ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Party's Control Over the Judicial Process

Central authorities of the Chinese Communist Party continued to exert control over the judicial process in violation of international standards. Although it is not formally part of the Party, the judiciary's first priority in 2018 was to defend "the Party's centralized and unified leadership, with [Party General Secretary] Xi Jinping as the core leader," according to the March 2018 Supreme People's Court (SPC) work report ³ delivered by senior Party official and SPC President Zhou Qiang. ⁴ Zhou affirmed that the adjudication process should be improved through Party building, ⁵ which included ideological conformity, ⁶ and advocated for absolute loyalty and obedience to the Party. ⁷ Zhou further saw it as the court's importative to take part in a political initiative called "climinate dark" perative to take part in a political initiative called "eliminate darkness and evil" that aims to "further strengthen the foundation of the Party's power." 8 According to announcements by local authorities, targeted "dark forces" included persons involved in organized crime as well as individuals who "threaten political security" and those who "have a grip on political power at the local level." Staterun media Xinhua explained that this campaign "is primarily aimed at consolidating the [Communist Party's] ruling foundation," 10 and some commentators drew comparisons with earlier party spine a comparison with earlier and "Strike Plack" in anti-crime campaigns such as "Strike Hard" and "Strike Black" in terms of the potential for serious human rights abuses. 11

In February 2018, Xiong Xuanguo, a vice minister at the Ministry of Justice, urged lawyers to "conform their thoughts and actions with the Party's plan" and to join the "eliminate darkness and evil" campaign. 12 He also announced that the All China Lawyers Association had established a "defense lawyer guidance committee" to "strengthen guidance on cases" relating to the campaign.¹³ Some lawyers expressed concern that the unprecedented efforts to coordinate defense lawyers was actually a "stability maintenance" measure and would undermine lawyers' independence in defending their clients.14

Persecution and Harassment of Human Rights Lawyers and Advocates

CRIMINAL PROSECUTION

Chinese authorities continued to criminally prosecute rights lawyers and advocates detained during the nationwide, coordinated crackdown that began in and around July 2015 (July 2015 crackdown), ¹⁵ which affected over 300 individuals and led to a total of 14 criminal convictions. ¹⁶ This past year, authorities sentenced three individuals and continued to hold one person under incommunicado pretrial detention.¹⁷ International human rights groups, in anticipation of the November 2018 session of the UN Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review of the Chinese government's human rights record, 18 expressed in their reports concerns about persecution of rights lawyers. 19

• On November 21, 2017, a court sentenced disbarred rights lawyer **Jiang Tianyong**²⁰ to two years' imprisonment on the

charge of "inciting to subvert state power." ²¹ Authorities alleged that Jiang counseled Xie Yang's wife to fabricate torture allegations. ²² Rights lawyer **Xie Yang** ²³ reportedly told his lawyers in January 2017 that authorities had tortured him, ²⁴ but he later retracted that claim at trial. ²⁵ On December 26, 2017, a court convicted Xie of "inciting to subvert state power" and decided not to impose criminal punishment. ²⁶ After releasing Xie from detention, authorities restricted his freedom of movement ²⁷ and photocopied his case files, a step that suggests authorities were preparing to revoke Xie's law license as retaliation against his resuming rights defense work, according to his wife. ²⁸

• On December 26, 2017, a court sentenced rights advocate **Wu Gan** ²⁹ to eight years in prison for "subverting state power." ³⁰ On April 17, 2018, the court of second instance affirmed the original sentence. ³¹ Shortly before the second instance court issued the decision, authorities reportedly prevented citizens from attending the hearing and detained Wu's father in a hotel located in Guilin municipality, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. ³²

• Authorities took rights lawyer **Wang Quanzhang** ³³ into custody around July 2015 and continued to hold him under incommunicado detention ³⁴ on the charge of "subverting state power." ³⁵ In April 2018, Wang's wife Li Wenzu said authorities never informed her of Wang's whereabouts, and she started a symbolic march from her home in Beijing municipality to Wang's presumed detention location in Tianjin municipality. ³⁶ Authorities intercepted Li in Tianjin, returned her to Beijing, and placed her under "soft detention" in her apartment, during which individuals believed to be working for government officials blocked and assaulted Li's visitors. ³⁷

Authorities likewise criminally detained other lawyers subsequent to the July 2015 crackdown:

