
THE REAL SITUATION IN PRE-OLYMPICS CHINA

By Teng Biao and Hu Jia

A number of petitions have been circulated inside China recently, calling for the government to focus greater attention on human rights rather than the Olympic Games. Here, Teng Biao and Hu Jia expound on the current situation.

When Beijing won its bid to host the Olympics on July 13, 2001, government officials promised the whole world that they would “improve the human rights situation in China.” In June 2004, China announced its slogan for the Olympics: “One World, One Dream.”

The modern Olympics movement, which was established in 1896, came about in order to promote human dignity and peace. The people of China and of the world are full of hope that the Olympics will bring political progress to China.

That said, has China kept its promise? Have human rights in China improved?

Perhaps you will come to Beijing for the Olympics. If you do, you’ll see tall skyscrapers, broad boulevards, modern sports facilities, and a passionate people. What you’ll see is real, but it’s not the whole picture. It is just like seeing a glacier at sea. You may not know it, but some of these fresh flowers and smiles, this harmony and prosperity are built on abuses, tears, imprisonment, torture, and spilled blood.

We will explain these truths in China. We believe that for those people who are hoping to avoid embarrassment surrounding the Olympics, facing these problems and knowing the truth is the first step to actually resolving the problems.

Fang Zheng is the holder of two national records in dis-

cus throwing for disabled athletes. On the morning of June 4, 1989, while trying to save his classmates, both of his legs were crushed by tanks in Tiananmen Square. Because his injured legs remind people of June 4, he has been prevented by the government from participating in the Special Olympics for handicapped people.¹ In April, an internal document issued by the Ministry of Public Security stated: political investigations would be secretly stepped up, with 11 categories and 43² types of people prohibited from participating in the Olympics, including political dissidents, human rights defenders, some news organizations, religious groups, and others.³ Furthermore, Chinese police up until today have not notified the Chinese public or the international community about these regulations.

A huge amount of money has been invested in the Olympics, including many deals that took place behind closed doors. As there is no financial transparency, taxpayers have no way of effectively supervising the investment of more than \$40 billion in the Olympics. The phenomena of corruption and bribery are serious and widespread. In order to build Olympic sports facilities, the home of Ye Guozhu and Ye Guoqiang, two brothers who live in Beijing, was forcibly demolished. Because the two brothers petitioned the government to defend their rights, they were convicted. Ye Guozhu’s hands and feet were shackled together many times in prison; he was also tied to his bed and beaten with an electric baton. With one year left until the Olympics, he remains in Chaobei Prison in Tianjin and continues to be tortured. According to reports, 1.25 million people have been forced from their homes to make way for the construction of Olympic facilities. This figure is expected to rise to 1.5 million by the end of this year. Some 400,000 internal migrants have been forcibly removed from their homes, which were demolished

without any resettlement scheme. Of this number, 20 percent of the families were left in poverty or were made more destitute.⁴ For the purpose of holding the Olympics sailing competition, the city of Qingdao forcibly demolished residential homes, and detained and convicted many citizens and rights defenders.⁵ Shenyang, Shanghai, Qinhuangdao, and other Olympic venues have all had similar incidents of forced removal and demolition of homes.

China continues to detain and crackdown on rights defenders, dissidents, writers, and journalists who dare to speak out. Chen Guangcheng, the blind human rights defender named by *Time Magazine* as one of the 100 most influential people in the world and a recent recipient of the Ramon Magsaysay Award, was framed by judicial authorities, charged with a crime, and imprisoned for four years and three months because he exposed the practice of forced abortions and sterilizations, and widespread use of torture.

