Findings

• The Chinese Communist Party and government continued to constrain individuals and groups from freely forming and practicing their religious beliefs, instead seeking to order religious observance around loyalty to the Party and state.

• During the 2025 reporting year, the Commission observed a coordinated campaign, led by the United Front Work Department, to train religious personnel in the "strict governance of

religion."

• The Party sought to exert control over theological education and institutions across religious groups to ensure the political

reliability of future religious leaders.

• The National Religious Affairs Administration published new regulations governing the religious activities of foreigners in China that create a more restrictive environment for non-PRC citizens to practice their own religion or interact with Chinese believers.

• The Party and government have continued their efforts to co-opt Buddhism, Taoism, and Chinese folk religion while also

pushing for further "sinicization" of these groups.

• This past year, PRC authorities continued to suppress dissent and inculcate ideological conformity in ethnic minority Muslim communities, including in Yunnan province, following tensions over mosque "rectifications" and other sinicization efforts.

• The Party continued to assert its ultimate authority over the Chinese Catholic Church, despite the renewal of the Sino-Vatican Agreement. In the interregnum period after the death of Pope Francis, local authorities conducted "elections" to select two bishops when papal approval would have been impossible.

• Authorities continued to raid unregistered Protestant "house" churches and detain their members, using fraud charges, exit bans, censorship, and surveillance to suppress and intimidate

clergy and laity from exercising their religious beliefs.

- The Party and government have continued to direct considerable resources and attention toward the suppression and persecution of Falun Gong, often detaining, charging, and prosecuting practitioners under Article 300 of the *PRC Criminal Law*. The Falun Gong-affiliated website *Minghui* reported the deaths of dozens of Falun Gong practitioners due to mistreatment while in custody and hundreds of cases of practitioners being sentenced by authorities, apparently for their connection with Falun Gong.
- In addition to Falun Gong, the Party and government have designated 22 religious groups to be "cult organizations" or *xie-jiao* (邪教), a historical term used by the Party to refer to new religious movements it perceives as threatening, and continue to subject them to persecution. Among these groups, authorities have engaged in a protracted and apparently nationwide crackdown against the Church of Almighty God, launching consecutive campaigns to eradicate the religious group.

• In at least two cases this past year, authorities detained Taiwanese citizens for participation in religious activities associat-

ed with supposed *xiejiao*.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION

Introduction

The Chinese Communist Party and government continued to constrain individuals and groups from freely forming and practicing their religious beliefs, instead seeking to order religious observance around loyalty to the Party and state. Since 2015, Xi has touted "sinicization" (zhongguohua, 中国化)—which emphasizes the need for PRC-based religious groups to "actively guide religion to adapt to socialist society"—as a major policy priority for religious affairs management.¹ To this end, during the 2025 reporting year, PRC authorities pursued several policy initiatives focused on more closely controlling religious groups, such as launching trainings in the "strict governance of religion" for clergy in the official or "patriotic" religious associations and imposing new and invasive restrictions on foreign religious believers based in China. Consistent with the Patriotic Education Law of 2024,2 religious affairs officials also continued to emphasize the necessity of ideological and national identity formation in state- and Party-run religious higher education. As in previous years, while the Party and government closely supervised official groups, they also worked to suppress unsanctioned expressions of religious faith, including unregistered Protestant "house" churches, underground Catholic bishops, and members of groups that the government designates as "cult organizations," or *xiejiao* (邪教) a historical term used by the Party to refer to new religious movements it perceives as threatening.

International and Chinese Law on Religious Freedom

International law, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), protects the right to form, hold, and change beliefs without restriction while allowing such limited constraints on their outward manifestation as are "prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others." Additionally, Article 36 of China's Constitution guarantees "freedom of religious belief" and protects "normal religious activities" but leaves "normal" undefined, allowing the government to stipulate what constitutes "normal" and to circumscribe religious activity that would otherwise be protected under the UDHR and the ICCPR.4

Since 2018, the Party and government have issued several key legal provisions to tighten control over religious activities, including the revised Regulations on Religious Affairs (2018),⁵ Measures for the Administration of Religious Personnel (2021),⁶ Measures for the Administration of Internet Religious Information Services (2022),⁷ and Measures for the Management of Venues for Religious Activities (2023).⁸