- In October 2017, authorities detained rights lawyer **Li Yuhan**³⁸ on the charge of "picking quarrels and provoking trouble." ³⁹ Staff at the detention center reportedly denied her hot water for showers, denied her medical treatment, and threatened to beat her to death. ⁴⁰ At the age of 60, Li suffered from health conditions including heart disease, hypertension, and hyperthyroidism. ⁴¹ Previously, Li represented lawyer Wang Yu, ⁴² whom authorities detained during the July 2015 crackdown. ⁴³
- In January 2018, authorities detained rights lawyer Yu Wensheng 44 and in April formally arrested him on the charges of "obstructing official business" and "inciting subversion of state power." 45 Earlier, the Beijing Municipal Justice Bureau revoked Yu's law license reportedly because he had represented rights lawyer Wang Quanzhang. 46 Yu's detention came shortly after he made a Twitter post advocating constitutional reform. 47 In April, police showed Yu's defense lawyers a declaration in which Yu allegedly terminated their representation. 48 Yu's wife, Xu Yan, refused to terminate the lawyers because the declaration contradicted an earlier declaration that Yu wrote, in which he stated that he would not voluntarily ter-

minate his lawyers were he to be detained.⁴⁹ In February, authorities restricted Xu Yan's ability to travel to Hong Kong and in April pressured her not to discuss her husband's case.⁵⁰

RESTRICTION, PERSECUTION, AND HARASSMENT OF LAWYERS

Beside criminal prosecution, authorities persecuted, harassed, and imposed restrictions on rights lawyers by means including revocation ⁵¹ and suspension ⁵² of licenses, delay in the annual license renewal process, ⁵³ exclusion from courthouses, ⁵⁴ restriction of movement, ⁵⁵ restriction on speech, ⁵⁶ and physical assault. ⁵⁷ Authorities also conducted intrusive "inspections" in a number of law firms. ⁵⁸ In September 2017, for example, at least seven law firms were subjected to inspection, with some on-site inspections reportedly lasting for days. ⁵⁹ Observers said these inspections targeted law firms that engaged in rights defense work. ⁶⁰

Citizen Petitioning

The petitioning system (*xinfang*), also known as the "letters and visits system," has been a popular mechanism outside of the formal legal system for citizens to present their grievances to authorities, either in writing or in person.⁶¹ The petitioning system reportedly has been ineffective in addressing citizens' grievances due to factors such as the large number of petitions,⁶² the limited authority of local *xinfang* offices,⁶³ shortcomings in the accountability system,⁶⁴ and corruption.⁶⁵

Chinese authorities experimented with measures to streamline the petitioning system that one scholar said may produce limited benefits. The State Bureau of Letters and Visits (the central-level government agency responsible for overseeing the petitioning system) expanded the online petitioning platform, ⁶⁶ and central and local authorities formalized the reform of categorizing petition matters for the purpose of diverting certain cases to administrative or judicial resolution mechanisms. ⁶⁷ One China-based scholar pointed out, however, that many petitioners from rural areas are unfamiliar with the online interface, and that adding a way of submitting petitions does not in itself enhance the petitioning system's capacity to resolve disputes. ⁶⁸ In addition, the scholar noted that petitioners are not legally bound to use other methods to seek remedies, particularly when doing so would require increased cost and time. ⁶⁹

During this reporting year, petitioners continued to face official repression. Authorities detained petitioners, alleging criminal or administrative offenses including "disrupting order in a public place," ⁷⁰ "picking quarrels and provoking trouble," ⁷¹ and "obstructing official business." ⁷² In addition, authorities reportedly detained petitioners in the period leading up to and during the 19th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in October 2017, ⁷³ and the annual meetings of the National People's Congress and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in March 2018. ⁷⁴

4

Legal Aid

The legal aid system remained a state-controlled institution. State Council regulations specify that justice bureaus of local governments appoint legal aid organizations and administer legal aid programs through them. The Legal aid organizations may assign eligible applicants to in-house lawyers or make referrals to law firms, grassroots legal services, or other social organizations. Lawyers are legally obligated to provide legal aid services and may be dis-

ciplined or fined for refusing to do so.⁷⁷

While the government continued to expand the legal aid system, it further tightened the space for legal aid services not administered by the government. The Ministry of Justice spent 2.12 billion yuan (approximately US\$320 million) on legal aid programs during 2016, representing a 12.1 percent annual increase.⁷⁸ It further stated that the majority of provincial-level governments lowered the eligibility standard and expanded the scope of legal aid by covering civil matters, such as employment, family, food and drugs, education, and healthcare.⁷⁹ In January 2018, the All China Lawyers Association (ACLA), which is the national bar association ⁸⁰ that works under the Ministry of Justice's direction,⁸¹ issued a set of trial rules prohibiting lawyers from accepting cases at discounted rates or without fees, except for legal aid cases.⁸² A China-based lawyer said he was concerned that the provision would prevent lawyers from providing pro bono legal services to disadvantaged individuals in cases of significant interest to the public.⁸³

