

# **How Much Longer Must We Wait?**

**China and the United States must not let new historic opportunities pass them by**

---Testimony of Pastor Bob Fu, China Aid Association

## **Chen Guangcheng and Gao Zhisheng: Human Rights in China**

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The overall situation in mainland China in the past three months has been worrying. From the serious air pollution in the capital city of Beijing, the large number of dead pigs that polluted the Yangtze River and other incidents that highlight the rapid deterioration of China's natural environment, to the situation of freedom of religion, the rule of law and basic human rights that continue to present a grim picture, they all indicate that the Hu Jintao-Wen Jiabao political agenda still persists in following its bigoted course, dominating everything. This being the case, even though Xi Jinping's administration now holds political power in China, people still have reason to worry: do we have to wait for another 10 years before seeing progress in China's human rights record and the rule of law?

### **I. The wretched state of freedom of religion, the rule of law and basic human rights**

**1. Freedom of religion:** The persecution suffered by house churches in China is an example: in the past three months, there has been a troubling series of persecution cases. They occurred in 10 provinces and two municipalities directly under central government jurisdiction and included Beijing, Shanghai, Heilongjiang, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Jiangsu, Shandong, Guangdong, Henan, Anhui, Sichuan. One of the cases is Beijing's Shouwang Church, now going into its third year of being forced to hold outdoor worship service, which it began doing on April 10, 2011. Shouwang believers have been taken into police custody more than 1,000 times and there have been more than 800 short-term detentions. Their senior pastor Jin Tianming and some church leaders have been under long-term house arrest.

In 2011, the Chinese government issued two important documents aimed at attacking Christianity that were directly responsible for the systematic escalation in the persecution of churches and Christians that has continued to this day. In September 2011, at the "Patriots in the Christian Community" training class held by the State Administration for Religious Affairs, a secret document jointly issued by the State Administration for Religious Affairs and the

ministries of public security and civil affairs was circulated that detailed a plan to eradicate house churches in 10 years. Last year, China Aid Association obtained the “Suggestions for Doing a Good Job of Resisting Foreign Use of Religion to Infiltrate Institutes of Higher Education and Preventing Campus Evangelism” (Document No. 18)

(<http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/12/secret-central-committee-document.html>) jointly issued on May 15, 2011 by six ministries of the Chinese Communist Party’s Central Committee. The purpose of this secret document was to prevent and attack the spread of Christianity on campuses.

At the same time, the Chinese government continues to employ strict control measures over Catholicism, continuing to ordain clergymen without Vatican approval, which is a serious interference in the internal religious affairs of the Vatican. In 2012, the government forced Ma Daqin, the auxiliary bishop of the archdiocese of Shanghai, to disappear because he had openly expressed his loyalty to the Vatican; his whereabouts to date remain unknown.

In addition, the tragedy of the self-immolation of Tibetan lamas and nuns continues to play out, demonstrating the persistent worsening of religious freedom in Tibet.

**2. The rule of law:** In accordance with the principle held by the Hu-Wen administration that maintaining stability was of paramount importance, the National People’s Congress on March 14, 2012, passed an amendment to the Criminal Procedure Law that went into effect on January 1, 2013. One of its articles, Article 73, provides a legal basis for public security agencies to secretly arrest and detain citizens under the pretext of “residential surveillance.” This is a serious step backwards in the rule of law in China. In January this year (2013), the Public Security Ministry announced that it was scrapping the labor camp system. This is an encouraging step in the right direction. We hope the Xi Jinping administration can put this into practice and can also revise Article 73 of the Criminal Law.

In its treatment of petitioners, which is a vulnerable group, the government continues to be as brutal as ever, arresting them, locking them up in “black” jails [that is, private, illegal jails], beating them, implicating friends and relatives, and employing other illegal measures.

