

## **Prepared Statement of Xiaorong Li, Independent Scholar**

### **Congressional-Executive Commission on China Roundtable on "Current Conditions for Human Rights Defenders and Lawyers in China, and Implications for U.S. Policy"**

**June 23, 2011**

The serious backsliding of the Chinese government's human rights records had started before the 2008 Summer Olympics, highlighted with the jailing of activists Hu Jia, Huang Qi, and many others, the torture and disappearance of lawyer Gao Zhisheng, the imprisonment of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo and house arrest of his wife, both incommunicado, and the house arrest of Chen Guangcheng after his release. Yesterday's release of the artist Ai Weiwei on bail awaiting for trial was in the same fashion as his arrest: with disregard of the Chinese law. All these took place in the larger context of severe restrictions on freedom of expression and association, repression against religious and ethnic minorities, and significant roll-back on rule of law reform.

Since February, several hundreds of people have been harassed or persecuted in one of the harshest crackdowns in recent years when the Chinese government tried to stamp out any sparks for protests in the Tunisia-style "Jasmine Revolution" after online calls first appeared. According to information documented by the group Chinese Human Rights Defenders, the Chinese government has criminally detained a total of 49 individuals, outside the Tibet and Xinjiang regions. As of today, nine of them have been formally arrested, three sent to Re-education through Labor (RTL) camps, 32 have been released but most of them not free: out of which 22 have been released on bail to await trial, while four remain in criminal detention. In addition, one individual is being held in a psychiatric hospital, and one lawyers remains under residential surveillance in unknown locations. At least 26 individuals are confirmed as having been subjected to enforced disappearance, some for as long as 70 days. At least 10 of them remain unaccounted for as we speak. More than 200 people were put under "soft detention" at home, taken on "mandatory tour", or questioned and intimidated by police.

(An updated list of these individuals is appended at the end of this statement and can also be found at the CHRD website here: [http://chrnet.org/2011/06/17/jasmine\\_crackdown/](http://chrnet.org/2011/06/17/jasmine_crackdown/))

Given the difficulties in collecting and verifying information, these numbers are far from being complete. There are unconfirmed reports that extremely nervous authorities at the top level approved a list of more than one thousand individuals in February as the targets of this nation-wide crackdown.

Many observers consider the current crackdown the worst since the post-Tiananmen man-hunt, arrests, and jail sentences after the June 4th massacre in 1989 outside Tibet and Xinjiang. The current crackdown is believed to have affected more people than the 1998-99 suppression against organizers of China Democracy Party, an opposition party, in which several dozens of people were eventually sent to jail to serve sentences up to 15-years or longer.

One distinction of this crackdown is that the government targets people beyond circles of political dissidents. The disappeared and harassed range from petitioners who try to lodge grievances against corrupt officials, to artists like Ai Weiwei, who use art to voice discontents of the powerless. This has been an all-out assault on civil society in the wake of rolling back on rule of law reform, especially as seen in authorities' indiscriminating and ostentatious use of extra-judicial tactics.

I particularly want to draw your attention to the fact that the Chinese government extensively and ostentatiously used extra-judicial tactics such as enforced disappearance, secret detention, and torture in the current crackdown, in clear violation of the international Convention against Torture, which the Chinese government signed and ratified in 1988. According to the Chinese Human Rights Defenders (<http://chrinet.org/2011/06/07/u-s-must-voice-concerns-over-china%E2%80%99s-assault-on-human-rights-lawyers-during-the-upcoming-legal-experts-dialogue-with-china/>), the abuse included:

- beatings,
- use of electric batons on genitals,
- sleep and food deprivation,
- repeated and lengthy interrogations (on occasion for up to 20 hours at a time),
- forcible injections and ingestion of unknown substances,
- forced stress positions (such as sitting motionless on small stools for many hours at a time), and
- threats to their families.

Some individuals have also been coerced to sign statements in which they admitted “wrongdoing” and made various promises, such as to cease their activism.

The harassment is designed to strike fear, and often targeting families including children. Take for example the AIDS activist, environmentalist Hu Jia, who has served almost 4 ½ years in prison, is due for release in 3 days. His wife, Zeng Jinyan, is facing growing pressure from police in recent days. She fears that she and her 3-yr old daughter will be put under house arrest with her husband soon after his release. Releasing from prison followed by detention at home has become the fate of China's well-known prisoners of conscience. The most horrific case is that of Chen Guangchen, who is blind. Mr. Chen was house-arrested with his wife and two young children after he was released from prison last year. Many efforts to visit them in their village, including attempts by CNN journalists and EU diplomats, have been blocked by security guards, often violently. And of course there is the case of lawyer Gao Zhisheng, who had disappeared after his release from prison where he was severely tortured.

What impact should this have on US policy toward China? The Chinese government has fought back to criticisms. It has threatened with economic sanctions of its own. That should be expected. But that is not the reason to give up public pressure and replace it with close-door "dialogues" and "strategic partnership". Promoting human rights can be inconvenient. It may sometimes interfere with the economic and strategic interests of the US government. But a genuine commitment to such values as human rights means that there is to be no double standards applied on countries with different economic power status.

We see very little as to what, if any, concrete outcome is achieved through the US-China Human Rights Dialogue, the Economic Strategy Dialogue, and the Legal Expert Dialogue, though the Obama Administration has been unusually outspoken about China's rights abuses since its 2nd year. The “dialogues” seem to do more to appease critics of complacency than to secure real change; its’ a diversion from the fact that nothing of consequence is being accomplished, because the Chinese government knows there is nothing to fear from delivering no concrete results following year-after-year’s “dialogues”. The Chinese government even welcomes close-door dialogues because they remove the spotlight from exposing its human rights abuses. Chinese officials are quick to cite the existence or resumption of dialogue as sign of "progress" in human rights.

When the Chinese government clearly lacks any political willingness to curtail its violations, any “quiet diplomacy” and behind-door engagement must be coupled with public pressure. Dialogue and cooperation can be useful, but only when the partner government shows political willingness to improve its records. The US-China human rights dialogue, if it is to proceed, must be tied to concrete and publicly

articulated benchmarks. These benchmarks should not be ignored when they prove inconvenient or getting in the way of U.S. economic and strategic interests.