Judicial Reform Efforts

Government and Party-directed reform efforts ⁸⁴ have focused on improving the judiciary's capacity to process cases, while requiring that the judiciary remain an instrument of the Chinese Communist Party. In November 2017, Supreme People's Court (SPC) President Zhou Qiang reported to the National People's Congress Standing Committee that the judiciary made progress in completing or setting into motion judicial reform objectives—such as judicial responsibility and case opening reforms—laid out by the 18th Central Committee in 2013 and in the Third and Fourth Plenum Decisions in 2014.⁸⁵ Some legal experts observed that, rather than removing obstacles to delivering justice, ⁸⁶ judicial reform efforts have focused on technically improving the efficiency ⁸⁷ of the legal system, which central authorities continue to use as "a mechanism to constrain local-level functionaries . . . and repress dissent" ⁸⁸

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENT AND MANAGEMENT

This past year, Chinese lawmakers deliberated legislative amendments in an effort to formalize reforms of the judicial appointment and management system. By The draft amendment of the PRC Organic Law of People's Courts provides that appointment of judges is subject to a quota assigned by the SPC based on the locality's population size, caseload, and other measurable factors. Candidates would also undergo a merit-based selection process to qualify as judges. The draft amendment of the PRC Judges Law raises the education threshold and generally requires prior judicial experience for promotion to higher courts. Despite emphasis on

merit-based considerations, "high political quality" remained a selection requirement.⁹³

PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS

The National People's Congress Standing Committee (NPCSC) passed new legislation to improve lay participation in courts during this reporting year, though some observers said that pilot versions of this reform had been ineffective. People's assessors, who do not need to be legally trained, participate in case adjudication alongside judges.⁹⁴ The previous system reportedly suffered from problems such as insufficient rotation of people's assessors and lack of genuine participation, with one expert referring to people's assessors as "decoration." ⁹⁵ In April 2018, the NPCSC passed the PRC People's Assessors Law, ⁹⁶ following nearly three years of pilot programs in 10 jurisdictions.97 The new law requires that most people's assessors be randomly selected, and it expands the current three-person panels to seven-person panels in certain types of cases, such as those involving food and drug safety, land expropriation, and environmental protection.98 Some China-based scholars said that the random selection mechanism was the right step forward; some observed, however, that the pilot programs did not improve actual participation by people's assessors in case adjudication.99

USE OF TECHNOLOGY

The judiciary used technology to facilitate court proceedings and enforcement, which are elements of access to justice. ¹⁰⁰ In November 2017, Zhou Qiang reported that over 2,200 courts across China established Web-based litigation services, enabling litigants to complete transactions online, for example, to open a case, pay fees, examine evidence, and make court appearances. ¹⁰¹ In addition, in August 2017, the Supreme People's Court implemented a Partyapproved plan to establish the first "internet court" to handle litigation entirely online in certain internet-related disputes. ¹⁰² Zhu Shenyuan, Vice President of the Zhejiang Province High People's Court, explained that the cross-jurisdictional and decentralized nature of online transactions presented challenges to the judicial system. ¹⁰³ A scholar observed that the internet court could help litigants save on travel expenses and reduce overall litigation costs. ¹⁰⁴ In July 2018, Zhou Qiang convened a Supreme People's Court Judicial Reform Leading Small Group meeting during which an agenda for establishing additional internet courts in Beijing municipality and Guangdong province was passed. ¹⁰⁵

Zhou Qiang further reported that the judiciary's online enforcement system was linked to the databases of over 10 government bodies, enabling it to track down judgment debtors' property for the purpose of enforcement. O According to Zhou, judgment debtors' information also was shared with the developing social credit system, which authorities could use to tighten social control, according to some observers. OF Tor more information on potential abuses of the social credit system, see Section III—Institutions of Democratic Governance and Commercial Rule of Law and Human Rights.

In February 2018, the Supreme People's Court issued provisions requiring courts, beginning in September, to use a unified online

platform to disclose various stages of the litigation process, including case opening, process service, hearing date, and issuance of court documents. 108 Other aspects of the Supreme People's Court's efforts to improve disclosure of information included new online platforms for judicial documents and status of enforcement. 109

Notes to Section III—Access to Justice

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