Furthermore, Internet freedom is still restricted. Last December (2012), the British newspaper *The Guardian* reported that some Internet users in China had their access blocked when authorities started to employ new technology that can “learn, discover and block” virtual private network (VPN) services, which enable Internet users to get around the Great Firewall that blocks access to most Western news sites as well as popular sites such as Facebook and YouTube. (See

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2012/dec/14/china-tightens-great-firewall-internet-control>)

In March, the Secure Shell (SSH) network protocol for secure data communication was

disrupted, resulting in blocked access for some users. These developments constitute important evidence that freedom to use the Internet has been further restricted.

**3. Basic human rights:** Bloody cases in China’s forcibly enforced “one-child” family planning policy and in forced demolition of residential homes and relocation of residents continue to take place; the Chinese people’s basic right to life cannot be guaranteed at all.

**Forced family planning:** Last month, the Ministry of Public Health publicly announced the “achievements” of the family planning policy in the past 40 years: 330 million abortions performed on Chinese women. What is really distressing is that these bloody numbers continue to climb and that the majority of these abortions were forced on the women by the government. On March 13, a woman Henan province (Daxuzhai town, Taikang county) who had had a forced abortion was found hanged at the local family planning office with suspicious injuries all over her body. On March 22, a woman in her seventh month of pregnancy in Anhui province (Chuzhou, Fengyang county) was kidnapped by family planning cadres and taken to a hospital where a lethal injection was given that killed her seven-month-old unborn baby and caused her to deliver a dead fetus. ChinaAid has interviewed the husband of this woman and has offered to help them. At the end of March, a mother of two in Hubei province (Tongshan county) named Shen Hongxia was forced by local family planning officials to have a tubal ligation against doctors orders that led to her death.

**Forced demolition and relocation:** Over the past 20-plus years, government-backed forced demolitions and relocations have taken place across the entire country, creating a situation where the citizens’ property and basic right to life are willfully violated—and not only has it never stopped, it is becoming more and more serious. For example, on March 27, Song Heyi, a villager Henan province (Zhongmou county in the city of Zhengzhou), was run over and killed by the developer when he tried to protect his land. In the same month, another peasant in Henan province (Yuanyang county in the city of Xinxiang) was driven to suicide by forced demolition and relocation. On March 30, Zhang Ruqiong, a woman villager in Hubei province (Badong county) was deliberately crushed to death by a construction vehicle.

## **II. ChinaAid has long been advocating on behalf of the following people, whose cases have representative value**

**Gao Zhisheng:** Gao Zhisheng, a prominent Christian human rights lawyer who has been severely persecuted for many years by the Hu-Wen administration and who had disappeared into police custody for over 20 months, was transferred in December 2011 to Shaya County Prison in the Aksu district of the far western region of Xinjiang to start serving a three-year sentence. Shortly thereafter, Gao Zhisheng’s brother Gao Zhiyi, accompanied by Gao

Zhisheng's father-in-law and two sisters, traveled several thousand kilometers to the remote Shaya Prison and requested a meeting with Gao Zhisheng, but prison authorities refused. On August 27, two prominent human rights lawyers from Beijing, Li Xiongbing and Li Subin, were authorized by Gao Zhisheng's eldest brother Gao Zhiyi to make a special trip to Shaya Prison to apply for permission to meet with Gao Zhisheng. Their request was rejected by Shaya Prison and the Xinjiang Autonomous Region Prison Administration Bureau. On January 12 this year, Gao Zhisheng's family members were finally allowed to visit him.

**Chen Kegui:** The nephew of blind human rights lawyer Chen Guangcheng, Chen Kegui was arrested in May 2012 because the prosecution had concluded that when police launched a surprise night-time raid and searched the Chen family home, Chen Kegui used a knife and attacked and injured at least one plainclothes police officer. The authorities initially charged Chen Kegui with "intentional homicide," which they later changed to "intentionally inflicting injuries." At 2 p.m. on November 30, 2012, the Yinan County People's Court of Shandong Province tried the case. Chen Kegui's parents were not allowed to enter the courtroom. The court affirmed the circumstances of Chen Kegui voluntarily surrendering to the authorities but refused to accept his defense that his actions were an appropriate act of self-defense, and it announced a sentence for Chen Kegui of a three-year, three-month prison term. Because he had been tortured and threatened, Chen Kegui said in court that he would "not appeal the sentence." Legal experts in China and the United States are in agreement that this conviction and sentence was unjust because Chen Kegui's actions were completely in self-defense and that the court's decision was an act of revenge against Chen Guangcheng.

