



獨立中文筆會  
Independent Chinese  
PEN Center

PEN CANADA  
for FREEDOM of EXPRESSION

## **Beyond the Olympics: The Freedom to Write in China, After the Spotlight**

Today, October 17, 2008, temporary regulations that were said to guarantee the ability of international journalists to report freely from China will expire.

The government of the People's Republic of China issued these regulations in line with a pledge it made in its January 17, 2001 official proposal to host the 2008 Beijing Olympics: "There will be no restrictions on journalists in reporting on the Olympic Games." In the years between that original pledge and the Olympics, the Chinese government repeatedly qualified that simple, straightforward declaration, so that the regulations that have been in effect since January 1, 2007 fell far short of international norms guaranteeing full freedom of the press—most notably in the fact that China's domestic media was excluded altogether from the temporary protections.

Nevertheless, the regulations were the most concrete articulation of China's broader pledge to the International Olympic Committee and the world to improve human rights in China before, during, and after the Olympics, and as such they offered important new assurances for international journalists and provided a significant and tangible benchmark for evaluating China on its broader Olympic-year commitments.

Unfortunately, as we documented in our July 8, 2008 report "Failing to Deliver: An Olympic-Year Report Card on Free Expression in China"—findings which we summarize and update here—China repeatedly failed to abide by even these highly-qualified temporary regulations. The record is sufficiently disappointing that international media organizations, and the international community as a whole, should be concerned about what the expiration of these minimal protections will mean for foreign journalists operating in China.

Of even greater concern to PEN are the ongoing restrictions on our Chinese colleagues, restrictions that continued unabated and even increased in the run up to the Olympics. As this report makes clear, these restrictions took a heavy toll on Chinese writers, journalists, and bloggers in general, and on our colleagues in the Independent Chinese PEN Center in particular, over the past year, and significantly curtailed the free flow of information and ideas for all Chinese citizens.

For PEN, the test of whether a state is protecting and guaranteeing the essential human right of freedom of expression is whether its citizens are free to investigate and report the news, publish or post their opinions and criticisms, challenge official orthodoxies, and create literature without fear of censorship or persecution. Even as the eyes of the world were on China this Olympic year, the Chinese government repeatedly demonstrated a lack of commitment to respecting and expanding this right. If hosting Olympics was to have encouraged human rights improvements in China, the early returns are certainly discouraging.

## Restricting Press Freedom

Despite the Chinese government's clear commitments to allow international journalists to report freely in the months before and during the Olympics, reporters and news organizations were subjected to press freedom violations in China in the past year. These included the following incidents:

- During the crackdown on protests in Tibetan areas that began in March, the government cut off or interrupted telephone and Internet service in Lhasa and other Tibetan areas, significantly hindering the flow of eyewitness reports and other information as violence spread and the number of deaths rose. Three months later, Human Rights Watch confirmed that authorities continued to confiscate mobile phones, cameras, fax machines and computers, monitor calls, censor and block emails and Internet content, and harass Tibetans to prevent them from communicating with journalists and relaying information inside and outside of Tibet.
- Since March, international journalists have only been allowed into Tibetan areas on government-orchestrated visits, always chaperoned and closely monitored by Chinese officials. Foreign journalists who attempted on their own to enter the Tibetan Autonomous Region and neighboring Tibetan areas in Sichuan, Qinghai, Yunnan and Gansu Provinces were detained and turned away. Only *The Guardian* has been permitted to travel in Tibet in recent weeks, and journalists on the trip say that because of the increased security, few Tibetans were willing to speak with them.
- The BBC, NBC, AP, Reuters, and a handful of other international news organizations were allowed into Tibet to cover the Olympic Torch Relay in Lhasa on June 21—an event that occurred against a backdrop of intensified security and a major redeployment of armed police to the region. These news organizations were only permitted to view the beginning and the end of the torch route through Lhasa.<sup>1</sup>
- Similar controls were imposed on reporting from areas affected by the May 12 Sichuan earthquake. Although the government allowed an unusual level of live coverage of rescue efforts, once attention turned to questions that were potentially embarrassing for Chinese officials, there was a concerted effort to rein in—and even black out—press coverage. In just one example, on June 12, Agence France-Presse reported that at least six foreign media representatives were manhandled, detained, and expelled from the region when they tried to report from collapsed schools in Dujiangyan.
- On July 29, foreign journalists working at official Olympic press venues in Beijing reported that the web sites of Amnesty International, the BBC, Radio Free Asia, and other human rights sites were blocked. The IOC, responding to an international uproar, said it would investigate, noting that the Chinese government had pledged complete media

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<sup>1</sup> PEN American Center issued a letter to IOC President Jacques Rogge, urging him to halt the Lhasa leg of the Torch Relay unless full and free press access was permitted in accordance with the pledges China made to secure the Olympic Games. On June 25, IOC Chief of Staff Christophe De Kepper replied, assuring PEN that the IOC “voiced its displeasure, both privately and publicly,” over the limitations placed on journalists covering the relay. De Kepper continued, saying “I can assure you that we will continue to push for media access to Olympic events.”

freedom before, during and after the Games. However, an IOC spokesman admitted “that some IOC officials negotiated with the Chinese that some sensitive sites would be blocked on the basis they were not considered Games-related.”<sup>2</sup> While the censorship of the Amnesty International site was lifted soon after, more than 50 other “sensitive” web sites, including those related to Tibet, Falun Gong, and others critical of the Chinese government remained blocked throughout the Games.

