

CHINA

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Human Rights Watch/Asia Division

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I. SUMMARY

The Chinese government is conducting an intensive campaign to convince foreign governments that there are no meaningful constraints on religious practice in China and Tibet, despite evidence of continuing persecution. It published two official "white papers" in 1997 and organized an exchange of high-level delegations between the U.S. and China, which took place last month.

On October 16, 1997, the Information Office of the State Council published a "White Paper on Freedom of Religious Belief in China." Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency, in summarizing the document, asserted that "freedom of religious belief of the Chinese people has been well respected and protected...particularly in the recent two decades."¹⁽¹⁾ In February 1998, a delegation of senior religious leaders from the U.S. visited China, Tibet, and Hong Kong.²⁽²⁾ The group met with Chinese President Jiang Zemin, and though it was characterized as a private visit, the delegation was arranged during the summit

meeting between President Jiang and U.S. President Bill Clinton in Washington, D.C. in October 1997. While the delegation was in Lhasa, Tibet's capital, the Chinese government released its second white paper on Tibet, "New Progress in Human Rights in the Tibet Autonomous Region." Xinhua extolled the Chinese government's "respect and protection" of religious beliefs in Tibet.[3\(3\)](#)

The delegation issued a report on March 18, outlining their "ground-breaking" and candid discussions about religious freedom with high level government officials and religious leaders. They raised concern about restrictions on freedom of religious practice and arbitrary sanctions applied to some believers. They also addressed "specific situations, individuals, and groups requiring special attention," but were unsuccessful in their efforts to meet many of the targeted individuals. To date, their request for information about a local directive aimed at eliminating unofficial churches has gone unanswered.[4\(4\)](#)

From January 30 to February 12, a senior delegation of Chinese religious officials was dispatched to the U.S. The group included Ye Xiaowen, director of the government's Religious Affairs Bureau, and two officials involved in the management of Protestant affairs in China.[5\(5\)](#) Their five-state tour culminated in a meeting with President Clinton and attendance at the annual National Prayer Breakfast.

These initiatives seemed designed to convey the message that China does allow religious freedom, albeit within certain constraints and legal frameworks. In fact, religious repression in China continues, affecting Christians, Tibetan Buddhists, Uyghur Muslims in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region, and others who seek to carry out religious activities outside official control.

This report analyzes a Chinese government report from Xinjiang which recommends antidotes to threats to stability in the region stemming from "national separatism and illegal religious activity," and it summarizes the "Guangzhou City Regulations for the Management of Religious Affairs" which went into effect on March 1, 1998. In addition, we provide a listing of arrests and detentions of religious activists in Jiangxi province in 1997, as well as the detention or house arrest of Protestant and Catholic activists in Beijing, Shanghai, and Hebei province during the U.S. delegation's visit in February. The authorities seemed determined to prevent these activists from meeting with members of the delegation, though other dissident religious activists did make contact with the group. The information in the Xinjiang document, the Guangzhou regulations, and in the case data reinforces and updates the material contained in the October 1997 report published by Human Rights Watch, *China: State Control of Religion*.

II. BACKGROUND

In *China: State Control of Religion*, Human Rights Watch concluded: "As interest in religion has increased, so has state control over religious organizations..."[6\(6\)](#) Repression has increased due to two sets of factors, one a perceived external threat, the other a perceived threat from within. The Chinese government singles out Christianity and Islam as two avenues for subversion by "hostile foreign forces" and recognizes "religion [as] a critical element of the nationalist movements in Tibet and Xinjiang..."[7\(7\)](#) The second factor is the perception by Chinese leaders that the growth of religion exacerbates social instability at a time when the government's economic reforms are creating greater dislocation.

The attached documents demonstrate that the Chinese government continues to resort to the kind of "intrusive control" over religious activities that violates not only the principles of religious freedom but also the rights to free association, assembly, and expression. Additional evidence comes from provincial religious regulations modeled on those promulgated by Shanghai in November 1995 and based on a series of central government documents.[8\(8\)](#) The 1997 Zhejiang regulations, for example, require all religious communities to accept government control.[9\(9\)](#) Places for religious activities must be registered or they are illegal; only registered clergy may perform clerical duties; authorities must be notified before religious followers receive or visit foreign religious organizations or personnel; and all religious publications must be vetted by the appropriate government authorities. Regulations also prohibit religious debate in churches and temples and conversion of Chinese citizens by foreigners.[10\(10\)](#)

The Guangzhou regulations are even more draconian, providing for fines up to 50,000 *renminbi* (approximately U.S.\$8,000) for certain offenses. Included in the sixty-five articles are: prohibitions on propagation or debate of "a different religion or different faith in places for religious activities", and on activities such as "divination, fortune telling, palm reading, casting of lots, exorcisms and healings...". No organization can build "temples, churches, Daoist temples, shrines, open-air statues of gods or of the Buddha without authorization," and applications in advance are required in order to hold "non-regular" religious activities. Article 33, which prohibits non-religious units from producing or selling religious articles without permission and

from holding religious activities, effectively limits such sales to religious sites.

III. XINJIANG UYGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION

In the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, in China's remote northwest corner, religious expression and its repression are complicated by burgeoning movements for independence and autonomy among the Uyghur population. Uyghurs affiliate with Islam, and Muslim religious beliefs and practices are an integral part of their ethnic identity. But Chinese officials are convinced that religious leaders play a major role in organizing and sustaining the sometimes violent separatist activity in the region, pointing out, for example, that mosques often serve as meeting places for dissenters. In fact, it is difficult to distinguish between Chinese security forces' violent response to peaceful religious activities protected by the Chinese constitution and international standards, and the legitimate use of force to quell separatist violence.

An internal document from Xinjiang, "Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee Document No. 7" (Appendix I), details the perceived threats to stability in the region. It records a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CCP held on March 19, 1996 and hosted by President Jiang Zemin. According to the document, "national separatism and illegal religious activity are the main threats to the stability of Xinjiang," and the process of achieving stability will be "long term, complicated, and difficult." In order to counter religious influence, which is seen as contributing to instability, the authorities outlined a series of steps to restrict religious expression. Of singular importance, Document No. 7 says, is the need to ensure that cadres are "politically dependable." The recommended remedy involves rescuing village-level party branches and neighborhood districts from "religious powers" by training loyal minority cadres and "a large number of Han cadres who love Xinjiang" and can be relocated there.

