

Congressional Testimony for Liu Xiaobo; CECC

Witness: Chai Ling, Founder of All Girls Allowed

Dec. 6th, 2011

Chairman Smith and Ranking Members of the Committee, thank you for hosting this important hearing to give honor, respect and much-needed attention to Mr. Liu Xiaobo. His bravery and perseverance continue to set an example for all of us as we consider our nation's relationship with China moving forward.

The Liu Xiaobo I Know

My experience with Liu Xiaobo began at Tiananmen Square in 1989. From the beginning, we approached the movement with different strategies and ideas. And yet we worked together toward a common goal: to request dialogue with the Chinese government to urge peaceful reforms. His leadership and participation as an intellectual leader brought strength to the protest. In the last hour, when we were all surrounded by tanks and troops at Tiananmen Square, he volunteered to speak to the Army commanders as I addressed the students. This act of bravery by going to the front lines left a deep impression on me. He returned and gave me a hug, and also said, "Now I finally understand all of you students." That moment between life and death, we both felt the power of unity. After the massacre, Liu and I went our separate ways—I arrived in America, the land of the free, after 10 months underground, while Liu was imprisoned inside China. After these early days of blood and tears, life or death, we never saw each other again. But I hope to someday reunite with him and tell him about the ultimate freedom I found in Jesus. Like himself, Jesus was wrongfully punished and hurt for the sake of others. I pray for Xiaobo to get to know Jesus in the time of bondage, we can be soon reunited again in person and in spirit.

Charter 08 and China's Three Reforms Necessary for Democracy and Freedom

Today I want to spend a few moments discussing one topic Liu has devoted much of his life to: democracy and freedom in China. Liu was one of the authors of Charter 08, which points out that China remains the only large world power to still retain an authoritarian system that so infringes on human rights. The charter reads: "This situation must change! Political democratic reforms cannot be delayed any longer!"

Liu is behind bars for advocating for political reform that China so desperately needs, for freedom of religion that could propel China forward into spiritual reform, and for a guarantee of human rights – rights that he is currently being denied.

Before the massacre in 1989, Hu Yaobong advocated for three reforms. At that time as a young student, I did not understand what he was talking about. He advocated for economic, political and spiritual reform. Zhao Ziyang, the premier who eventually was sentenced to house imprisonment for his disagreement with Deng Xiaoping's massacre decision, advocated for two reforms: political and economic. But Deng Xiaoping only wanted one reform, economic reform.

That is what China has today. We must remember this when we examine our relationship with China. It is believed that a small amount of people, around 5,000 Chinese families, control 70 percent of China's wealth, its political power and military power. The middle class take a good portion of the remaining 30 percent while the poorest of the poor, 468 million people, live under 2 dollars a day.

This is what happens when no political or spiritual reform takes place, but instead, oppression and economic reform create a lethal combination. It has led to a state that is described in Charter 08: "...so far, this political progress has largely remained on paper: there are laws, but there is no rule of law; there is a constitution, but no constitutional government; this is still the political reality that is obvious to all. The ruling elite continues to insist on its authoritarian grip on power, rejecting political reform. This has caused official corruption, difficulty in establishing rule of law, the absence of human rights, moral bankruptcy, social polarization, abnormal economic development, destruction of both the natural and cultural environment, no institutionalized protection of citizens' rights to freedom, property, and the pursuit of happiness, the constant accumulation of all kinds of social conflicts, and the continuous surge of resentment. In particular, the intensification of antagonism between the government and the people, and the dramatic increase in mass incidents, indicate a catastrophic loss of control in the making, suggesting that the backwardness of the current system has reached a point where change must occur".

In addition, China's current model is a threat to democracy around the world. This past month we attended a democracy conference in Rome to meet with world leaders and discuss democracy. The president of the hosting organization explained that: "the largest obstacle today for countries seeking democracy is China." Not only do 1 in 5 people live in this nation without freedom or basic human rights, but others look to China as an example. China has totalitarian control and a free market. The continued apparent wealth and power of the super elite class in China is attractive to dictators and people worldwide who hope to model the same in their own countries and societies. It is a stumbling block to democracy globally.

Recent Development towards Charter 08 participants

As of June 18th, 2011, there were 11640 signers of Charter 08. Almost every one of the 303 initial signers has been under surveillance or harassed by the current Chinese regime. According to a partial investigation by my non-profit, All Girls Allowed, at least 156 of them have suffered serious persecution such as prison sentences, arrests, house arrests, forced disappearances on "sensitive" dates such as the Nobel Peace Prize Award Ceremony, World Human Rights Day, Tiananmen Anniversary and the People's Congress sessions. A more complete figure will far exceed these partial accounts. For the complete detailed list, see Appendix II, provided by Women's Rights in China.

The Hope for China and For the World

Does this mean that spiritual and political reform cannot come to China? By no means. In fact, I come here today not only to remember Liu Xiaobo but to proclaim a message of hope. Something very special and powerful is already happening inside China and worldwide regarding China. As I share the good news in our own Congress, I am very grateful to the gift of religious freedom in America. I can no longer testify about China's present, past and future without proclaiming God's truth, after I was enlightened to the truth two years ago. This truth is consistent with the separation of church and state, and freedom of speech for all to speak their convictions, so I do and shall speak

about my full understanding of China, earnestly and thankfully. As Joshua says in Joshua chapter 24, “¹⁵ But if serving the LORD seems undesirable to you, then choose for yourselves this day whom you will serve.... But as for me and my household, we will serve the LORD.” When the Israelite was led to the promised land by crossing over the Jordan river, it was the priests, those communicating and trusting God, who was commissioned to step in the flooding water first, then God parted the way for the people.