Regulatory and Policy Developments

STRICT GOVERNANCE OF RELIGION

During the 2025 reporting year, the Commission observed the launch of a coordinated campaign, led by the United Front Work Department (UFWD), to train religious personnel in the "strict

governance of religion." According to one former unregistered Protestant or "house" church pastor, the UFWD instituted the "strict governance" training program based on a December 2021 conference on religious affairs work, where Xi Jinping proposed that religious groups should "comprehensively and strictly govern religion." Since that time, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference chair Wang Huning, whom PRC observers and experts have characterized as highly influential, 11 has promoted the "strict governance" of religion across official religious groups. 12 UFWD head Shi Taifeng emphasized the importance of the "strict governance of religion" and called for strengthening ideological and political education during his visits to two ethnic minority regions in Gansu province: Linxia City, Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture, and Kanlho (Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. 13

The UFWD reportedly pioneered the "strict governance" trainings in the official Protestant church context, holding its first training in Guangzhou municipality, Guangdong province for 100 head pastors of 100 "major churches" from around the country in July 2024. ¹⁴ According to the China Christian Council and the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (the joint governing bodies of the registered Protestant church in the PRC), the training focused on implementing the five-year plan for the sinicization of Christianity, including rooting out Western "colonial" influences from the Chinese Christian church, and on the importance of "strict governance of religion" to a Chinese model of church management. ¹⁵ Additional regional trainings were held throughout the reporting year, including in August, by the Ningde Municipal Taoist Association in Fujian province; ¹⁶ in February, by the Guangzhou municipality, Guangdong province Catholic Patriotic Association; ¹⁷ and in April, by the Sichuan province Islamic Association. ¹⁸

Party Control of Seminaries and Religious Education

During the Commission's 2025 reporting year, the Chinese Communist Party sought to exert control over theological education and institutions across religious groups in an effort to ensure the political reliability of future religious leaders. ¹⁹ Scholars Peitong Jing and Karrie J. Koesel point out that, while patriotic education is required in all PRC educational institutions, the percentage mandated in seminaries is "more than double of what is required in non-religious colleges and universities," which they argue reflects PRC authorities' securitization of religion. ²⁰ Examples of Party involvement in theological education from this year include:

• China Taoist College. In September 2024, China Taoist College in Beijing municipality held its 2024 fall semester opening ceremony at Baiyun Temple. ²¹ Chinese Taoist Association President Li Guangfu gave a speech emphasizing the importance of patriotism and ideological alignment in Taoist education. ²² Speakers called on students to uphold the principles of the "sinicization of Taoism" and to integrate socialist values into their studies and future religious service. ²³

Party Control of Seminaries and Religious Education— Continued

• China Islamic Institute. In September 2024, the China Islamic Institute, which provides theological education and training for imams associated with the official Islamic Association of China (IAC), held a week of military training for students. ²⁴ In an opening speech for the training, IAC vice-president Mu Kefa told students that military training was an important component of patriotic education and would increase their "national defense consciousness." ²⁵ • Jiangsu province theological institutions. In August 2024, the Jiangsu Provincial Ethnic and Religious Affairs Commission announced that authorities in the province had completed drafting syllabi for a series of courses at provincial theological schools meant to ensure that religious personnel are "politically reliable," among other goals, and that leaders of Party-controlled religious associations and theological institutions had reviewed the materials. ²⁶

DETAILED IMPLEMENTATION RULES ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGNERS' RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

In April 2025, the National Religious Affairs Administration published the *Detailed Implementation Rules for the Provisions* on the Administration of Foreigners' Religious Activities (hereafter, "Rules"),²⁷ new comprehensive regulations governing the religious activities of foreigners in China that may create an even more restrictive environment for non-PRC citizens to practice their own religion or interact with Chinese believers.²⁸ The Rules focus on several areas—religious interaction between foreigners and PRC citizens,²⁹ facilities used for, and personnel involved in, religious activities,³⁰ and oversight of foreigners participating in official religious exchanges.³¹