A second step involves implementation of the "ethnic and religious policy of the party" and the strengthening of "legal control of ethnic and religious affairs." "Illegal religious activities," which refer to all activities not under the direct control of official religious organs, are said to be "widespread."[11\(11\)](#) To combat such activities as well as the "influence and sabotaging activities of foreign religious powers," the document recommends severe controls on the building of new mosques; speedy relocation or replacement of those persons who "support ethnic separatism"; awarding of mosque leadership positions to "dependable talented people who love the motherland"; dismantling of underground religious and kung-fu schools and Koran studies meetings; and registration of all those trained in underground schools, who then will be subjected to tight control. Those considered hard core will be punished "according to law," and those whose offenses are less problematic will receive re-education.

Ideological and political education and increased awareness of religious policies, regulations, and law are recommended for all religious people. At the same time, the document insists on the rigorous training of young patriotic religious leaders who at some stage of their education will be sent to "China proper" for a more in-depth understanding of the role of "patriotic religious organizations."

Another element in the Xinjiang campaign consists of a concerted effort to reach students and teachers through in-school controls and through a media campaign. Document No. 7 expressly forbids the publicizing of religious ideas by teachers and textbooks. It recommends tight controls on cultural exchange activities such as permitting foreign instructors in Xinjiang schools and authorizing exchange programs between students in elementary and high schools in Xinjiang and overseas. Tightened criteria and strict vetting of students going abroad for study, even if they plan to use their own money, are required. In addition, "Books, journals, [and] audio and video tapes which twist history and inspire ethnic separatism and illegal religious ideas" are prohibited and the materials subject to confiscation. Furthermore, Document No. 7 insists that those involved in "illegal" publication and distribution must be investigated.

The measures recommended by the Standing Committee of the CCP's Politburo compromise the right of Muslims in Xinjiang to practice their religion free of state control. For example, vetting of religious leaders by a secular authority, the state, interferes with the right of a group of worshipers to appoint their own leadership. Such a right is provided for in Article 6 of the U.N. Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief. The article also provides for the right to "establish and maintain" places of worship or assembly connected with a religion or belief. In the Xinjiang case, a state decision to limit the number of mosques contravenes that right. The right to teach a religion or belief in suitable places is also recognized by the declaration but is breached by the proposed dismantling of religious schools not sanctioned by the government. Restrictions on writing, publication, and distribution of religious material violate not only the Declaration on Religious Intolerance but also Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which guarantees the right to "receive and impart information and ideas through any media...". It should be noted that there is documentation of censorship and the forcible closing of mosques and religious schools in selected areas of Xinjiang.[12\(12\)](#) Document No. 7

provides evidence that such incidents are part of overall Chinese policy in the entire autonomous region.

IV. JIANGXI PROVINCE

In *China: State Control of Religion*, Human Rights Watch reported on an extensive campaign in Donglai township, Chongren county, Fuzhou district, Jiangxi province, which began in November 1996 and was to last seven months, until June 1997. The aim of the effort was to isolate and thoroughly dismantle the “underground” Catholic church in the area. (The term “underground” refers to the network of churches that acknowledges the supremacy of the Vatican. The churches are not registered and are, therefore, illegal.) Although no information on the outcome of the Donglai effort is available, other reports from Fuzhou district detail continuing repression in the area.

Less than a week before the Donglai campaign, at least eighty members of underground churches in Linchuan city in the Fuzhou district were rounded up in an attempt to stop large religious gatherings at Yujia mountain on Catholic feast days. Official attempts to stop the celebrations had been underway for several years, with each short-term campaign resulting in arrests and prison and re-education terms. The most notable example is the case of seventy-eight-year-old Bishop Zeng Jingmu. He received a three-year re-education through labor sentence on March 18, 1996 for “violating administrative norms” and for “irresponsibly organizing illegal meetings,” that is, religious assemblies and masses not sanctioned by the government.[13\(13\)](#)

On the Feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1997, security forces mounted another concerted attack on underground worshipers in Linchuan city — a preemptive strike designed to forestall another mass celebration. Seventeen Catholics, including both clergy and laypersons, were arrested, roads leading to Yujia mountain and to Fuzhou and Zhengjia were blocked on August 14-15, and controls were put in place at crossroads and overpasses to check on would-be participants.

Those detained August 13-20, 1997 included:

- Fr. Deng Ruolun, first apostolic administrator of Yujiang diocese, arrested during the night of August 14 while celebrating mass for six nuns and for members of one household;
- Xiao Lan (thirty-two years old), Long Mei (twenty-four years old), Yuan Mei (twenty years old), Cheng Jinli (twenty-four), Hua Jingjing (thirty), and Jun Fang, the six nuns in attendance;
- Liu Haicheng and Zhou Xiaolong and unnamed members of their household, arrested on August 15, one day after Fr. Deng said mass at their home;
- Zhang Jiehong (fifty years old), a leading female layperson, at 4:00 a.m. on August 16;
- Fr. Deng’s father (name unknown) on August 20;
- two unnamed seminarians and three more unnamed laypersons;
- Zhang Jiyu or Zhang Qiyu (forty-eight), another leading female layperson, seized on the street at 3:00 p.m. on August 13. Zhang apparently had angered the government because she complained to the “World Women’s Conference of the Beijing Union of Women” that her daughter had been arrested and sentenced to three years imprisonment.[14\(14\)](#)

Reverend Deng, Zhang Jiehong, Liu Haicheng, and Zhou Xiaolong reportedly were tortured in detention for the purpose of obtaining confessions.[15\(15\)](#) There is no information about the disposition of any of the cases.

The authorities also interfered with religious observances in Shaanxi province on the August 15, 1997 Feast of the Assumption. According to churchgoers’ accounts, government officials in Lijiyoufang, Shaheying, and Zhijiangjiayan harassed worshipers unaffiliated to the official church. The abuse reportedly included beatings and seizure of religious items. A thirteen-year-old (name unknown) was detained. Ten days earlier, on August 5, police broke into a church in Zhangjiayan, also in Shaanxi, and evicted the nuns living there, leaving them homeless.

V. ADDITIONAL CASES

- During the U.S. religious delegation’s visit, security officials placed at least one religious dissident in Beijing under tight surveillance, ordered many “underground” priests in Shanghai to stay at home “until further notice,” and kept others in Hebei and Jiangxi under what amounted to house arrest. Three or four

plainclothes men were stationed outside the apartment of Dr. Xu Yonghai and followed him wherever he went. Dr. Xu had served a two-year re-education through labor term for signing a May 1995 petition calling for social justice. It is not known whether members of the delegation were aware of these incidents, or if they were, whether they lodged any protests with Chinese officials.