- On August 4, just four days before the Olympics opened in Beijing, paramilitary police were attacked in the far-western city of Kashgar, Xinjiang Province, killing 16. As journalists flocked to the site, officials quickly stifled their ability to report on the event. In one of a handful of incidents, paramilitary police assaulted and detained two Japanese journalists, Masami Kawakita, a photographer with the Chuichi Sports newspaper, and Shinji Katsuta, a reporter with the Nippon Television Network, and damaged their equipment. The attack prompted an official apology from senior police officers the next day.
- Violations occurred even in Beijing during the Olympics themselves. As peaceful protests cropped up throughout the city during the Games—many of which were quickly and forcefully suppressed—video and eyewitness accounts documented plainclothes and other police officers blocking cameras and ushering away journalists, and sometimes even manhandling those with accreditation, directly violating the terms of the temporary regulations. In one stark example, John Ray, an accredited reporter for British-based ITN-TV, was manhandled and detained while covering a pro-Tibet protest in Beijing’s Ethnic Minorities Park. According to the Foreign Correspondent’s Club of China, Ray was pinned down by police, dragged along the ground and pushed into a police van. His equipment was confiscated, and he was accused of participating in the protest. Video of the incident showed Ray’s accreditation was clearly visible.

Because they were directed toward or involved international journalists and media outlets, these violations of press freedom norms and of China’s explicit promises received substantial attention and criticism up through the Olympic Games. Less noticed, but of even greater concern to PEN, was the fact that Chinese journalists, unprotected by the temporary regulations that were supposedly meant to allow foreign journalists to travel and report freely, remained under the thumb of the Propaganda Department of the Chinese government and were required to follow its directives.

As a result, major stories went unreported in the Chinese press. There was no mention in the Chinese media of street demonstrations in Beijing during the Olympics, for example, and Chinese journalists attending a press conference held by the U.S. men’s volleyball team following the stabbing of American tourist Todd Bachman, the father-in-law of team coach Hugh McCutcheon, had their notebooks confiscated, as that story, too, remained off limits to the domestic press. And, in another sign that it was business as usual for China’s press censors, domestic journalists who wandered beyond the official boundaries continued to be punished. On May 5, for instance, Chang Ping was dismissed from his post as deputy editor of the magazine *Nandu Zhoukan* (*Southern Metropolis Weekly*) after he published several editorials about Tibet that did not toe the party line.

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<sup>2</sup> PEN American Center immediately issued a letter to IOC President Jacques Rogge to express its shock that the IOC acquiesced to the Chinese government’s censorship and to urge the organization to insist that the government permit journalists unfiltered and unfettered Internet access at Olympic press facilities throughout the Games.

## Targeting Writers

### *Jailing Writers*

On December 10, 2007, PEN American Center and PEN Canada joined with the Independent Chinese PEN Center to launch the “We Are Ready for Freedom of Expression” campaign, an Olympic year initiative to win the release of writers and journalists in Chinese prisons and to hold the Chinese government accountable to its Olympics pledge to expand human rights in China. At that time, PEN was following the cases of 40 writers and journalists imprisoned in China. Today, there are at least 44 writers and journalist imprisoned in China, and PEN is tracking the cases of another 10 writers who were recently released and remain subject to significant restrictions on their freedom of movement and freedom to write or who are vulnerable to arrest at any time.

Shockingly, 12 writers were detained in the 10 months between the launch of the campaign and the Beijing Olympic Games:

1. **Wang Dejjia:** Internet writer and dissident, detained December 13, 2007 and released on January 12, 2008 on condition that he not write anything “attacking the leadership of the Party and State,” “inciting subversion of state power,” or any “political commentary.”
2. **Hu Jia:** Freelance reporter and blogger, civil rights, environmental and AIDS activist, arrested December 27, 2007 and convicted of “inciting subversion of state power” on April 3, 2008. Hu is now serving a 3 ½-year sentence.
3. **Jamyang Kyi:** Prominent Tibetan writer, reporter, activist and singer detained April 1, 2008, and reportedly released several weeks later.
4. **Zhou Yuanzhi:** Freelance writer and member of the Independent Chinese PEN Center, detained on May 3, 2008 and released on May 15, 2008. Zhou is forbidden from traveling beyond his home city without police authorization, prohibited from communicating with strangers, and banned from publishing.
5. **Chen Daojun:** Freelance writer and journalist, detained May 9, 2008 and charged with “inciting splittism.”
6. **Guo Quan:** Writer and former professor of literature at Nanjing Normal University, detained May 17, 2008 and released May 28, 2008.
7. **Feng Zhenghu:** Rights defender, online writer and freelance journalist, detained on June 5, 2008 on suspicion of “intentionally disturbing public order and released on June 15, 2008.
8. **Zeng Hongling:** Writer and retired worker, detained June 9, 2008 after publishing articles on her experiences from the May 12, 2008 earthquake.
9. **Huang Qi:** Cyber-dissident, writer, director and co-founder of the Tianwang Human Rights Center, detained on June 10, 2008.
10. **Du Daobin:** Writer and member of the Independent Chinese PEN Center, re-arrested July 21, 2008 to serve the remaining two years and four months of his three-year sentence for subversion, which had been suspended for four years.
11. **Mehbube Ablesh:** Uighur journalist working at the Xinjiang People’s Radio Station, detained in August for articles she published online. Her whereabouts are currently unknown.
12. **Rangjung:** Tibetan writer and reporter arrested at his home in Amdo Golok, eastern Tibet, on September 11, 2008, most likely for his online writings. His whereabouts are currently unknown.