The Rules institute a series of provisions to ensure all religious interaction between foreigners and Chinese citizens takes place in environments subject to government monitoring and control. According to the new regulations, foreigners may only hold "collective" religious activities in designated registered religious facilities, such as official churches, temples, or mosques,32 and activities must be led by an approved Chinese officiant, unless the organizers can demonstrate a need for a foreigner to preside.33 If no registered religious facility exists in a given locality, foreigners may apply to use an alternative temporary location; the Rules stipulate that, in general, there should only be one temporary location approved per belief system in a given county-level jurisdiction.³⁴ Even if a Chinese clergyperson is presiding over the religious activity, no other Chinese citizens are permitted to attend religious ceremonies organized by foreigners.³⁵ Speaking to a U.S.-based Catholic publication, one PRC-based cleric said that the regulations are likely intended to serve as a "protective" tool for authorities; i.e., not all foreigners who attend a religious service with Chinese citizens will be legally sanctioned, but the Rules give authorities recourse to legal sanctions, if they deem them necessary.³⁶ Another clergyperson told the same outlet that the Rules make it "dangerous" for local religious believers, especially in underground communities, to have contact with foreigners, with the effect of "cutting the Chinese [Catholic] Church off from the outside world."³⁷ The *Rules* also target participants in religious exchanges, regulating the type and amount of religious materials that participants may bring into the PRC.³⁸ In the Party-run media outlet *Global Times*, the deputy director of a Zhejiang province-based research institute claimed that the new regulations would not restrict foreigners' "normal" religious activities and were meant to prevent "extremism."³⁹

Buddhism (non-Tibetan), Taoism, and Folk Religion

Under Xi Jinping, the Chinese Communist Party and government have worked to balance their efforts to control Buddhism, Taoism, and Chinese folk religion with efforts to co-opt and leverage these supposedly more "sinicized" religious groups to their benefit.⁴⁰ Authorities reportedly view Taoism, a faith indigenous to China, as less susceptible to foreign influence, while Xi has lauded Buddhism as a successful model of "sinicization" and a "repository of China's traditional culture." ⁴¹ Yet the authorities have nevertheless insisted that these groups undertake ongoing efforts to more fully "sinicize," often by participating in various "red" activities, cultural events, or political trainings. ⁴² Examples of sinicization initiatives in the Buddhist and Taoist contexts from the Commission's 2025 reporting year include:

- The Hangzhou Municipal Taoist Association in Hangzhou municipality, Zhejiang province, organized a group of core figures from affiliated temples to travel to Chengdu municipality, Sichuan province for a "Red Education" study tour, in response to a Zhejiang province patriotic education campaign. ⁴³ The delegation visited revolutionary sites intended to instill appreciation for the "red spirit" and urge them forward in the sinicization of religion. ⁴⁴
- To celebrate the PRC's 75th anniversary, the Jiangsu Provincial Taoist Association hosted a patriotic concert titled "Glorious 75 Years—Ode to the Motherland." The concert, co-organized by the Wuxi Municipal and Jiangyin City Taoist Associations, featured traditional Taoist music troupes from Jiangsu and a repertoire blending cultural pieces with overtly patriotic content, including the recitation of a work titled, "Love the Country, Love Religion." Love Religion."
- The Buddhist Association of Wuxi municipality, Jiangsu province, led its leadership on a patriotic study tour of revolutionary and Confucian sites in Qufu municipality, Shandong province, ⁴⁷ the birthplace of Confucius. ⁴⁸ Participants were directed to "cherish the revolutionary martyrs, boost cultural confidence, and enhance patriotic feelings" in an apparent effort to synthesize political, religious, and cultural identity. ⁴⁹ [For more information on religious freedom for Tibetan Buddhists, see Chapter 14—Tibet.]

Islam

This past year, PRC authorities continued to suppress dissent and inculcate ideological conformity in ethnic minority Muslim communities, including in Yunnan province, following tensions over mosque

"rectifications" and other sinicization efforts.⁵⁰ In December 2024, Yuxi municipality, Yunnan province public security officials took into custody Imam **Ma Yuwei**, apparently in connection with his preaching.⁵¹ According to a U.S.-based Muslim activist, authorities had designated Ma's Yuxi mosque as a "site of illegal religious activity" and directed the mosque to shut down its long-running Quranic study class.⁵² [For more on Ma Yuwei and protests over his deten-

tion, see Chapter 6—Ethnic Minority Rights.]