- Xu Guoxing, a Shanghai Protestant, was seized in June 1997 while preaching to a small gathering. His family finally learned through calls to the police that Xu had been administratively sentenced to a three-year term of re-education through labor and sent to the Dafeng Labor Farm in Jiangsu province. This was Xu's third detention. From 1989 until 1992 he served a similar three-year term for "illegally setting up" the Shanghai Holy Spirit Society and for interfering with normal religious activities. On February 18, during the time the U.S. religious delegation was in Shanghai, Xu's family were forced to go to Hangzhou to avoid any chance of a meeting with members of the delegation. The delegation raised the issue with local authorities.
- Father Hu Duo (Hu Duoer), from Baoding, Hebei province, was arrested in the first half of 1997 and later sentenced to a three-year term for illegal religious activities. He has been imprisoned at least twice before, in 1989 and 1990. In September, Father Wang Qunjun, another priest from Baoding, was seized for involvement in illegal religious activities. No additional information about their whereabouts or current circumstances is available.
- In June 1997, Public Security Bureau personnel in Shaanxi province detained Li Lisheng, an officially ordained Guangdong pastor from Huizhou Christian Church, for preaching outside his home province without the permission of local authorities. He was picked up on a train to Shaanxi where he had been explaining the Bible and distributing religious literature to other passengers. After two days in Shaanxi, he was returned to Guangdong and subsequently fired by his congregation for religious activities outside his designated geographical sphere. Religious regulations prohibit preaching outside a fixed locale. If the congregation had retained Li Lisheng, the church could have had its registration revoked.
- Security officers seized sixty-seven-year-old Father Wang Zhongfa, an underground priest from Wenzhou diocese, Cangnan county, Zhejiang province, on November 23, 1997 during a midnight raid on a chapel where he had almost completed a funeral mass for an elderly nun. The mass had been scheduled for 11:00 p.m. to avoid surveillance, but ten public security officials scaled the compound wall to make the arrest. When local Catholics asked for Father Wang's release they were told he was a "political criminal," and security officials in Zhejiang labeled him "number one evil." On January 20, Father Wang received a one-year re-education through labor sentence but was permitted to return home after posting a bond of 15,000 *renminbi* (approximately U.S.\$1,800). During the time he was held, authorities took Father Wang on a two-week trip to Shanghai and persuaded him to join the official church. Then they charged him 20,000 *renminbi* travel expenses.¹⁶⁽¹⁶⁾ Father Wang is no stranger to prison. In 1995 he was convicted as a counterrevolutionary and sentenced to a two-year term for his religious activities.
- Father Chen Cangbao from Yixian, Hebei province, was arrested on December 7, 1997 in connection with "illegal" religious activities. No further details are available.
- In December 1997, a Ministry of Public Security and Religious Affairs Bureau circular ordered all localities to prepare for Christmas, New Year's, and Spring Festival by tightening controls on religious information and personnel from abroad. The circular noted that non-religious people-to-people exchanges as well as personal correspondence were being used to bring religious materials into China, and it warned of the dangers to stability that the increased flow represented. In addition, the joint circular recommended criminal sanctions and disciplinary measures against Communist Party members and officials who joined in religious activities. (China is officially an atheist state and party members are prohibited from being religious believers.)

VI. CONCLUSION

In *China: State Control of Religion*, we concluded that those who wish to practice their religion away from official control, as well as those who opt to affiliate with official sites, are often subject to persecution. The evidence in this report further supports that conclusion. Official acts of repression may be "lawful" as proscribed in a series of regulations, but often are ad hoc and capricious. Even at official sites worshipers cannot, for example, freely choose their clergy, control the printing and distribution of religious materials, decide for themselves where and when they will meet, or freely contact foreign believers.

The restraints and persecution suffered by religious worshipers of all faiths are clearly contrary to the applicable international standards set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion and Belief.

VII. APPENDIX I

No. 0000221 Absolute (Top) Secret

Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Document No. 7 (1996)

Record of the Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Politburo

of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Maintenance of Stability in Xinjiang

(On March 19, 1996, the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party held a meeting hosted by comrade Jiang Zemin. At the meeting, the Political-Legal Commission of the Central Committee made a report about defending the stability of Xinjiang. The task of defending the stability of Xinjiang was discussed. The record of the meeting is as follows.)

1. Ideological unity, consciousness-raising, leadership strengthening and a clear sense of duty are necessary. Under the local leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, every level of the Party Committee and people's government of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region has overcome great difficulties and has accomplished great results by exercising leadership over the cadres and peoples of every nationality. Reform and opening-up has gradually increased, economic construction has developed relatively quickly, and the living standard of people has steadily improved. Xinjiang has basically been politically stable. Moreover, Xinjiang has rich natural resources, a beneficial environment and a promising future. With a few years of hard work, it will be possible for Xinjiang to become a developing economic zone. At the same time, we have to bear in mind that national separatism and illegal religious activity are the main threats to the stability of Xinjiang. The main problem is that international counterrevolutionary forces led by the United States of America are openly supporting separatist activities inside and outside Xinjiang. With each passing day, the outside national separatist organizations are joining hands and strengthening the infiltration into Xinjiang of sabotage activities. Within our national borders, illegal religious activities are widespread; sabotaging activities such as instigation of problematic situations, breaking-and-entering of party government offices, and explosions and terrorism are occurring sporadically. Some of these activities have changed from completely hidden to semi-open activities, even to the degree of openly challenging the government's authority. Under the unified leadership and close scrutiny of the Xinjiang party and government, the armed police forces of the concerned branches in the autonomous region, in cooperation with People's Liberation Army officers and soldiers, have mobilized the cadres and people of every nationality whom they depend on in the ceaseless fight against ethnic separatist activities, and they have contributed significantly to the defense of ethnic unity and social stability in Xinjiang in order to guarantee that reform, opening-up and the construction of modernization continue smoothly. On the other hand, from the viewpoint of maintaining stability, a few weak points still remain. Therefore, while recognizing our achievements, we also have to keep in mind that maintaining the stability of Xinjiang is a long-term, complicated, and difficult task. In the current complicated international struggle, there are some real and potentially dangerous elements facing Xinjiang. If we do not increase our vigilance and strengthen our work in every respect, large-scale incidents might suddenly occur and confusion and disruption could break out and affect the stability of Xinjiang and the whole nation. On every level, party committees and the people's government and concerned branches have to adhere to Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and to the party's basic principles and guiding policy. Foresee possible dangers; dam the river before the floods come; correctly handle the relationship between reform, development, and stability. On every level, party and government leaders need to create a responsible order in defending ethnic unity and social stability and to perfect it while holding high the banner of defending ethnic unity and honoring the law, and with great political sensitivity and pride, unify to the greatest level the cadres and people of every nationality and depend on them to alienate as much as possible the very small number of ethnic separatists and criminals who commit serious crimes, and to strike hard against them, thus reinforcing the work of defending stability in all fields.