All of the writers detained since the start of the campaign in December have been targeted for writings published online, evidence of the continuing determination of authorities to control speech on the Internet—a clear violation of its citizens’ right under international law to “seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers.”

*A complete list of all the writers PEN has been tracking since December 10, 2007 is attached to this report.*

### ***Harassing and Suppressing Critical Voices***

Prior to the opening of the Olympic Games, writers and dissidents from Beijing and elsewhere in China were warned not to “cause trouble,” and were urged to stay away from the capital for the duration of the Games. Those who didn’t, the police said, would be placed under house arrest.

Most disturbingly for PEN, members of the Independent Chinese PEN Center (ICPC)<sup>3</sup> were specifically targeted. Many were placed under house arrest or restricted from leaving their home cities, and still others living abroad have been prevented from entering Hong Kong or mainland China from August through today.

**Zhou Yuanzhi**, a freelance writer and ICPC member who was detained by the National Security Bureau of Zhongxiang City, Hubei Province, on May 3, 2008 on suspicion of “inciting subversion” for his critiques on social issues and official corruption. Zhou was released on May 15, 2008, but remained under house arrest throughout the duration of the Games. He is still forbidden from traveling beyond his home city without police authorization, prohibited from communicating with strangers, and banned from publishing.

ICPC board member **Yu Jie** was guarded by police at his residence in Beijing and followed every time he left his home for the duration of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Authorities even went so far as to “chauffeur” Yu when he needed transportation.

**Ms. Liu Di** was placed under house arrest in Beijing from July 31 to August 25, and from September 5 to September 18.

Several ICPC members were warned not to visit Beijing or leave the Chinese mainland, and have had their passports taken away. Board member **Zhao Dagong**, who lives in Shenzhen, was only permitted to visit his parents in Hebei Province after the Paralympic Games had ended on September 17, but as of publication of this report is still not permitted to visit Beijing and is not allowed to leave China. No expiry date for these restrictions has been given.

ICPC Deputy Secretary-General **Jiang Bo**, who is based in Shanghai, had his passport confiscated during the Olympics. It was returned, along with his travel documents to Hong Kong, and he was informed that he would be permitted to visit Beijing after China’s National Day on October 1.

Hangzhou-based **He Yongqin**, also known as **Wen Kejian**, and Qingdao-based lawyer **Li Jianqiang**, who represented 10 imprisoned writers before being disbarred, were restricted from

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<sup>3</sup> The Independent Chinese PEN Center has a membership of around 250 Chinese writers both inside and outside of China, including many prominent dissidents. It was formed in 2001 and has operated under close official scrutiny ever since. For example, authorities halted ICPC’s annual awards dinner in December 2007 by paying visits to members and posting guards outside the doors of many to prevent them from traveling to Beijing. The evening’s two scheduled honorees, writers Liao Yiwu and Li Jianhong, were detained.

traveling outside their home cities during the period of the Olympic and Paralympic Games, but were informed that their plans to travel to Beijing and abroad would not be curtailed in October.

Journalist **Zan Aizong**, who lives in Hangzhou, was barred from leaving Shanghai's Pudong airport to attend a conference on human rights in Geneva on August 31.

Several members of ICPC who live overseas, but some of whom hold Chinese passports, were denied entry into China and Hong Kong. **Dr. Zhang Yu**, the Writers in Prison Committee Coordinator and former Secretary-General, who resides in Sweden, was denied entry to Hong Kong in April, just days before the arrival of the Olympic Torch there.

**Ms. Sheng Xue**, a Canadian citizen and member of both ICPC and PEN Canada, was denied entry into Hong Kong on August 7, despite being permitted to enter many times before. Ms. Sheng has not been permitted to enter mainland China, however, since her involvement in the 1989 pro-democracy movement.

**Dr. Zhang Xiaogang**, the current Secretary-General of ICPC who holds an Australian passport, and **Dr. Gui Minhai**, an alternate board member from Germany, were denied entry to Hong Kong during the Games. On August 5, they easily entered Hong Kong on their way to a conference on human rights in China taking place in Taiwan. On August 12, on their way back to Australia and Germany, they were denied entry into Hong Kong. Gui was deported back to Taiwan the same day, while Zhang was deported to Australia the following day after he refused to pay for another ticket back to Taiwan. Authorities claimed they were denied entry after visiting a week previously because there were different measures in place during the Olympic Games.

In an unsettling example of post-Olympic restrictions, Zhang Xiaogang attempted to enter mainland China from Hong Kong on a visa on October 8, but was stopped by police in the Luohu Border Control Station of Shenzhen, Guangdong Province. He was detained, and his luggage and person were searched by authorities. Several of his books and magazines were confiscated before he was sent back to Hong Kong.

Other well-known writers who are not members of the Independent Chinese PEN Center have been targeted for harassment as well. Tibetan writer, journalist, and poet **Tsering Woeser**, who resides in Beijing with her husband, writer **Wang Lixiong**, heeded warnings by authorities to leave Beijing and decided to travel to Lhasa to visit family during the Olympics. She arrived on August 17. On August 21, she was detained by police and held for eight hours. Woeser was accused of photographing the army and police presence, which has been heavy in the capital since the uprisings there in March. She was forced to leave her mother's home and return to Beijing on August 23. Woeser is still facing restrictions on her movements.

