，一个佛教避暑地，警察告诉他的家人，他到那儿去寻求平静。这个解释被散播了。警察把高智晟的手机号码放在推特上。但这太不像健谈和善辨的高智晟了，它引发了关于通过交易才释放他的猜测。

不久，他回到北京。

高智晟只在采访中提到妥协：“其实，即使在今天我也没有得到我的自由。”他对支持者可能的失望表示歉意，因为他不会再站在人权运动的最前线了。

他还暗示了他的内心冲突，“人类走向宪政的路是没有任何障碍可以阻挡的”，高智晟说。“在中国，我从来没有看到风险。我的个性是不会让其他人控制的。我想继续。”

美联社摄影师 Isolda Morillo 合作完成此报导。

（美联社）

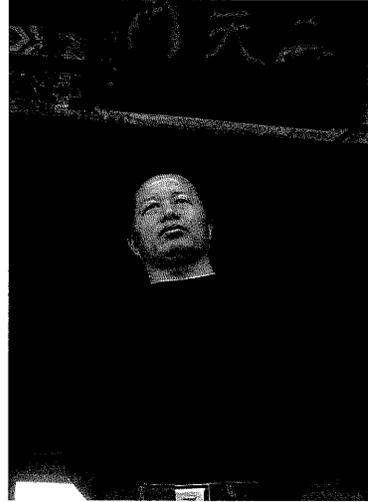
## Gao Zhisheng's Statement Withdrawing From the Chinese Communist Party

December 13, 2005

After working nonstop around the clock for over ten days, I can now take a break. My investigation into the truth about the several years of brutal persecution ordered by the Chinese authorities against those who believe in freedom has run its course.

Because my wife and child remain at home alone, and because they are monitored 24 hours a day by the most notorious and immoral police whose criminal activities know no bounds -- every second of my spare time has been filled with agonizing worry. May God keep them safe. Over a dozen days in close contact with Falun Gong believers was a shocking experience to my soul.

Together with Professor Jiao Guobiao I stayed 24 hours a day with these Falun Gong adherents, a group that's suffering inhumane persecution due to their spiritual beliefs. Professor Jiao said, "I feel like I am dealing with ghosts because everyone of them has died several times." I said, "Well, we are associated with a group of saints. Their indomitable spirit, noble character, and ability to forgive the violent perpetrators are not only China's hope, but also the reason why we should continue to persevere!"



During these past 15 days I have come to know of indescribable violence done to our kind people. Ms. Wang Yuhuan, a peaceful elderly woman, was tortured for six years in body and spirit hundreds of times by police and CCP officials with all the horrible methods. Each time, over 20 police kept torturing her for over 24 hours until they all got exhausted and desperately mad.

The entire set of major torture instruments was used to torture the old lady Wang three times in only 17 days. She was once put on the Tiger Bench for three days and two nights. Eventually, our time together came to a close and I completely lost all hope in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). This CCP has employed the most barbarous, immoral, and illegal means to torture our mothers, wives, children, and our brothers and sisters. It has made this kind of torture part of the Party member's job description and raised the political standing of torture.

It continuously persecutes and torments the conscience, character, and kindness of we the people. From now on, I, Gao Zhisheng, who was a "Party member" who hasn't paid the membership dues for a long time and has been absent from the "party activities" for many years, declares that he quits the cruel, untrustworthy, inhumane, and evil party. This is the proudest day of my life.

Gao Zhisheng



FREEDOM NOW

Honorary Chair  
The Most Reverend Desmond M. Tutu  
The Honorable Václav Havel (*In Memoriam*, 2006-2011)

**MEDIA RELEASE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
January 25, 2012

Contact: Jared Genser  
jgenser@freedom-now.org  
+1.202.320.4135

**IMPRISONED CHINESE HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER GAO ZHISHENG'S LEGAL TEAM  
FILES PETITION WITH UNITED NATIONS URGING HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

Washington, D.C.: Today, Gao Zhisheng's international *pro bono* legal team filed a petition with the United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention on behalf of the prominent Chinese human rights lawyer. The petition seeks an opinion that Chinese government's continued detention of Mr. Gao violates international law.

On December 22, 2006, a Beijing court handed down a three-year suspended prison sentence against Mr. Gao, subject to a five-year probationary period. The charges, inciting subversion, are frequently used by the government to squelch criticism and came in response to Mr. Gao's work advocating on behalf of Chinese religious minorities. Despite the formal suspension of his prison sentence, the government placed Mr. Gao under de facto house arrest and repeatedly disappeared him for prolonged periods totaling more than three years. The government denied Mr. Gao access to legal counsel during his disappearances and frequently tortured him.

In response to a petition by his legal team, the UN Working Group held in 2010 that the government's disappearances of Mr. Gao constituted "a clear non-observance of the international norms relating to the right to a fair trial." After over 20 months without information about his location or wellbeing, the government announced on December 19, 2011 that Mr. Gao would be sent to prison to serve the sentence imposed in 2006, claiming he had violated his probation. Today, Mr. Gao's legal team submitted a second petition to the UN Working Group seeking a finding that his imprisonment under the latest detention order also violates China's international obligations.

"The government's attempt to invoke Gao's suspended sentence—only days before the probationary period was to expire—shows just how far the Chinese government will distort the truth to silence its critics," Freedom Now founder Jared Genser stated. "The government's continued detention of Gao is an outrage and belies any claim that the authorities respect the rule of law."

Freedom Now represents Gao Zhisheng with a team of international human rights specialists including Jerome A. Cohen, Irwin Cotler MP, Albert Ho, David Matas, and David Kilgour.

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1776 K Street NW, 8<sup>th</sup> Floor • Washington, DC 20006 • +1 (202) 223.3733 • [www.freedom-now.org](http://www.freedom-now.org)

*Our mission is to free prisoners of conscience through focused legal, political and public relations advocacy efforts.*



FREEDOM NOW

Honorary Co-Chairs  
The Most Reverend Desmond M. Tutu  
The Honorable Václav Havel (*In Memoriam*, 2006-2011)

PETITION TO  
UNITED NATIONS

WORKING GROUP ON ARBITRARY DETENTION

Chairperson-Rapporteur: Mr. Malick El Hadji Sow (Senegal)  
Vice-Chairperson: Ms. Shaheen Ali (Pakistan)  
Mr. Vladimir Tochilovsky (Ukraine)  
Mr. Roberto Garretón (Chile)  
Mr. Mads Andenas (Norway)

HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL  
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In the Matter of  
Gao Zhisheng,  
Citizen of the People's Republic of China  
v.  
People's Republic of China

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PETITION FOR URGENT ACTION

And Petition for Relief Pursuant to Resolutions 1997/50, 2000/36, 2003/31, 6/4, and 15/18<sup>1</sup>

*Submitted By:*

Jared Genser, Jerome A. Cohen, and Patrick Griffith  
Freedom Now  
1776 K Street, NW, 8th Floor  
Washington, D.C. 20006  
United States of America  
+1 (202) 320-4135 (tel)  
jgenser@freedom-now.org

January 25, 2012

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<sup>1</sup> Resolutions 1997/50, 2000/36, and 2003/31 were adopted by the UN Commission on Human Rights to extend the mandate of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention. Resolutions 6/4 and 15/18, further extending the mandate of the Working Group, were adopted by the Human Rights Council, which has "assume[d] . . . all mandates, mechanisms, functions and responsibilities of the Commission on Human Rights . . ." G.A. Res. 60/251, para. 6

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**BASIS FOR URGENT ACTION**

As set forth in the attached Petition, despite the Working Group's issuance of Opinion No. 26/2010, the Chinese government continues to deprive Gao Zhisheng of his liberty, albeit now for different reasons. Given Mr. Gao's fame in China and previous and well-documented torture at the hands of Chinese authorities, there is reason to believe that his health and safety remain in serious jeopardy while he remains in Chinese custody and barred from communication with the outside world. On December 16, 2011, the Beijing People's First Intermediate Court ordered that Gao Zhisheng be imprisoned for three years, just days before his five-year "probationary period" was scheduled to end. This court ruling may end a prolonged disappearance at the hands of Chinese government agents, which began on April 20, 2010. In response to this action, four of the UN Human Rights Council's special procedures issued a joint statement denouncing the continued detention of Gao Zhisheng.<sup>2</sup> These UN experts commented as follows:

- Malick El Hadji Sow, Chair-Rapporteur of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention: "It is alarming that Mr. Gao continues to be arbitrarily detained. His detention over the years has resulted in various human rights violations, including his fundamental right to a fair trial. I urge the authorities to release Mr. Gao."<sup>3</sup>
- Frank La Rue, the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression: "Under no circumstances should Mr. Gao be subjected to attacks, including arbitrary detention, aimed at preventing him from exercising his legitimate right to freedom of expression as a human rights lawyer. I call upon the Government of the People's Republic of China to take effective measures to protect Mr. Gao against such attacks."<sup>4</sup>
- Margaret Sekaggya, Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders: "States should ensure a conducive working environment for human rights defenders which is free from persecution and judicial harassment. I am concerned that the measures enacted in this case contribute to criminalizing the legitimate activities of people working to ensure respect for human rights."<sup>5</sup>
- Mr. Jeremy Sarkin, Chair-Rapporteur of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances: "His detention in an unknown location is an enforced disappearance and a crime under international law. The Working Group will continue to monitor his case with particular attention."<sup>6</sup>

The Working Group on Arbitrary Detention has not yet considered this new order of detention and we respectfully request this communication be considered a formal request for a new opinion of the Working Group pursuant to Resolutions 1997/50, 2000/23, and 2002/31 of the Commission on Human Rights, and Resolutions 6/4 and 15/18 of the Human Rights Council.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See *China: UN Experts Denounce Secret Detention of Human Rights Lawyer Gao Zhisheng*, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Dec. 23, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

<sup>7</sup> The Working Group has reexamined the detention of an individual where the detainee remains in government custody, but the government's stated reason for the detention has changed. See, e.g., *Aung San Suu Kyi v. Union of Myanmar*, Opinion No. 12/2010; *Aung San Suu Kyi v. Union of Myanmar*, Opinion No. 46/2008.

### Circumstances of Mr. Gao's Arrest and Detention

As noted by the Working Group in Opinion No. 26/2010, Gao Zhisheng “is a brilliant lawyer known for the defense of human rights, in particular those with low income [and who] also advocates against corruption and the violations of the rights of religious groups.” As a result, he has been “arrested and tortured on several occasions, placed under house arrest and convicted of subversion.”<sup>8</sup>

In 2001, the Ministry of Justice celebrated Mr. Gao's legal work and named him one of China's top ten lawyers. However, after he began taking politically sensitive cases and publicly challenging human rights violations in China, “the courts systematically refused to lodge his lawsuits [and] he turned to writing reports and publishing open letters.” As a result of his activism, Mr. Gao and his family came under increasing pressure from authorities.<sup>9</sup> The government shuttered Mr. Gao's law firm.<sup>10</sup> He, his wife, and their two young children suffered threats, constant surveillance, harassment, and even physical attacks.<sup>11</sup>

On August 15, 2006, authorities arrested Mr. Gao in Shandong Province, but failed to notify his family of the arrest until September 21.<sup>12</sup> After the arrest, the government prevented Mr. Gao's chosen lawyers, Mo Shaoping and Ding Xikui, from meeting with him.<sup>13</sup> Accused of inciting subversion, interrogators extracted a confession from Mr. Gao by torturing him. They, “forced him to sit motionless in an iron chair for extended sessions that totaled hundreds of hours, surrounded him with bright lights and used other torture techniques” including threats against Mr. Gao's wife and children.<sup>14</sup> Later, acknowledging that the confession was coerced, he recalled “[i]n the end I decided I could not haggle about my children's future.”<sup>15</sup>

The trial on December 12, 2006, lasted less than a day and the court conducted it without notifying Mr. Gao's wife or the family's chosen legal team.<sup>16</sup> On December 22, 2006, Beijing's First Intermediate People's Court sentenced Mr. Gao to a three-year suspended prison term subject to a five-year probationary period.<sup>17</sup> In finding Mr. Gao guilty, the court cited nine articles written by Mr. Gao, claiming that he had “defamed and made rumors about China's current government and social system, conspiring to topple the regime.”<sup>18</sup> In commenting on the sentence, Chinese state media also noted that Mr. Gao gave 10 interviews to overseas media,

<sup>8</sup> *Gao Zhisheng v. People's Republic of China*, Opinion No. 26/2010.

<sup>9</sup> Human Rights Watch, “Walking on Thin Ice: Control Intimidation and Harassment of Lawyers in China,” Apr. 2008, available at [http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/china0408\\_1.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/china0408_1.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> Andrew Jacobs, “China's Defiance Stirs Fears for Missing Dissident,” *New York Times*, Feb. 2, 2010, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/03/world/asia/03dissident.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Human Rights Watch, *supra* note 9 at 34-35.

<sup>12</sup> *See id.* at 34.

<sup>13</sup> Benjamin Kang Lim, “China Gives Rights Lawyer Suspended Sentence,” *Reuters*, Dec. 22, 2006, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/21/AR2006122102067.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Kahn, “China Dissident Says Confession Was Coerced,” *New York Times*, Apr. 10, 2007, available at [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/10/world/asia/10china.html?\\_r=1&oref=slogin](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/10/world/asia/10china.html?_r=1&oref=slogin).

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*

<sup>16</sup> Jim Yardley, “Chinese Rights Lawyer Is Put on Trial,” *New York Times*, Dec. 13, 2006, available at [http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/13/world/asia/13cnd-gao.html?\\_r=1&oref=slogin&pagewanted=print](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/13/world/asia/13cnd-gao.html?_r=1&oref=slogin&pagewanted=print). The trial judge told the family that Gao did not want a lawyer, although he was unable to provide a written waiver signed by Gao, and later appointed two other lawyers to represent him at trial. However, like his confession, authorities “coerced [Gao] into... relinquishing the right to choose his lawyer.” Human Rights Watch, *supra* note 9 at 33.

<sup>17</sup> Lim, *supra* note 13. The probationary period is also widely described as a five-year “reprieve.”

<sup>18</sup> *See id.*

including Radio Free Asia.<sup>19</sup>

Following the sentencing, Mr. Gao remained effectively under house arrest, “in nearly total isolation, surrounded by plainclothes security forces and forbidden to leave his home, use his telephone or computer or otherwise communicate with the outside world.”<sup>20</sup>

On September 21, 2007, authorities disappeared Mr. Gao for over 50 days, again torturing him, after he wrote an open letter to the United States Congress highlighting human rights abuses in China.<sup>21</sup> In a horrifying description of the abuse, Mr. Gao recalled that his captors repeatedly threatened and beat him, even shocking his genitals with an electric baton and piercing them with toothpicks. As with the torture experienced during his pretrial detention, the purpose of this mistreatment was to extract a false confession.<sup>22</sup>

Authorities again disappeared Mr. Gao on February 4, 2009, without notice to his family or even the pretense of legal process. Mr. Gao mysteriously reappeared on March 28, 2010, only to disappear again on April 20, 2010, after security agents instructed him to return to Beijing from western China. However, during his short release, he described even more torture by the authorities. Police had “stripped [him] bare and pummeled him with handguns in holsters,” taking turns as they beat him for two days and nights:<sup>23</sup>

Weeks of inactivity were punctuated by outbursts of brutality. He was hooded several times. His captors tied him up with belts, made him sit motionless for up to 16 hours and told him his children were having nervous breakdowns. They threatened to kill him and dump his body in a river.<sup>24</sup>

In Opinion No. 26/2010, the Working Group found the government’s disappearance of Mr. Gao in violation of international law falling within Categories II and III of its categorization of cases. The Working Group held that Mr. Gao’s detention “result[ed] from the exercise of rights or freedoms” protected by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Universal Declaration). Further, the Working Group noted that his “*incommunicado* detention [] without charge or notice to his family constitute[d] a clear non-observance of the international norms relating to the right to a fair trial” and that the government deprived him of “his right to select and meet a lawyer of his choice.”<sup>25</sup>

After over 20 months without information regarding Mr. Gao’s location or wellbeing, the Chinese government acknowledged on December 16, 2011, that it would be taking him to prison to serve the full sentence imposed on December 22, 2006. State media reported that the Beijing First Intermediate People’s Court withdrew Mr. Gao’s probation—set to expire the following

<sup>19</sup> Lim, *supra* note 13.