2. Every level of party and government organization needs to strengthen the construction of all levels of government, especially the basic level of government, and create a bevy of cadres who are politically dependable. During this year and next, weak and disorganized party branches have to be reorganized. Most importantly, the village level organizations which have fallen into the hands of foreign powers have to be organized with great attention. The chairmen of village deputy branches and the heads of neighborhood districts have to be chosen carefully. According to the "Four Codes of Behavior,"

town party and government leadership teams have to be built into a stable, combative group which can determinately implement the policies of the party and unify and lead the people as well as rescue them from poverty and lead them toward wealth while daring to fight determinedly against ethnic separatist activities. Choose better party member cadres and soldiers from the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corp — *bing tuan* — (XPCC) to supplement the county and town-level cadre teams and improve the structure of cadre linkages. Trust and depend on cadres of every nationality; train a number of minority cadres who can determinedly defend the unity of the nation; fight against ethnic separatism and establish a close relationship with people while maintaining strong revolutionary professionalism. At the same time, take real measures to train a large number of Han cadres who love Xinjiang and who will stick to the basic theory, principles, and guiding policy of the party to correctly implement the ethnic and religion policies of the party and then relocate them to Xinjiang. In Xinjiang, establish a cadre training plan and achieve it; and properly increase the number of people chosen for training in the Central Party School and other schools. Form a group of excellent young people to be sent to China proper for study; choose cadres from every nationality and send them to other cities, provinces, and central organizations; put them into positions with assigned duties. Discuss and make it a policy to continuously import talented people, and make it a priority to attract college graduates to Xinjiang. In the autonomous region, it is necessary to properly utilize intellectual resources and assign jobs so as to prevent the outflow of talented people. The Autonomous Region Party Committee has the right to demand supplementary cadres, professionals, and technicians. The concerned branches in the central government will help to solve these demands with the assistance of related provinces and autonomous municipalities. In order to keep leadership power on every level in the hands of people who love the Communist Party and the communist motherland and who will defend the unity of the Chinese nation, the government must, by strengthening training and leadership for cadres, achieve reform, development, and stability measures on basic levels so as to guarantee ethnic unity and to continuously develop and strengthen the ideological and political construction of every level of leadership team. If cadres have political, economic, and ideological behavior problems, relocate them or replace them but do not allow them to leave of their own will.

3. Implement comprehensively and correctly the ethnic and religious policy of the party and strengthen the legal control of ethnic and religious affairs. The cadres and people of every nationality in Xinjiang support the leadership of the Communist Party and its socialist system and defend ethnic unity and love of the motherland. Based on the real situation of Xinjiang, seriously investigate the implementation of the party's ethnic policy in a timely manner. Develop several kinds of propaganda and training activities related to ethnic unity, and develop and stabilize the socialist ethnic relationship. Properly and correctly resolve the conflict between people of every nationality. When resolving problems which occur between ethnic groups or within an ethnic group, adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and resolve them accordingly. Do not without selectivity resolve everything as an ethnic problem. Prevent conflicts between people from becoming ethnic conflicts. Clearly oppose ethnic separatism. Be vigilant against the very small number of people with bad intentions who damage our ethnic relationships. Legally fight illegal activities which damage ethnic unity. Religious problems will generally be treated as a conflict among people. Legally strengthen the leadership and control over religion and comprehensively and correctly realize and implement the religious policy of the party. Take strong measures to prevent and fight against the infiltration and sabotage activities of foreign religious powers. Restrict all illegal religious activities. Severely control the building of new mosques. Mosques built without permission from the government have to be handled according to registration methods for sites where religion is practiced. Relocate or replace quickly people who are hesitant or support ethnic separatism. Give leadership positions in mosques and religious organizations to dependable, talented people who love the motherland. Stop illegal organizations such as underground religious schools, kung-fu schools, and Koran studies meetings. Handle the illegal criminal activities of underground religious students according to the law. Register the people trained in the underground religious schools and sites one by one and tightly control them. Criticize and educate lesser offenders among them and punish according to the law the ones who have violated the law and committed crimes. Take strong measures to prevent religion from meddling in politics and other social affairs. Strengthen the ideological and political education of religious people and increase their legal awareness and lead them to practice their religion legally. Let the religious leaders know that religious activities have to be carried out according to law, and that religion cannot be allowed to interfere with the administration, the legal system, education, and marriage, nor be allowed to hinder production and the social order. At the same time, through many different means and methods, advertise the rules and orders and popularize them among people who practice religion. Defend both the right of practicing as well as not practicing religion. Forcing others to practice religion will never be allowed. In order to fully utilize the function of patriotic religious organizations, a young generation of patriotic religious leaders who will defend the motherland's unity and ethnic unity has to be trained and prepared systematically and sent to China proper for visiting and studying. The power of every level of organization, especially the basic level ethnic and religious affairs bureaus, has to be supplemented and strengthened. The party apparatus has to be improved, and the leadership function fully utilized.

4. Stabilize ideological and cultural strongholds against separatism through strong propaganda, and investigate and organize schools. By utilizing every kind of propaganda, publicize the current good situation of the country and Xinjiang, the Marxist ethnic and religious viewpoint, the party's ethnic and religious policies, and the laws and decrees of the country. Through patriotic and socialist ideas, such as the idea of "long live ethnic unity," the idea of struggling for the unity of the big family of many ethnic groups can be emphasized. All party members and cadres need to make it convenient for teachers and young students to establish a correct view of our nation, ethnicity, and religion; to strengthen the view of law and order; and to firmly establish the view that Han and minorities cannot be separated from each other. Mobilize every power possible to defend the unity of the motherland and the unity of ethnic groups. Strengthen the construction of border region schools and cultural facilities. Speed up television and radio network construction in Xinjiang. Increase coverage of television and radio. Strengthen the work of printing and distributing materials in ethnic languages, and firmly occupy the ideological and cultural stronghold. Party members and cadres should strengthen the ideological and political education of teachers and the broad masses, especially young people and children. Communist Party members and cadres are Marxist materialists, and, therefore, should not be allowed to believe in or practice religion. Patiently carry out detailed education to Party member believers, and make it possible for them to consciously escape from the influence of religion. The party members who believe in religion and refuse to change have to withdraw from membership in the party. Education branches should pay special attention to the investigation and organization of teaching directives in schools. Do not allow religion to corrupt the schools; do not allow anyone to teach school children ethnic separatism or to publicize religious ideas. Remove textbook contents which inspire ethnic separatism and which publicize religious ideas. Tightly limit cultural exchange activities such as foreign teachers teaching at Xinjiang schools. For sensitive issues such as matters concerning religion, one first has to apply for permission from the National Education Committee and the State Council's Religious Affairs Bureau. When choosing students for study abroad, pay great attention to their attitude and their actual behavior. Do not send those without a good attitude. When investigating and permitting students with political backgrounds to go abroad for study with their own money, concerned branches should tightly control the criteria. Severely restrict elementary and high schools from developing cultural exchange programs with schools in foreign countries. Elementary and high school students from the border regions are not allowed to attend elementary and high schools in foreign countries. Criticize and educate the school leaders, teachers, and staff who violate the above regulations. If their behavior is serious, handle it according to law and regulations. Tightly control the media market. Books, journals, and audio and video tapes which twist history and inspire ethnic separatism and illegal religious ideas should be prohibited and confiscated without exception. The involved personnel must be investigated.