The impossibility of changing China’s human rights situation by our own strength: whether by individual or government was the catalyst for my coming to faith in Jesus—I saw no hope outside of God intervening in this grave situation the country finds itself in. So God and Jesus can no longer be cut out of the discussion or testimony about the process of freeing a nation such as China. Especially when we face a Goliath in the form of massive ignorance, apathy, and worse yet, fear, we also experience the powerful force that God himself is bringing to justice and freedom to China, as we can see in these important recent happenings:

- **China is getting to know our Creator:** in 1989, the following declaration inspired all students at Tiananmen Square: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness”. If these rights, like “all men are created equal” are gifts from the Creator, we had one problem: in a country and communist system such as China, we did not know about the Creator. In the past 22 years, the Creator has moved into China, in many big and powerful ways, sometimes through miracles and wonders that are widely documented by stories like “The Heavenly Man”, some through stories of changed lives and hearts. This brings new ways to foster friendship and social responsibility and demonstrate the fruit of the spirit: of “Love, joy, peace, patience, faithfulness, kindness, goodness, gentleness and self control.” Since 1989, the church has exploded in China amidst great persecution. Today there are reports of between 70 million to 150 million followers of Jesus in China, with more added daily. 1 in 10 Chinese people have come to know Jesus. We see that people are choosing to have faith despite the government’s oppression. They give us hope that when more and more people in the nation come to know the Creator, they will start to reclaim their unalienable rights of being created in the image of God. They are laying a foundation for a vibrant civil society that will fight for and defend its basic human freedom in boldness and courage.
- On the political side of things, despite China’s internal lack of political reforms, we are seeing **a worldwide dissatisfaction that may spark change in the way the West does business amidst China’s torture and abuse.** The first place we observed this was here, in our own Congress just last month. It is evident that the past 20 years of US-China relations have failed. China is more resourceful, much more dangerous than it was 20 years ago. According to the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, this year was the worst in decades for human rights abuses occurring in China. Several Members pointed out that the US is in debt to China today, and that being soft with China on human rights has not worked. The second place we observed this dissatisfaction was in Europe among EU leaders and Italian parliament members. They agreed 100 percent with this message of freedom for women, an end to the One-Child Policy and a need to be firm with China on their human rights abuses.

- Finally, the **growth of social media and online community** will play a vital role in creating a freer China. The internet in China, though censored, has been a great meeting place for dissidents and normal citizens alike. China has more Internet users than any other country: 457 million and counting. The way that users communicate on microblogs and social-networking services means that controversial news stories and calls to action travel with incredible speed, spread rapidly to a large number of people — and pressure China’s leaders to respond. Liu’s name is blocked from searches and microblogs in China. But many immediately found other ways to proclaim his winning of the Peace Prize, replacing some letters with Latin characters.

A worldwide policy towards China ought to be based on Justice and Freedom for all

I would like to also stress the importance of Europe as we move forward in our discussions about China’s human rights record and treatment of Liu Xiaobo. We applaud Norway’s Nobel Peace Prize Committee’s courageous and inspiring stand for hosting the ceremony last winter. The 19 countries that rejected invitations missed a truly remarkable evening. So did our own President. Though President Obama released a statement concerning Liu directly before the ceremony, his absence and more importantly, the special state dinner for China’s leader only one month after the event, show that our Administration has a long way to go in regards to standing for what is right. We also were thankful for Congresswoman, then House Speaker Nancy Pelosi’s attendance and support, and, as always, Chairman Chris Smith’s strong, compassion stance reminiscent of William Wilberforce. It was a joy seeing many of you additionally, Mr. Gershman, Prof. Perry Link and many others who have been stand in solidarity to fight the difficult battle to bring freedom to China, at the ceremony. That inspiring Act of the Peace Prize award, is causing many leaders around the world to stand up against China’s human rights abuses. Now, the European Union is again reconsidering its policy and approach to China.

in contrast, the lack of real action from US leaders on China’s human rights atrocities has been a major problem for years, throughout various administrations. Beliefs such as “We cannot let human rights interfere with our economic crisis and security issues in dealing with China” have been the root causes for the deteriorating of China’s human rights conditions and the decline of America. It gave the oppressors encouragement to continue the injustices! And it robs the blessings to our nation from the Creator. This is not an issue for just republicans or democrats—it is and should be a bi-partisan concern. How can we work together with our partners throughout Europe to show China that its blatant abuse of innocent mothers, political dissidents, fathers, “out of plan” children and religious followers cannot continue?

The God who guided the founding of America through the forefathers is a God who “loves justice, hates robbery and iniquity.” (Isaiah 61:8). He is also a God that set the following decree, “Cursed is the man who withholds justice from the alien, the fatherless or the widow.” (Deuteronomy 27:19). When we fail to uphold justice, to do what our God requires us to, “Act justly, love mercy, walk humbly with the Lord our God”(Micah 6:8), there are severe consequences such as: “You will be cursed in the city and cursed in the country” for God is the transparent God we see in Deuteronomy 28:15-68. This chapter was filled with consequences for those not obeying God’s commands. As we are paying 42 cents interests on every dollar we spend as a government, the following picture serves as a chilling reminder on how wrong awaits the nation if we fail to do right: “A people that you don’t know will eat what your land and labor produce, and you will have nothing but cruel

oppression all your days. The sights you see will drive you mad.” (Deuteronomy 28:33-34) It continues: “⁴⁴ He shall lend to you, but you shall not lend to him; he shall be the head, and you shall be the tail.

⁴⁵ “Moreover all these curses shall come upon you and pursue and overtake you, until you are destroyed, because you did not obey the voice of the LORD your God, to keep His commandments and His statutes which He commanded you.” Verses 12-14 offer a blessing for those **who** obey: “¹² The LORD will open to you His good treasure, the heavens, to give the rain to your land in its season, and to bless all the work of your hand. You shall lend to many nations, but you shall not borrow. ¹³ And the LORD will make you the head and not the tail; you shall be above only, and not be beneath, if you heed the commandments of the LORD your God, which I command you today, and are careful to observe *them*. ¹⁴ So you shall not turn aside from any of the words which I command you this day, *to* the right or the left, to go after other gods to serve them.”