<sup>20</sup> Kahn, *supra* note 14.

<sup>21</sup> Alex Olesen, “Outspoken Chinese Lawyer Arrested,” *Associated Press*, Sept. 26, 2007, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=18024&t=1>. See also, Human Rights In China, “Torture Account by Missing Rights Defense Lawyer Gao Zhisheng,” Feb. 8, 2009, available at [http://hrichina.org/sites/default/files/oldsite/PDFs/PressReleases/2009.02.08\\_Gao\\_Zhisheng\\_account\\_ENG.pdf](http://hrichina.org/sites/default/files/oldsite/PDFs/PressReleases/2009.02.08_Gao_Zhisheng_account_ENG.pdf).

<sup>22</sup> See *id.*

<sup>23</sup> Charles Hutzler, “Gao Zhisheng, Missing Chinese Lawyer, Described Torture Before Disappearing,” *Associated Press*, Jan. 10, 2011, available at [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/01/10/gao-zhisheng-missing-chin\\_n\\_806998.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/01/10/gao-zhisheng-missing-chin_n_806998.html).

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*

<sup>25</sup> *Gao Zhisheng v. People's Republic of China*, Opinion No. 26/2010.

protected by the Chinese Constitution.<sup>33</sup>

Through his work as a lawyer and rights advocate in China, Mr. Gao publicly exposed human rights violations through his writings and interviews. As a result, the government subjected Mr. Gao to surveillance, harassment, detention, and torture. It is precisely because of his written and spoken criticism of the government—as acknowledged by the Beijing First Intermediate People’s Court and the Chinese state media—that the government imposed a three-year suspended prison sentence against Mr. Gao on December 22, 2006. Because this underlying sentence violated Mr. Gao’s right to freedom of expression, its execution now, even under the guise of a probation infraction, renders his detention arbitrary under Category II.

### The Current Detention of Gao is Arbitrary under Category III

The continued imprisonment of Mr. Gao at the Shaya County Prison is arbitrary under Category III because the government failed to observe minimum international standards for due process.<sup>34</sup>

First, the government has tortured Mr. Gao on repeated occasions in an attempt to coerce a confession from him.<sup>35</sup> The prohibition against the use of torture under international law is clear and unqualified.<sup>36</sup> In flagrant violation of this mandate, the Chinese government subjected Mr. Gao to torture in the successful attempt to extract a confession with respect to the subversion charges against him.

Second, the government failed to satisfy Mr. Gao’s right to legal counsel of his choosing. Article 14(3)(d) of the ICCPR requires that in criminal prosecutions, each defendant is entitled “to defend himself in person or through legal assistance *of his own choosing*.”<sup>37</sup> However, during Mr. Gao’s pretrial detention, the government prevented his family’s chosen legal counsel from meeting with him. Further, the government violated this right again during the trial by failing to notify the family or the family’s chosen lawyers of the trial—effectively excluding them entirely from the short proceedings. And most recently, by refusing to allow Gao’s family to visit him, Gao has been unable to retain counsel to challenge the revocation of his probation.

Finally, the Beijing First Intermediate People’s Court revoked Mr. Gao’s probation and re-imposed the prison sentence against him without any process whatsoever. Chinese law provides that during a probationary period, a suspended sentence may be executed where the accused violates the law or the administrative rules or regulations related to suspended

<sup>33</sup> Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, art. 41 (“Citizens of the People’s Republic of China have the right to criticize and make suggestions to any state organ or functionary... No one may suppress such complaints, charges and exposures, or retaliate against the citizen making them.”)

<sup>34</sup> A detention is arbitrary under Category III “[w]hen the total or partial non-observance of international norms relating to the right to a fair trial, established by the [UDHR] and in the relevant international instruments accepted by the States concerned, is of such gravity as to give the deprivation of liberty an arbitrary character.” Revised methods of work, *supra* note 28, ¶ 8(c).

<sup>35</sup> “The Working Group has repeatedly held that investigation of allegations of ill-treatment inflicted upon detainees in violation of the prohibition of torture and the right to physical integrity generally falls within the scope of its mandate only insofar as it is used in order to obtain a confession of guilt of the pretrial detainee or otherwise impairs his or her exercise of the right to a proper defense.” Communication No. 16/2008.

<sup>36</sup> Article 7 of the ICCPR, *supra* note 31, established a non-derogable prohibition on torture (“No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”)

<sup>37</sup> ICCPR, *supra* note 31 at art. 14(3)(d) (emphasis added).

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Through his work as a lawyer and rights advocate in China, Mr. Gao publicly exposed human rights violations through his writings and interviews. As a result, the government subjected Mr. Gao to surveillance, harassment, detention, and torture. It is precisely because of his written and spoken criticism of the government—as acknowledged by the Beijing First Intermediate People’s Court and the Chinese state media—that the government imposed a three-year suspended prison sentence against Mr. Gao on December 22, 2006. Because this underlying sentence violated Mr. Gao’s right to freedom of expression, its execution now, even under the guise of a probation infraction, renders his detention arbitrary under Category II.

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<sup>37</sup> ICCPR, *supra* note 31 at art. 14(3)(d) (emphasis added).

sentences.<sup>38</sup> However, it is unclear how an individual in government custody—in this case as the result of a long-term illegal disappearance—could possibly violate any regulations or conditions of his probation. Rather, the revocation of Mr. Gao’s probation only one week before it was scheduled to lapse was merely an attempt to paint an otherwise illegal detention with a thin veneer of legitimacy. Moreover, the revocation of Mr. Gao’s suspended sentence appears to have been effected without any notice to him or his family, any opportunity to have a hearing on the alleged basis for revocation or any opportunity to have the assistance of counsel. No copy of the court’s revocation decision has been made available, only a notice to Gao’s brother of his imprisonment.

Because the government extracted a confession from Mr. Gao through torture, denied him the right to legal counsel of his own choosing, and re-imposed a suspended sentence without any due process of law, his detention failed to meet international standards for due process and is therefore arbitrary under Category III.

### **Conclusion**

The continued imprisonment of Mr. Gao, now allegedly at the Shaya County Prison, is arbitrary under Categories I, II, and III of the Working Group’s categories of cases. Specifically, the government has already detained Mr. Gao for more than three years, his detention resulted from the exercise of his right to freedom of expression, and the government has failed to observe minimum international standards for due process.

We respectfully request this communication be considered a formal request for a new opinion of the Working Group pursuant to Resolutions 1997/50, 2000/23, and 2002/31 of the Commission on Human Rights, and Resolutions 6/4 and 15/18 of the Human Rights Council.

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<sup>38</sup> Criminal Law of the People’s Republic of China, Art. 77 (“If, during the probation period for suspension of sentence, a criminal whose sentence is suspended violates law, administrative rules and regulations relating to supervision and control over suspension of sentence stipulated by the department of public safety under the State Council and if the circumstances are serious, the suspension shall be revoked and the original punishment shall be executed.”)

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF MICHAEL HOROWITZ, SENIOR FELLOW, THE HUDSON  
INSTITUTE

FEBRUARY 14, 2012

I have taken a personal step today as an act of kinship with heroes of faith and conscience now languishing in Chinese prisons.

In particular, I hope to help bring to public attention and the attention of the President to the cases of towering world figures known as the “China Six.” With many others, I believe that their release from jail should be a priority concern in today’s meeting—and, until they are released, in all other high level US-China meetings.

When I worked at the White House I saw what a concerned President Reagan was able to do on behalf of Jewish Refuseniks, Pentecostals and other prisoners of conscience of the former Soviet Union. I hope and believe that President Obama will do the same for the China Six and others held in Chinese prisons and know that he can be powerfully effective on their behalves.