Many have argued against publicly criticizing a rising economic power on human rights because, they contend, economic liberalization will lead to greater political freedoms. Enough time has passed for critically examining this position. 30 years' economic development in China has not brought fundamental changes in human rights. An unaccountable government is more likely to be corrupt and irresponsible to their people's most urgent needs. In China there have been rising numbers of protests, some 90,000 annually for the past few years by the government's own count. The protests are fueled by growing discontent over corruption and arbitrariness of official policies. Moreover, the Chinese government has used its economic clout to strengthen its censorship, increasing police surveillance and political repression domestically, and internationally, boosting its lobbying efforts to undermine human rights standards and weaken their implementation. China tries to take any teeth out of the international human rights system that might one day be applied to its own shameful records. And it is aggressively replicating its "economic growth at the expenses of human rights" to other developing countries, in Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Consistent and substantive international pressure can make a real difference. By strongly exposing or condemning abuses, conditioning access to military cooperation or market, imposing targeted travel or banking sanctions on abusive high-rank individual officials, and calling for prosecution of those responsible, for example, the US government can increase the cost to the Chinese governments for harassing activists and lawyers. Credible and consequential pressure help create space for local activists to push their government to reform, and allow those persecuted by their government know they do not stand alone.

To borrow some suggestions I made during a meeting with President Obama, which I participated in January, I continue to argue that long-term U.S. efforts to promote human rights in China should aim to:

1. Support civil society, and in particular, support activists and lawyers who are taking great personal risks to promote human rights and democracy. The hope in China's future lies with Chinese citizens. They are speaking up, organizing, and demanding that their rights be respected. For nearly a decade now, a civil rights movement known as the "rights defense movement" has spread among citizens of many kinds. Victims of forced eviction or migrant laborers are transformed into rights activists when they see their efforts to remedy injustices answered with censorship, police brutality, and corruption in legal institutions. Some practical ideas for supporting civil society include:

- (a) Make strong and clear public statements that support human rights activists and that speak directly to the Chinese people: Rhetoric is important. The Chinese authorities, in service of their own power interests, consistently imply that "we are China" and "China is us" and that is all. Yet the most significant and sensitive divide in China today is between the Chinese state and its citizens. It is insensitive to lump rulers and ruled together as if they were the same thing and as if only the rulers can speak for the whole.

- (b) Facilitate Internet freedom: Today the Internet is the most important tool, with which ordinary citizens can access information, express their views, organize themselves, and engage in activism. The US government should do what it can to provide Chinese Internet users with technical support to skirt the "Great Firewall" and hold American IT companies accountable for the sordid practice of supplying the Chinese government with technology that facilitates censorship and surveillance.

2. Focus on holding the Chinese government to its own rhetorical commitments to its citizens. Such an emphasis is effective in its own right and will also help to avoid stimulation of anti-Western "nationalist"

sentiment. If the Chinese government is called upon to observe the constitutional and legal commitments that it has made to its own citizens—some of which are inscribed in international protocols—it can hardly claim “interference”.

3. Strengthen the US role in multilateral forums such as the UN Human Rights Council. The Chinese government participates actively in the UN Human Rights Council. The US should use the UN HRC more effectively, to press for Chinese government adherence to the international human-rights conventions and covenants that it has signed and/or ratified. Such a policy would require the US to take a leadership role in forums such as the UN HRC and to work there to build multilateral coalitions to hold the Chinese government accountable for its failure to respect international norms as well as to prevent it from attempting to change those norms. This kind of international scrutiny undercuts the Chinese government's exceptionalist claims about “human rights views with Chinese characteristics” and leaves claims about “interference in internal affairs” vacuous. It also decreases the Chinese government's ability to fan nationalist sentiment at home into opposition to “Western” human rights.

4. “Rule of law” assistance programs and exchange of “legal experts” should be made relevant to administrative and legal problems responsible for human rights abuses. The Communist Party elite in China welcomes Western legal assistance programs insofar as they strengthen a legal system that it, the Communist Party, can continue to dominate. Such assistance is seen as strengthening, not weakening, the one-Party rule. The Party's “Political and Legal Committees” are tools the Party uses to control on the judiciary at every level, where they dictate legal procedures as well as verdicts. US assistance to “rule of law” programs is misconceived insofar as it assists the current legal system in being more efficient. Instead, US legal assistance would be better directed toward problems such as widespread torture. The Chinese government ratified the Convention against Torture in 1988. US legal aid could also be used to strengthen protections for criminal defense lawyers from prosecution or being barred from practicing law.

## **Appendix**

### **Criminal detentions, disappearances, and individuals under residential surveillance outside of their homes as of June 23, 2011**

CHRD has documented a total of 49 individuals who the Chinese government has criminally detained since mid-February after anonymous calls for “Jasmine Revolution” protests first appeared online. At the time of writing, nine of these criminally detained have been formally arrested, three have been sent to Re-education through Labor (RTL) camps, 33 have been released (out of which 23 have been released on bail to await trial), and four remain in criminal detention.

In addition, one individual is known to be held in a psychiatric hospital. Three others had been placed initially under residential surveillance outside of their homes and are now believed to be home but under police monitoring with severely restricted contact and movement.

CHRD has also been able to verify that at least 26 individuals have been subjected to enforced disappearance during the crackdown, including some who have missing since it began. At least 10 activists are known to still be missing.