I am not alone in arguing on building the sound government policy not on material calculations but on sound moral and biblical principles.

Pope Benedict XVI also urges world leaders in his September 22, 2011 address to Germany’s Lower House of Parliament, to have a listening heart when they govern:

“Allow me to begin my reflections on the foundations of law [Recht] with a brief story from sacred Scripture. In the First Book of the Kings, it is recounted that God invited the young King Solomon, on his accession to the throne, to make a request. What will the young ruler ask for at this important moment? Success – wealth – long life – destruction of his enemies? He chooses none of these things. Instead, he asks for a listening heart so that he may govern God’s people, and discern between good and evil (cf. 1 Kg 3:9).

Through this story, the Bible wants to tell us what should ultimately matter for a politician. **His fundamental criterion and the motivation for his work as a politician must not be success, and certainly not material gain. Politics must be a striving for justice, and hence it has to establish the fundamental preconditions for peace.** Naturally a politician will seek success, without which he would have no opportunity for effective political action at all. Yet success is subordinated to the criterion of justice, to the will to do what is right, and to the understanding of what is right. Success can also be seductive and thus can open up the path towards the falsification of what is right, towards the destruction of justice. **“Without justice – what else is the State but a great band of robbers?”**, as Saint Augustine once said. We Germans know from our own experience that these words are no empty specter. **We have seen how power became divorced from right, how power opposed right and crushed it, so that the State became an instrument for destroying right – a highly organized band of robbers, capable of threatening the whole world and driving it to the edge of the abyss.** To serve right and to fight against the dominion of wrong is and remains the fundamental task of the politician. **At a moment in history when man has acquired previously inconceivable power, this task takes on a particular urgency. Man can destroy the world. He can manipulate himself. He can, so to speak, make human beings and he can deny them their humanity.** How do we recognize what is right? How can we discern between good and evil, between what is truly right and what may appear right? Even now, Solomon’s request remains the decisive issue facing politicians and politics today.” As the Pope pointed out, **the foundation for a listening heart is to seek justice, not success!**

Today, we need a listening heart to confront injustice in China. As Martin Luther King said, “Injustice anywhere is injustice everywhere”.

In the past, I did not like to come to hearings like this. for we will pour our hearts out hoping that leaders of China or leaders in America will listen and rise up give freedom to the people. We often went home heart broken because few tangible improvements happened. I am no longer in the spirit of disappointment and despair for I now understand the leaders, or men, can't give what they don't have. But there is one can an will give generously when we ask and seek, I have found that One. There is a story in the Gospels about Jesus multiplying lunch for a crowd. He had told the disciples to give something to the people to eat. But they just didn't have enough food for all the people nor do they have that much money. But the true God does, not only He has true freedom, and he gives generously. We can come to God to ask Him to help, not by trying to persuade the government to give something it does not have. God will give our people freedom and healing for He has promised the following:

“¹⁴ if My people who are called by My name will humble themselves, and pray and seek My face, and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin and heal their land. (2 Chronicles 7:14)

I pray and hope to see change—someday soon seeking justice everywhere will become the foundation and priority that leads us to construct a new US-China policy. Only when we seek the righteousness of the Kingdom first, when justice is served, success, peace and prosperity will follow, not the other way around.

Then what shall we do? Support HR2121.

We have supported a new bill in the House, HR 2121. It is a great model for a similar initiative in the EU. This legislation would allow the President to deny visas to families of China's leading persecutors of dissidents, pregnant mothers and minorities. These perpetrators should not be allowed to freely enter, buy and sell in our country. While we believe this can change China, as certain other countries have responded when visa bans was implemented, we also believe that this is a powerful way to show the world where our own nation stands on human rights. There are two stories we like to share:

The story of Li Qun:



This past week, New Haven media has been reporting on a very relevant case. Li Qun, current mayor in Linyi, China, claims to have learned about leadership in our own nation—before his return to China to abuse women and dissidents in almost unbelievable ways.

This rising Chinese communist star who claimed to have served as an assistant to Mayor John DeStefano Jr. in 2000 was largely responsible for the torture and imprisonment of Chen Guangcheng, outspoken human rights activist.

Li Qun, who spent six months studying public administration at the University of New Haven, returned to China and was

appointed mayor of Linyi, a city of 10 million, and then became the city's Communist Party leader, according to the 2008 book, "Out of Mao's Shadow: The Struggle for the Soul of a New China" by Philip P. Pan.

Li's role in brutally enforcing China's one-child policy and keeping Chen Guangcheng under isolated house arrest was noted in an article in the Nov. 28 issue of National Review, the publisher of which, Jack Fowler, lives in Milford.

"Li Qun is now a rising star in the bureaucracy (in China) and right now the deputy governor of Shandong province and apparently the heir-apparent to the governorship," said Jing Zhang of the group Women's Rights in China. "Without his studies in the United States, he would not have experienced such meteoric promotions."

Li wrote about his time in New Haven City Hall in his own book, "I Was an Assistant to an American Mayor." According to Pan, Li "wrote that Chinese officials could learn a lot from their American counterparts about how to improve governance." Who would ever imagine his sense of "how to improve governance" is to imprison and torture brave blind attorney Chen Guangcheng and his family. When this happens, are we proud as a nation?

The story of Nie Lina

The following is another story that reminds us the daily suffering that powerless women in China go through everyday: Liu Xiaobo in Charter 08 has advocated not only for the guarantee of human rights, but also for free markets and protection of private property, including privatizing state enterprises and land. Nie Lina is an example of what happens when officials have free reign over the nation's most vulnerable people.

Ms. Nie Lina, a woman from Henan province, contacted All Girls Allowed because of her difficulties. She was five-months pregnant. Her family's house was forcibly demolished, but she could get no redress from the local government

She had no option but to petition the central government in Beijing, and was beaten many times as a result. She was then put into administrative detention in Beijing's Jingjiuzhuang center. On March 28, 2011, Ms. Lina was transferred from Jingjiuzhuang to her local detention center for ten days, during which time she suffered beatings to her head and body at the hands of government agents.