I hope that the President will make clear to Vice President Xi what the President of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, the President of the National Association of Evangelicals and the Director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism on behalf of the China Six: “Stable relations between China and the United States rest upon agreement to shared commitments to fundamental human rights, including the right to religious freedom. . . .” Most of all, I hope that Vice President Xi’s visit to the United States will help him understand that escalating mistrust between the United States and China—a development in the interest of neither country or the world at large—will be the consequence of persecuting such prisoners of faith and conscience as the China Six.

I and others have great hope for progress in US-China relations as Vice President Xi Jinping assumes leadership in China. The sixteen year persecution of his father for acts of conscience not dissimilar from those of the China Six—a persecution which Vice President Xi acutely shared—offer hope that he will understand the importance of rule of law reform as a means of protecting and enhancing his country’s security, success and respect.

The treatment of the China Six will send a clear signal about Vice President Xi’s vision for China’s future and his interest in improved relations with the United States.

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GAO ZHISHENG’S OPEN LETTER TO THE U.S. CONGRESS

SEPTEMBER 27, 2007

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives:

Most respectful greetings from Gao Zhisheng! Allow me to express my sincere gratitude for your kind consideration and support in the past year to me and to the values I am pursuing.

In the past two months, I have twice read the Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 by James Madison. Freedom, democracy, and rule by law and constitution are the values China has longed for but has not been able to enjoy.

There is a saying in China, “A bite when hungry is better appreciated than a feast when full.” Likewise, your persistence is especially precious given the almost total silence, or even subservience, of the mainstream international world in the past few years in the face of the tyranny of the Chinese communist regime, a parvenu government that stops at no evil.

Your persistence is a symbol that tells the world that the shining side of humanity continues to exist. The persistence you and many others demonstrate in refusing to collaborate with this fascist government is a strong wall that the overbearing communist regime cannot surmount. This persistence is a buoy that keeps the oppressed from being completely drowned by darkness, and it is the source of strength for the downtrodden Chinese people who are struggling to resist the atrocities and defend human rights. It is the manna that gives us hope to persevere in our peaceful protest.

You and other people of conscience are an important force that makes it possible for the Chinese people to peacefully abandon the tyranny and to establish a free, democratic, and civilized new China.

I am not a politician. I promise that you won’t see any rhetoric, distortion, or pretense in this letter. Experience teaches us that though the world can be very critical, people often favor counterfeit virtues. This rule is brought to extremes in my country by those who vilify the good and glorify evil. In the past two years, the Chi-

nese communist regime has demonstrated every vile act one can and cannot imagine during its efforts to silence me.

As if to prove its determination to destroy human feelings and conscience at all cost, the regime ordered at least four secret police to maintain continuous intimate man-to-man surveillance on my less-than-3-year-old son. My 12-year-old daughter was “privileged” to an even higher level of treatment with six to ten male and female secret police at her heels day and night, month after month, even when she was in the classroom. All my family members have been followed around by secret police and have been illegally detained at will many times.

During this period, my wife and children suffered repeated brutal assaults. The regime is determined to stop at nothing to persecute me, and made special efforts to reveal its true color of “what’s there to be afraid of, being already so notorious,” only because I stick to my conscience and responsibility as a human being. Behavior that is commonly considered to be too degrading for human beings is enforced in my country as [mere] political tasks.

Today, as we approach the Beijing Olympic Games, I ask you to pay attention to the ongoing human rights disaster in China, and wish you to forward my appeal to the whole world. I ask you to seriously consider the outlook of morality, justice, and humanity for today’s mankind, as well as to what extent such values are undermined in China.

More and more Chinese people are speaking out against the coming Olympic Games in China, which they often refer to as lithe bloody Olympics” and lithe handcuff Olympics.” They raised the protest, “We want human rights, not the Olympics.” Recently Mr. Jacques Rogge, president of the Olympic Committee, expressed to the Chinese media his determination not to be moved by these “desperate and indignant” voices. Meanwhile, Mr. Rogge asked people not to politicize the Olympic Games.

Though I have very positive feelings about the spirit embodied in the Olympic Games, I am not willing to rebuke Mr. Rogge for his dereliction of duty to defend the ethical values of the Olympics. But it is necessary to remind Mr. Rogge that the Chinese communist regime treated the application and hosting of the Olympic Games exactly as an important political task. Everything related to the Olympics is regarded as a political issue.

Liu Qi, China’s key person in charge of these Olympics, claimed that it is an “overriding political task” to ensure that every need of the Olympic Games is met. This is a simple and commonly recognized fact in China.

What the Chinese authorities failed to predict is how wildly the corrupt officials are taking advantage of this “overriding political task.” Under the name of securing the success of the Olympic Games, all kinds of evils have been committed in broad daylight without any obstruction, including forced eviction, illegal arrests and persecution of people who petition to the authorities, and suppression of religious people.

It is plain as day to all Chinese people that, with successes in hosting the Olympic Games, the communist regime is trying to achieve two goals. First, it tries to prove to the Chinese people that the world is still acknowledging the Party as a legal government despite all the suppressive and bloody tyranny and all the horrible crimes against humanity the Party has committed during the past decades at the cost of at least 80 million Chinese lives. Second, it wants to prove to the world that the Party is still fully competent in reigning over China and still enjoys the people’s full support.

As more Chinese people are waking up and rising up to demand the end of tyranny, the call for human rights is becoming louder and louder. Under such circumstances, the Chinese communist regime has developed a twisted but fragile mentality and a freakish obsession for maintaining stability and ensuring the Olympic Games at all costs.

A recent incident in Beijing fully reflects the regime’s fear of the people. An old man persevered, until his last breath, in petitioning against the forced eviction that robbed him of his home, and died for this cause. At his funeral, Beijing police sent hundreds of policemen and unidentified personnel in 59 police vehicles (mostly vans) to surround the old man’s residence to prevent people from attending the unyielding old man’s funeral (that was being held there).

Such shameful crimes against people of conscience have been going on for decades. A Heilongjiang farmer, Yang Chunlin, was robbed of his land. He was arrested for “instigating others to overthrow the state government” after he cried out, “We want human rights, not the Olympic Games.” In recent years, the illegal arrests of innocent people have gone beyond all limits.

Dear friends, as a Chinese person, I have a profound love for my homeland and our kind-natured and beleaguered people. I also long to see the day when the Olympic Games are held in China. But when I look at the social environment of China,

and how the Olympic Games will be exploited here, my conscience and sense of justice make my heart ache. As you know, today in China those who link the Olympics with human rights are immediately hunted down by the communist regime and its gang as “the enemies of the state,” “the sinners of the people,” and “the destroyers of social harmony.”

We don't support, nor pretend to support Olympic Games that are used as a political tool. Nor can we support or pretend to support Olympic Games that have no consideration for human conscience, justice, or morality. In a world where the mainstream political forces value profit above everything else, where morality is sneered at, we tried in vain to urge the Olympic Games [the International Olympic Committee] to perform its duties.

But still, I choose to express myself in a way that has almost led to the annihilation of my whole family. I choose to present to the international community what's happening in China, the vivid scenes going in parallel with the preparation for the Olympic Games that are totally against the Olympic spirit, though at this moment people are busy congratulating themselves on what they have gained in the coming Olympic Games. I choose to do so despite the danger I may bring to myself because I consider it my obligation as a human being and as a Chinese person.

The Chinese Communist Party is a criminal group that operates under the protection of state powers. It is essential to realize its criminal nature so that we can come to the objective conclusions and in turn make the right decisions. I know clearly that due to their greed for profit, not many people would publicly acknowledge this observation, while too many people will just pretend they don't believe it.

It is widely agreed that for any legal government, its nature and basic moral standard must be to protect the values embodied in the constitutional law. What we've seen in China is just the opposite. This regime has become the obstacle for people to defend their basic rights, and has always gone all out to trample on China's constitution. People's constitutional rights have become an eternal snag. As a single exception, the only law that the communist regime treats with any seriousness is “the constitutional law ensures the permanent reign of the Chinese Communist Party in China.”