In order to establish the image of a civilized city, the government has intercepted, detained and forcibly repatriated petitioners, beggars and homeless people, putting some of them in so-called “homeless centers” or Reeducation-Through-Labor centers for excessive periods of detention. City officials use barbaric tactics to seize the means of living for street vendors, and also often use violence against these people. On July 20, 2005, Lin Hongying, a 56-year-old Jiangsu farmer who sold vegetables, was beaten to death by city officials.⁶ On November 19, Wu Shouqing, a 54-year-old bicycle repairman, was beaten to death by Wuxi City officials.⁷ In January 2007, Duan Huimin, a petitioner from Shanghai, was beaten to death by police.⁸ On July 1, 2007, a Shanghai rights defender, Chen Xiaoming, was detained for a long period; he was denied timely medical treatment and died as a result.⁹ With one year to go

until the Olympic opening ceremony on August 8, 2008, Beijing has arrested 200 petitioners.¹⁰

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Every year a countless number of domestic web sites are



Guests view the display on the 2007 Ramon Magsaysay awardee, blind Chinese human rights activist Chen Guangcheng, after ceremonies at the Cultural Center of the Philippines in Manila, on August 31, 2007. Photo credits: ROMEO GACAD/AFP/Getty Images.

shut down, and countless blogs of Chinese citizens are deleted and banned. Any article with sensitive words is filtered.¹⁷ Many international websites cannot be accessed in mainland China, and foreign radio broadcasts and TV programs are interfered with or are strictly blocked. Although the government had promised to lift restrictions on reporting by foreign journalists for 22 months up to October 17, 2008 (after the end of the Olympics),¹⁸ the Foreign Correspondents' Club of China said in a survey that 40 percent of foreign reporters based in China carrying out reporting in Beijing and other places had described being harassed, detained or warned by local authorities. Some journalists reported that they and their staff had on several occasions been expelled with brutal force. Even more serious is that the Chinese citizens who were interviewed by these foreign journalists may have been put in danger.¹⁹ In June 2006, Fu Xiancai was paralyzed from the neck down from being beaten by police after he had given an interview to a German media organization.²⁰ In March 2007, Zheng Daqing was beaten and detained after being interviewed by the BBC. On Sep-

tember 7, he was abducted, taken back to Hubei, and put under criminal detention.

The government continues to suppress freedom of religion. Cai Zhuohua, a Protestant minister in Beijing, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in 2005 for printing copies of the Bible.²¹ Zhou Heng, a house church minister in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, was accused of illegal business activity simply because he received several dozen boxes of the Bible.²² From April to June in 2007, China expelled more than 100 people from the United States, South Korea, Canada, Australia, and other countries who were suspected of engaging in missionary work. Included among these were some English teachers and humanitarians who had worked in China for more than 15 years. The goal of this large-scale campaign to expel foreign religious believers, code named "Typhoon No. 5," is to strike against foreign religious organizations attempting to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the Olympics to proselytize.²³ On September 30, 2006, dozens of Tibetans were attempting to escape



A woman holds a placard as she participates in the Sydney leg of the Global Human Rights Torch Relay (HRTR), 27 October 2007. Photo credits: GREG WOOD/AFP/Getty Images.

to Nepal from Tibet when a Chinese border force opened fire on them, killing a 17-year-old Buddhist nun and wounding a 20-year-old male.²⁴ Although this incident was witnessed by several international observers who were at the scene, Chinese police authorities still announced that they opened fire only after first coming under a surprise attack. One year later, Chinese control of Tibetan Buddhism is becoming harsher. Beginning on September 1, a new regulation was implemented in Tibetan areas requiring that the reincarnation of lamas be approved by government departments, a brazen and crude attempt to interfere with the centuries-old system of selecting reincarnated Living Buddhas in these areas.²⁵ Furthermore, the government continues to obstruct the Dalai Lama, the religious leader of Tibet and renowned throughout the world as a pacifist, from returning to his homeland.