On April 19th, Ms. Lina was again arrested and kept in a detention center in Xiangcheng, Henan. Seven to eight male government agents undressed her in the court yard of the detention center in front of sixty onlookers, leaving only her bra on her upper body. Afterwards, she was dragged to ultrasound exams and threatened with forced abortion. She was extremely frightened and greatly humiliated. After she reached out to AGA, our team mobilized hundreds of others to pray for her safety. God answered these prayers, as she was spared a forced abortion in the end because none of the authorities dared sign their name to authorize it. It was a beautiful victory of the power of God and the power of prayers. 5 months later, she gave birth to a beautiful daughter. See picture.



During her three days of detention, she was given no food or water by the authorities. Because she was not fed, she suffered severe stomach pain; only a woman working in the kitchen had compassion, sneaking her some bread. The government agents warned her, “We’ll kill you if you go to Beijing to petition again. The police in Beijing told us to arrest you.” but despite the cruelty, Nie was determined to go for petitions for her lost home again after giving birth to her daughter. For she has received no help after her house was demolished, and she needs a place to raise her family. In desperation, she petitioned peacefully again. More of her family members suffered.

Ms. Lina’s father was forcibly arrested.



Nie Lina was imprisoned again this month. Yesterday, our China Operation Director received an urgent phone call from Nie Lina and learned she and her three months old baby, her 70 year old mother are jailed in an underground dungeon, with no window and no light, no bathing facility. They received very little food, and no meat and other protein at all. the severe mal nutrition caused her unable to produce the milk her baby needs to live. The baby cries out due to hunger. It breaks the hearts of he mother, grandmother and all of us. This condition has been going on for more than 10 days now. If she does not receive help immediately, the baby and mother's health will be at grave risk. She may been sentenced to at least 6 months.
Help, if you can!

I request that the names of Ms. Lina's persecutors be included in the record. See appendix 1.

When mothers' homes are demolished and they are imprisoned by their own authorities for seeking compensation, something has gone horribly wrong.

China must end One Child Policy and Gendercide.

We also must stop to remember the 400 million lives taken by China's One-Child Policy. This is more than 23 times the number of all the genocides of the past century combined. It is the greatest crime ever committed against humanity, and recent reports of government agents taking infants out of mothers arms and selling them to American adoption agencies, of Ma Jihong, a mother who was killed during a forced abortion last month, of a mother last year who was forced to abort on her own due date as she attempted to visit a hospital—these reports are only the tip of the iceberg, a small glimpse of the 400 million lives "prevented" according to Chinese government records, since 1980.



In Conclusion

Today I've shared hope and obstacles, encouragement and disaster---but that is the nature of China's current crisis. When written in Chinese, the word *crisis* is composed of two characters. One represents danger, like the kind of situation we have been discussing regarding Liu Xiaobo, Nie Lina, and the other represents *opportunity*, the opportunity to achieve basic human rights for all, to adopt Charter 08, to adopt 3 reforms, and to free a nation.

I understand when we look into China's many oppressions and human rights abuses it is hard to see any hope from a human point of view, in the past two years, I have learned to not draw conclusions until see God's point of view. For when we saw Lazarus died, we all wept including Jesus. But only Jesus our God and savior know thee is a greater reason why He allowed Lazarus to die. it is to bring more glory to God and to bring more people to God. So now when I see the suffering and sadness, I wait and anticipate God's power and glory to heal, to redeem and to bring freedom.

For Jesus has promised during the Sermon on the Mount: “Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven, blessed are those who mourn for they will be comforted, blessed are the meek for they will inherit the earth, blessed who those hunger and thirst for righteousness, they will be filled, blessed are those merciful for they will be shown mercy, blessed for those pure in heart for they will see God, blessed are the peacemakers for they will be called sons of God, blessed who those are persecuted because righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven.”

So Lord Jesus we believe in your promise, and

We proclaim freedom for Liu Xiaobo, Chen Guangcheng, Nie Lina and many others who suffer imprisonment for pursuing righteousness; for there is no imprisonment in the Kingdom of heaven.

We proclaim comfort for those who mourn under the One-Child Policy and Gendercide, for the end is coming, and they will be given oil of gladness instead of a spirit of despair;

We proclaim mercy and forgiveness for the Chinese leaders and oppressors, for if they chose to be merciful, then they will be shown mercy;

We proclaim riches and prosperity for the 486 million poor in China, for they will be given the opportunity to inherit the earth;

We proclaim righteousness for the American government, for if they truly are hungry and thirsty for righteousness, America will be blessed as nation that filled with everlasting joy.

Let this year to be the year of Lord’s favor, in Jesus’s name we pray, Amen!

Appendix I

The following names are the officials responsible for the arrest and imprisonment of Nie Lina.

县长 County Executive

苏建涛 Su Jiantao 13903741995

政法委书记 Politics and Justice Committee Chairman

王喜建 Wang Xijian 13703745666

茨沟乡党委书记 Cigou Township Party Chairman

盛亚涛 Sheng Yatao 13938782588

公安局长 Police Chief

赵新 Zhao Xin 13938915858

信访局局长 Petitions Bureau Chief

常付桥 Chang Fuqiao 13903992286

茨沟派出所所长 Cigou Township Police Precinct Captain

孙亚非 Sun Yafei 18627465868

Appendix II

Investigation on Persecutions of Charter 08 Signers (provided by Woman's Rights in China)

By June 18th, 2011, there have been 11640 signers of Charter 08, a non-violent moderate manifesto demanding liberalizing political reforms in China. Almost every one of the 303 initial signers has been under surveillance or harassed by the current Chinese regime. According to a partial investigation by AGA, at least 156 of them have suffered serious persecution such as prison sentences, arrests, house arrests, forced disappearances on “sensitive” dates such as the Nobel Peace Prize Award Ceremony, World Human Rights Day, Tiananmen Anniversary and the People's Congress sessions. A more complete figure will far exceed these partial accounts.