5. Strengthen the democratic dictatorship organizations, such as public security and national security bureaus, and fully utilize their functions in fighting separatism and sabotage activities. Supplement and strengthen leadership, cadres, and the police forces in public security, national security, the courts, and judicial branches. Train them hard and increase their political, ideological, and professional knowledge levels. Increase the material investment in them to equip them well. Increase their combat readiness. Public security and national security branches and the PLA's intelligence branches should cooperate and work together to investigate and analyze the enemies inside and outside the border and to strengthen the work of collecting intelligence information. Make southern Xinjiang the focus of attention. Establish a sensitive information network and manage to acquire underground information which can covertly alert (authorities) beforehand. Establish individual files; maintain supervision and vigilance. Legally strike against separatism, sabotage, and the criminal activities of the internal and external hostile forces in a timely manner. Strengthen the management of labor camps (*laogai*) and prisons in Xinjiang. Guarantee the stability of the camps and prisons. Tighten measures for controlling the border and border defense posts. Prevent the entry of outside ethnic separatists, weapons, and propaganda materials. Prevent internal and external ethnic separatists from coming together and joining hands..

6. Strengthen the construction of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC). The XPCC is an important and trusted force and in defending the social stability of Xinjiang, developing the border region and defending its safety. Seriously discuss and solve the real problems and difficulties they (the XPCC) are facing. Develop the relationship and continuously sponsor and mobilize ambitious young people in China proper to come and settle in the XPCC. Expand the force and fully utilize the XPCC's special function in defending and developing border regions. Under the unified leadership of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region Party Committee and the people's government, the XPCC has to improve its administrative functions. Along with fundamental changes in the economic system, the structure and function of the XPCC has to be reformed properly, but its duties of unifying labor with military affairs, opening new lands, and developing border regions shall not change. The state will assign a proper budget for its military affairs according to the same criteria as for military departments. Additional aid will be given for its social affairs. The economic and social development plan of the XPCC will still be included in the national plan and will be integrated into the plan of local officials. Take the opportunity to develop southern Xinjiang. Our country should expand the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps in southern Xinjiang. Governments at all levels should give priority to the construction and tasks of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps. They should properly

resolve conflicts and confrontation between the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps and local farmers and nomadic peoples concerning grasslands, water, and other natural resources.

7. A stronghold against ethnic separatism should be formed by greatly strengthening the construction of the People's Liberation Army in Xinjiang. The military forces in Xinjiang should be strengthened, not weakened. Education on ethnic and religious policy must be selectively carried out within the army. Tighten control and increase the military and political ability of officers and soldiers to prevent the enemy forces from causing confusion so that they can infiltrate and carry out sabotage activities. Develop the army-government and army-people relationship. Make an action scheme for maintaining stability and a plan to guarantee it. Strengthen the relationship among public security, national security, and the armed police and cooperate with them closely to guarantee that local governments smoothly carry out the work of maintaining stability. Keep up the work of the experimental Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps in southern Xinjiang. Strengthen the construction of county (city) level armed police departments. Effectively carry out army and reserve army tasks. Strengthen the ideological and political education of the People's Liberation Army emergency force departments established in prefectures, counties (cities) and towns. Train them hard and educate them well to increase their military and political talents, thus guaranteeing that the leadership and commanding power stay in the hands of party committees and people's governments at all levels.

8. Perform the related diplomatic tasks well. Limit the activities of outside ethnic separatists (coming) from many sides. Bear in mind the fact that Turkey, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan are the home bases for the activities of outside separatist forces. Through diplomacy urge these countries to limit and weaken the activities of separatist forces inside their borders. Take full advantage of our political superiority to further develop bilateral friendly cooperation with these countries. At the same time, always maintain pressure on them. As for ethnic separatist activities outside the border, carry out all necessary dialogue and struggle. Strengthen investigation and study outside the border. Collect information on related trends, and be especially vigilant against and use all means to prevent outside separatist forces from making the so-called "Eastern Turkistan" problem international. Divide the outside separatist forces; win over most of them; and alienate the remaining small number and fight against them. Establish home bases in the regions or cities with high Chinese and overseas Chinese populations. Develop several types of propaganda. Make broad and deep friends and limit the separatist activities to the utmost degree.

9. Perform well preparations for handling incidents which occur suddenly. As part of the task of maintaining the stability of Xinjiang, establish a unified system whereby all related parties are informed of the everyday situation. Study the situation; analyze methods of handling it; and strengthen the coordination and leadership necessary for maintaining the stability of Xinjiang. The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Party Committee and the people's government, along with public security and national security branches, the Xinjiang branch of the armed police, and the People's Liberation Army should plan measures for handling the sudden occurrence of incidents. They should perform maneuvers, prepare their manpower well, and increase financial and material power. Strengthen the construction of the Xinjiang Armed Police and Special Forces to handle suddenly occurring incidents. The armed police should continuously study the situation and methods for handling it, selectively perform well political-ideological education, and make plans for action in advance in order to further materialize every preparation for forces to handle different kinds of emergencies and complex situations. The armed police of other provinces and cities who have the duty to assist also have to be prepared. Learn from fighting experience and strengthen basic level construction; tighten internal management, practice handling emergencies, increase dependability, and be ready to begin as soon as one gets the order. Pay attention to construction of the Public Safety Preventive Groups and the Armed Police Reserves in order to better accommodate the needs of emergency situations. Strengthen the guard posts at important targets and guarantee their absolute safety. Every level of the local party committee and people's government should let the major leaders of the armed police jointly meet and participate in the command apparatus necessary to defend stability.