Since 1999, members of religious groups whose ability to worship has been restricted by the authorities, such as members of the Falun Gong and Three Grades of Servants, have been the victims of extremely cruel treatment and systematic persecution. Many were killed, and some were tortured or persecuted to the point of psychological illness. Others face prison because they have refused to abandon their religious beliefs, are in posses-

sion of religious books, or have made CD disks or written articles exposing the truth of this persecution.²⁶

China continues to be the world leader in carrying out death sentences. The number of death sentences is considered a state secret, but according to estimates by experts, some 8,000 to 10,000 Chinese are executed each year,²⁷ including people who commit both violent and economic crimes. Of those Chinese citizens sentenced to death, some are completely innocent. For example, Nie Shubin, Teng Xingshan, Cao Haijin, and Hujieletu were all only proven to be innocent through extraordinary, fortuitous circumstances.²⁸ Chen Guoqing, He Guoqiang, Yang Shiliang, Zhu Yanqiang,

Huang Zhixiang, Fang Chunping, Cheng Fagen, and Cheng Lihe were eight innocent farmers who confessed under intense, cruel torture by the police. The judge clearly knew the accused were innocent, but still handed down death sentences. A stay of execution was granted, and the eight men are now being held separately in Hebei and Jingdezhen Prison.²⁹

Torture goes on regularly in China's detention centers, Reeducation-Through-Labor camps, and prisons. Methods of torture include electric shocks, burning, the use of electric needles, hanging for prolonged periods, sleep deprivation, forced injections of substances that damage one's nervous system, needles forced into fingers, and more. Every year, there are Chinese citizens who are tortured by police and prison officers to the point of becoming crippled or even killed.

China still employs the arbitrary detention system of Reeducation-Through-Labor, which means police units can deprive a person of his or her personal liberty for as long as four years without a court trial. In addition, there is also the temporary shelter system in which the police have the power to deprive a person of his or her freedom for anywhere between six months to two years. In order to simplify procedures and confuse the public,

relevant authorities will sometimes simply put dissidents or rights defenders in Reeducation-Through-Labor camps, temporary shelters, or even psychiatric hospitals.³⁰

The world's largest secret police system—the Ministry of State Security and the Ministry of Public Security's Internal Security Bureau—exercises extensive extrajudicial powers. They can monitor and follow people, place citizens under house arrest, and detain and torture them. On June 3, 2004, China's secret police brazenly put heroin into the hands of Xu Fangping, a Chongqing dissident, in order to frame him for selling drugs. Xu Fangping was later sentenced to 12 years in prison for subverting state power.³¹

The Chinese people have no right to elect their national leaders, or to choose local leaders or representatives. In reality, they have never freely and genuinely exercised the right to elect representatives for the local people's congresses. Sun Buer, a member of the Pan-Blue Alliance from Wuhan, ran as an independent in the election for deputies to the county-level People's Congress in September 2006, and was beaten so badly that blood covered his entire face. He has been missing since May 23 of this year, and to date, his whereabouts remain unknown.³²

China continues to implement a barbaric discriminatory system with respect to rural and urban areas. According to China's electoral law, a rural resident has one-fourth of the electoral representation of an urban resident.³³ In June 2007, the media brought the "Black Kilns Incident" to light, exposing the story of several thousand minors who were abducted and sold into forced labor. These children were beaten and persecuted; a large number of them were left injured and disabled, and some were even buried alive. Of the children who were tricked into doing harsh labor at these kilns in Shanxi Province, the youngest was just eight years old and the oldest 13. Almost every one of these kilns had a connection to government officials.

Chinese political and judicial units have illegally prevented people infected with HIV/AIDS from seeking legal redress from government units that bear responsibility [for the spread of the disease]. Secret police often

intimidate, place under house arrest, or arrest those who work for civil society organizations in the HIV/AIDS field, as well as individuals with HIV/AIDS who are aware of and speak up for their own rights.

The Chinese government sells weapons and supports ethnic conflict and killings in Sudan's Dafur region, and other African nations where armed conflicts occur.

The Chinese government forcefully repatriates North Korean refugees, even though it clearly knows that these refugees risk being put into labor camps and may even face execution when they return home. This is a violation of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, to which China is a state party.