#### I. THE ONGOING BLOODY RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

The virtues taught by true beliefs, when manifested in society, mean only disaster to the evil. Though the freedom of belief is dictated by China's constitutional law, the communist regime has never stopped fighting people's right to choose their own beliefs, a right that is justified by human nature. On the other hand, without a court that can enforce the constitutional law, the law has no effective bonds. Even so, the communist regime takes great pains to make sure the constitutional law is completely suffocated with numerous orders and regulations (for example, the Annual Regulation on Religious Affairs issued by the State Council of China).

The bloody persecution of Falun Gong, starting in 1999, has surpassed all evils ever known to mankind. In the past eight years, over 3,000 Falun Gong practitioners have been confirmed killed, and countless others injured. Hundreds of thousands of practitioners have been sent to labor camps. Millions were illegally detained in the countless brainwashing camps established in every corner in China by the notorious 610 Office, an agency founded to lead the persecution of Falun Gong. Such brainwashing camps require even simpler procedures for admittance than the labor camp system, while the methods used to “educate” the practitioners are shockingly cruel.

Tens of millions have been persecuted in various ways. A large number of children have been expelled from school only because their parents practice Falun Gong. Some of the children were left unattended or even homeless after their parents were arrested. (Since last August my daughter met many such children who lingered at the gate of her school. The children, though homeless, risked their lives to come up to my daughter to express their condolence and support. When my daughter came back to relay the message, we were stabbed to the heart.)

The eight-year-long suppression of Falun Gong is so far the most long-lasting and the most serious human-rights disaster in China and in the world. This is why I am emphasizing it early in this letter. As a proof of this persecution, I'd like to recommend the investigative report I composed after doing an investigation myself. The report records the legally acceptable evidence that I collected as an attorney.

One of the cases in the report involves 28-year-old Liu Boyang, who held a bachelor's degree in medicine, and his mother, who were both Falun Gong practitioners. The mother and son were tortured to death in the same building, within less than 10 days of their arrest. The last several nights before their deaths, the two could hear each other's tragic cries during the torture. The Chinese police serving the

communist regime committed horrible crimes to the mother and son, setting a record of shame that blemishes human dignity in history. By the time I was writing my third open letter to the Chinese leaders, the corpses of the mother and son were still held by the 610 Office that had killed them. Some other victims are still alive to testify about the persecution.

So today, I would take the liberty to ask you, and to ask all of mankind, the following questions:

1. Are the eight-year-long persecution of Falun Gong and the crimes against humanity committed by the Chinese Communist Party only a problem for the victims? Or are they problems for all of mankind?

2. Are the CCP's genocide and their crimes against humanity a threat only to the victims, or are they a threat to the moral values of all of human society?

3. Is mankind capable of dealing with such genocide and crimes against humanity committed under the protection of state power? Here three sub-questions may be asked:

A. Does today's society have the courage and conscience to stand up against the long-standing and openly committed genocide?

B. If yes, do we have the capability to stop it?

C. Judging by the definition of crimes against humanity and genocide stipulated in international laws, a large number of CCP officials' conduct meets all the criteria for both crimes, including Jiang Zemin, Luo Gan, Zhou Yongkang and Liu Jing. As for evidence, it is nothing but ample. So after all, it's a question of whether mainstream international society has the sense of responsibility and courage to honestly face this evidence. The evidence includes:

1). For each of the over 3,000 confirmed cases of Falun Gong practitioners who were persecuted to death (the number is still growing thanks to our indifference), we have:

- a. their full name, date of birth, 10, and addresses
- b. detailed accounts of how they were tortured to death
- c. documents to prove their deaths
- d. their corpses, ashes, and tombs as material evidence
- e. testimony from their living families or friends
- f. evidence for their arrests in most cases
- g. for those whose organs were removed, the stitching on the bodies and the telephone conversation record with involved hospitals, and evidence provided by the transplant doctors involved
- h. a large number of photos of the dead bodies
- i. The people responsible for the killing are still alive and can be summoned and investigated by a special tribunal.

2). Many Falun Gong practitioners were never heard from after their arrest. Their families can testify.

3). Over 100,000 survivors who can testify about the tortures they suffered, such as electric shock on private parts, tortured with the "tiger bench," and pricked by sharp bamboo sticks.

4). Tens of thousands of surviving Falun Gong practitioners who had been detained in labor camps

5). Those who are still jailed in labor camps

6). Millions who used to be detained in the brainwashing camps

7). Those who are still detained in the brainwashing camps

8). A large but unidentified number of children who were expelled from school and left homeless

9). Tens of millions who lost their jobs and financial sources, who were denied freedom and the right to go abroad

10). People of conscience within the CCP system who can serve as witnesses

4. The issue all of us have to face is whether to pursue punishment [of the criminals]. Is China an exception when it comes to Public International Law for its crimes against humanity and genocide? We should not ignore difficulties to start this process due to the fact that the CCP has seized state power to give shelter to the criminals. However, it is feasible, possible, and necessary from the perspective of International Law to launch criminal procedures, including issuing arrest warrants, to bring the criminals to justice.

A significant part of this letter will be dedicated to the Falun Gong issue, as the persecution of Falun Gong is the worst disaster to humanity in this era. It does not mean, however, that the rights of other religious groups in China are not violated. The CCP's continuous suppression of Christian family churches is comparable to the shocking persecution of Falun Gong. Except for large cities such as Beijing and

Shanghai, where people strongly oppose the persecution and force the dictators to become somewhat restrained, the persecution in townships and villages toward family church members is no different from the disaster suffered by Falun Gong practitioners.

In my hometown, a small county, the number of arrested, detained, and robbed family church members each year is far beyond those persecuted Falun Gong practitioners [in the county], and this illegal persecution has been going on for a long time. Based on my investigation on the persecution toward family church members in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the CCP has trained a dedicated group of police to focus on harassing, persecuting, and suppressing family church members, year-in and year-out. Just recently Mr. Zhou Tong and others in Xinjiang were illegally detained. The CCP's persecution of Christians is an open secret.

In recent years, the CCP has also escalated the level of brutality and cruelty of its persecution toward Tibetan Buddhists.

## II. THE BRUTAL SUPPRESSION OF PEOPLE'S FREEDOM AND RIGHTS

Freedom is one of the most important spiritual factors of a human being. In addition to physical needs, man is the only creature on this earth to also have his equally important spiritual needs. It is a clear manifestation as to how blessed human beings are in the eyes of God. However, the Chinese people are ruthlessly deprived of this blessing by those in power. In China, freedom is not only a luxury item, but it also is regarded as a dangerous item by several generations of dictators. The suppression of people's longing for freedom is against human nature and against heavenly principles.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are basic indicators of a civilized society, and they are also the basic building blocks of freedom, especially social freedom in today's world. For a country without rule by law, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are the only ways to ensure people's rights and safety. Without this freedom, one can imagine how unabashed the dictators are and how helpless the suppressed groups are.

The CCP has always considered the control of media as a key political task. When implementing this task, the plagues for the CCP have never been any conscientious regret, but only problems arising from technological challenges. Recently, especially in the past three or four years, along with people waking up to pursue their rights and freedom, the CCP has become paranoid and has tried to use every method to control the media. It has created shocking incidents suppressing people who practice their rights of freedom on the basis of law.

In the past two years, Mr. Zheng Yichun, Mr. Yang Tianshui, Mr. Guo Qizhen, Mr. Guo Feixiong, Mr. Yang Zhengxue, Mr. (Wang) Lihong and a large number of other renowned Internet writers were illegally detained, and more recently, the CCP illegally arrested Mr. Lu Gengsong and harassed his family, turning a deaf ear to all appeals from home and abroad.

Recently, the CCP's Ministry of Public Security issued an urgent notice to order Internet Data Center (IDC) providers to shut down all forums, blogs, and other online information exchange platforms before the 17th National Congress. If one center is found to have more than seven sites of online platforms, it will be shut down and heavily fined. This is another evil campaign in the CCP's atrocious history to illegally suppress the media.