Information about nine individuals who have been formally arrested (one has been convicted of a crime and issued a prison sentence):

1. Chen Wei (陈卫), 42, a rights activist based in Suining City, Sichuan Province, was formally arrested for “inciting subversion of state power” on March 28. Chen was criminally detained for “inciting subversion of state power” on February 20 after police in Suining called him for “tea” that same morning. Officers and security guards later searched his home, confiscating a computer, two hard drives and a USB drive. He is currently being held at the Suining City Detention Center. Chen was a 1989 Tiananmen student protester when he was studying at the Beijing Institute of Technology, majoring in mechanical engineering. He was imprisoned in Qincheng prison and released in January 1991. In May 1992, Chen was again arrested for commemorating June 4 and organizing a political party, and was sentenced to five years in prison. In the past several years, Chen has emerged as a leader in organizing human rights actions in Sichuan.
2. Ding Mao (丁矛), a 45 year-old dissident, was seized from his home on February 19 and then criminally detained on the same day by police in Mianyang City, Sichuan Province, on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power.” CHRDL learned of his arrest on March 28; he is currently being held at the Mianyang City Detention Center. CHRDL learned on April 9 that police in Mianyang City have blocked meetings between Ding and a lawyer hired for him by his family because, according to the police, Ding’s case “involves state secrets.” As a philosophy student at Lanzhou University in the late 1980s, Ding became a student leader during the 1989 pro-democracy protests. He was twice imprisoned for his activism, first in 1989 and again in 1992 when he was arrested for organizing the Social Democratic Party. He spent a total of 10 years in jail. Before his detention and arrest, he was the general manager of an investment company in Mianyang.
3. Dong Jiqin (董继勤), husband of housing rights activist and human rights lawyer Ni Yulan, has been confirmed to have been formally arrested around the same time as his wife, Ni Yulan, mostly likely for “creating a disturbance.” Dong is being held in the Xicheng Detention Center in Beijing’s Haidian District. Dong and Ni disappeared on April 7, and family members only discovered their whereabouts on April 11 after contacting the police.
4. Li Shuangde (李双德), a citizen lawyer and an activist based in Chengdu City, Sichuan Province, was sentenced on June 1 to four months in prison and fined 20,000 RMB for “credit card fraud” by the Jinjiang District Court in Chengdu City, Sichuan Province, and is the first activist arrested during the crackdown known to be convicted of a crime and sentenced to prison. Li was criminally detained on March 24 on suspicion of “credit card fraud” by the Public Security Bureau (PSB) of Jinjiang District and formally arrested for the same charge on April 2 after police had taken him away on March 21. His arrest and conviction came despite the fact that his family repaid the 20,000 RMB owed by Li to his bank by April 2. His sentence includes time already served in detention and is due to expire on July 22. Li operates a legal aid center in Chengdu, and provides legal aid to citizens who cannot afford to hire a lawyer. Li has been harassed on numerous occasions in the past by local officials.
5. Ni Yulan (倪玉兰), a housing rights activist and former lawyer, has been formally arrested as of May 17. She was criminally detained in Beijing for “creating a disturbance,” according to a detention notice dated April 6, and no formal arrest notice has been issued to date. She is currently being held in the Xicheng Detention Center in Beijing’s Haidian District. Ni and her husband Dong Jiqin were seized by the police on April 7 and family members only discovered their whereabouts on April 11 after contacting police. This is the third occasion on which Ni has been detained for an extended period of time by Beijing police, and her family has raised serious concerns about her health. As the result of repeated episodes of torture over the past decade, Ni cannot walk and suffers from an assortment of chronic medical issues including difficulty breathing, heart problems, and digestive trouble.
6. Ran Yunfei (冉云飞), 46, a writer, blogger, and activist, was formally arrested on March 25 for “inciting subversion of state power” and is currently being held in the Dujiangyan Detention Center. Ran was originally criminally detained for “subversion of state power” on February 24,

according to a formal detention notice received by his wife; it is not known why the charge was changed. Ran, a member of the ethnic Tu minority who studied Chinese literature at Sichuan University, is an employee of the magazine Sichuan Literature and a resident of Chengdu City, Sichuan Province. He is a prolific writer of social and political commentary. He blogs at and his Twitter account, @ranyunfei, has more than 44,000 followers. Ran has been in police detention since the morning of February 20, when he was summoned to “tea.” Officers later searched his home and confiscated his computer.

7. Wang Lihong (王荔蕪), 55, a Beijing-based human rights defender and democracy activist, was criminally detained for “creating a disturbance” at some point before March 26, and was formally arrested on April 20. The charge against her was later changed from “creating a disturbance” to “assembling a crowd to disrupt social order.” The new charge is believed to be tied to Wang’s support for the “Fujian Three” netizens who were convicted of slander last year; and in particular to the large crowd of netizens who gathered outside of their sentencing on April 16, 2010, to show their support. On May 13, her lawyer Liu Xiaoyuan (刘晓原) applied for her release on bail to await trial, but this request was rejected. In 1989, Ms. Wang joined the pro-democracy demonstrations in Beijing, an experience which led her to resign from her government job in 1991. Ms. Wang, a former doctor, then became a dedicated democracy activist and human rights defender. She has worked on projects such as relief efforts for the “Tiananmen homeless” and advocated on behalf of three imprisoned Fujian netizens and citizens fighting land seizures in Beihai City, Guangxi Province.
8. Xue Mingkai (薛明凯), 21, has been formally arrested for “inciting subversion of state power.” Xue is currently being held at the Jining City Detention Center in Shandong; the date of his arrest is not known, as his parents have yet to receive a formal arrest notice. He was seized on February in Hangzhou City, Zhejiang Province, but his family never received any formal notification at that point, either. Xue’s father believes Xue was returned to Jining from Hangzhou around March 7 or 8. His mother, who repeatedly inquired at Jining government offices about her son’s whereabouts, was seized on April 20 outside of the Jining Letters and Visits Office and is currently missing. Xue served 18 months in prison between May 2009 and November 2010 for “subversion of state power.” A migrant worker living in Shenzhen at the time, Xue was charged with “subversion” after allegedly planning to organize a political party called the “China Democratic Workers’ Party” with online friends in the summer of 2006 and then contacting and joining an overseas democracy organization in early 2009.
9. Zhu Yufu (朱虞夫), 58, a Hangzhou City, Zhejiang Province-based democracy activist, was taken away by police on March 5. Officers also searched his home and confiscated two computers and other items. Zhu was criminally detained on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power” and formally arrested on the same charge on April 11. Formerly a property manager at the Hangzhou City Shangcheng District Urban Housing Bureau, Zhu was convicted of “subversion of state power” in 1999 and served seven years in prison for founding the Opposition Party magazine, which carried articles about the China Democratic Party. After his release in 2006, he spoke out against the torture he suffered in prison and continued to promote democratization. He was detained again in 2007 after a confrontation with a police officer who was questioning his son, and sentenced to two years in prison for “beating police and hindering public duty.”