A) So far there have been five signers who have been sentenced to prison terms.

1. Liu Xiaobo, December 25, 2009, conspiracy to overthrow the government, 11 year sentence
2. Huang Xiaomin, February 28, 2009, Illegal gathering disturbing social order, two years and six months
3. Duan Chunfang, October 23, obstruction of official business, one year and six months
4. Xie Fulin, March 26, 2010, theft, six years plus 30,000 yuan fine
5. Liu Xianbin, March 25, 2011, conspiracy to overthrow the government, ten years

B) Since the Nobel Peace Prize Committee's October 8, 2010 announcement of Liu Xiaobo's award, the Chinese government has severely increased surveillance and control of Liu Xiaobo's wife Liu Xia, his other family members and many dissidents associated with Charter 08. Most of the 143 invitees from Mainland China to the Oslo award ceremony had already been under heavy government surveillance. They and their family members had been barred from leaving Mainland China. A partial list includes:

1. October 30, 2010, human Rights attorneys Li Subin, Jiang Tianyong
2. October 31, 2010, Guanzhou Independent Writers' Society facilitator Yebin was refused permit to visit Hong Kong without an official explanation
3. November 7, 2010, He Jian, professor of the Beijing Film Institute, was barred from a flight from Beijing to Hong Kong

4. November 8, 2010, Jia Jianying of Beijing was barred from visiting Taiwan. Jia is the wife of He Depu who was serving an eight-year sentence for conspiracy to overthrow the government.
 5. November 8, 2010, human rights attorney Li Fangping was put under house arrest in Beijing to prevent him from attending a French legal conference.
 6. November 9, 2010, Liu Xiaobo's attorney Mo Shaoping and Beijing University professor He Weifan were barred from departing Beijing for a conference in the UK.
 7. November 9, 2010, Beijing Film Institute professor Cui Yaping was barred from leaving for Italy.
 8. November 10, 2010, constitutional scholar Zhang Boshu was barred from crossing the Hong Kong border. He had planned to attend an academic conference in Taiwan.
 9. November 14, 2010, Ding Ding, son of historian Ding Dong, was barred from leaving Shanghai Airport for the United States.
 10. November 17, 2010, Yu Yiwei, reporter, barred from leaving Guangzhou Baiyun Airport for Singapore
 11. November 17, 2010, author and Independent Writers' Society member Zhou Zhongling was barred from renewing his passport.
 12. November 19, 2010, Beijing People's University professor, religion scholar He Guanghu was barred from departing Beijing for Singapore.
 13. November 28, 2010, human rights attorney Liu Xiaoyuan was barred from departing Beijing for Japan.
 14. December 1, 2010, Beijing economist Mao Yushi was barred from traveling to Singapore.
- Others who were barred from leaving the country include the sister of jailed Beijing author Hu Jia, the wife of Beijing Leal University lecturer Teng Biao and wife of Beijing author Jia Jia.

c) Around the time of the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony, the government of China engaged in a systematic campaign of house arrests to prevent family members and friends of Liu Xiaobo from attending the ceremony or contacting foreign media. Prominent examples include:

- 1) Yu Jie, independent author and friend of Liu Xiaobo was put under house arrest from October 14th to December 13th. During a 33-day
- 2) Ding Zilin and husband Jiang Penshen, parents of Tiananmen victim and founders of Mothers of Tiananmen, were under house arrest for 74 days after Liu's award announcement

- 3) Zhou Tuo, fellow Tiananmen leader of Liu Xiaobo was put under house arrest for more than sixty days starting the day after the award announcement.
- 4) Well known artist Ai Weiwei, who had signed Charter 08, was put under house arrest in November 2010. He was arrested in April 2011 and released three months later, after the police imposed heavy fines on him.

In a series of violent actions, Chinese police cracked down on Charter 08 signers in Guiyang, Guizhou Province. The persecution had been comparatively most concentrated and lengthy. Member of the Guizhou Human Rights Forum, including Wu Yuqin, Chen Xi, Liao Shuangyuan, Li Renke, Mo Jiangang, Lu Yongxiang, Zen Ning, Du Heping and Mi Chongbiao, have since the publication of Charter 08 been randomly and frequently arrested or “disappeared”, had their homes searched and computers and cell phone. Each one of them could suffer more than 50 separate instances of detainment or arrest in the last three years. Before the World Human Rights Day in December this year, police approached them in their homes or in the streets to “invite” them to the police station. There have been no news of the disappeared at this time, despite frantic efforts of their families searching for them.

China’s economic development has not come with equivalent levels in the advancement of democracy or freedom of opinion. It is an unhealthy and most inhumane mixture of the worst forms of communism and capitalism. Police, State Security agents, Family Planning agents and urban inspectors can “disappear” citizens at will. The future of freedom has not brightened in sixty years of Communist rule.

Appendix III

Forced “Disappearances” Continue for Guizhou Activists



Guizhou Human Rights Forum member and activist Chen Xi



Guizhou Human Rights Forum member Liao Shuangyuan



Guizhou Human Rights Forum member Wu Yuqin

Nov. 29, 2011

On the eve of the International Human Rights Day (December 10), Guiyang, Guizhou Province police forcibly “disappeared” numerous members of the Guizhou Human Rights Forum, including Chen Xi, Liao Shuangyuan, Wu Yuqin, Lu Yongqiang and Li Renke.

Since the publication of Charter 08, in three years, dozens of activists in Guiyang City have endured repeated police harassment, arrests, forced “vacations” and “disappearances”. In 2011 alone, a group of dissidents have experienced house arrest and kidnappings repeatedly. Disappearances could last days to months. The forced “vacations” included trips to other provinces accompanied by police agents. This year, Mr. Chen Xi had been detained for a month in February during the “Jasmine Revolution”, again in April and May, in June around the Tiananmen Massacre anniversary and at the end of the year due to his attempts to enter the local People’s Congress elections.