**Zhu Yufu:** At the time of the Arab Spring, Zhu Yufu, a Christian dissident based in Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, wrote a poem and posted it on the Internet to encourage people to awaken their thinking. As a result, he was summoned by police on March 5, 2011 and detained at the Wangjiang Police Station, in the Shangcheng District Branch of the Hangzhou Municipal Public Security Bureau. On April 11, he was formally arrested on suspicion of "inciting subversion of state power." Zhu had already served a total of nine years on two earlier convictions, and this would be his third prison term. Hangzhou Municipal Intermediate People's Court of Zhejiang Province heard his case on January 31, 2012, and reconvened on February 10 to announce its verdict: on the charge of inciting subversion of state power, Zhu Yufu was found guilty and sentenced to a seven-year prison term, with a three-year deprivation of political rights, with the sentence to run from March 5, 2011 to March 4, 2018. Please see the details of Zhu's life, his lifelong pursuit of democracy in China and the many ways he and his family have been persecuted by the Chinese authorities for decades, as well as his family's appeal for help from the U.S. government, in the addendum to my written testimony.

In addition to the above, there are some other people worth our attention. The first is the

prominent Christian pro-democracy activist **Wang Bingzhang**, who was secretly kidnapped by the Chinese government in Vietnam in June 2002. He was sentenced in 2003 in Guangdong to life imprisonment and he is currently still serving his sentence. The second person is the Chinese dissident **Peng Ming**, who was met by eight pistol-wielding Chinese agents in Burma in May 2004 and forcibly taken across the border into China. In October 2005, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. The third person is **Liu Xia**, wife of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo. The government has kept her under house arrest since her husband was sentenced to an 11-year prison term and then awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in October 2010. No visitors have been allowed. On January 31 of this year, Liu Xia's younger brother Liu Hui was detained, and in March he was formally charged with fraud—a move widely regarded as intended to put more pressure on Liu Xia.

There is also the continuing arbitrary detention and long-time imprisonment of other prominent prisoners of conscience, including Mr. **Alimujiang Yimiti** (阿里木江·衣买提) in the region of Xinjiang, Ms. **Yang Rongli** (杨荣丽) in Shaanxi province, Prof. **Guo Quan** (郭泉) in Jiangsu province, and Messrs. **Liu Xianbin** (刘贤斌) **Li Bifeng** (李必丰), **Chen Wei** (陈卫) and **Chen Xi** (陈西), all of Sichuan province. These cases all show that the Chinese Communist regime has no intention of engaging in any meaningful political reform anytime soon.

Finally, I would like to mention the persecution case of Randy C. Shan and his family. Randy Shan used to operate a large underground house church printing network in China. In 2008, one of his publishing co-workers, Mr. Shi Weihang, was arrested and sentenced to a three-year prison term. Putting Randy Shan even more at odds with the Chinese authorities was the fact that his brother works for China Aid Association. Beginning in June 2011, Randy Shan was asked by authorities to convey to his brother in the United States the Chinese government's threats to harm his family in China in retaliation for his work for ChinaAid. In the summer of 2012, after a year of living under government harassment, surveillance and being tailed, etc., the threats against Randy Shan and his wife and two young daughters had escalated to the point where they feared for their lives and thought their freedom might be at stake. They fled to Thailand and applied last December for political refugee status with UN High Commissioner for Refugees. They are currently awaiting their first UNHCR interview.