Human rights activist and online writer **Zeng Jinyan**, wife of jailed writer **Hu Jia**, disappeared from Beijing on August 7. It was later discovered that she was being held in Dalian, outside the capital. She was detained for the duration of the Games, and was not released until August 23, one day before the closing ceremony. Zeng remains under residential surveillance at her Beijing home, along with her baby daughter, Qianci.

### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

The temporary regulations for foreign journalists operating in China before, during, and after the Olympics, which went into effect on January 1, 2007, are scheduled to expire today. The rules were

meant to allow all foreign journalists to speak with any source on any subject, and to bring down the barriers that so tightly constrain the flow of information in China.

PEN American Center, PEN Canada, and the Independent Chinese PEN Center have determined that despite early hopes and promises, the Chinese government failed to live up to the letter and the spirit of its commitments to the International Olympic Committee, the media, and to Chinese citizens and the world community throughout the period of temporary regulations. Instead, the overall climate for freedom of expression deteriorated in the final ten months of the temporary regulations, with a particularly disheartening push to suppress this right while the eyes of the world were on the country from August 8 to August 24, 2008. There are more writers and journalists in prison in China today than there were in December 2007, and dissident writers and journalists who are not in prison face serious restrictions on their movements and on their ability to speak and publish freely.

In early October, research by the OpenNet Initiative revealed that the Chinese government has been spying on dissidents and other web users utilizing the chat software TOM-Skype, a joint venture between Skype's American parent company eBay and the Chinese company TOM Group. Authorities have reportedly been tracking users typing key words such as Tibet, Falun Gong, and democracy. Meanwhile, "The Great Firewall of China" remains in place, preventing Chinese citizens from freely accessing the Internet and subjecting those who seek to explore politically sensitive matters and ideas—and to make their voices heard on such matters—to harassment, detention, and possible imprisonment. Clearly, our Chinese colleagues, and China's citizens as a whole, have yet to see evidence of the human rights improvements their government pledged in order to secure the Olympic Games.

Did the world miss an opportunity to persuade China to abide by these pledges? Or was it naïve to believe that hosting the Olympics would lead China to allow its citizens greater freedoms? As the Olympic spotlight fades, these are questions that the International Olympics Committee, governments, and non-governmental organizations around the world should be carefully considering.

Meanwhile, PEN remains committed to protecting the right of our Chinese colleagues and all Chinese citizens to seek, receive, and impart information freely and regardless of frontiers; to express themselves without inhibition or fear of persecution or imprisonment; and to travel and associate without restrictions.

We therefore call on the Chinese government to:

- Extend and make permanent the temporary press regulations established for the Olympic Games and include domestic journalists within these guarantees;
- Release all writers and journalists currently imprisoned and stop detaining, harassing, and censoring writers and journalists;
- End Internet censorship, and reform laws used to imprison writers and journalists and suppress freedom of expression.

## **WRITERS IMPRISONED IN CHINA**

### **As of October 17, 2008**

#### **Mehbube Ablesh**

Uighur writer, poet, and employee at the Xinjiang People's Radio Station, a government-run station based in Urumqi, fired from her post and detained in August 2008. She is reportedly being held for posting articles critical of the Chinese government and the provincial leadership in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Ablesh is reportedly being held in Urumqi, however no details of any charges have been made public.

#### **Chen Daojun**

Freelance writer and journalist, detained May 9, 2008 by the Public Security Bureau of Chengdu City, Sichuan Province and charged with "inciting splittism." The charge most likely stems from an article Chen published following the Tibetan protests in March which declared respect to the Tibetan people, defended their basic rights and condemned the Chinese government's violent crackdown on protesters. He has also written articles against governmental projects and the politics of the Beijing Olympics. Chen is currently being held at the Detention Center of the Public Security Bureau of Jintang County.

#### **Chen Shuqing**

Dissident writer and leading member of the Zhejiang Branch of the banned China Democracy Party (CDP), arrested September 14, 2006 and charged with "inciting subversion." Chen's case has twice been handed back to the police for lack of evidence, but on August 14, 2007 he was sentenced to four years in prison and one year's deprivation of political rights. His appeal was rejected without trial by the Zhejiang High People's Court on October 29, 2007. Chen is being held at Qiaosi Prison in Hangzhou City, Zhejiang Province.

#### **Du Daobin**

Writer and member of the Independent Chinese PEN Center, re-arrested July 21, 2008 to serve the remaining two years and four months of his three-year sentence, which had been suspended for four years. Du was convicted on June 11, 2004 of "inciting subversion of state power" for 175 words in 26 of his articles. Now, he stands accused of violating the terms of his sentence by publishing more than 100 articles on the Internet, leaving the city, and receiving guests without permission from the police. His whereabouts are currently unknown.

#### **Guo Qizhen**

Cyber-dissident arrested on May 12, 2006 and charged with "inciting subversion of state power" for 34 articles he published on overseas web sites attacking the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Guo was sentenced to four years in prison and three years' deprivation of political rights on October 17, 2006. He is being held at No. 4 Prison of Hebei Province, Shi Jiazhuang City, and is reportedly nursing a broken leg and is in a fragile psychological state, possibly due to abuse.

#### **Dawa Gvaltsen**

Tibetan dissident arrested in November 1995 for writing pro-independence pamphlets which were

posted in April 1995 as part of widespread protests against the Chinese authorities. Dawa was charged with carrying out “counter-revolutionary propaganda” and is now serving a 15-year prison sentence. He is currently being held in the notorious Drapchi Prison in Lhasa. He was reportedly severely tortured under interrogation, and has suffered numerous forms of abuse in prison, including beatings, psychological stress, and lack of access to fresh air. When he was first arrested, he was handcuffed and thrown into a dark room without food for 10 days.