Mr. Chen Xi is a Christian, a human rights activist and a member of the China Democracy Party and the Guizhou Human Rights Forum. On October 19th, Mr. Chen used public computers to download publicly available information on elections for township-level People’s Congress. His family home was searched by police afterwards without any legal authorization. Mr. Chen was kept detained by the local police for seven days in a local hotel. All flash drives in his home were also confiscated. His house was put under uninterrupted surveillance.

Mr. Chen was kidnapped again by police on November 29th, The State Security squad ordered his family members to stop using any communications devices of the home including cell phones. Leaders of the hospital where Mr. Chen's daughter was employed had also pressured her. She was told that the government had amassed reams of material on Mr. Chen and could send him to prison at any time. Police had told Mr. Chen, "It's a simple thing, to let your daughter lose her job, or to stop your wife from collecting any salaries."

Appendix IV

Charter 08 Early Signatories Full List

Charter 08 was published in December, 2011 with 303 initial signers from Mainland China. Below is the list of their names and locations.

Yu Haocheng, Beijing	Zhang Xukun , Zhejiang	Yang Hengjun, Guangzhou
Zhang Sizhi, Beijing	Xu Youyu , Beijing	Teng Biao , Beijing
Mao Yushi , Beijing	He Weifang, Beijing	Jiang Danwen, Shanghai
Du Guang, Beijing	Mo Shaoping, Beijing	Wei Se , Xicang
Li Pu, Beijing	Chen Ziming ,Beijing	Ma Bo, Beijing
Sha Yexin , Shanghai	Zhang Boshu, Beijing	Cha Jianying, Beijing
Liu Shahe, Sichuan	Cui Weiping , Beijing	Hu Fahyun, Hubei
Wu Mahua, Sichuan	He Guanghu, Beijing	Jiao Guobiao, Beijing
Zhang Xianyang ,Beijing	Hao Jian, Beijing	Li Gongming, Guangdong
Sun Wenguang, Shandong	Shen Minhua, Zhejiang	Zhao Hui , Beijing
Bao Tong, Beijing	Li Datong, Beijing	Li Baiguang, Beijing
Ding Zilin , Beijing	Li Xianting , Beijing	Fu Guoyong , Zhejiang
Zhang Xianling ,Beijing	Zhang Ming , Beijing	Ma Shaofang, Guangdong
Xu Jue , Beijing	Yu Jie , Beijing	Zhang Hong , Shanghai
Jiang Peikun, Beijing	Yu Shicun, Beijing	Xia Yeliang, Beijing
Liu Xiaobo , Beijing	Qin Geng, Hainan	Ran Yunfei, Sichuan
Zhang Zuhua, Beijing	Zhou Duo , Beijing	Liao Yiwu, Sichuan
Gao Yu , Beijing	Pu Zhiqiang, Beijing	Wang Yi, Sichuan
Dai Qing , Beijing	Zhao Dagong, Shenzhen	Wang Xiaoyu, Shanghai
Jiang Qisheng, Beijing	Yao Lifa , Hubei	Su Yuanzhen, Zhejiang
Ai Xiaoming, Guangdong	Feng Zhenghu, Shanghai	Qiang Jianzhong, Nanjing
Liu Junning , Beijing	Zhou Qing ,Beijing	Ouyang Xiaorong, Yunnan

Liu Di , Beijing	Lu Zhongming, Shaanxi	Li Tie , Guangdong
Zan Aizong, Zhejiang	Meng Huang , Beijing	Mo Jiangang, Guizhou
Zhou hongling, Beijing	Lin Fuwu, Fujian	Zhang Yaojie, Beijing
Feng Gang, Zhejiang	Liao Shuangyuan, Guizhou	Wu Baojian, Zhejiang
Chen Lin, Guangzhou	Lu Xuesong, Jilin	Yang Guang, Guangxi
Yin Xian , Gansu	Guo Yushan, Beijing	Yu Meisun , Beijing
Zhou Ming , Zhejiang	Chen Huanhui, Fujian	Hang Jian, Beijing
Ling Cangzhou , Beijing	Zhu Jiuhu , Beijing	Wang Guangze, Beijing
Tie Liu, Beijing	Jin Guanghong, Beijing	Chen Shaohua, Guangdong
Chen Fengxiao, Shandong	Gao Chaoqun, Beijing	Liu Yiming, Hubei
Yao Bo , Beijing	Bai Feng, Jilin	Wu Zuolai, Beijing
Zhang Jinjun, Guangdong	Zheng Xuguang, Beijing	Gao Shen , Shandong
Li Jianhong, Shanghai	Ceng Jinyan, Beijing	Gao Qiang, Shandong
Zhang Shanguang, Hunan	Wu Yuqin, Guizhou	Tang Jingling, Guangdong
Li Deming, Hunan	Du Yilong, Shaanxi	Li Xiaolong , Guangxi
Liu Jian'an , Hunan	Li Hai ,Beijing	Jing Chu , Guangxi
Wang Xiaoshan, Beijing	Zhang Hui , Shanxi	Li Biao , Anhui
Fan Yafeng , Beijing	Jiang Shan , Guangdong	Guo Yan, Guangdong
Zhou Mingchu, Zhejiang	Xu Guoqing, Guizhou	Yang Shiyuan, Zhejiang
Liang Xiaoyan, Beijing	Wu Yu , Guizhou	Yang Kuanxing, Shandong
Xu Xiao , Beijing	Zhang Mingzhen, Guizhou	Li Jinfang, Hebei
Chen Xi , Guizhou	Ceng Ning , Guizhou	Wang Yuwen, Guizhou
Zhao Cheng, Shanxi	Quan Linzhi, Guizhou	Yang Zhongyi, Anhui
Li Yuanlong , Guizhou	Ye Hang , Zhejiang	Wu Xinyuan, Hebei
Shen Youlian, Guizhou	Ma Yunlong, Henan	Du Heping, Guizhou
Jiang Suimin, Beijing	Zhu Jianguo, Guangdong	Feng Ling, Hubei