Information about three individuals who have been sent to Re-education through Labor (RTL) camps:

1. Cheng Li (成力) is a 57 year-old Beijing-based performance artist. He was taken into detention on March 23 after performing a piece entitled “Art Whore” during a performance art exhibition at the Beijing Museum of Contemporary Art on March 20. The theme of the show was “sensitive areas,” and two other artists were also seized by police after the exhibition. Cheng was later

criminally detained for “causing a disturbance” by officers from the Songzhuang police station in Beijing, and was then sent to one year of Re-education through Labor.

2. Hua Chunhui (华春晖), 47, is a Wuxi City, Jiangsu Province-based netizen, activist, and mid-level manager at an insurance company. He was seized by police on February 21 and criminally detained on suspicion of “endangering state security,” according to a notice issued by police at the Tanduqiao Station in Wuxi’s Nanchang District. CHRD learned in mid-April that Hua has been sent to Re-education through Labor. Hua, using the Twitter account @wxhch64, tweeted messages about the “Jasmine Revolution.” Hua and his fiancée Wang Yi (王译) have been active in civil society initiatives in recent years; for example, the couple organized a forum in Beijing in May 2010 to discuss the demonstrations outside of the Fuzhou City trial of three activists. Wang Yi (whose given name is Cheng Jianping) was sent to one year of Re-education through Labor in November 2010 for a tweet she posted during violent anti-Japan demonstrations in October 2010.
3. Yang Qiuyu (杨秋雨), a Beijing-based dissident, was taken away on March 6. He was criminally detained on March 7 on suspicion of “creating a disturbance,” and on March 9 police returned to search his home, confiscating a computer, name cards, and other items. Yang’s wife received a notice from Beijing PSB Dongcheng Sub-division on April 14 that Yang has been sent to RTL for two years.

Information about 36 individuals who have been criminally detained (10 have been released, 22 have been released on bail to await trial and 4 remain in detention centers); those still in detention appear in bold:

1. Cao Jinbai (曹劲柏), a netizen from Zaoyang City, Hubei Province, attended the February 20 “Jasmine gathering” at Beijing’s Wangfujing Shopping Street and later wrote a post about his experience which he circulated via Skype. On February 24, police in Beijing detained Cao, searched his home, and confiscated his computer, cell phone, and other personal items. Cao was released on March 1, only to be detained again on March 7 for a few hours and again on March 15 for six days. Police told Cao that he was being “released on bail to await trial,” but never informed him what charge he was accused of or presented him with any formal documentation regarding his repeated detentions.
2. Cheng Wanyun (程婉芸), 41, is a Beijing-based netizen originally from Sichuan Province. She was summoned by Beijing police on February 26 and criminally detained for “creating a disturbance” and “obstructing public safety” the next day. Her computer was also confiscated. On March 28, Cheng was released on bail to await trial and will be subjected to one year of “public surveillance” (guanzhi). During her detention in Tongzhou District Detention Center, Cheng was interrogated seven times mainly about her writings on QQ groups about the revolutions in the Middle East, whether she has been “exploited by someone else” or been part of a wider network or organization.
3. Feng Xixia (封西霞), a petitioner from Xi’an City, Shaanxi Province, was criminally detained in late February and tortured while in detention. Reportedly, Feng was handcuffed in an uncomfortable position and beaten while in police custody. Feng was seized in Beijing on February 27 and detained first in the Fengtai District Detention Center. She was transferred to the Beijing Number One Detention Center on March 3 and released on bail to await trial on March 25. The torture reportedly took place in the Fengtai District Detention Center. Police also searched the residence Feng had rented in Beijing, confiscating her computer and other items. Officials never provided Feng with any formal documentation regarding her detention.
4. Gu Aisi (贾爱思), a Shanghai petitioner, was seized in Beijing on April 29. Gu had traveled to Beijing with more than 1000 fellow Shanghai petitioners to demonstrate outside the National Letters and Visits Bureau. Gu was returned to Shanghai and criminally detained before being released on May 7.