Everyone should know that the country that is about to host the Olympics is one without democratic elections, freedom of religion, independent courts or independent unions. It prohibits protests and labor strikes. It is a state that carries out widespread torture, discrimination, and employs a large secret police system. It is a nation that violates human rights standards and human dignity, and is not ready to fulfill its international obligations.

We all live in "one world," and we all long for "one dream." We hope that some day, the Chinese people and the peoples of all countries will be the same and can enjoy the same human rights, freedom, democracy, peace, and all those things that have timeless value all over the world.

Everyone should consider whether the spirit of the Olympics can co-exist with religious persecution, Reeducation-Through-Labor, modern-day slave labor, social discrimination, secret police, and violence against humanity.

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and all those things that have timeless value all over the world. However, we see a China that is not yet prepared to honor its promise—all the preparations for the Olympics carried out by the Chinese government until now have shown that the hosting of the Olympics has become, on the contrary, an excuse for the government to restrict civil rights and to suppress human rights.

If there is no human dignity or human rights, then there can be no real Olympics. For the sake of China and for the sake of the Olympics, defend human rights.

We don't want to see a blockaded or isolated China. However, it is only through the pressure generated by adhering to human rights principles and a frank dialogue that China will be spurred to improve its current situation. Ignoring the above realities and covering up the various violent actions committed behind Beijing's glittering Olympic rings is a blatant disregard of the Olympic Charter. Protecting human rights takes time, but we should take immediate steps to ensure that the human rights situation in China does not continue to deteriorate. Allowing a country that tramples on human dignity to hold the Olympics does not bring honor to the people of this country, nor does it bring glory to the Olympic Games.

We sincerely hope that the Olympics will bring the values of peace, equality, freedom, and fairness to the 1.3 billion people of China. We pray that the Olympics will take place in a China that is free. We must promote a 2008 Olympics that is truly in accord with the Olympic Charter and the achievement of the same dream of human rights that exists in the rest of the world. We believe only this type of Olympic Games will help promote the advancement of democracy in China and foster world peace.

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September 10, 2007

The original Chinese essay was posted online: Hu Jia's MSN Spaces blog, September 11, 2007, <http://hujiachina.spaces.live.com/blog/cns!2E61195DD50A5E9A!327.entry>.

Notes

1. "Fang Zheng Xiwang Qisu Zhonggong Dangjue Xunqiu Peichang" [Fang Zheng Hopes to Appeal to the Chinese Communist Authorities for Compensation], *Xiwang zhi Ying* [Sound of Hope], June 1, 2007, <http://soundofhope.org/programs/162/64104-1.asp>.
2. Editor's note: Although online reports indicate that there are 43 subcategories, the available regulation itself lists 42 subcategories.
3. "Zhongguo gonganbu fachu xianzhi aoyun rujing 'hemingdan'" [China's Ministry of Public Security Issues Internal Blacklist Prohibiting 11 Types of Individuals from Entering China During the Olympics], Radio Free Asia, May 30, 2007, http://www.rfa.org/cantonese/xinwen/2007/05/30/china_olympic/.
4. Hannah Beech, "Chen Guangcheng," *Time*, April 30, 2006, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1186887,00.html>.
5. A report released by the Geneva-based Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions in June 2007 estimates that among those affected by projects for the Olympic Games, about 33,000 people each year become impoverished as a result of having lost their residence. For relevant reports and updated information, see Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, *Mega-Events and Olympics*, June 5, 2007, <http://www.cohre.org/mega-events>.
6. Alexa Olesen, "Dozens in China Fight Demolition Plans," Associated Press, May 17, 2007, available at <http://www.ibtimes.com/articles/20070517/china-demolition-standoff.htm>.
7. Mumu Junqing, "Xinghua yi maicai nongfu yu chengguan chongtu siwang" [Peasant Woman Selling Vegetables Killed in Clash With City Police in Xinghua City], *Jiangsu Fa Zhi Bao* [Jiangsu Legal], July 29, 2005, <http://www.dffy.com/fayanguancha/sh/200507/20050729095508.htm>.
8. Wang Guiying, "Wufawutian de Wuxicheng Guan Dashi le Wo Zhangfu" [Wuxi City Officials Illegally Killed My Husband], Boxun, December 3, 2005, <http://www.peacehall.com/news/gb/yuanqing/2005/12/200512031035.shtml>.
9. Fang Yuan, "Shanghai fangmin Duan Huimin bei jingchaouda zhi" [Shanghai Petitioner Duan Huimin Beaten to Death by Police], Radio Free Asia, January 3, 2007, <http://www.rfa.org/mandarin/shenrubao/2007/01/03/fangmin/>.