10. Speed up economic development and improve the life of the people. Focus on economic construction and deepen reform. Broadening the scope of the open-door policy and continually strengthening economic construction are important bases for maintaining the stability of Xinjiang. Combined with knowledge of actual conditions in Xinjiang, implement the spirit of the Fifth Plenum of the 14th Central Committee and the social development portion of the Ninth Five Year Plan, which was approved at the 4th session of the Eighth National People's Congress, as well as the future goals set for 2010. Speed up the development strategy for the western part (Xinjiang). Put the advantages of Xinjiang to full use. Speed up development to decrease the gap. The central government will carry out a favorable policy for developing the economy of Xinjiang and will give further support to Xinjiang, especially to southern Xinjiang, by arranging for skilled personnel and financial credit and by promoting an "open door" policy. While performing well the major task of maintaining the stability of southern Xinjiang, make great efforts to strengthen the economic development of the region. With monies from the central government and the help of the locals, quickly complete the southern Xinjiang railway and push the development of cotton production and petroleum as well as the petrol-chemical industry in order to change the region's poor and backward face. Based on the planned types of construction and assigned monetary investment, in combination with the implementation of the Ninth Five Year Plan, the

national plan committees and departments have to make an effort to help the economic construction and social development of Xinjiang. The Party Central Committee, the State Council, concerned departments of the Central Military Affairs Committee, the Autonomous Region Party Committee, and the people's government must act quickly to implement and materialize this record of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party meeting. Based on deep investigation and study, (they must) propose a really effective plan for implementation; and must realize every section item by item in order to guarantee the long-term stability and the smooth continuation of reform, "opening-up," and economic construction in Xinjiang. Related departments have to make every effort to help the economic construction and social development of Xinjiang. Based on realistic assessments, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Party Committee must organize the dissemination and implementation of this report according to the principle of differentiating top from bottom and the internal from the external.

(This document will be distributed to the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Party Committee, the related departments of the Central Committee, the concerned party committees of national ministries, the headquarters of military committees and the party committees of concerned people's organizations.)

VIII. APPENDIX II

The Guangzhou City Regulations for the Management of Religious Affairs

(The Guangzhou City People's Congress promulgated "The Guangzhou City Regulations for the Management of Religious Affairs" on Dec. 28, 1997. The regulations had been passed by the Guangzhou City People's Congress on September 26 and approved by the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress on December 1.)

Chapter 1: General Principles

Article 1

These regulations are formulated to safeguard the freedom of religious belief of citizens, to maintain normal religious activities and to administer religious affairs in accordance with the law. They are based on the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and other relevant laws and regulations, applying them to specific conditions in this city.

Article 2

The term "religious affairs" in these regulations refers to all public social affairs that take place between religion and the state, the society or the citizens.

Article 3

These regulations apply to the management of religious affairs within the administrative jurisdiction of this city.

State organizations, enterprises, businesses, civic communities and individuals within the administrative jurisdiction of this city should abide by these regulations.

Article 4

Citizens have freedom of religious belief. No organizations or individuals should force citizens to believe or not to believe in religion, nor discriminate against citizens who believe in religion or those who do not believe. All citizens with or without religious belief, or with different religious beliefs, should respect one another.

Article 5

Religious activities should observe the Constitution, laws and regulations, and safeguard the nation's unity, ethnic solidarity, and social stability. No organizations or individuals should interfere with the state's administration, the judiciary, or education.

The law protects all religious communities, places for religious activities, the legal rights of religious clergy and citizens with religious beliefs, and normal religious activities.

Article 6

Religious communities and religious affairs should firmly maintain the principles of independence, autonomy and

self-administration, and should not be controlled by foreign powers.

Article 7

The Religious Affairs Bureau of the [Guangzhou] City People's Government (hereafter referred to as City RAB) is the principal administrative bureau for religious affairs in this city. It is responsible for the implementation of these regulations.

The Religious Affairs Bureaus of the district- and county-level People's Government are the principal administrative bureaus for religious affairs in their respective districts and counties. They are responsible for the administration of religious affairs in their respective areas.

All relevant departments at all levels of the People's Government in the city should carry out their duties in accordance with the law and assist the RABs in implementing these regulations.

Chapter 2: Religious Organizations

Article 8

The religious organizations that these regulations refer to are the lawfully established Guangzhou Buddhist Association, Guangzhou Daoist Association, Guangzhou Islamic Association, Guangzhou Catholic Patriotic Association, Guangzhou Catholic Diocese, Guangzhou Protestant Three-Self Patriotic Movement, Guangzhou Protestant Christian Council and other religious organizations in the city, districts and counties that are lawfully registered.

Article 9

Religious organizations must apply for registration in accordance with state regulations governing administration of social organizations. Religious activities are permitted only after registration has been approved by the registration bureau.

Article 10

Religious organizations should accept government administrative management and conduct activities in accordance with their respective constitutions.

Article 11

Religious organizations should assist the government in fully implementing the state laws and regulations related to religion, promote education on patriotism, socialism and the legal system among their believers, protect the legal rights of the religious clergy and believers, organize normal religious activities and administer their religious affairs.

Article 12

Religious organizations can carry out religious, cultural, and academic studies and exchanges. They can also publish, print, duplicate and distribute religious publications, run enterprises and businesses for the purpose of self-financing, organize charities and develop friendly foreign relations in the religious sector in accordance with the law.

Article 13

Religious schools run by religious organizations should abide by the relevant regulations of the state.

Chapter 3: Religious Clergy

Article 14

Clergy whom these regulations refer to are Buddhist monks and nuns, Daoist priests and nuns, Islamic akhunds and imams, Catholic bishops, priests, seminarians and nuns, Protestant pastors, evangelists, and catechists, as well as other personnel recognized by the religious organizations.

Article 15

The identity of religious clergy is established by the religious organizations in the city in accordance with the conditions and procedures of these regulations. The names of the clergy should then be filed with the City RAB.

Article 16

Religious clergy who are established and whose names are filed can carry out their duties in accordance with these regulations. They can perform religious activities, administer religious affairs and participate in the democratic management of places for religious activities.

Religious clergy who are not established and whose names are not filed, and those who have resigned or have been dismissed, cannot carry out religious activities in the name of religious clergy.

Article 17

Religious clergy should abide by the laws and regulations of the state, and observe all rules and regulations of the respective religious organizations and places for religious activities.

Article 18

Approval should be sought from the religious organizations above city level when religious clergy in this city are invited to other parts of the country or when religious clergy from other parts of the country are invited to this city to perform or conduct religious activities. They should also be filed with the RAB above city level.

Chapter 4: Places for Religious Activities

Article 19

The places for religious activities referred to in these regulations are those Buddhist temples, Daoist temples, Islamic mosques, and Catholic and Protestant churches where religious believers carry out religious activities and other fixed places recognized by the RABs.

Article 20

Establishment of places for religious activities should be approved by the People's Government above the district and county levels. They should fulfill the registration procedures as set out in the [State Council's] "Regulations for the Management of Places for Religious Activity."

Places for religious activities that close down, join others, move or change their registration must go through formalities at the original bureau of registration.

Article 21

Places for religious activities should set up management organizations, and establish and strengthen rules and regulations.