5. Guo Gai (郭盖), is a Beijing-based artist. Guo was seized on April 24 after taking photos at a performance art exhibition at the Beijing Museum of Contemporary Art on March 20, where some of the pieces touched on the current crackdown. Guo, whose computer was confiscated, was later criminally detained but the precise charge is unknown. Guo was held in the Tiahu Detention Center in Beijing's Tongzhou District before being released on bail on April 24 to await trial.
6. Guo Weidong (郭卫东), born in 1972, a college graduate, employee of a business corporation, and an active netizen from Haining City, Zhejiang Province, was criminally detained on March 11 for "inciting subversion of state power." The day before, police had arrived at Guo's home and office and confiscated his computer along with other items. Guo, whose Twitter account is @daxa, had previously been summoned twice for questioning in relation to the anonymous online calls for "Jasmine Revolution" protests. Guo was released on bail on April 10 to await trial.
7. Guo Yigui (郭谊贵) is a Shanghai-based petitioner, together with fellow petitioners Tan Lanying and Yang Lamei (杨腊梅), Guo was seized on February 20 and held on suspicion of "assembling a crowd to disrupt the order of a public place." Guo was released on February 25 while Tan and Yang were released on March 23. The three, all veteran petitioners, were separately taken into custody by police at a site in Shanghai identified in online postings calling for "Jasmine Revolution" protests, though there is no indication the three knew anything about the protests.
8. Huang Xiang (黄香), is a Beijing-based artist. Huang was seized together with artists Cheng Li and Zhui Hun after appearing in a performance art exhibition at the Beijing Museum of Contemporary Art on March 20, where some of the pieces touched on the current crackdown. Huang was later criminally detained for "causing a disturbance" by officers from the Songzhuang police station in Beijing. Huang was held in the Tiahu Detention Center in Beijing's Tongzhou District before being released on bail on April 24 to await trial.
9. Kan Siyun (阚思云), a petitioner from Chengdu City, Sichuan Province, was seized on April 9 outside of the sentencing of Sichuan-based activist Liu Xianbin (刘贤斌). Together with two other petitioners, Li Renyu and Peng Tianhui, the three were originally returned to Chengdu City from Suining City and given seven days of administrative detention on March 28; however, instead of being released, they were then criminally detained by the Chengdu City PSB and transferred to the Chengdu City Detention Center. They were charged with "inciting subversion of state power" and released on April 24 on bail to await trial.
10. Lan Jingyuan (兰靖远), a Beijing-based victim of forced eviction who has been petitioning the government for compensation, was detained on February 24 on suspicion of taking part in an "illegal demonstration" after participating in the "Jasmine Revolution" protest in Wangfujing, Beijing, on February 20. Lan was released on bail on February 24 and now awaiting trial. Like others released on bail, he was warned not to speak about his case to anybody.
11. Li Hai (李海), 57, a Beijing-based dissident and activist, was criminally detained on February 26 by police in Chaoyang District for "creating a disturbance." Li was released on bail on April 6 and now awaiting trial. He was a student leader at Beijing University during the 1989 pro-democracy demonstrations, and was expelled from school and detained for seven months after the demonstrations were suppressed. In 1995, Li was detained and eventually sentenced to nine years in prison for his pro-democracy activities and advocacy on behalf of victims of the Tiananmen Massacre. Following his release in 2004, Li continued his activism and has been repeatedly harassed, threatened, and detained by the government. His twitter account is @lihai54.
12. Li Renyu (李仁玉), a petitioner from Chengdu City, Sichuan Province, was seized on April 9 outside of the sentencing of Sichuan-based activist Liu Xianbin (刘贤斌). Together with two other petitioners, Peng Tianhui and Kan Siyun, the three were originally returned to Chengdu City from Suining City and given seven days of administrative detention on March 28; however, instead of being released, they were then criminally detained by the Chengdu City PSB and

transferred to the Chengdu City Detention Center. They were charged with “inciting subversion of state power” and released on April 24 on bail to await trial.

13. Li Xiaocheng (李小成), 50, is a Beijing-based petitioner-activist originally from Henan Province. On February 20, Li went to Beijing’s Wangfujing, one of the locations identified in the call for “Jasmine Revolution” protests. Li was seized in Beijing on February 26 and detained in the Fangshan Detention Center, the Beijing Number One Detention Center, and later the Fangshan Detention Center again. On March 27, he was released on bail to await trial. Police never presented Li with any formal documentation which might explain his detention. Li is a veteran petitioner known as the “chief” of Beijing’s “Petitioners Village,” an area near Beijing South Train Station where petitioners congregate.
14. Li Yongsheng (李永生), 45, a Beijing-based rights activist, was criminally detained on March 7 for “creating a disturbance” by the Tongzhou District PSB. He was released on bail to await trial and returned home on April 6. Li has participated in a number of activities organized by NGOs in Beijing in recent years.
15. **Liang Haiyi** (梁海怡, aka Miao Xiao [渺小]), 42, a netizen originally from Guangdong Province, was taken in for questioning on February 19 by police in Harbin City, Heilongjiang Province, along with her ex-husband. Her ex-husband was later released, but Liang remained in police custody. According to Liang Xiaojun (梁小军), a lawyer retained by her family, Liang Haiyi was criminally detained on suspicion of “subversion of state power” on February 21. Police accused Liang Haiyi of “posting information from foreign websites regarding ‘Jasmine Revolution’ actions on domestic websites” such as QQ, the popular Chinese social networking site. She is being held at the Harbin City No. 2 Detention Center.
16. Liu Guohui (刘国慧), 44, is a victim of forced eviction and petitioner from Linyi City, Shandong Province. Liu was seized on March 10 when she went to a meet with a policeman in Linyi City, who promised to discuss compensation issues regarding her demolished home. She was then criminally detained on March 11 on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power.” Liu was released on bail to await trial and is now living at home under residential surveillance. It is believed that Liu’s detention might be related to her discussion online with another activist about the jasmine revolution.
17. Liu Huiping (刘慧萍), a petitioner from Guangxi Province, was criminally detained on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power” after being forcibly returned to Nanning City, Guanxi, from Beijing on March 15. Liu was released on bail to await trial in early April. Liu is a leader of a group of female village activists who have been petitioning against gender discrimination against women who were married to other villages and consequently lost their right in the management of economic affairs of villages around Nanning.
18. Liu Zhengxing (刘正兴, aka Zhui Hun [追魂]), is a Beijing-based artist. Zhui was seized together with artists Cheng Li and Huang Xiang after appearing in a performance art exhibition at the Beijing Museum of Contemporary Art on March 20, where some of the pieces touched on the current crackdown. Zhui was later criminally detained for “causing a disturbance” by officers from the Songzhuang police station in Beijing. Liu was held in the Tiahu Detention Center in Beijing’s Tongzhou District before being released on April 24 to await trial.
19. Mo Jiangang (莫建刚), 60, a human rights and democracy activist, was seized sometime before March 6 and criminally detained. As of March 18, he had been released; however, more detailed information regarding his situation is not currently available. Mo, who was born in Guiyang City, Guizhou Province, moved to Beijing and became involved in the pro-democracy movement in 1978. He was briefly detained after taking part in the 1989 demonstrations in Beijing. After 1989, Mo returned to Guiyang and continued his activism, becoming a leader among local democracy activists.
20. Pan Zhenjuan (潘振娟), a petitioner from Guangxi Province. She has since been released. Details regarding her detention or release are currently unclear.