Authorities have continued their efforts to limit the number and autonomy of mosques in Hui Muslim communities.⁵³ The Party-affiliated Islamic Association of China (IAC) has tightened control over mosque management committees, which 2023's *Measures for the Management of Venues for Religious Activities* require be formed at all mosques, and which provide a conduit for Party and government messaging to and oversight of Muslim communities.⁵⁴ Also, scholars Hannah Theaker and David Stroup documented a campaign to reduce the overall number and concentration of mosques through mergers, often under the pretense of urbanization and cost savings.⁵⁵ In Qinghai and Gansu provinces, officials were reportedly told to aim for only a single mosque per village.⁵⁶

In March 2025, the South China Morning Post (SCMP) reported that just prior to Ramadan the IAC removed the traditional mosque dome and stars from its logo and website, revealing a new logo featuring only Chinese characters.⁵⁷ The rebranding also included a change in the logo's background color from green, which one expert called "integral to Islam," to blue.⁵⁸ According to SCMP, the IAC had already taken down all Islamic imagery from its official website.⁵⁹ [For more information on Uyghur, Hui, and other Muslims in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and other locations, please see Chapter 6—Ethnic Minority Rights and Chapter 15—Xinjiang

Uyghur Autonomous Region.]

Christianity—Catholic

THE SINO-VATICAN AGREEMENT AND THE STATUS OF BISHOPS

The Chinese Communist Party continued to assert its ultimate authority over the Chinese Catholic Church, in particular by appointing bishops without papal approval, 60 despite the renewal of the Sino-Vatican Agreement, which established a process for appointing bishops mutually recognized by both parties. 1 In October 2024, the Holy See announced that it would provisionally extend the Agreement for four more years. 2 During the Commission's 2025 reporting year, the Bishops' Conference of the Catholic Church in China ordained two bishops under the terms of the Agreement: Bishop Zhen Xuebin, coadjutor bishop of Beijing diocese, Beijing municipality in October 2024, 63 and Bishop Ji Weizhong, bishop of Luliang diocese, Luliang municipality, Shanxi province in January 2025. 64

PRC officials also ordained two bishops in apparent contravention of the Agreement during the period following Pope Francis's death and preceding the appointment of a new pope, making Vatican approval impossible. In April, the Asia-focused Catholic website AsiaNews said that, according to its sources, leaders in the Shanghai municipality Party-controlled official Church "summoned" local clergy and religious figures to ratify the "election" of Father Wu Jianlin

as auxiliary bishop.⁶⁶ In Xinxiang municipality, Henan province, officials reportedly facilitated the unopposed "election" of Father Li Jianlin as bishop, also during the interregnum period between popes.⁶⁷ Senior clerics in the PRC told another Catholic outlet that the decision to proceed with Father Li's "election" after the death of Pope Francis reflected the PRC's "policy of not officially acknowledging Rome in relation to episcopal appointments."⁶⁸ The Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA) offered little acknowledgment of Pope Francis's death, removing its brief condolence message from its home page after four days, and in Wenzhou municipality, Zhejiang province, authorities prevented even CCPA clergy from offering a Mass in memory of Pope Francis.⁶⁹

ONGOING REPRESSION OF CATHOLIC CHURCHES

During the Commission's 2025 reporting year, authorities continued to harshly suppress bishops in the unregistered Catholic Church who have refused to join the CCPA.⁷⁰ Authorities have repeatedly targeted Bishop **Peter Shao Zhumin**, appointed bishop of Wenzhou diocese in Wenzhou municipality, Zhejiang province by Pope Benedict XVI.⁷¹ In March 2025, Wenzhou public security officials reportedly took Bishop Shao into custody in connection with a December 2024 Mass he celebrated for the Catholic Church's "Jubilee Year," which authorities said was illegal.⁷² Local officials initially fined Shao for the Mass and ordered the demolition of his building, later detaining him after he refused to pay the fine.⁷³ Authorities have maintained ongoing pressure on both registered and unregistered Catholic churches, clergy, and laity in Wenzhou; in August 2024, Wenzhou public security officers raided a CCPA church, preventing priest Father Jin Mengxiu from celebrating Mass there. 74 In a letter protesting the raid, Father Jin—who was not the parish's priest said that he wanted to provide the community with access to the sacraments after a diocesan reorganization left the church without a priest.⁷⁵ Public security officers have conducted regular surveillance of unregistered churches in Wenzhou, and Wenzhou religious affairs officials reportedly prevented local Catholics from participating in a planned pilgrimage. 76

Party and government authorities also continued to restrict the unregistered Catholic bishop of Mindong diocese, Fujian province, **Guo Xijin**, to his residence, sealing his chapel.⁷⁷ According to local sources, authorities have increased restrictions on Guo since Christmas as part of an effort to pressure clergy to join the CCPA.⁷⁸