### **Conclusion: Appeals to and suggestions for the governments of the United States and China**

The situation for freedom of religion, the rule of law, human rights and the environment in China has continued to deteriorate following the 18<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China last fall and especially in the first three months of this year, which is a cause for

continued worries among the international community. Xi Jinping's administration has been in full control over China for a month already. We hope and urge this new administration to proceed from the perspective of China's best interests and the tide of historical progress, abandon the ultra-leftist political agenda of the Hu-Wen administration and its corrupt mode of governance, and effectively promote the development of a constitutional government, the rule of law and a civil society. We are cautiously optimistic about this.

As for the U.S. government, we hope that it can make more real progress in the next four years than was the case in the past four years. The U.S. president and the secretary of the state ought to have the courage to urge the Chinese government in unequivocal terms to improve its record on human rights and the rule of law and to adopt a standard that stresses the value of universal human rights. The U.S. embassy can officially request permission to visit prisoners of conscience in prison, and it can meet regularly with the family members of these victims and with human rights defenders who are still active in society and provide necessary help. In future human rights dialogs, strategic and economic dialogs, dialogs with experts in the rule of law and in other major diplomatic activities, the U.S. government should grasp these opportunities to unequivocally point out the problems in China's human rights record and the rule of law and actively assist the Chinese government in implementing real reforms in these areas. We harbor great hope for this.

Finally, I ask that the House Committee on Foreign Affairs enter into the Congressional record ChinaAid's 2012 annual report on "Chinese Government Persecution of Christians & Churches in Mainland China."

Thank you.

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## **Addendum**

### **Zhu Yufu's Bio and His Family's Statement**

#### **Zhu Yufu's Bio**

Zhu Yufu (born on February 13, 1953) is a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province. He is a Christian and a prominent political dissident. In 1998, he helped found the China Democracy Party.

Zhu graduated in June 1971 from the Chinese Department of the Hangzhou Education Institute and was assigned to work at the Hangzhou Botanical Garden. He took part in illustrating the book *Selection of Tree Species for Urban Afforestation*.

Later, Zhu collaborated with the famous sculpture artist Chen Weimin in founding the Urban Sculpture Creativity Room and participated in creating sculptures in scenic spots around Hangzhou's major tourist site, West Lake.

At the end of 1978, Zhu threw himself into the Democracy Wall movement in Hangzhou and was one of its founders.

The following year, he founded the major pro-democracy publication *April 5 Monthly* and was elected head of the publishing house.

Thereafter, Zhu was summoned by the authorities many times and his house was also searched many times.

In 1987, he was transferred to Housing Administration Bureau of Jianggan District of Hangzhou Municipality and served as the head of the Working Committee of the Labor Union.

In 1989, during the student-led Tiananmen Square pro-democracy protests, Zhu was again summoned by authorities for voicing his support of the student protestors.

In June 1998, he devoted himself to the preparatory work of the China Democracy Party, and after the party's Zhejiang Preparatory Committee was founded on June 25, Zhu took to the streets to distribute "Public Announcement of the Founding of Zhejiang Preparatory Committee of China Democracy Party" flyers. For this, he was detained by the police for 48 hours. During the July 10 incident, his home was searched and a large quantity of Public Announcement flyers, computers, printers and other items were seized. He was detained for 10 days and was kept under surveillance for 50 days. On November 8, he was elected general secretary of Standing Working Group of the China Democracy Party's Zhejiang Preparatory Committee and elected to the National Preparatory Committee.

Zhu was detained again on June 19, 1999, and was officially arrested on September 15. On

November 2, he was convicted of trying to subvert state power and sentenced to a seven-year prison term with three years deprivation of political rights.

Following his release, Zhu was once again arrested on May 18, 2007. On July 10, Hangzhou's Shangcheng District Court convicted him of obstructing government business and sentenced him to two years in prison. His son, Zhu Ang, was implicated in this case and was arrested at the same time. He was sentenced to a one-year prison term.