21. Peng Tianhui (彭天惠), a petitioner from Chengdu City, Sichuan Province, was seized on April 9 outside of the sentencing of Sichuan-based activist Liu Xianbin (刘贤斌). Together with two other petitioners, Li Renyu and Kan Siyun, the three were originally returned to Chengdu City from Suining City and given seven days of administrative detention on March 28; however, instead of being released, they were then criminally detained by the Chengdu City PSB and transferred to the Chengdu City Detention Center. They were charged with “inciting subversion of state power” and released on April 24 on bail to await trial.
22. **Quan Lianzhao (全连昭)**, 60, a petitioner from Guangxi Province, was seized by interceptors in Beijing on February 26 and forcibly returned to Nanning City, Guangxi Province, where she was criminally detained for “subversion of state power.” Quan is currently being held in the Nanning City No. 1 Detention Center. It is believed that Quan’s detention is related to her taking part in a “Revolutionary Singing Gathering” in a Beijing park on February 3, where petitioners gathered to sing revolutionary songs and present accounts of their grievances. Quan also gathered with a number of petitioners on February 20 to present their grievances at Beijing’s Chaoyang Park; while the gathering drew the attention of police because it was the same date as the proposed “Jasmine Revolution” protests, friends said that Quan does not use the internet and would have not known of the demonstrations called for that date. Quan has been petitioning for four years in response to the forced expropriation of land in her village.
23. **Sun Desheng (孙德胜)**, a young Guangzhou City, Guangdong Province resident, was criminally detained on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power” some time before March 9. Reportedly, Sun’s detention stemmed from a friend’s dinner party, where Sun wrote anti-corruption and anti-dictatorship slogans and then posed with friends for a picture. The dinner, which took place on February 15, was also attended by lawyers Liu Shihui (刘士辉) and Li Fangping (李方平); Liu’s home was searched on February 24, and police discovered the photograph on his computer. Further details about Sun’s detention are not currently available.
24. Tan Lanying (谈兰英), a 67 year-old Shanghai-based petitioner-activist, was criminally detained for “assembling a crowd to disrupt the order of a public place” on February 21. Tan was released on March 23. Tan, together with veteran petitioners Yang Lamei and Guo Yigui, were separately taken into custody by police at a site in Shanghai identified in online postings calling for “Jasmine Revolution” protests, though there is no indication the three knew anything about the protests. Tan has been petitioning for 17 years, seeking redress for grievances related to the forced demolition of her home.
25. Wei Qiang (魏强), a human rights activist, was seized in Beijing on February 26 and detained in a series of detention centers in Beijing until March 21, when he was returned to his hometown of Yan’an City. He was again detained in Yan’an, where police issued both a detention notice for “creating a disturbance” as well as a notice that Wei was to be sent to two years of RTL. At the end of March, however, Beijing police once again returned Wei to the capital, where he was detained in an unknown location for 22 or 23 days. At this place, where Wei was held in solitary confinement, he was chained to a chair except for six hours during which he was allowed to sleep. One time when Wei felt ill and was not able to wake up after six hours, guards stomped on him and beat him. Wei reported that he heard many other detainees held in adjacent rooms in this detention facility. Wei was then once more taken back to Yan’an, where the head of the police used his knee to knead on his spine, injuring his waist. On April 30, Wei was released on bail to await trial. Wei, originally from Xi’an City, Shaanxi Province, moved to Beijing in 2010. On February 20, he used his Twitter account (@Watchmen725) to report from the scene in front of the Wangfujing McDonald’s, one of the locations identified in the call for “Jasmine Revolution” protests.
26. **Wei Shuishan (魏水山)**, a Zhejiang Province-based dissident and democracy activist, was criminally detained on March 5. However, as of the time of writing, Wei’s family has yet to

receive a formal detention notice so no further details are currently available. Wei is a member of the banned China Democracy Party.

27. Weng Jie (翁杰), a Beijing resident, was criminally detained for “creating a disturbance” on March 2. Weng had been present at the Beijing site picked for “Jasmine Revolution” protests on February 20 and was later seized by police. Weng was detained in the Chaoyang District Detention Center until March 25, when he was released on bail to await trial.
28. Xie Qingguo (谢庆国), a Shanghai petitioner, was seized in Beijing on April 29. Xie had traveled to Beijing with more than 1000 fellow Shanghai petitioners to demonstrate outside the National Letters and Visits Bureau. Xie was returned to Shanghai and criminally detained before being released on May 7.
29. Yang Lamei (杨腊梅), a Shanghai-based activist, was seized on February 20 and held on suspicion of “assembling a crowd to disrupt the order of a public place” together with fellow petitioners Tan Lanying and Guo Yigui. Yang was released on March 23. The three, all veteran petitioners, were separately taken into custody by police at a site in Shanghai identified in online postings calling for “Jasmine Revolution” protests, though there is no indication the three knew anything about the protests.
30. Yang Yong (杨勇), a Zhejiang-based netizen, was taken away by police on April 1 and later criminally detained. It is believed that Yang, whose Twitter account is @think9, was detained because he spread information on Twitter about the “Jasmine” protests online. Yang was held in the Jiaying City Detention Center, where he was reportedly subjected to abuse, before being released on April 22 on bail to await trial. Yang is currently coalescing at home.
31. Yao Yuping (姚玉平), a Shanghai petitioner, was seized in Beijing on April 29. Yao had traveled to Beijing with more than 1000 fellow Shanghai petitioners to demonstrate outside the National Letters and Visits Bureau. Yao was returned to Shanghai and criminally detained before being released on May 7.
32. Zhang Jiannan (张健男), better known by his online name, Secretary Zhang (张书记), was seized at his home in Beijing on March 2 and criminally detained for taking part in an “illegal demonstration.” Zhang was released on bail to await trial on April 1. Zhang was the founder of the website 1984 BBS (<http://1984bbs.com>), an online discussion forum dedicated to discussion of current events and the publication of censored news, which was shut down by the government on October 12, 2010. His twitter account is @SecretaryZhang.
33. Zhang Yanhong (张燕红), a Shanghai petitioner, was seized in Beijing on April 29. Zhang had traveled to Beijing with more than 1000 fellow Shanghai petitioners to demonstrate outside the National Letters and Visits Bureau. Zhang was returned to Shanghai and criminally detained before being released on May 7.
34. Zheng Chuangtian (郑创添), a human rights activist, was criminally detained for “inciting subversion of state power” by police in Huilai County, Jieyang City, Guangdong Province on February 26. Officers also searched Zheng’s home; it is not known what, if anything, they confiscated. On March 28, Zheng was released on bail to await trial and returned home to Huilai County.
35. Zheng Peipei (郑培培), a Shanghai petitioner, was seized in Beijing on April 29. Zheng had traveled to Beijing with more than 1000 fellow Shanghai petitioners to demonstrate outside the National Letters and Visits Bureau. Zheng was returned to Shanghai and criminally detained before being released on May 7.
36. Zhang Yongpan (张永攀), a Beijing-based legal activist, was criminally detained for “creating a disturbance” between April 14 and May 13. He has since been released on bail to await trial. His detention is believed to have been in retaliation for his online support for activist Wei Qiang, who disappeared into police custody in February.