10. Xin Yu, "Shanghai weiquan renshi Chen Xiaoming yuzhong siwang; Jiaren kangyi touyan jiuyi" [Shanghai Rights Defender Chen Xiaoming Dead in Prison; Family Criticizes Treatment Delay], Radio Free Asia, July 13, 2007, <http://www.rfa.org/mandarin/shenrubao/2007/07/13/chenxiaoming/>.
11. "Aoyun Daojishi Beijing Zhuabu 200 duo wei Fangmin" [Over 200 Petitioners Detained During the Beijing Olympic Countdown], *Dajiyuan* [Epoch Times], August 7, 2007, <http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/7/8/6/n1793681.htm>.
12. Hannah Beech, "Chen Guangcheng," *Time*, April 30, 2006, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1186887,00.html>.
13. Ji Lisi, "Yuan Weijing zai Shoudu Jichang bei bangjia" [Yuan Weijing Abducted at Beijing Capital Airport], Radio Free Asia, August 24, 2007, http://www.rfa.org/cantonese/xinwen/2007/08/24/china_rights_chen/.
14. Editor's note: A number of petitions have been circulated inside China recently, calling for greater attention to human rights, rather than the government's emphasis on the Olympic Games. For one example, see "'One World, One Dream' and Universal Human Rights: An open letter proposing seven changes for upholding Olympic Principles," *China Rights Forum* 3 (2007): 69–72.
15. For more information, please see Reporters Without Borders' Beijing 2008 website at: (English) <http://www.rsf.org/>; (Chinese) <http://www.rsf-chinese.org/>.
16. Xu Zerong is also known in English by his anglicized name, David Tsui; see "The Imprisonment of Dr Xu Zerong (David Tsui), Former Student of St Anthony's College," St Anthony's College, Oxford University, <http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/antonians/tsui.shtml>.
17. Many journalists and writers still being held in prisons The list of Writers in Prison of the Independent Chinese PEN Center includes the following: Kong Youping, Huang Jin-qiu, Ouyang Yi, Luo Yongzhong, Guo Qinghai, Yan Jun, Yang Zili, Zhang Honghai, Xu Wei, Jin Haike, Zhao Changqing, Wu Yilong, Chen Shaowen, Jiang Weiping, Xu Zerong, Yu Dongyue, Chen Yanbin, Liu Haofeng, Zhang Yuhui, Wu Shishen, Tao Haidong, Jiang Lijun, Luo Changfu, Tohti Tunyaz, Sang Jiancheng, He Depu, Wang Bingzhang, Qin Yongmin, Cheng Yizhong, Yu Huafeng, Li Mingying, Li Zhi, Mao Qingxiang, Zhu Yufu, Xu Guang, Hada, Hu Shigen, Zhao Yan, Shi Tao, Zhang Ruquan, Yang Tianshui, Zhang Lin, Zheng Yichun, Ma Yalian, Abdulghani Memetemin, Liu Xianbin, Yue Tianxiang, Yan Zhengxue, Ching Cheong, Lu Jianhua, Cai Zhuohua, Xu Wanping, Li Jianping, Yang Maodong, Li Changqing, Li Yuanlong, Yang Xiaoqing, Guo Qizhen, Hu Mingjun, Nurmemet Yasin, Chen Shuqing, Wang Xiaoning, Zhang Jianhong (Li Hong), and others. See "Zhongguo guanya zuojia shijiezhiguan" [China Ranks First in the World for Imprisoned Writers], Writers in Prison Committee of the Independent Chinese PEN Center, 2005, <http://www.penchinese.com/wipc/01wipl0-main.htm>.