Zhang Xianzhong, Hubei	Guan Hongshan, Hubei	Ye Xiaogang , Zhejiang
Cai Jingzhong, Guangdong	Song Xianke, Guangdong	Zhang Jinsong , Anhui
Wang Dianbin, Hubei	Wang Guoqiang , Hubei	Zhang Jinfa , Zhejiang
Cai Jincai, Guangdong	Chen Enjuan, Shanghai	Wang Liqing , Shanghai
Gao Aiguo, Hubei	Li Yong, Beijing	Zhao Changqing, Shaanxi
Chen Zhanyao, Guangdong	Chang Xiongfa , Shanghai	Jin Yuehua , Shanghai
He Wenkai, Hubei	Wang Jinglong, Beijing	Yu Zhangfa , Guangxi
Wu Dangying, Shanghai	Xu Zhengqing , Shanghai	Chen Qiyong , Shanghai
Ceng Qingbin, Guangdong	Gao Junsheng, Shanxi	Liu Xianbin , Sichuan
Mao Haixiu , Shanghai	Zheng Beibei , Shanghai	Ouyang yi , Sichuan
Zhuang Daohe, Hangzhou	Wang Dinghua, Hubei	Deng Huanwu , Zhongqing
Li Xiongbing, Beijing	Tan Lanying, Shanghai	He Weihua, Hunan
Li Renke, Gui zhou	Fan Yanqiong, Fujian	Li Dongzhuo, Hunan
Zuo Li , Hebei	Lin Hui , Zhejiang	Tian Yongde , Neimeng
Dong Dezhu	Wu Huaying , Fujian	Zhi Xiaomin, Shanxi
Tao Yuping, Guizhou	Xue Zhenbiao , Zhejiang	Li Changyu , Shandong
Wang Junxiu, Beijing	Dong Guojing , Shanghai	Guo Weidong , Zhejiang
Huang Xiaomin, Sichuan	Chen Yufeng , Hubei	Chen Wei , Sichuan
Zheng Enchong , Shanghai	Duan Rufeif , Shanghai	Wang Jin'an, Hubei
Zhang junling , Shanghai	Wang Zhongling, Shaanxi	Cha Weijun , Shanghai
Yang hai, Shaanxi	Dong Chunhua, Shanghai	Hou Shuming, Hubei
Ai Furong , Shanghai	Chen Xiuqin , Shanghai	Liu Hannan , Hubei
Yang Huaren, Hubei	Liu Zhengyou, Sichuan	Shi Ruoping , Shandong
Wei Qin , Shanghai	Ma Xiao, Beijing	Zhang Renxiang , Hubei
Su Zuxiang, Hubei	Wan Yanhai , Beijing	Ye Du , Guangdong
Shen Yulian, Shanghai	Shen Peilan , Shanhai	Xia Gang , Hubei

Zhao Guoliang, Hunan	Ma Yalian , Shanghai	Tian Qizhuang,
Li Zhiying, Beijing	Chen Hongnian, Shandong	Deng Taiqing , Shanxi
Zhang Zhongfa, Guizhou	Qin Zhigang, Shandong	Pei Hongxin , Hebei
Chen Yongmiao, Beijing	Song Xiangfeng , Hubei	Xu Min , Jilin
Jiang Ying , Tianjin	Deng Fuhua, Hubei	Li Xige , Henan
Tian Zuxiang, Guizhou	Xu Kang , Hubei	Wang Debang , Beijing
Huang Zhijia , Hubei	Li Jianqiang ,Shandong	Feng Qiusheng, Guangdong
Guan Yebo , Hubei	Li Renbing, Beijing	Hou Wenbao, Anhui
Wang Wangming , Hubei	Qiu Meili, Shanghai	Tang Jitian , Beijing
Gao Xinrui , Hubei	Lan Zhixue , Beijing	Liu Rongchao , Anhui
Song Shuiquan, Hubei	Zhou Jinchang ,Zhejiang	Li Tianxiang, Henan
Zhao Jiangzhou, Heilongjiang	Huang Yanming, Guizhou	Cui Yuzhen , Hebei
Wen Kejian , Zhejiang	Liu Wei , Beijing	Xu Maolian , Anhui
Wei Wenyong , Yunnan	Yan Liehan, Hubei	Zhai Linhua , Anhui
Chen Huijuan, Heilongjiang	Chen Defu ,Guizhou	Tao Xiaoxia, Anhui
Chen Yanxiong, Hubei	Guo Yongxin, Hubei	Zhang Wang , Fujian
Duan Chunfang , Shanghai	Guo Yongfeng ,Guangdong	Huang Dachuan , Liaoning
Liu Zhengshan, Yunnan	Yuan Xinting , Guangzhou	Chen Xiaoyuan , Hainan
Guan Min , Hubei	Qi Huimin , Zhejiang	Zhang Jiankang , Shaanxi
Dai Yuanlong , Fujian	Li Yu , Sichuan	Zhang Xingshui , Beijing
Yu Yiwei , Guangdong	Xie Fulin , Hunan	Ma Gangquan , Beijing
Han Zurong , Fujian	Xu Guang, Zhejiang	Wang Jinxiang , Hubei
Wang Dingliang, Hubei	Ye Huo , Guangdong	Wang Jiaying , Hubei
Chen Qinglin, Beijing	Zou Wei , Zhejiang	Yan Laiyun , Hubei
Qian Shishun, Guangdong	Xiao Libin , Zhejiang	Li Xiaoming , Hubei
Ceng Boyan, Sichuan	Gao Haibing , Zhejiang	Xiao Shuixiang , Hubei

Yan Yuxiang , Hubei

Liu Yi , Beijing

Dajun, Beijing

Appendix V

Charter 08 Persecuted Early Signatories

Since the publication of Charter 08 in late 2008, more than half of the 303 original signers who resided in Mainland China have suffered serious and documented cases of persecution in the hands of the Chinese government, including prison sentences, arrests, house arrests and nonstop surveillance and harassment.