### **Jampel Gyatso**

Monk from Drakar Trezong monastery in Qinghai Province, where he was on the editorial team of the monastery’s journal, *The Charm of the Sun and Moon*. Jampel was arrested on January 16, 2005 and sentenced to three years re-education through labor (RTL). He is currently being held in Topa RTL Camp at Huangzhong Dzong, near Xining.

### **Hada**

Owner of the Mongolian Academic Bookstore and founder and editor-in-chief of underground journal *The Voice of Southern Mongolia*, arrested December 10, 1995 and sentenced to 15 years in prison and four years’ deprivation of political rights for “inciting separatism and espionage” on December 6, 1996. Hada is currently being held at No. 4 Prison of Inner Mongolia in Chi Feng City, and is suffering from stomach ulcers and coronary heart disease.

### **He Depu**

Dissident activist and writer arrested on November 4, 2002 and subsequently sentenced to eight years in prison and two years’ deprivation of political rights for “inciting subversion.” He’s trial lasted a mere two hours before he was convicted on charges that stemmed from his collaboration with the banned China Democracy Party (CDP) and his internet essays. He is currently being held in Beijing No. 2 Prison, and has reportedly suffered numerous abuses there, including beatings that left permanent injuries.

### **He Yanjie**

Freelance reporter working as Qi Chonghuai’s research assistant in the investigation of local corruption and injustice prior to his detention on June 25, 2007. He was formally charged with “blackmail” on August 2, 2007, and his case was handed to the Tengzhou People’s Procuratorate on November 2, 2007 – one month later than the law permits. He was tried by the Tengzhou City Court in Shandong Province on May 13, 2008, and sentenced to two years in prison. He is currently being held in Tengzhou Prison.

### **Hu Jia**

Freelance reporter and blogger, civil rights, environmental and AIDS activist, arrested December 27, 2007 at his home in Beijing on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power.” Hu was officially charged on January 30, 2008 by the Beijing Municipal People’s Procuratorate, and on March 7, his case was submitted to the prosecution. Hu stood trial on March 18, and on April 3, he was sentenced to three and a half years in prison and one year’s deprivation of political rights. He is currently being held in Beijing Prison, where his health is reportedly deteriorating due to prison conditions.

### **Huang Jinjiu (pen name: Qing Shuijun)**

Internet essayist, writer and journalist, arrested on September 13, 2003 and sentenced to 12 years in prison and four years' deprivation of civil rights for "organizing, planning and carrying out subversive activities" and for writing "reactionary" articles on the internet. Huang was severely tortured during the first two years in jail. His situation has improved in the past year and his sentence has been reduced by 22 months. He is currently being held in Pukou Prison, Nanjing City, Jiangsu Province.

### **Huang Qi**

Cyber-dissident, writer, director and co-founder of the Tianwang Human Rights Center, detained June 10, 2008 in Chengdu, Sichuan Province. Huang was last seen being forced into a car by three unidentified men, and was later confirmed to be held by the police at the Detention Center of the Public Security Bureau of Chengdu City. On July 18, 2008, he was formally charged with "illegal possession of state secrets," which may stem from his criticism of the government's handling of the May 12<sup>th</sup> Sichuan earthquake. Huang was finally permitted access to his lawyers on September 23, 2008.

### **Jin Haike**

Geologist and writer, arrested March 13, 2001 along with Xu Wei, Yang Zili, and Zhang Honghai after participating in the "Xin Qingnian Xuehui" (New Youth Study Group), an informal gathering of individuals concerned with political and economic inequalities who used the internet to circulate relevant articles. Jin was finally sentenced on May 28, 2003 to 10 years in prison on charges of subversion. He is currently being held at Beijing No. 2 Prison and is suffering from multiple medical conditions whose causes are still unclear.

### **Kong Youping**

Internet writer and factory worker, arrested December 13, 2003 after posting five articles and seven poems on an overseas website that alleged corruption. Kong was sentenced on September 16, 2004 to 15 years in prison for "subverting state power," a sentence that was reduced to 10 years on appeal. He is currently being held at Lingyuan City Prison in Liaoning Province and is reportedly suffering from high blood pressure and deteriorating eyesight.

### **Dolma Kyab**

Writer and teacher, arrested on March 9, 2005 in Lhasa, Tibet for allegedly endangering state security in his unpublished book, *The Restless Himalayas*, which was comprised of 57 chapters he had written on various topics: democracy, sovereignty of Tibet, Tibet under communism, colonialism, religion and belief, and so forth. Dolma was charged with "espionage" and "illegal border crossing" at a trial conducted in secrecy, and sentenced to ten and a half years in prison. In July 2007, he was reportedly moved from Chushul Prison in Lhasa to Seilong Labor Camp in Xining, and is seriously ill.

### **Li Zhi**

Internet writer and financial officer in the Dazhou municipal government in Sichuan Province, arrested August 11, 2003 after posting essays accusing Sichuan officials of corruption on an overseas website. Li was sentenced to eight years in prison and four years' deprivation of political rights on December 10, 2003 on charges of "subverting state power." Evidence was supplied by

Yahoo!, which passed on his user information to the authorities. He is currently being held in Sichuan No. 3 Prison in Dazhu County.