Article 22

Places for religious activities can accept alms, subsidies, offerings and other religious donations from individual believers and organizations.

Article 23

Places for religious activities can apply to operate enterprises, businesses and social welfare enterprises for the purpose of self-financing. They can sell religious articles, religious artwork and religious publications as provided by the regulations of the state.

Article 24

Persons who normally reside in, or those from outside who temporarily stay in, places of religious activities should observe the state regulations regarding census registration.

Article 25

The making of films or television programs, setting up of businesses or service centers, or holding of displays or exhibitions in places for religious activities should have the approval of the management organizations of the places and the local RAB.

Article 26

No organization or individual is allowed to propagate or debate a different religion or different faith in places for religious activities.

Article 27

Activities such as divination, fortune telling, palm reading, casting of lots, exorcisms and healings are not permitted in places for religious activities.

Article 28

No organization or individual is allowed to build temples, churches, Daoist temples, shrines, open-air statues of gods or the Buddha without authorization.

Temples, churches, shrines or open-air statues of gods or the Buddha that are to be torn down, rebuilt or newly built by religious organizations and places for religious activities should go through the formalities according to the relevant regulations.

Chapter 5: Religious Activities**Article 29**

The religious activities that these regulations refer to are activities carried out by citizens who are religious believers in accordance with their religious doctrines, regulations, traditions and customs.

Article 30

Religious activities should be carried out in places for religious activities or in places recognized by the RAB.

Citizens who are religious believers can practice religion at home.

Article 31

Mass religious activities attended by citizens who are religious believers should be performed by religious clergy or those who meet the requirements.

Article 32

The holding of non-regular religious activities should be applied and reported in advance through the religious organizations or management organizations of the places for religious activities to the City RAB.

Article 33

Non-religious units are allowed neither to hold religious activities, nor to set up religious facilities, nor obtain nor covertly obtain religious donations. They cannot produce or sell religious articles without authorization.

Article 34

Religious activities neither should disturb social or productive order and daily life, nor should they harm people's physical or mental health nor infringe on the legal rights of other citizens.

Chapter 6: Religious Property**Article 35**

The religious properties these regulations refer to are the real estate, buildings, cemeteries, facilities, articles, cultural relics, art works, religious income, affiliated enterprises and businesses, and other assets and income legally possessed, managed or used by religious organizations and places for religious activities.

Article 36

Religious property is protected by the law. No organization or individual can expropriate, apportion or borrow without interest.

Article 37

Religious organizations and places for religious activities should establish and strengthen the management bodies for religious property and management systems. They should also accept guidance of the RAB and other relevant departments.

Article 38

Religious organizations or management organizations of places for religious activities should register religious real estate and cemeteries with the estate registration bodies. They should be filed with the City RAB after approval according to the law and after obtaining certificates of ownership.

Article 39

The City RAB must be consulted and negotiations should also be made with the owners of the properties in advance when places for religious activities are to be taken over for other purposes, moved or demolished due to the need for urban development. The process should be carried out in accordance with the "Law of Urban Planning of the People's Republic of China" and other relevant laws and regulations.

When religious real estate or cemeteries have to be taken over for use, moved or demolished due to reasons other than urban development, prior approval from the religious organizations concerned and the city RAB should be sought. The religious organizations should be given reasonable compensation, proper care and satisfactory relocation.

Article 40

The extent of preservation and control areas of development of all places for religious activities designated as cultural relics or outstanding architecture requiring protection should be determined by the urban planning department. Those which must be taken over for use, moved or demolished should be processed according to the state laws and regulations on the protection of cultural relics.

Chapter 7: Religious Publications

Article 41

The religious publications these regulations refer to are the scriptures, books and magazines, audiovisual productions, electronic publications and other materials for religious publicity.

Article 42

The publishing, printing, duplicating and distribution of religious publications should be approved by the RAB above city level and processed according to relevant state laws.

Article 43

Religious publications should be printed in printing houses that are in accord with the state regulations.

Article 44

Once approval is granted, the quality and scope of distribution of the religious publications should accord with what has been approved.

Article 45

Receiving religious publications donated by religious institutes or individuals outside the ration by religious organizations, places for religious activities and religious schools should be in accord with the relevant state regulations.

Article 46

No organization or individual can transport, sell, duplicate or distribute private or illegally imported religious publications.

Chapter 8: Foreign Religious Affairs

Article 47

Contacts and religious academic exchanges between religious organizations, religious personnel and religious organizations and religious personnel from other countries should observe the principles of independence and autonomy, mutual respect, non-interference, equality and friendship.

Article 48

Religious organizations and religious personnel invited to go abroad or who invite foreign religious organizations or religious personnel to visit China and religious organizations which send students abroad should go through the related formalities of the state.

Article 49

Religious organizations and places for religious activities which receive donations from foreign religious organizations and individuals should go through the formalities of the state regarding religious donations.

No organization or individual can receive foreign religious subsidies or funds for preaching.

Article 50

Non-religious organizations and individuals in this city having foreign cooperation and exchanges in areas such as economy and trade, technology, culture, education, tourism, health and sports, or social welfare must not accept attached religious conditions.

Non-religious organizations and individuals in this city receiving foreign religious organizations or religious personnel, or being invited to go abroad by foreign religious organizations or religious personnel, should consult the City RAB in advance.

Article 51

Foreigners in this city can participate in religious activities in the approved and registered places for religious activities, hold religious activities for foreigners in places recognized by the City RAB, and invite religious clergy in this city to perform religious rites such as baptisms, marriages and funeral rites, and other Daoist and Buddhist rites.

Article 52

Foreigners may not establish religious organizations, religious offices, places for religious activities or religious schools in this city, nor can they convert Chinese citizens, appoint religious clergy, privately recruit students to study religion abroad, distribute religious publications or carry out other preaching activities.

Article 53

Foreigners who are invited to speak on the Scriptures, preach or carry out other religious academic or cultural exchanges should abide by the regulations on management of foreigners' religious activities in Chinese territory.

Article 54

Foreigners entering China can bring in religious publications and religious materials for their own use.

Chapter 9: Legal Responsibilities

Article 55

Engaging in any of the following activities will result in the RAB ordering the activities to cease and issuing a warning. In serious cases, the registration of the places for religious activities will be canceled and the organizations responsible and people directly responsible may be fined between 500 and 5,000 yuan:

1. Religious clergy of this city holding or conducting religious activities in other places without approval, or religious clergy outside this city holding or conducting religious activities in this city without approval;

2. Carrying out activities such as divination, fortune telling, palm reading, casting of lots, exorcizing ghosts, and healing;
3. Religious clergy holding or conducting religious activities in places which are not registered or recognized;
4. Opening religious schools without authorization.