18. Those prohibited from leaving the country include Jiang Yanyong (the doctor who exposed the real situation of SARS in China and the government's crackdown in 1989 against students in the pro-democracy movement), human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng, independent writer Liu Xiaobo, Liao Yiwu, Jiang Qisheng, etc. Those prohibited from returning to China include Wei Jinsheng, Wang Dan, Wang Juntao, Harry Wu, Fu Xiqiu (Bob Fu), Fang Lizhi, Yan Jiaqi, etc.
19. According to a Human Rights Watch Report, China shut down more than 700 online forums and forced eight search engines to filter 10,000 sensitive words in the first half of 2006. Human Rights Watch, *Human Rights Watch World Report 2007*, January 11, 2007, http://hrw.org/chinese/docs/2006/12/31/china15421_txt.htm.
20. State Council, Regulations on Reporting Activities in China by Foreign Journalists During the Beijing Olympic Games and the Preparatory Period, promulgated on November 1, 2006 and in force as of January 1, 2007. The Regulations will expire on October 17, 2008. For the English version of the Regulations, released by Xinhua News Agency, see: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-12/01/content_5417254.htm.
21. "Li Beijing aoyun zheng yinian, waiguo jizhe pan gengduo ziyou" [Foreign Reporters Hope for More Reporting Freedom in the One-Year Countdown to the Beijing Olympics], Deutsche Welle, August 2, 2007, <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,2718444,00.html>.
22. Human Rights in China, "HRIC Calls for International Action as Fu Xiancai Denied Vital Surgery," June 16, 2006, <http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/29288>.
23. "Jiating jiaohui mushi Cai Zhuohua xingman chuyu dan xingdong reng shou xianzhi" [Freedom of Movement for Protestant House Church Priest Cai Zhuohua Still Restricted After Leaving Prison], Radio Free Asia, September 17, 2007, <http://www.rfa.org/mandarin/shenrubao/2007/09/17/caizhuohua/>.
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25. China Aid Association, "Over 100 Foreign Missionaries Expelled or Forced to Leave by Chinese Government Secret Campaign," July 10, 2007, <http://www.chinaaid.org/2007/07/10/ver-100-foreign-missionaries-expelled-by-chinese-government-secret-campaign>.