In 2010, Zhu became a Christian and was baptized in Chongyi Hall in Hangzhou Christian Church.

On March 5, 2011, he was again arrested, this time for publicly supporting the Jasmine Revolution in China. On April 11, he was charged with trying to subvert state power.

At 3:30 p.m. on February 10, 2012, Hangzhou Intermediate Court convicted Zhu of "inciting subversion of state power" and sentenced him to a seven-year prison term, with a three-year deprivation of political rights.

### **Zhu Yufu as a Christian dissident**

In 2010, Zhu Yufu, who had been imprisoned twice and had pursued democracy for over 20 years, finally understood that only God could save mankind and save his compatriots. So, Zhu was baptized at the Chongyi Hall of the Hangzhou Christian Church and became a Christian.

After his baptism, Zhu Yufu became increasingly devout and increasingly dedicated and was prepared to heed the Lord's call at any time.

In March 2011, just before his most recent troubles, Zhu Yufu told his family that his time was at hand. At the time, his family members thought that it was very unlucky for him to say such things. He explained that the time for him to sacrifice himself had come, the time for him to take up the Cross for the suffering Chinese people had come; he had felt the Lord's call on his life. That was a period when autocratic and totalitarian governments were quickly collapsing around the world.

Soon thereafter, Zhu Yufu posted his poem "It's Time" (<http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/02/10/this-is-the-poem-that-got-a-chinese-activist-seven-years-in-jail/>) on the Internet, and Zhu was quickly arrested again by the authorities for publicly supporting a Chinese Jasmine Revolution. On Feb. 10, 2012, he was sentenced to seven years in prison by the Hangzhou Intermediate Court for "inciting subversion of state power" and deprived of his political rights for three years.

Before this, Zhu Yufu had written a poem, "My Bags are Packed," expressing his willingness to sacrifice himself to God and to the suffering Chinese people.



### **Zhu Yufu's current situation is critical**

In the second half of 2012 when his family visited him at Zhejiang's Prison No. 4, they found that Zhu Yufu, who was then already 60 years old, could walk only by supporting himself against a wall. He told his family that his cerebral arteriosclerosis, coronary heart disease, lumbar disc herniation, severe high blood pressure, high cholesterol, coronary artery tumor and other ailments were getting worse. Because the prison forcibly deprived him of his right to wear a hat, Zhu Yufu had several fainting spells due to constricted blood vessels in the head when he caught a chill. Regardless, the prison authorities still forced him to perform hard physical labor.

Zhu Yufu also revealed the various ways the prison was abusing him: He was the only one in the entire prison who did not get a Nutritious Meal or a Patient's Meal; he was denied medical treatment and not allowed to take his medications, on the grounds that Zhu's illnesses were not life-threatening and that, if he were about to die, then certainly treatment would be given; he was the only prisoner not allowed to make calls to "loved ones" on the grounds that he had harmed his family and none of them wanted to take his calls; he also had been deprived of his right to write letters to his family members on the grounds that his letters contained prison secrets....

Zhu Yufu told his family unequivocally that he was already 60 years old and was physically unable to survive seven long years in prison. He said that from the increasingly brutal persecution and abuse by the authorities it is likely that he would die in prison soon. He hoped to get the basic human right of medical parole.

### **Family members are implicated and persecuted**

Because of Zhu Yufu's pursuit of the ideals of democracy and freedom, his family has been persecuted in unthinkable ways.

Around July 1999, Zhu Yufu's younger brother, Zhu Qiaofu, and their younger sister, Zhu Xiaoyan, went to the U.S. consulate in Shanghai in an effort to rescue Zhu. Zhu Qiaofu gave to U.S. diplomat Peter Lu [editor's note: Lu might be the Chinese version of a non-Chinese surname] photos of Zhu Yufu in a detention center and some of Zhu Yufu's hand-written manuscripts. Because of this, they were put under direct surveillance and subjected to government persecution.