$Christianity\!-\!\!Protestant$

Authorities continued to raid unregistered Protestant "house" churches and detain their members this reporting year, including:⁷⁹

• Beijing Zion Church. In July 2024, authorities in Beijing municipality took into custody Preacher Zhou Sirui of Zion Church and held her in administrative detention for 14 days for the crime of "illegally carrying out activities in the name of an association with voided registration." ⁸⁰ In September, authorities raided Zion Church again, detaining Zhou for another 15 days, along with Elders Cai Jing and Wu Qiong. ⁸¹ In October, authorities once again raided multiple meeting locations of Zion

Church and held Elder **Qin Guoliang** in administrative detention for 14 days for "illegally organizing a gathering." 82

- Early Rain Covenant Church. In September 2024, authorities in Chengdu municipality, Sichuan province, raided Early Rain Covenant Church and administratively detained Elder Li Yingqiang, Elder Li Youhong, also known as Yan Hong, Preacher Wu Wuqing, and Deacon Zeng Qingtao for 14 days.⁸³ Local police accused them of "illegally carrying out activities in the name of an association."⁸⁴
- Xinyi Village Church. In February 2025, authorities in Panji district, Huainan municipality, Anhui province, criminally detained pastor **Zhao Hongliang** and three members of Xinyi Village Church. 85 Although Xinyi Village Church is registered with the official Three-Self Patriotic Movement, the church reportedly had refused to comply with requirements issued by local officials. 86

This past year, PRC authorities continued to employ charges of "fraud" and "illegal business operations" to project a veneer of criminality onto activities that fall within the scope of normal religious activities, including establishing church-affiliated institutions and fundraising.⁸⁷ For example, in August 2024, the Yijiang District People's Court in Wuhu municipality, Anhui, held a closed trial for three Christians from Mount Carmel Church charged with "illegal business operations" for running an affiliated school.⁸⁸ The court sentenced both **Han Yanlei** and **Xie Zhifeng** to nine months in prison and sentenced Lu Zhaojin to nine months' imprisonment with a one year suspended sentence.⁸⁹ In June 2025, the Yaodu District People's Court in Linfen municipality, Shanxi province, handed down harsh sentences in two major "fraud" cases against house church clergy and laypeople, both premised upon donations made by church members. 90 While the court has not yet sentenced Linfen Golden Lampstand pastors Yang Rongli and Wang Xiaoguang, it sentenced 10 lay members of the church to sentences ranging from 1 year and 10 months to 9 years and 2 months in prison.⁹¹ On the same day, the court also sentenced Linfen Covenant Church pastors Li Jie and Han Xiaodong to three years and eight months in prison.⁹²

This reporting year, PRC authorities also employed exit bans to restrict the freedom of movement of Protestants associated with "house" churches, including:

- In July 2024, customs police in Macau intercepted Pastor Jin Mingri of Beijing Zion Church, preventing him from going abroad to visit his family in the United States.⁹³ Jin had previously been under a five-year border control period which should have ended in March 2024.⁹⁴
- In September 2024, authorities in Dongguan municipality, Guangdong province, harassed unregistered house church pastor Xing Jinfu, asking him whether he had plans to go abroad. They also pressured him to hand over his passport. One leader of a U.S.-based religious freedom nongovernmental organization (NGO) speculated that this was related to worries that Xing intended to attend the Lausanne Congress, an international

Christian gathering focused on missionary work, which took place later that month.⁹⁷

Also this year, the Commission observed PRC authorities employing various methods to censor and surveil Protestants' online expression of their religious beliefs. For example, in August 2024, authorities in Guangzhou municipality, Guangdong, took into custody Christian Xin Ruoyu, reportedly holding her in extrajudicial detention.⁹⁸ Xin had been involved in the development of the app "Song of Songs," which provides Chinese language hymns and sheet music.99 Also in August 2024, Christian lawyer Xie Qida posted a Christian hymn onto his TikTok account. 100 The Ethnic and Religious Affairs Bureau of Xishan district, Kunming municipality, Yunnan province, issued him a notice requiring him to "delete videos of singing Christian hymns on all online media."101 In April 2025. authorities in Song county, Henan province, issued a "Notice on the Reward for Reporting Illegal Religious Activities." 102 The Notice offered rewards for anyone reporting on people disseminating religious trainings through online platforms. 103