### **Lu Gengsong**

Writer and human rights activist, arrested on August 24, 2007 after his articles critical of the authorities were published online. Lu was formally charged with “inciting subversion of state power” on September 29, 2007, and stood trial before the Hangzhou Intermediate People’s Court on January 22, 2008. He was convicted, and on February 5, 2008 he was sentenced to four years in prison and one year’s deprivation of political rights. In a closed trial on April 14, 2008, the Zhejiang Provincial High Court rejected an appeal. He is currently being held in Xijiao Prison, Hangzhou City.

### **Lu Jianhua**

Research professor at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Deputy Director of the Public Policy Research Center, and Executive Director of the China Development Strategy, arrested in April 2005 on charges of “leaking state secrets” to Hong Kong-based reporter Ching Cheong. After a secret trial lasting only 90 minutes on December 18, 2006, Lu was convicted and sentenced to 20 years in prison. He is reportedly being held incommunicado in Beijing City jail.

### **Lu Zengqi**

Falun Gong member and internet writer, sentenced on February 19, 2004 to 10 years in prison for writing an online publication which “tarnished the image of the government by broadcasting fabricated stories of persecution suffered by cult members.” The newsletter alleged ill-treatment in prison of a fellow Falun Gong member.

### **Abdulghani Memetemin**

Writer, teacher and translator from the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, arrested July 26, 2002 after providing information to the East Turkestan Information Centre (ETIC), a Uighur rights and pro-independence group run by exiled Uighurs in Germany. Memetemin was convicted in June 2003 by the Kashgar Intermediate People’s Court of “illegally providing state secrets to overseas organizations” and sentenced to nine years in prison. He was reportedly denied legal representation at his trial and has been tortured in prison.

### **Ning Xianhua**

Internet writer and factory worker, arrested December 13, 2003 after posting online essays supporting the establishment of trade unions and the China Democracy Party (CDP). Ning was sentenced on September 16, 2004 to 12 years in prison for “subverting state power,” a sentence that was reduced to eight years on appeal. He is currently being held at Shenyang Prison in Liaoning Province.

### **Rangjung**

Tibetan writer, singer and television presenter, arrested at his home in Amdo Golok, eastern Tibet, on September 11, 2008. No charges against him have been made public, although it is feared that he may be detained for the pro-Tibetan views expressed on his blog. Rangjung has published two books on Tibetan culture and history, *Dhung shen kharpo (Pure Loyalty)* and *Himalaya Reboed*

(*Himalaya Call for Hope*). His whereabouts are currently unknown.

### **Qi Chonghuai**

Journalist detained June 25, 2007 following the publication on the Xinhuanet web site of an article alleging official corruption in the Tengzhou Communist Party. Qi was formally charged with “blackmail” on August 2, 2007, and his case was handed to the Tengzhou People’s Procuratorate on November 2, 2007 – one month later than the law permits. He was tried by the Tengzhou City Court in Shandong Province on May 13, 2008. Immediately following the 11-hour proceedings, Qi was convicted of “extortion and blackmail” and sentenced to four years in prison. He endured abuse at the hands of court policemen during his early detention, and is currently being held in Tengzhou Prison.

### **Shi Tao**

Journalist, poet, and member of Independent Chinese PEN Center, arrested November 24, 2004 after he emailed the government’s plans for controlling media during the 15th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre. Shi was sentenced on April 30, 2005 to 10 years in prison and two years’ deprivation of political rights for “illegally divulging state secrets abroad” after Yahoo! supplied his user information to authorities. He is currently being held in Deshan Prison, Changde City, Hunan Province.

### **Sun Lin**

Reporter for the overseas Chinese web site Boxun News, arrested May 30, 2007 after writing articles on sensitive subjects including crime and police brutality. His wife, writer He Fang, was also charged and given a suspended sentence. On June 27, 2008, during a hearing in which neither his family nor lawyer were present, Sun was handed a four-year prison sentence for “gathering crowds to cause social unrest” and “illegal possession of firearms.” Before his arrest, he had documented several instances of police harassment. He is currently being held in Pukou Prison, Nanjing City, Jiangsu Province.

### **Tao Haidong**

Internet writer and editor, arrested July 9, 2002 in his home in Urumqi, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region while in the process of posting articles on the internet. Tao was found guilty of “inciting subversion of state power” and sentenced to seven years in prison and three years’ deprivation of political rights. He is currently being held in Changji Prison in Changji City, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

### **Tohti Tunyaz (pen name: Muzart)**

Ethnic Uighur historian and writer, arrested February 6, 1998 while on a research trip in Urumqi for his studies at Tokyo University, where he was working towards a Ph.D. in Uighur history and ethnic relations. Tunyaz was sentenced on February 15, 2000 to eleven years in prison and two years’ deprivation of political rights for “stealing state secrets” and “inciting national disunity.” He is currently being held in Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region Prison No. 3 in Urumqi.

### **Wang Xiaoning**

Internet writer and dissident, arrested on September 1, 2002 and charged with subversion for articles published online between 2000 and 2002. Wang was sentenced to 10 years in prison and two years' deprivation of political rights on July 25, 2003 after Yahoo! supplied his user information to Chinese authorities. He is currently being held in Beijing No. 2 Prison and has reportedly been tortured.

### **Wu Yilong**

Internet writer and China Democracy Party (CDP) activist, arrested in June 1999 for circulating pro-democracy articles on the internet and for his work with the magazine *Zai Yedang (Opposition Party)*. Wu was sentenced to 11 years in prison on charges of subversion on November 9, 1999. He is currently being held in Zhejiang No. 4 Prison in Hangzhou City, Zhejiang Province.