Freedom of association is regarded as a threat by dictators. In a country without freedom of association, people have no way to create a strong union to defend themselves from the brutal dictatorship. How can a group of people without any connection, as a result of lack of freedom of association, challenge a regime fortified with weapons as its state machinery? The feeling of fragility and frustration of the Chinese people is beyond imagination for those in a democratic country. In China, the whole nation is subdued by a small group of hooligans who segregate and persecute people, one group after another. Even the thought and speech about establishing another political party is regarded as a first-level terrorist event and is illegally suppressed.

## III. FURIOUS SUPPRESSION OF THE RIGHTS DEFENSE MOVEMENT

In recent years, the CCP has furiously suppressed the Chinese peoples' rights defense movement to the edge of lunacy. A typical example is the case of Chen Guangcheng. When Chen Guangcheng, a blind man and a human rights defender, learned of family planning abuses in Linyi City, Shandong Province, through his own investigation, he made public the CCP's practice of forced abortions and sterilizations. Chen said that a human being should be allowed to travel freely to the country and the world. However, his single voice caused the whole Chinese com-

munist regime to panic. Their reaction was not to stop the continuation of these crimes committed throughout the entire country, but to exert brutal persecution against the upright and brave hero Chen Guangcheng, along with his innocent wife, young son, and elderly mother in her seventies.

The CCP's birth control policy is the largest genocide in the history of mankind. Millions of unborn each year have lost their lives simply because a few dictators made such a policy. (The Chinese regime officially released figures that the birth control policy has helped prevent 400 million births in the last 20 years). Common people who have not obeyed the policy have received extremely harsh punishment. The startling evidence of these excessive crimes by the CCP that blind Chen Guangcheng happened to "witness" and exposed to the public—these are just a small fraction of the long list of the CCP's countless crimes.

In such cruel and inhuman ways, the CCP suppresses and persecutes the populace. Since Chen helped local villagers in their attempt to sue the local authorities in Linyi City for carrying out an illegal policy of forced abortions and sterilizations that reportedly affected thousands of local women, Chen has suffered severe beatings, illegal detentions, false accusations, and his family has also encountered endless harassment and persecution.

The CCP has been criticized as being completely insane and inhumane, which is very true. The CCP has no regard for consequences and commits crimes at all costs. The CCP knows clearly to what an excessive and heinous extent it has committed crimes against humanity, the people, and the country, and that the atrocities are startling. On one hand, they continue to deceive people and commit crimes. On the other hand, the CCP covers its lies and crimes at any cost. The whole Party focuses its effort on covering up its lies and crimes, which is labeled as "political awareness" among all levels of government organizations and CCP committees.

Here I want to remind the ladies and gentlemen of the open letter to Hu Jintao, written by the prominent human rights defender Guo Feixiong's wife, which contains a detailed account of Guo's horrifying experience during a year in prison. Guo is a human rights defender of complete integrity in both personality and conduct. His firm determination and persistence in his human rights work threw the communist regime into panic. In two years, Guo was detained three times, during which he had his first hunger strike for 40 days and second for 59 days. The letter revealed how the communist dictatorial system had blatantly tortured Guo against humanity and civilization:

"According to Guo's attorney, Mo Shaoping, during a prison visit on September 29, 2006, Guo told Mo that he was subjected to around-the-clock interrogation for 13 days. Guo had gone on a hunger strike for 15 days in protest against the torture he had received since his detainment on September 14, on suspicion of illegal business activity."

"During his detention, he was subjected to physical abuse and was handcuffed and shackled to his bed for 42 days. Guo experienced the worst treatment after being transferred to a detention center in Shenyang City, Liaoning Province. There interrogators heavily beat him, shackled his hands behind his back, and sat him on a tiger bench. As a result, overpressure from the torture damaged his shoulder joints. Even more brutally, the police, headed by Tao Zhongge and Yang Naixin, applied a high-voltage electric baton to his genitals. On August 7, 2007, Guo told his attorney that this brutality of viciously and continuously striking his genitalia damaged his health and lead to incurable injury to his body.

"All of these to us are just like nightmares that we cannot get away from. In the past two or three years, the precipitous, cruel reality around us has become the main theme of our lives. How can the world become so absurd, and what on earth will it drive people to? If we hadn't personally experienced the suffering and pain, we could not believe such incomprehensible things happening around us.

"President Hu Jintao, what I have seen is this: Your face looks calm and smiling, shown along the headlines of major newspapers; your manner of statesmanship plays well in domestic and international news; moreover, you are often found to be associated with bright events and warm scenes. But here, at this moment, I have to tell you a story that one cannot bear to listen to, as if it had happened on some other world.

"What is actually going on? Why have all of these things happened? Does the harmonious society that people dream about and long for truly exist? How far is this ideal from my own life? How far away are we from having true human rights? To the disgrace and indignity of all humanity, on February 12, 2007, police forced a confession from Guo after using electric batons to shock his genitals, but they were not quite satisfied. On the night of March 19, officers dragged him to a secret location for his final interrogation and reportedly beat him. They tortured him the same way they would treat a death-row prisoner—with his face covered and hands tied.

They beat him fiercely and concluded their abuse by shoving an electric baton into his pants and striking his genitals continuously for about five to six minutes.”

I am not able to see your facial expressions as you read these stories that tell how Hu’s regime treats people of conscience. Few people in China would be surprised about hearing such things. Unfortunately, this is because our government has subjected too many to this savage behavior for too long. Among both male and female Falun Gong practitioners that I have been in contact with, the majority of them were tortured and humiliated through the assaulting or shocking of their genitals with electric batons.

Since the beginning of this year, there have been large-scale forced abductions of appellants in Beijing, Shanghai, and other cities. The bloody violence occurring in broad daylight is shocking.

#### IV. EVIL CONDUCT OF STEALING PRIVATE PROPERTY

The Constitution of the Chinese Communist regime also regards the protection of private property as a constitutional principle. However, for over half a century, the regime has conducted enormous and indescribable crimes against property owners. As stated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, when people feel the need to unite themselves into civil societies, “you will find no other motive than that of assuring the property, life, and liberty of each member by the protection of all.”

The United States is fortunate in that legislators came into being after the War of Independence. The disaster of China’s situation stems from a militant and imperious regime that emerged during our civil war. This ruling force, whose evil deeds have become almost second nature, has continued to use its power to steal people’s property.

Let’s look at some examples of how the Chinese government has continued to abuse people’s rights through confiscating their property. On Jan. 18, 1956, the Secretary of the CCP Central Committee stipulated a policy known as “Management Leasing of Properties” which demanded that private property owners turn over their land rights to the government. The government would then take control over the leasing and management of these properties, giving the former owner a symbolic rent fee at a shockingly low rate. This campaign affected 700,000 households, with the government taking over approximately 130 million square meters (80,800 sq miles) of private property.

In Beijing alone, six thousand households were ordered to turn in their property, which amounted to 199,147+ homes. It was later revealed that this particular plunder was yet another massive theft of private property after the government’s Land Reform and Socialist Reform programs. However, this round of theft was different from the two before in two aspects. First, the constitution was already in place at that time. Second, the government had issued a property ownership certificate for all these properties before the confiscation. Therefore, this very government revealed another side of itself—that of a crooked and scoundrel regime. To this day, the government still occupies these stolen properties and refuses to return them to their rightful owners. Most of these property owners have suffered tremendously under the government’s “Management and Leasing of Properties” policy.

Ning Jinglun’s family once owned 18+ houses in Beijing, which were turned over to the government in 1958. When an official made a mistake calculating the rent, Jinglun, who was 17 at the time, voiced his opinion, and was branded for having “political problems.” Jinglun was sentenced to four years and four months of forced labor for his comment, and his mother was held in a detention center for five days. During the Cultural Revolution, his father and elder brother were beaten to death, due to issues arising from the government’s “leasing and managing” their confiscated property. Jinglun was later labeled a counter-revolutionary and was driven out of Beijing along with his mother. The property has never been returned to the family.

Ma Lianfu and his sister were also residents of Beijing. Their parents passed away when they were still young. They depended on the rental income from their 16+ inherited houses to make a living. After the “Management and Leasing by Government” campaign in 1958 the government only gave them 15.61 yuan (about US\$2) per year in rent. At that rate, the brother and sister soon became homeless.