The names and locations of persecuted signatories is below:

Yu Haocheng, Beijing	He Guanghu	Zan Aizong, Zhejiang
Mao Yushi, Beijing	He Jian, Beijing	Ling Cangzhou, Beijing
Zhang Wenguang, Shandong	Yu Jie, Beijing	Tie Liu, Beijing
Bao Tong, Beijing	Zhou Tuo, Beijing	Ling Cangzhou, Beijing
Ding Ziling, Beijing	Pu Zhiqiang, Beijing	Tie Liu, Beijing
Xu Jue, Beijing	Zhao Dagong, Shenzhen	Chen Fengxiao, Shandong
Jiang Peisheng, Beijing	Yao Lifa, Hubei	Zhang Jinjun, Guangdong
Liu Xiaobo, Beijing	Feng Zhenghu, Shanghai	Li Jianhong, Shanghai
Zhang Zuchun, Beijing	Yang, Hengjun, Guangzhou	Zhang Shanguang, Hunan
Gao Yu, Beijing	Teng Biao, Beijing	Liu Jian'an, Hunan
Dai Qing, Beijing	Jiang Yiwen, Shanghai	Wang Xiaoshan, Beijing
Jiang Qisheng, Beijing	Weise, Tibet	Fan Yafeng, Beijing
Ai Xiaoming, Guangdong	Zhao Hui, Beijing	Liang Xiaoyan, Beijing
Liu Junning, Beijing	Li Boguang, Beijing	Chen Xi, Guizhou
He Weifang, Beijing	Tong Yunfei, Sichuan	Li Yuanlong, Guizhou
Mo Shaoping, Beijing	Liao Yiwu, Sichuan	Shen Youlian, Guizhou
Chen Ziming, Beijing	Wang Yi, Sichuan	Jiang Suimin, Beijing
Zhang Boshu, Beijing	Wang Xiaoyu, Shanghai	Meng Huang, Beijing
Cui Weiping, Beijing	Liu Di, Beijing	Liao Shuangyuan, Guizhou

Chen Huanhui, Fujian	Li Renke, Guizhou	Liu Xianbin , Sichuan
Jin Guanghong, Beijing	Dong Dezhu, Guizhou	Ouyang yi, Sichuan
Zeng Jinyan, Beijing	Tao Yuping, Guizhou	He Weihua, Hunan
Wu Yuqin, Guizhou	Wang Junxiu, Geijing	Li Dongzhuo, Hunan
Li Hai, Beijing	Huang Xiaomin, Sichuan	Tian Yongde, Neimeng
Zhang Hui, Shanxi	Zhen Enchong, Shanghai	Guo Weidong, Zhejiang
Xu Guoqing, Guizhou	Zhang Junling, Shanghai	Chen Wei, Sichuan
Wu Yu, Guizhou	Yang Hai, Shaanxi	Ye Du , Guangdong
Zeng Ning, Guizhou	Chang Xiongfa, Shanghai	Li Zhiying, Beijing
Quan Lizhi, Guizhou	Xu Zhengqing, Shanghai	Zhang Zhongfa, Guizhou
Li Tie, Guangdong	Gao Junsheng, Shanxi	Tian Zuxiang, Guizhou
Mo Jiangang, Guizhou	Tan Lanying, Shanghai	Zhao Jiangzhou, Heilongjiang
Wang Guangze, Beijing	Fan Yanqiong, Fujian	Wen Kejian, Zhejiang
Liu Yiming, Hubei	Wu Huaying, Fujian	Wei Wenyong, Yunnan
Gao Sing, Shandong	Xue Zhenbiao, Zhejiang	Chen Huijuan, Heilongjiang
Tang Jingling, Guangdong	Dong Guojing, Shanghai	Duan Chunfang, Shanghai
Li Xiaolong, Guangxi	Duan Rufeif, Shanghai	Ma Yalian , Shanghai
Jing Chu, Guangxi	Liu Zhengyou, Sichuan	Chen Hongnian, Shandong
Li Jinfang, Hebei	Ma Xiao, Beijing	Qin Zhigang, Shandong
Wang Yuwen, Guizhou	Wan Yanhai, Beijing	Song Xiangfeng, Hubei
Du Heping, Guizhou	Shen Peilan, Shanhai	Deng Fuhua, Hubei
Feng Ling, Hubei	Zhang Jinsong, Anhui	Qiu Meili, Shanghai
Wu Dangying, Shanghai	Wang Liqing, Shanghai	Lan Zhixue, Beijing
Mao Haixiu, Shanghai	Zhao Changqing, Shanxi	Huang Yanming, Guizhou
Zhuang Daohe, Hangzhou	Jin Yuehua, Shanghai	Liu Wei, Beijing
Li Xiongbing, Beijing	Chen Qiyong, Shanghai	Chen Defu, Guizhou

Guo Yongfeng,Guangdong

Yuan Xinting, Guangzhou

Qi Huimin, Zhejiang

Li Yu, Sichuan

Xie Fulin, Hunan

Zou Wei, Zhejiang

Xiao Libin, Zhejiang

Gao Haibing, Zhejiang

Tian Qizhuang,

Deng Taiqing, Shanxi

Xu Min, Jilin

Li Xige, Henan

Wang Debang, Beijing

Hou Wenbao, Anhui

Tang Jitian, Beijing

Zhang Wang, Fujian

Zhang Jiankang, Shanxi

Zhang Xingshui, Beijing

Zhang Dajun, Beijing