### **Xu Wei**

Reporter for *Xiaofei Ribao (Consumer Daily)*, arrested March 13, 2001 along with Jin Haike, Yang Zili, and Zhang Honghai after participating in the "Xin Qingnian Xuehui" (New Youth Study Group), an informal gathering of individuals concerned with political and economic inequalities who used the internet to circulate relevant articles. Xu was finally sentenced on May 28, 2003 to 10 years in prison on charges of subversion. He is currently being held at Beijing No. 2 Prison, where he has suffered ill-treatment, and has gone on hunger strike several times.

### **Xu Zerong**

Research professor at Zhongshan University in Guangzhou, arrested June 24, 2000 and sentenced on December 20, 2001 to 13 years in prison for leaking state secrets and illegal business activities related to his research on Chinese military operations during the Korean War. Xu is reportedly being held in a section of Xichuan Prison reserved for elderly and sick prisoners and is suffering from serious health conditions.

### **Yan Zhengxue**

Dissident writer, painter and member of Independent Chinese PEN Center, arrested October 18, 2006 for his critical writings published online on overseas websites. Yan was sentenced to three years in prison and one year's deprivation of political rights for "inciting subversion of state power" on April 13 2007. He is being held in Shiliping Prison in Quzhou City, Zhejiang Province.

### **Yang Maodong (pen name: Guo Feixiong)**

Dissident writer, independent publisher and civil rights activist, arrested on September 14, 2006 and sentenced on November 14, 2007 to five years in prison for "illegal business activity." Yang has endured intense torture at the hands of prison authorities, including beatings, sleep deprivation, stress positions, and suspension by his arms and legs while attacked with electric prods. The abuse has reportedly driven him to attempt suicide. Yang began a hunger strike at Meizhou Prison, Meizhou City, Guangdong Province on December 13, 2007 to protest the deprivation of his basic rights.

### **Yang Tongyan (pen name: Yang Tianshui)**

Dissident writer and member of Independent Chinese PEN Center, arrested without a warrant on December 23, 2005 in Nanjing and held incommunicado until January 27, 2006. Yang was

convicted of subversion for posting anti-government articles on the internet and organizing branches of the China Democracy Party (CDP), and was sentenced to twelve years in prison. He is currently being held in Nanjing Prison in Nanjing City, Jiangsu Province, and his diabetes is reportedly worsening in prison.

### **Yang Zili**

Writer and computer engineer, arrested March 13, 2001 along with Xu Wei, Jin Haike, and Zhang Honghai after participating in the “Xin Qingnian Xuehui” (New Youth Study Group), an informal gathering of individuals concerned with political and economic inequalities who used the internet to circulate relevant articles. Yang was finally sentenced on May 28, 2003 to eight years in prison on charges of subversion. He is currently suffering from numerous ailments but has yet to receive any medical treatment.

### **Nurmuhemmet Yasin**

*PEN American Center Honorary Member*

Freelance Uighur writer, arrested on November 29, 2004 for the publication for his short story “Wild Pigeon” (“Yawa Kepter”), which Chinese authorities consider to be a criticism of their government’s presence in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. After a closed trial in February 2005 at which he was denied a lawyer, Yasin was sentenced to 10 years in prison for “inciting Uighur separatism,” and is currently being held in Urumqi No. 1 Prison. He has been denied all visitors since his arrest.

### **Yuan Qiuyan**

Falun Gong member and internet publisher, sentenced on February 19, 2004 to 10 years in prison for publishing an online publication which “tarnished the image of the government by broadcasting fabricated stories of persecution suffered by cult members.” The newsletter alleged ill-treatment in prison of a fellow Falun Gong member.

### **Zeng Hongling**

Writer and retired worker from Mianyang, Sichuan Province, detained June 9, 2008 by plainclothes police from the Public Security Bureau of Mianyang on suspicion of “illegally providing information overseas” for articles published on an overseas Chinese web site. The articles, part of a series entitled “The Accounts of My Personal Experiences During the Earthquake,” were published along with her own photographs under a pen name, Shanshan. Zeng is currently being held incommunicado at the Detention Center of the Mianyang Public Security Bureau.

### **Zhang Honghai**

Freelance writer, arrested March 13, 2001 along with Jin Haike, Xu Wei, and Yang Zili after participating in the “Xin Qingnian Xuehui” (New Youth Study Group), an informal gathering of individuals concerned with political and economic inequalities who used the internet to circulate relevant articles. Zhang was finally sentenced on May 28, 2003 to eight years in prison on charges of subversion. He is currently being held at Qiaosi Prison in Zhejiang Province. Zhang is reportedly suffering from several medical conditions and has been ill-treated in prison.

### **Zhang Jianhong (pen name: Li Hong)**

Freelance writer, playwright, poet and member of Independent Chinese PEN Center, arrested on September 6, 2006 and charged with “incitement to subversion of state power” for his critical articles published on overseas websites. Zhang was sentenced to six years in prison on March 19, 2007. He is reportedly suffering from muscle necrosis, a condition that has led to partial paralysis and continues to worsen despite his transfer to the General Hospital of Zhejiang Prison in Hangzhou City. He applied for medical parole on May 31, 2007, but that application was denied. He has not yet received a response to a more recent application.