Staff from Tiantanghe Farm forcibly took the Ma’s into their labor camp. It was not until 1992; that they returned to Beijing, jobless and homeless. These two elderly people have suffered many heartbreaking ordeals. Even today, the government periodically puts the Ma’s under house arrest during major festivals and CCP celebration events.

Year after year, hundreds of thousands of victims of the “Management and Leasing of Properties” policy and their heirs continue to struggle with appeals for their

unjust situation. On December 15, 2006, the CCP's Construction Administration Department issued a No. [2006]208 document regarding housing, emphasizing that "properties confiscated under the 'Management and Leasing of Properties' policy are explicitly owned by the state. Ownership status must not be changed." The document also instructed local authorities to pay attention to these properties as they are "political" issues and "sensitive" in nature. It reads: "For issues related to these properties, no one is allowed to conduct interviews or report these issues without approval from the Construction Administration Department." Millions of individual's property ownership rights were thus denied by part of an unconstitutional document.

In today's China, those who are in power are indeed worthless in terms of virtue and conscience. Even worse than their suffering a deficiency of such attributes, these individuals gained power precisely because of their lack of virtue and conscience. The rich do not even spare a tiny portion of their wealth to benefit the society. They are infinitely more concerned with maintaining the status quo than in changing it. They've colluded into a political clique despised by all and respected by none. With the excuse that their parent's generation had made indescribable accomplishments to justify today's dictatorship, they grasp and protect their privilege at all costs.

The barrels of guns, police, and prisons are all that account for their "spiritual" wealth. Without virtue or conscience, they stop at no evil; they seem to have no limit when it comes to committing evil. They never concern themselves with how much they're hated or the negative image they project because they can resort to the above-mentioned "spiritual" wealth to further their pursuits. The massive shared hatred against this political clique constitutes yet another "possession" in their life, on top of all their existing evilness.

Over the last 15 years, this political clique has forcibly torn down civilians' private homes to a completely irrational extent. They have forcibly torn down countless homes of the poor—an act no different than stripping the clothes off a person suffering poverty in the cold of winter. Their crimes do not just stop here. For a long time, through terror and duress they have relentlessly fought the appeal and accusation that would otherwise arise from their victims.

Take Shanghai as an example. For over a decade, courageous local citizens went to Beijing, one group after another, to expose the crimes of [various Communist Party officials] Huang Ju, Chen Liangyu, Han Zheng, Liu Yungeng, Wu Zhiming, and others. Several lost their lives in doing so; while many others endured illegal surveillance, home-ransacking, detention, forced-labor, imprisonment, forced submission into mental hospitals, harassment, having their phones tapped, and all kinds of suppression. Recently, 215 courageous Shanghai citizens, including the renowned human rights lawyer Zheng Enchong, wrote an open letter to the CCP's chairman Hu Jintao, enumerating the crimes committed by the political clique in Shanghai that had harmed people's personal rights and property rights to the extreme. In an open letter they wrote: "By any means necessary, they drove 2.8 million Shanghai citizens from the center of the city to the suburbs, and forcibly confiscated farm land and tore down residences originally belonging to one million farmers in the outlying suburbs."

For more than a decade, Shanghai has been the origin and center of forceful land appropriation and coercive residence tear-downs to force people to move. In the past two years alone, the Shanghai city government organized 4,000 cadres from the appeals office to serve as a large-scale force to prevent victims from appealing. The government also organized a gang of ruffians to beat up civilians in order to implement the city's plan to appropriate land. Civilians' bodies were brutalized; sometimes their lives were taken away. All channels to appeal were completely blocked.

Since 2006, citizens beaten to death include Duan Huimin, Du Ronglin, Dai Rong, Chen Xiaoming, and others. Some were detained in mental hospitals where they suffered severe mental torture. In this two-year period, civilians who have had their homes ransacked include Zhou Dahua, Ma Yalian, and 14 other families, including two anonymous families. Mentally sound individuals who were held in mental hospitals include Liu Xinjuan (detained six times), Lu Chunxiang (detained twice), and Hong Lingling (who still remains detained). So far in 2007, three people have been beaten to death. They are Duan Huimin, Chen Xiaoming, and Zhou Dahua.

#### V. THE ENVIRONMENTAL DISASTER WILL RUIN THE FUTURE OF ONE QUARTER OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION

We do not deny some of the economic success the Chinese Communist Party has "accomplished" in certain forms, but these "accomplishments" are at the cost of destroying human justice, morals, and conscience, as well as the environment. In

2005, the Environmental Bureau Director said, "If our environmental protection measures could not closely follow economic developments, our economic miracle would end."

The economic miracle is turning into real life disasters. The algae growing in Taihu Lake (located in Wuxi City, Jiangsu Province) proves that the CCP does not care if there is water to drink tomorrow, as long as there is GDP to brag about today. The energy consumption for each 10,000 yuan of production in China, is seven times higher than that in Japan, and three times higher than in India. A quarter of the land in China has been turned into desert, at a rate of 1,900 square miles each year. According to a Xinhua News Agency report, 90 percent of the underground water is polluted in most cities. Seventy-five percent of the rivers flowing through the cities are not suitable for drinking, and the fish in them are not suitable for eating. The environmental protection measures are showcase in form, just like the showcase style economy. It is even more hopeless that small rivers and lakes across the whole country are all severely polluted. These small bodies of water are the foundation of the nation's environment, but they are not included in the protection list.

#### VI. THE PROBLEMS FARMERS ARE FACING

The economic development does not benefit the people. Most rural areas are still poor, so poor that they are beyond the imagination of the outside world. Even though there is no more agriculture tax, this tax was merely one of the many reasons for the poverty. Its cancellation did not help reduce the degree of poverty.

The current constitution states that all farm lands belong to the state or the commune, while the commune ownership is totally controlled by the state. Thus the logic is: "The state owns the land, the CCP rules the state, and the CCP is run by the bureaucrats." Therefore, the CCP bureaucrats are the biggest landlords because they own all the land in China. Billions of farmers in China labor all of their lives on these farm fields, but do not own any of it. This is extremely unfair.

Currently in China, there are 120 million city laborers who are rural residents. They are the biggest slave group in human history. They are not treated with dignity. They have to do hard labor in very severe conditions and are paid \$1.50 or less per day. Even with such low salaries, payment is often delayed by employers. Although there are more than 100 million farmers laboring in the cities, they are deprived of the right to form unions. Obviously, as individuals they are extremely weak before the authorities, which is the fundamental reason why they are taken advantage of.

After the June 4th Tianamen massacre in 1989, corruption accelerated. The economic reform, led by corrupt officials, is in every aspect characterized by ignoring the interests of the people. Farmers, city laborers composed of farmers, involuntary early retired workers, and other weak groups constitute the majority, that is, 70 percent of the Chinese population. During the "Medicare Reform," it was precisely these 70 percent of Chinese who were excluded from the system. Expensive medical costs deprived them of the possibility of seeking medical treatment. Hence, tragedies happened in quite a lot of the countryside. Elderly people would commit suicide to put an end to their illnesses.

The "Enterprise Education" [Translator's note: The "Enterprise Education" reform means turning education into a for-profit business] proposed after 1989, also brought out the same problem of severely harming the rights of the people. Even though there was supposed to be nine years of "free" education, there was a lack of state financial support in many regions. High tuition or intermediate and higher education has become a nightmare to the lower classes. The education system monopolized by the state has become more and more corrupt, and education has turned into a money-making machine of the academic bureaucrats.

At the same time, in order to pay children's tuition, the lower class families are squeezed out of every last penny and down to their last drop of energy. Many parents committed suicide as soon as their children were admitted into a college. The government statistics showed that the bureaucrat group used 400 billion yuan of state funds each year on banquets, another 400 billion yuan on touring, and another 400 billion yuan on vehicles that are allegedly public owned, but only the officials have the privilege to use them.

#### VII. EXTREMELY UNJUST LEGAL SYSTEM

Today, the corrupt judiciary agencies have gone all out in their anti-justice, anti-rule of law conduct. The Supreme Court, which is by no means a legislative entity, continuously issues judicial documents to disallow citizens the right to safeguard their rights, and to serve the needs of the authorities to plunder the Chinese people.