On November 2, 1999, the day his brother was sentenced to prison, Zhu Qiaofu shook hands with "Peter Lu" from the U.S. consulate who attended the trial as an observer. Because of this, Zhu Qiaofu was detained for two days. In December 1999, Zhu Qiaofu was forced to quit his job at Zhejiang TV station because he was "not fit to work at the mouthpiece of the Party and other sensitive posts." In 2002, Public Security officers of the Chinese Communist Party unequivocally told Zhu Yufu's family that the high-pressure tactics used against them was because the family could be used as "hostages" to make Zhu Yufu give up his pursuit of

democracy. They said that as long as Zhu Yufu's anti-Party actions continued without break for a single day, they would continue to harm and torment the family without stopping for a single day.

On December 3, 2000, when Zhu Qiaofu published an article called "Is the Double-Headed Baby a Specimen from the Hospital's Experiment?" in *Zhejiang Youth Daily*, he was once again forced to quit his job. In 2004, Zhu Qiaofu published a book called *The Scale in a Reporter's Heart*. The book was regarded by the Domestic Security Protection Squad as intentionally exposing the dark side of society and an expression of the author's dissatisfaction with China's political system. The book was banned from various large bookstores and most of the printed copies were confiscated. In June 2012, because of Zhu Yufu's "Jasmine Incident" poem "It's Time," Zhu Qiaofu was classified as a person to be put under heavy surveillance. On December 28, 2012, Zhu Qiaofu was once again forced to quit his job.

At the end of 1994, their younger sister, Zhu Xiaoyan, was forced to quit her job because she had helped Zhu Yufu pass materials to Fang Xinghua, another member of the China Democracy Party. As a result, her father-in-law was demoted, her family broken up and her apartment confiscated. In July 1998, because Zhu Yufu had set up the Zhejiang Preparatory Committee of the China Democracy Party, her home was searched and it was concluded that she had used it to "let members of China Democracy Party hold meetings where they conspired to subvert the state power." She was threatened with the imprisonment and almost had a miscarriage. After that, Zhu Xiaoyan's business on which she depended for her livelihood was forced to shut down.

On September 21, 2003, their mother made a deathbed request to see Zhu Yufu one last time, so Zhu Xiaoyan went to Zhejiang Prison Administration Bureau to request a visit by Zhu Yufu with their dying mother. Her request was denied and she was detained for a day. As a result of this, Zhu Xiaoyan was not able to perform her final filial duty, which she will regret for the rest of her life. In 2007, because Hu Junxiong, a member of China Democracy Party, spent the night at Zhu Xiaoyan's residence, she was detained for a day and a night by the police. In March 2011, when Zhu Yufu posted his poem "It's Time" on the Internet, her home was searched by the police and she was put under police surveillance for several months. On November 11, 2012, because she went to visit Zhu Yufu in prison and told foreign media about Zhu Yufu's mistreatment in prison, she was illegally detained for three days and three nights, suffering great mental and physical harm. A few days later, her work unit forced her to quit her job.

### **The family's requests**

Zhu Yufu is in critically ill health. The various ways the prison authorities treat him indicate that they want him to die of his illnesses in prison. Zhu Yufu's family appeals to the U.S. government to respond to this urgent call and exert pressure on the Chinese Communist government to induce it to approve Zhu Yufu's request for medical parole and let him come to the United States for medical treatment. If possible, we ask that the officials in charge of

human rights at the U.S. embassy or the U.S. consulate in Shanghai go visit Zhu Yufu in prison. Doing so will help Zhu Yufu get the necessary medical treatment. This will at least cause the Chinese Communists to have some apprehensions about their persecution of Zhu and exercise some moderation. At the same time, we call on the U.S. government to show concern for the increasingly worsening human rights disasters in China and the worsening persecution of political prisoners by the Chinese Communists and to exert real pressures on the hooligan Chinese Communist regime without break.