Falun Gong

The Chinese Communist Party and government have continued to direct considerable resources and attention toward the suppression and persecution of Falun Gong, which they have designated a "cult organization" or xiejiao (邪教), a historical term that the Party has appropriated to refer to new religious movements it deems threatening to its rule.¹¹⁴ Authorities have most often detained, charged, and prosecuted Falun Gong practitioners under Article 300 of the *PRC Criminal Law*, which criminalizes "organizing and using a cult to undermine implementation of the law."¹¹¹⁵ The Falun Gong-affiliated website *Minghui* reported the deaths of dozens of Falun Gong practitioners due to mistreatment while in custody and hundreds of cases of Falun Gong practitioners being sentenced by authorities in 2024.¹¹¹⁶ Examples of detentions during the reporting year follow:

- In February 2025, *Minghui* reported that **Zuo Hongtao** of Qinhuangdao municipality, Hebei province, had died in prison the previous year while serving a 13-year sentence, reportedly for his involvement with Falun Gong. ¹⁰⁷ In July 2024, prison officials at Baoding Prison, Hebei, brought Zuo to the hospital after he became critically ill, returning him to the prison after he was discharged. ¹⁰⁸ In August, Zuo died, with *Minghui* reporting that prison officials prevented his family from seeing the body and cremated Zuo without their consent. ¹⁰⁹
- According to international human rights NGO Rights Defense Network (RDN), the Qindu District People's Court in Qindu county, Xianyang municipality, Shaanxi province, sentenced food inspector **Gao Xiaoying** to seven years in prison for propagating information about Falun Gong online. 110 Gao's family reported being turned away multiple times while attempting to visit him in detention and were ultimately only allowed to see him briefly before his March 2024 trial, which they were prevented from attending. 111
- In November 2024, *Minghui* reported that the Haizhu District People's Court in Guangzhou municipality, Guangdong

province, sentenced **Zhao Ying**, a Falun Gong practitioner in her eighties, to three years and six months in prison despite her age and serious health conditions, including bladder cancer, a heart condition, and diabetes. 112 RDN additionally reported that Zhao is dying in prison. 113

Other Religious Communities

In addition to Falun Gong, the Chinese Communist Party and government have designated 22 religious groups to be xiejiao and continue to subject them to persecution. 114 Authorities have engaged in a protracted and apparently nationwide crackdown against one of these groups, the Church of Almighty God (CAG), also called Eastern Lightning, launching consecutive campaigns to eradicate the religious group. 115 According to a report issued by CAG, in 2024 the Party Central Committee Political and Legal Affairs Commission coordinated the launch of a three-year "Tough Battle" campaign targeting CAG, following on the heels of its previous "General Battle" campaign. ¹¹⁶ In the year since the "Tough Battle" was launched, CAG reported a more than 50 percent rise in arrests. ¹¹⁷

In at least two cases this past year, authorities detained Taiwanese citizens for participation in religious activities associated with supposed *xiejiao*. In October, police in Guangdong province raided a gathering of Yiguandao, a Chinese religious group with elements of Taoism, Buddhism, and folk religion, taking people into custody, including three Taiwanese participants. 118 In January 2025, police in Xiamen municipality, Fujian province, took into custody Unification Church members Lu Chia-chen and her husband Chang Pi-shian as they were holding a worship service at home. 119 On January 13, police criminally detained them on suspicion of "organizing and using a cult to undermine implementation of the law," holding them at the Xiamen Public Security Bureau Detention Center. 20 On February 12, authorities released Chang on bail. 121

Notes to Chapter 3—Freedom of Religion

1 "习近平: 巩固发展最广泛的爱国统一战线" [Xi Jinping: Strengthen and develop the broadest patriotic united front], Xinhua, May 20, 2015; "习近平在全国宗教工作会议上强调 坚持我国宗教中国化方向 积极引导宗教与社会主义社会相适应,李克强主持 栗战书王沪宁赵乐际韩正出席 汪洋讲话"[At the National Conference on Religious Work, Xi Jinping stressed: persevere on the path of [China's] sinicization of religion and actively lead religion in the adaptation of religion to socialist society; Li Keqiang presided over the meeting, Li Zhanshu, Wang Huning, Zhao Leji, and Han Zheng attended, and Wang Yang delivered a speechl, *Xinhua*, December 4, 2021; Richard Madsen, "Faith Under Party Rule: The Sinicization of Religion in China" ChinaSource Journal, vol. 27, no. 1, March 24, 2025, 24–25; Chit Wai John Mok, "(En)countering State-Led Sinicization: Critical Discursive Responses from Roman Catholics in China," *China Quarterly*, vol. 261, March