Information about one individual who has been detained in a psychiatric hospital:

1. **Qian Jin (钱进)**, a pro-democracy activist from Bengbu City, Anhui Province, has been held since February 26 in the Anhui Huaiyuan Rongguang Hospital, a psychiatric facility, after being seized by Bengbu national security police on February 25. On February 26, a group of police officers escorted Qian to his home, where they confiscated his computer before taking him to the hospital. In mid-June, Qian—who does not suffer from mental health problems—was despondent during a visit by his sister since he had already been detained for more than three months and the “sensitive” date of June 4 had passed, yet he still had not been released. The two previous times officials had detained Qian in a psychiatric hospital, he was released after three months.

Information about three individuals who have been subjected to residential surveillance outside their homes:

1. Ai Weiwei (艾未未), prominent Beijing-based artist and activist, was reportedly released on bail on June 22 and is awaiting trial on charges of economic crimes. Ai had been held under illegal residential surveillance by police at an unknown location since early April. His wife, Lu Qing (路青), was able to visit him on May 15, which had been the first time Ai had been seen since he was seized by police at Beijing’s Capital Airport and prevented from boarding a flight to Hong Kong on the morning of April 3. At that time, police searched Ai’s studio in Beijing, confiscating all computers and hard drives, and contended that he was under investigation for “economic crimes.”
2. **Tang Jingling (唐荆陵)**, a human rights lawyer from Guangzhou, was taken into custody on February 22 on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power,” and subsequently placed under residential surveillance (jianshi juzhu). “Residential surveillance” is a form of pre-trial detention. According to Article 57 of China’s Criminal Procedural Law (CPL), a suspect under residential surveillance must be held either at home or at a designated dwelling if they have no permanent residence. Detaining Tang, who has a home in Guangzhou, in another location therefore breaches this legal provision. Attempts to contact or visit his wife, who has been intimidated and periodically restricted in movement, have failed. Policemen have guarded his apartment and stopped anyone trying to enter.
3. Wu Yangwei (吴杨伟, aka Ye Du), Guangzhou-based author and activist, has been placed under residential surveillance (jianshi juzhu) in Panyu County, Guangdong Province for “inciting subversion of state power” on March 1. On March 2, police escorted Ye Du back to his home in Guangzhou, where they confiscated a computer, CD-ROMs, USB drives, books, documents, and other items, then took him away again. Officers did not issue a full list of confiscated goods. Ye Du was originally taken away from his home on by police on February 22. According to Article 57 of China’s Criminal Procedural Law (CPL), a suspect subjected to residential surveillance must be held either in her/his home or a designated dwelling if s/he has no permanent residence. Detaining Ye Du, who has a home in Guangzhou, in another location therefore breaches this legal provision. Sometime in May, Wu was said to be back home but was being barred from contacting anyone and living under close police monitoring.

Information about 26 individuals who have been subjected to enforced disappearances during the crackdown; those names in **bold** are still missing and are at high risk of torture or other mistreatment while held illegally incommunicado:

1. Gu Chuan (古川), a Beijing-based author and human rights activist, was missing between February 19 and April 22. On February 19, about twenty Beijing policemen searched Gu’s home without presenting their police IDs or a search warrant. They confiscated two computers, two cell

phones and some books. When Gu's home was searched, the policemen said the search was related to Gu using Twitter to repost messages about the "Jasmine Revolution." Further details about his experience while missing or his current health are not presently available.

2. **Hu Di (胡荻)**, a Beijing-based netizen and writer, has been missing since March 13.
3. **Hu Mingfen (胡明芬)**, accountant of prominent artist and activist Ai Weiwei, who went missing on April 8.
4. **Jiang Tianyong (江天勇)**, a Beijing-based human rights lawyer, was missing between February 19 and April 19. According to Jiang's wife, he appeared to be in decent health when he returned home. On the afternoon of February 19, Jiang was seized from his brother's home and driven away by men identified by his family as Beijing policemen. Police returned that evening and confiscated Jiang's computer. The police never presented police IDs or any search or detention warrants at any point during the proceedings.
5. **Jin Guanghong (金光鸿)**, 47, a Beijing-based lawyer with the Beijing Jingfa Law Firm, disappeared on April 8 or 9 and returned home on April 19. Jin is one of the few of those disappeared during the current crackdown to publicly acknowledge being tortured. He is unable to clearly recall the details of what happened to him. CHRD learned that Jin was held first in a detention center and then moved to a psychiatric hospital. While in the psychiatric hospital, he was beaten by unidentified individuals, tied to a bed, given injections of unknown substances and forced to ingest unidentified medicine.
6. **Lan Ruoyu (蓝若宇)**, a Chongqing-based graduate student, has been missing since February 27. Police also confiscated a computer belonging to Lan, a student at Communication University of China.
7. **Li Fangping (李方平)**, a Beijing-based human rights lawyer, was kidnapped outside the offices of Yirenping, an NGO, around 5 pm on April 29. Li was able to briefly speak with his wife, telling her "I may be gone for a period of time... can't talk more." He was released on May 4.
8. **Li Tiantian (李天天)**, a Shanghai-based human rights lawyer, was missing between February 19 and May 24. After her release, CHRD learned that Li was taken from her home in Shanghai by police, who also searched the residence and confiscated two computers. Following a day of questioning by police, she was taken to a guesthouse in an unknown location and placed under "residential surveillance." She returned to her hometown in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region upon her release. Li maintains a blog (<http://blog.sina.com.cn/u/1896094822>) and her Twitter account is @litiantian.
9. **Li Xiongbing (黎雄兵)**, a Beijing-based human rights lawyer, went missing on the morning of May 4. He returned on May 6. Li has represented political and human rights activists, including Yang Chunlin (杨春林) and Yuan Xianchen (袁显臣), victims of religious persecution and discrimination, as well as groups including the former NGO Gongmeng, which Li represented in its dealings with tax officials in 2009. Li also serves as a legal adviser to health rights NGO Aizhixing.
10. **Liu Anjun (刘安军)**, a Beijing-based human rights activist, was seized outside of his home on February 18 by a group of officials including local police and National Security officers. The officers, after beating and kicking him, forcibly took him to a rural area outside of Beijing where he was guarded by local villagers who were being paid 50 RMB a day and given food and drink by local officials. Liu added that officers confiscated his two cell phones and stole 300 RMB from him. Liu went on a 10-day hunger strike to protest his illegal detention and, as a result, was taken to a hospital on March 18, where he remained under guard until he was freed. Local officials who visited him during his detention told him to "shut up and mind his own business." He was freed after 45 days of enforced disappearance. Liu believes that his detention is related to an interview he gave on February 16 to Radio Free Asia about the jasmine revolution in Egypt.