### **Zhang Lin**

Dissident writer, pro-democracy advocate and member of Independent Chinese PEN Center, arrested January 27, 2005 for a number of “subversive” articles he had written and subsequently posted on the internet between August 2003 and January 2005. Zhang was convicted of “incitement to subversion” by the Bangbu Intermediate People’s Court on July 28, 2005 and sentenced to five years in prison and four years’ deprivation of political rights. He is currently being held in Nanjiao Prison in Hefei City, and is said to be very weak and suffering from several medical conditions.

### **Zheng Yichun**

Poet, professor and freelance journalist, arrested December 3, 2004 in connection with 63 articles he had written for foreign-based publications and websites. Zheng was convicted of “incitement to subversion of state power” on July 21, 2005 and sentenced to seven years in prison and three years’ deprivation of political rights. He is currently being held in Jinzhou Prison, Jinzhou City, Liaoning Province, where he is suffering from diabetes and cerebral thrombosis.

### **Zhu Yufu**

Internet writer, founder and editor of the China Democracy Party’s magazine, arrested April 18, 2007 and sentenced to two years in prison on July 10, 2007 after pushing a policeman during his arrest. On March 28, 2008, Zhu was re-tried by the Hangzhou Intermediate People's Court, and on April 9 he was sentenced to an additional two years, four months and 26 days’ deprivation of political rights. He is currently being held in Zhejiang No. 6 Prison in Haining City, Zhejiang Province. Zhu had been previously imprisoned and was released in 2006 after serving seven years for his dissident activity.

**RELEASED SINCE DECEMBER 10, 2007**

**Ching Cheong**

Hong Kong-based correspondent for Singapore's *The Straits Times*, arrested April 22, 2005 and sentenced to five years in prison on charges of espionage after Chinese authorities claimed he received state secrets from academic Lu Jianhua. Ching was released on parole on February 5, 2008, two years before his sentence was due to expire.

**Feng Zhenghu**

Rights defender, online writer and freelance journalist, detained on June 5, 2008 by police from the Yangpu District Branch of the Public Security Bureau in Shanghai on suspicion of "intentionally disturbing public order." The charge is believed to stem from a collection of articles Feng published and distributed alleging wrongful convictions by the Shanghai courts, along with other writings. Police reportedly raided his home and confiscated written materials and three computers. Feng was released on June 15, 2008, and his belongings were returned on June 18.

**Guo Quan**

Writer and former professor of literature at Nanjing Normal University, detained May 17, 2008 following seven articles he published on mainland Chinese web sites that criticize the government's emergency response to the May 12, 2008 Sichuan earthquake and the safety of certain infrastructures. Guo's computers were confiscated by authorities. He was released from administrative detention on May 28.

**Hu Shigen**

University lecturer, political activist and dissident writer, arrested September 27, 1992 and charged with "counterrevolutionary crimes" for planning June 4 memorial activities in many of China's major cities. Hu was a founding member of the China Freedom and Democracy Party (CFDP) and China Free Trade Union (CFTU) and has campaigned for government accountability for the violent suppression of the Democracy Movement in June 1989. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison and five years' deprivation of political rights, reduced by a total of three years and nine months. Hu was released on August 26, 2008.

**Korash Huseyin**

Editor of the Uighur-language Kashgar Literary Journal, arrested for publishing Nurmuhemmet Yasin's short story "Wild Pigeon" in late 2004. Chinese authorities consider the story to be a criticism of their government's presence in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Huseyin was sentenced to three years in prison and was reportedly released in 2008. His whereabouts are currently unknown.

**Jamyang Kyi**

Prominent Tibetan writer, reporter, activist and singer detained April 1, 2008 in Qinghai Province. Kyi was reportedly escorted from her office at the state-owned Qinghai TV in Xining by plainclothes police officers and has not been seen since April 7. Police searched her home and confiscated her computer and contact lists. Her whereabouts are currently unknown.

### **Li Changqing**

Deputy news director of the *Fuzhou Daily*, arrested December 16, 2004. After a series of charges, Li was finally sentenced to three years in prison on January 24, 2006 by the Gulou district court in southern China's Fuzhou city for "spreading false and alarmist information." He was released upon expiration of his sentence on February 4, 2008.

### **Wang Dejia (pen name: Jing Chu)**

Internet writer and dissident, arrested December 13, 2007 at his home in Quanzhou in Guangxi Province on suspicion of "inciting subversion of state power" in relation to his online articles critical of the Chinese government in advance of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Wang was held at the Detention Center of Quanzhou County before being released on January 12, 2008, pending trial, on condition that he not write anything "attacking the leadership of the Party and State," "inciting subversion of state power," or any "political commentary."

### **Yu Huafeng**

Deputy Editor-in-chief and general manager of the Guangzhou-based daily *Nanfang Dushi Bao* (*Southern Metropolis News*), arrested January 14, 2004 for alleged financial irregularities, and sentenced to 12 years in prison. It has been reported that the evidence presented in court did not support the charges, and it is widely believed that Yu's imprisonment was part of a targeted campaign to silence the newspaper, which is known for its aggressive reporting on social issues and official corruption. Yu was released on February 8, 2008, after his sentence was reduced for the third time.

### **Zhou Yuanzhi**

Freelance writer and member of the Independent Chinese PEN Center, detained by the National Security Bureau of Zhongxiang City, Hubei Province on May 3, 2008 on suspicion of "inciting subversion" for his critiques on social issues and official corruption. Zhou was released on May 15, 2008 and is forbidden from traveling beyond his home city without police authorization, prohibited from communicating with strangers, and banned from publishing. These restrictions could last up to six months under Chinese law, during which he could be formally detained and questioned at any time.