2025, 166-67. 2 "中华人民共和国爱国注意教育法" [PRC Patriotic Education Law], passed October 24, 2023, effective January 1, 2024. For more on the PRC Patriotic Education Law's implications for freedom of religion in China, see Congressional-Executive Commission on China, "Annual Report

" U.S. Government Publishing Office, December 2024, 81.

3"Universal Declaration of Human Rights," United Nations, adopted December 10, 1948, art. 18; "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," United Nations, adopted December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 18. The PRC signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) on October 5, 1998, but has not yet ratified it, despite stating repeatedly its intent to ratify including in the National Human Rights Action Plan for 2016–2020. The U.S.-China Relations Act of 2000, Pub. L. No. 106-286, §§301–309 requires the CECC to use the ICCPR's provisions to monitor compliance with human rights standards in the PRC. See also State Council Information Office, "国家人权行动计划(2021—2025 年)" [National Human

also State Council Information Office, "国家人权行列开划(2021—2025 年)" [National Human Rights Action Plan of China (2021—2025)], September 2021, sec. 2(4).

4 "中华人民共和国宪法" [PRC Constitution], passed December 4, 1982, amended March 11, 2018, art. 36; "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," *United Nations*, adopted December 10, 1948, art. 18; "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," *United Nations*, adopted December 16, 1066, control into force March 29, 1076, and 120.

December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 18.

5 "宗教事务条例" [Regulations on Religious Affairs], issued November 30, 2004, amended June 14, 2017, effective February 1, 2018.

6 "宗教教职人员管理办法" [Measures for the Administration of Religious Personnel], effective

May 1, 2021.

"互联网宗教信息服务管理办法" [Measures for the Administration of Internet Religious Infor-

mation Services], passed December 3, 2021, effective March 1, 2022.

8 "宗教活动场所管理办法" [Measures for the Management of Venues for Religious Activities],

passed June 29, 2023, effective September 1, 2023.

⁹ Alex Joske, "Reorganizing the United Front Work Department: New Structures for a New Era of Diaspora and Religious Affairs Work," China Brief, Jamestown Foundation, May 9, 2019. The United Front Work Department has directly overseen religious affairs since 2018, when the

National Religious Affairs Administration was dissolved and reorganized under the UFWD. ¹⁰Kai Di, "全面管控基督教会 中国办百堂百牧'从严治教培训班'" [Comprehensive contractions of the contraction of the c [Comprehensive control of the Christian church; China holds "Strict Governance of Religion" training classes for 100 pastors

the Christian China's China's State Government of Rengion Granding Classes for 100 pastors from 100 churches], Radio Free Asia, July 29, 2024.

11 Chris Buckley, "The Man Who Shaped China's Strongman Rule Has a New Job: Winning Taiwan," New York Times, October 26, 2024.

12 Kai Di, "全面管控基督教会 中国办百堂百牧'从严治教培训班'" [Comprehensive control of

the Christian church; China holds "Strict Governance of Religion" training classes for 100 pastors from 100 churches], Radio Free Asia, July 29, 2024.

13 "石泰峰在甘肃调研时强调 扎实做好新时代党的民族宗教工作 推动铸牢中华民族共同体意识和我国宗教中国化工作走深走实" [During an investigation in Gansu, Shi Taifeng emphasized solidly

doing the Party's ethnic and religious affairs work well in the new era to "forge a common consciousness of the Chinese nation" and more fully deepen and implement the country's sinicization of religion], Xinhua, July 13, 2024.

14Wang Rongwei, "中国基督教部分主要教堂主任牧师从严治教培训班在广州举行" [A training class in the strict governance of religion for pastors of some major Christian churches was held in Guangzhoul, China Christian Council and Three-Self Patriotic Movement Online, July 26, 2024; Zhang Chunhua, "China, Three-Self Christians Start Training in 'Strict Governance,'" Bitter Win-

ter, August 22, 2024.
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