These documents stipulate that attorneys and judges are not allowed to accept cases regarding the forceful destruction of personal housing, not allowed to accept cases of farmers losing their fields, not allowed to accept cases related to the “Management and Leasing of Properties” policy, not allowed to accept cases for retired military personnel, not allowed to handle early retirees’ argument cases, not allowed to process Falun Gong cases.

There is no bottom line in their counteraction to the principles and spirits of the judiciary system. To give typical examples of wrongful executions in Hebei Province and Inner-Mongolia Autonomous Region, such as the wrongly executed Nie Shubin, in order to cover the crime, the judicial system refused to pursue punishment of the real criminal. The law, moral standard, and sense of justice have degenerated to a level lower than that of a common criminal.

#### VIII. DISASTERS HAVE BECOME A COMMON PRACTICE, A PART OF DAILY LIFE

People suffer disasters on a daily basis. For instance, as reported on August 30, 2007, in Nanfang Zhoumo (Southern Weekends): On July 29, flooding in the Sanmenxia Coal mine in Henan Province trapped 69 miners underground. On August 14, 2007, the Fenghunag Bridge in Hunan Province, which was still under construction, collapsed and killed 64. On August 17, flooding in the Huayuan Coal mine in Xintai City, Shandong Province, trapped 172 miners underground, and more than 30 days later, they still were not rescued. Their chances of survival are very little. On August 19, 2007, Zouping County Aluminum Factory had an explosion where 16 workers died. On August 30, 2007, a small coalmine in Fangshan District, Beijing City, collapsed, and the local government decided to stop all rescue efforts in less than 48 hours.

Shockingly, the local government officials even ordered the victims’ coworkers to stop their self-initiated rescue efforts. Mr. Liu Guojun and others were locked up, to prevent them from continuing the rescue, until the two trapped workers miraculously walked out alive after 132 hours. These two survived by struggling with indomitable courage and drinking each other’s urine during the entire self-rescue. Many people made sarcastic comments about the inhumane order issued by the local government: “It was a good thing that these two workers did not know the government’s ‘scientific decision’ to disallow anyone to rescue them; otherwise, their escape would be illegal, as judged by the ‘scientific decision’ of the government.”

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, the CCP regime has deprived me of my rights of freedom of speech and press for more than one year by means of the most primitive methods. As soon as I started to write this, my heart was filled with an upsurge of emotions. I am writing to you based on my firm belief, which is to say: I know that the above crimes truly exist, and have offended the sense of justice and freedom of the whole human race, including yours.

I truly believe that you all share those beliefs, and know that whoever does nothing in front of such truth, has given up human sensibility and responsibility. I truly believe that you all know, as we do, that western governments are sacrificing ethics and values in exchange for political and economic benefits that are right in front of their eyes.

I truly believe that you are all, as I am, longing to work to lift up human principles, change the tyranny, stop the evil, and end the common embarrassment facing the entire human race. I truly believe that you all, as I do, recognize that dictatorship and the inheritance of the dictatorial system generation after generation, is equal to treating all Chinese people as privately owned livestock as well as “inheriting” people as livestock when the leadership changes hands. The reason the dictatorship receives such inheritance is not due to their ability or virtue, but their lack of virtue. If this reality does not change quickly, human rationality will continue to be blemished and offended.

You all must believe, as I do, that to satisfy the evil totalitarian regime’s request to host the Olympic Games, is a dark chapter in the history of the Olympics, and puts shame on the whole human race.

My dear ladies and gentlemen, writing this letter is a heavy thing. If these crimes only happened once or several times, I believe each one of you would be as indignant as I am. Yet, in today’s China, these inhuman tragedies have become a common situation that is happening all over the country. Many people have become used to it, and they are indifferent.

The reason the CCP can sustain its power, is that by purposely attacking our conscience with violence, and numbing our conscience with lies, it is eroding our virtue on a daily basis, until out of their helpless state, some people start to rely upon the CCP, which in turn evolves into passive support.

Furthermore, it has degenerated a great number of people's basic moral standards, to the extent that this group of people even defends and justifies CCP atrocities. Thus, the regime feels temporarily relieved because its power is apparently secure. Today, the CCP is expanding its strategy of moral corruption to the whole world. If the CCP succeeds in hosting the Olympics, it is equal to the success of its global moral corruption.

My dear ladies and gentlemen, a society has its "immune" mechanisms to avoid huge sins through morals, laws, public opinion, checks and balances, supervision, and the like, because everyone wishes to live in peace, and not in terror. When we witness those crimes against humanity happening all over the country, and those evil deeds challenging people's basic senses happening in the legal system, media, and the environment, we have no choice but to admit to ourselves that our social "immune" mechanism is completely destroyed.

The force destroying the mechanism and keeping it from rebuilding is the Chinese Communist Party. If you are concerned about me, as a lawyer, from the standpoint of the legal system, I must remind you directly that no one more eagerly longs for the justice of the legal system than I myself as a victim, but every day the CCP exists is a day we cannot realize judiciary justice.

Dear ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Martin Luther King said,

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." (Letter From a Birmingham Jail, Martin Luther King, Jr., April 16, 1963)

The CCP's logic on this subject is backwards. For them, "Justice anywhere is a threat to injustice everywhere." Even if justice does not want to combat the evil as an enemy the evil will attack justice as its enemy because the existence of justice itself blocks the path of evildoers.

Dear ladies and gentlemen, there is both sadness and hope existing in China now. It is sad that officials at different levels have reached a certain harmony in robbing common people's properties; bribery is transmitted from bottom to top; and the higher levels are protecting the lower level's crimes. Chinese society is in a twisted balance, like an ecological system, tolerating mistakes, self-adjusting, self-accommodating, and self-assembling.

This twisted ecological "balance" is the fundamental support for the CCP regime, which explains why a regime that has committed all kinds of evils has not been overthrown yet. No matter what beautiful wishes Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao may have, they are completely incapable of changing this state as individuals.

The hope lies in the religious groups, be it Falun Gong or Christians, that are rebuilding morals by pursuing their faith. They are changing the destiny of China through their peaceful protest of the CCP's tyranny, and by pursuing their faith, they are becoming the foundation of China's development and stabilization in the future. Any politician wishing to have interaction with China must not ignore this force.

Making changes in China seems so difficult because the CCP owes an unbearable debt—it has killed 80 million Chinese citizens, and is thus less forgivable than even the Nazis. In turn, precisely because the CCP is fully aware of this un-repayable debt, it killed those students who requested democracy on June 4 1989. On the other hand, changing China is so easy, that is, it can be done through a moral awakening in every person. A lot can be done in this regard.

If you can use your actions, not just words, to support those free media outlets which expose the CCP's crimes, support the efforts to break the CCP's Internet blockade and send the truth to mainland China, and support the organizations who peacefully renounced the CCP to regain self-conscience, China will change very soon.

My dear ladies and gentlemen, you fully have the ability to take action now to stop all of the CCP's crimes against humanity. Just as President Reagan said, "If not us who? And if not now, when? I Finally, I'd like to quote the words of the 32nd president of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in his State of the Union Address in 1941 as the ending of my letter,

"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear."

Upon finishing this letter, I heard that President Bush had decided to join the Olympics next year. Pardon my manners here, but I'd like to shout out, "Mr. President, What are you doing? Have you looked at how President Reagan handled the

1988 Seoul Olympics?” I want to remind my friends here as well, I hope my friends in the Congress, both the Senate and the House, can establish merit for human civilization, as was done during the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

Jesus said, “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you!” Those struggling in the CCP prisons, those crying under the CCP’s tortures, those roaming around to avoid mistreatment, all of these people need your help. When the CCP welcomes you with salutes, red carpets and champagne, when the skyscrapers and splendid neon lights dazzle your eyes, I hope you will think of those suffering people. May God bless America. May God give each person a sense of justice, responsibility, and firm determination. May the light of freedom shine upon China proper, allowing evil no place to hide, and may the mistreated no longer be in pain.

Respectfully,  
Wishing peace and health to all!  
Gao Zhisheng  
September 12, 2007