26. “Xizang renquan minzhu zhongxin qianze Zhongguo bianfang qiangsha taowangzang” [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy Condemns China’s Border Guards Shooting at Tibetan Asylum Seekers], Radio Free Asia, October 13, 2006, www.rfa.org/cantonese/xinwen/2006/10/13/china_tibetan/.
27. “Cangchuanfojiao Lingxiu ji Xizhang Liuwangzhengfu Jo ‘Cangchuanfojiao Zhuanshi Guanli Banfa de Shengming’ [A Statement Regarding the ‘Regulations Governing Reincarnation of Buddhist Lamas’ by Tibetan Buddhist leaders and the Tibetan Government-In-Exile], Boxun, September 7, 2007, <http://www.peacehall.com/news/gb/china/2007/09/200709071414.shtml>.
28. “Qingdao wuming Falun Gong renyuan fenbie bei panxin” [Five Qingdao Falun Gong Practitioners Received Sentences], QingdaoNews, July 12, 2007, <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2007-07-12/161613432964.shtml>.
29. These numbers were provided by the author. For similar estimates, see: Human Rights Watch, “China: Issue Moratorium on Executions Before Olympics,” October 8, 2007, <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2007/10/07/china17046.htm>; “Amnesty: Record rise in executions,” CNN, April 5, 2005, <http://edition.cnn.com/2005/POLITICS/04/05/amnesty.death/>.
30. For more information on Nie Shubin, see Zhao Ling, “Nie Shubin Yuanshaan Xuan Er Wei Jue” [The Unresolved Wrongful Conviction of Nie Shubin], *Nanfang Ribao* [Nanfang Daily], March 24, 2005, <http://www.nanfangdaily.com.cn/southnews/zmzg/200503240931.asp>; for more information on Teng Xingshan, see “‘Sharen suishizhe’ Beibi Shiliunian Hou ‘Beishazhe’ Reng Jianzai” [“The Murdered Victim” Still Alive 16 Years After the Execution of the “Murderer”], *New Express*, June 16, 2005, <http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2005-06-16/13566190113s.shtml>; for more information on Cao Haijin, see Xiao Xuehui, “Yuan-sha haogongmin Cao Haijin: Jiantan shangyi shiji liuxia de zhen wenti (xia)” [Wrongful Conviction of Good Citizen Cao Haijin: Discussion on Problems from the Last Century (Part Two)], *Ren Yu Ren Quan* [Humanity and Human Rights], March 19, 2002, available at <http://www.chinamonitor.org/article/case/chx2.htm>; and for more information on Hujiejiletu, see “Hujiejiletu: youyige Nie Shubin” [Hujiejiletu: Another Nie Shubin], *Law and Life Magazine*, October 9, 2006, available at <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2006-10-09/175111191234.shtml>.
31. For coverage on the Chengde case in Hebei Province involving Chen Guoqing, He Guoqiang, Yang Shiliang, Zhu Yanqiang, please see “Wugu Nanzi 5 ci Beipan Sixing, 10 Nianhou Faxian Ling You Zhengxiong” [Innocent Men Sentenced to Death Five Times; Real Killer is Discovered Ten Years Later], *China Legal News*, March 31, 2005, available at <http://news.sina.com.cn/s/2005-03-31/12416251935.shtml>.
32. Hunan-based writer He Weihua was forcibly sent to a psychiatric hospital in August 2007. See “Wangluo zuojia He Weihua zai bei qiangsong jingshebingyuan” [Internet Writer He Weihua Forcefully Admitted Again to Psychiatric Hospital], Radio Free Asia, August 21, 2007, www.rfa.org/mandarin/shenrubao/2007/08/21/he/.
33. “Chongqing Yiyi Renshi Xu Wanping Rexing Chou Ban ‘64’ Jinian Beibu, Jingfang Xianhai Ta Duping Jiaoyi” [Chongqing Dissident Xu Wanping Arrested While Organizing the June 4th Commemoration, on Framed Narcotics Charges], Boxun, June 4, 2004, www.peacehall.com/news/gb/china/2004/06/200406041411.shtml.
34. “Sun Buer huo Zhongguo qingnian renquanjiang qian turan shizong” [Sun Buer Suddenly Disappears Ahead of Receiving Chinese Youth Human Rights Award], Radio Free Asia, May 29, 2007, www.rfa.org/mandarin/shenrubao/2007/05/29/sunbuer/.
35. Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, Electoral Law of the People’s Republic of China on the National People’s Congress and Local People’s Congress (2004 Amendment), adopted in July 1979 and revised in 1982, 1986, 1995, and 2004. Article 12 states: “The number of deputies to the people’s congresses of autonomous prefectures, counties and autonomous counties shall be allocated by the standing committees of the people’s congresses at the corresponding levels, in accordance with the principle that the number of people represented by each rural deputy is four times the number of people represented by each town deputy”; and Article 16 states: “The number of deputies to the National People’s Congress to be elected by the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government shall be allocated by the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress in accordance with the principle that the number of people represented by each rural deputy is four times the number of people represented by each urban deputy” [emphasis added]. The Congressional-Executive Commission on China’s website has an unofficial English translation of this law, available at <http://www.cecc.gov/pages/newLaws/electoralLawENG.php>.