11. Liu Dejun (刘德军), a Beijing-based netizen, was missing between February 27 and May 13. While Liu was missing, police went to the home of Liu's sister, in Wuhan City, on three occasions to search her computer as well as items left there by Liu. Officers did not provide any legal notification regarding Liu's disappearance on any of these occasions, and officers in Beijing and Wuhan contacted by the family refused to provide any information about Liu's whereabouts.
12. **Liu Shihui (刘士辉)**, a Guangzhou-based human rights lawyer, has been missing since February 20. Before he disappeared, Liu was brutally beaten by a group of unidentified individuals while waiting at a bus stop to participate in the February 20 "Jasmine Revolution" protests in Guangzhou. There is unconfirmed information in recent days that he has been released but attempts to contact him have failed. His relatives denied any knowledge of his whereabouts.
13. Liu Xiaoyuan (刘晓原), 46, a Beijing-based human rights lawyer with the Beijing Qijian Law Firm, went missing between April 14 and 19. Liu, a friend of Ai Weiwei's, had indicated his willingness to defend Ai before he disappeared. After Liu reappeared, he told The Guardian that he did not want to give any details about what had happened to him during his disappearance.
14. **Liu Zhenggang (刘正刚)**, designer who works for prominent artist and activist Ai Weiwei, who went missing sometime around April 12.
15. Liu Zhengqing (刘正清), in his 40s, a Guangzhou-based human rights lawyer with the Guangdong Fulin Guotai Law Firm, went missing on March 25. During his disappearance, Liu's home was raided three times and police took away computers, printers, and other personal belongings. He reappeared on April 29. He has represented Falun Gong practitioners and human rights activists. He is now released on bail awaiting trial on suspicion of "inciting subversion of state power."
16. BTan Yanhua (谭艳华),/B a Guangzhou City-based human rights activist, has been missing since February 25.
17. Tang Jitian (唐吉田), 42, a Beijing-based human rights lawyer, formerly with the Beijing Anhui Law Firm before his license to practice law was revoked in 2010, was seized on the evening of February 16 after attending a lunch meeting with a dozen activists to discuss how they might provide assistance to human rights defender Chen Guangcheng and his family. After Tang was held incommunicado for three weeks, he was sent back to his hometown in Jilin Province. Tang is under "soft detention" and is in very poor health. Authorities have warned him and his family not to speak out and to have no contact with the outside world.
18. Teng Biao (滕彪), a Beijing-based human rights lawyer, was missing for 70 days, between February 19 and April 29. Teng Biao's wife, who confirmed his return, said she could not comment on his health or any other details of his disappearance. Teng disappeared after leaving his home to meet with friends. Reportedly, policemen from the Beijing Public Security Bureau's National Security Unit searched Teng's home the following day, confiscating two computers, a printer, articles, books, DVDs and photos of Chen Guangcheng.
19. **Wen Tao (文涛)**, former journalist and assistant to Ai Weiwei (艾未未), has been missing since April 3. Wen was seized by plainclothes police officers outside of his girlfriend's home in the Caochangdi neighborhood of Beijing's Chaoyang District on Sunday afternoon. Wen was fired from his job at the Global Times' English-language edition for reporting on a demonstration led by artists down Chang'an Avenue in February 2010 protesting the forced demolition of a Beijing arts district.
20. Xu Zhiyong (许志永), 38, a Beijing-based professor, legal advocate, and director of the Open Constitution Initiative (Gongmeng), which was forced to shut down in 2009, disappeared for one day around May 7, again on May 20 and then on June 22. He has been under police surveillance or "soft detention" since mid-February.
21. **Yuan Xinting (袁新亭)**, Guangzhou-based editor and activist originally from Sichuan Province, disappeared in early March.

22. Zeng Renguang (曾仁广, aka 'Romantic Poet' [浪漫诗人]), a Beijing-based human rights activist, was missing between February 22 and late March.
23. **Zhang Haibo (张海波)**, a netizen based in Shanghai, went to the location for the planned jasmine protest in Shanghai on February 20 and was taken away by the police.
24. Zhang Jinsong (张劲松), driver of prominent artist and activist Ai Weiwei, went missing on April 10. He was reportedly released on June 22.
25. Zhou Li (周莉), a Beijing-based activist, was missing for about a month since March 27. Last year, Zhou was convicted of "creating a disturbance" and sentenced to one year in prison after participating in 2009 protests against Sun Dongdong (孙东东), the Beijing University professor who created an uproar in the activist community when he claimed that "99% of petitioners suffer from mental illness."
26. Zou Guilan (邹桂兰), a petitioner from Wuhan City, Hubei Province, was taken away from her home by National Security officials on April 17. Zou returned home less than a month later, but precise details about her disappearance are unclear.