Article 56

Engaging in any of the following activities will result in the RAB ordering the activities to cease and issuing a warning. In serious cases, the registration of the places for religious activities will be canceled and the organizations responsible and people directly responsible may be fined between 1,000 and 10,000 yuan:

1. Interfering with or hindering normal religious activities;
2. Causing negative effects as a result of forcing citizens to believe or not to believe in religion, or discrimination against citizens who are religious believers or non-believers;
3. Making use of religion to interfere with state administration, the judiciary or education;
4. Religious activities that hamper the social or productive order, daily life, or the physical or mental health of citizens, or infringe on the legal rights of other citizens;
5. Non-religious organizations and individuals accepting attached religious conditions in activities involving foreigners;
6. Religious clergy who are not recognized and whose names have not been filed, or those who have resigned or have been dismissed carrying out religious activities in the names of religious clergy.

Article 57

Engaging in any of the following activities will result in the RAB or other related departments ordering the activities to cease and issuing a warning. With the approval of the People's Government at the same levels, [the organizations] can be banned and the properties gained illegally or illegal materials may be confiscated and illegal facilities can be demolished. The organizations responsible and people directly responsible may be fined from 10,000 to 50,000 yuan:

1. Setting up religious organizations or places for religious activities without approval and registration;
2. Receiving donations from foreign religious organizations and individuals without authorization;
3. Building temples, churches, shrines or outdoor statues of gods or the Buddha without authorization;
4. Non-religious organizations or individuals holding religious activities;
5. Non-religious organizations setting up religious facilities, or receiving or covertly receiving religious donations;
6. Non-religious organizations or individuals producing and selling religious articles without authorization;
7. Receiving foreign religious subsidies and funds for religious activities.

Article 58

Those who violate these regulations by seizing or destroying religious properties will be ordered separately by the religious affairs department and related departments to stop the act of seizure, and to return or restore the properties. Compensation will have to be made according to the laws for all resulting financial losses.

Article 59

Any state official involved in management of religious affairs who violates these regulations will be ordered to rectify [the offense] and may be subject to administrative penalties by the units they belong to or by senior government departments. Those violating the laws will be held criminally responsible before the law.

Article 60

Should a violation of these regulations constitute a violation of the "People's Republic of China Public Security Administration Penal Code" or other laws and regulations, it will be punished by the public security departments and the relevant

departments according to the regulations. Those who break the law will be held criminally liable according to the law.

Article 61

Should the concerned persons not agree to the said punishment, they may request a review of the decisions or initiate administrative appeals at the People's Court in accordance with the "Regulations for Reviewing Administrative Decisions" or the "Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China."

Article 62

Foreigners who violate these regulations will be ordered to cease their [offending] activities and warned by the RAB. Should their actions constitute a violation of immigration policy concerning foreigners entering and leaving the country or security regulations, they will be punished by the public security department according to the law. Should these constitute a crime, they will be held criminally responsible before the law.

Chapter 10: Supplementary Articles

Article 63

Contacts and religious activities conducted between religious organizations and individuals in this city and their counterparts in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Macao or Taiwan should observe what has been laid down by these regulations.

Overseas Chinese citizens and residents of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Macao or Taiwan who carry out religious activities in this city should abide by these regulations.

Article 64

[Resolution of] any questions about the application of these regulations lies with their interpretation by the city RAB.

Article 65

These regulations are to be implemented on the first of March, nineteen hundred and ninety-eight.

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Endnotes

1 (Popup - Popup)

1 "Government Protects and Respects Religious Freedom," *China Daily*, October 17, 1997.

2 (Popup - Popup)

2 Between February 8 and 27, Rabbi Arthur Schneier, president of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation in New York, Archbishop Theodore McCarrick of the Archdiocese of Newark, New Jersey, and the Reverend Don Argue, president of the National Association of Evangelicals in Carol Stream, Illinois, led the nine-member delegation on visits to Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, Tibet, and Hong Kong.

3 (Popup - Popup)

3 "White Paper: Tibet Human Rights Progress," *China Daily*, February 24, 1998 in *Federal Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS)*, February 26, 1998.

4 (Popup - Popup)

4 "Religious Freedom: A Report of the U.S. Religious Leaders Delegation to the People's Republic of China," February 1998.

5 (Popup - Popup)

5 According to a Xinhua report, the delegation's visit to Seattle, Chicago, Washington D.C., New York, and North Carolina "provided a very good opportunity for people of various circles of the United States to fully, correctly, and objectively understand the religious situation in China" ("Report on PRC Religious Delegation's U.S. Visit," Xinhua, February 14, 1987 in *FBIS*, February 20, 1998). Ye Xiaowen met with President and Mrs. Clinton and Vice President and Mrs. Gore. The delegation attended the National Prayer Breakfast in Washington, met with legislators and journalists, spoke at specially arranged meetings of foreign policy institutes, and visited churches.

6 (Popup - Popup)

6 *China: State Control of Religion*, Human Rights Watch/Asia, (New York: 1997), p.1.

7 (Popup - Popup)

7 *China: State Control of Religion*, p.1.

8 (Popup - Popup)

8 These include: *Registration Procedures for Venues for Religious Activities*, Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council, May 1, 1994; *Regulations on the Supervision of the Religious Activities of Foreigners in China's Borders*, Order of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, No. 144, January 31, 1994; *Regulations Regarding the Management of Places of Religious Activities*, Order of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, No. 145, January 31, 1994; *Method for the Annual Inspection of Places of Religious Activities*, Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council, July 29, 1996, first published in *China Religion*, a quarterly publication of the RAB, Winter 1996. The documents require registration of all religious sites, lay out the requirements for registration to be approved, provide for what amounts to annual renewal of registration, and proscribe conditions under which foreigners can be involved in religious activities in China.

9 (Popup - Popup)

9 "Zhejiang Provincial Regulations Governing Religious Affairs," *Zhejiang Ribao*, December 11, 1997, *FBIS*, December 30, 1997.

10 (Popup - Popup)

10 *China: State Control of Religion*, pp.90-99.

11 (Popup - Popup)

11 Official religious organs include the State Council's Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB) and "patriotic associations," at least one for each of the five (Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Protestantism, and Catholicism) official religions. Each patriotic association acts as a liaison between the government and the religious organizations for which it is responsible. The Chinese Islamic Association helps manage all Muslim sites and personnel.

12 (Popup - Popup)

12 *China: State Control of Religion*, p.40.

13 (Popup - Popup)

13 Instead of transferring the bishop to a re-education camp, he is being held, against Chinese law, in a prison in Chongren county with detainees awaiting sentencing. According to unconfirmed reports, he has not been permitted visitors, and his health is deteriorating.

14 (Popup - Popup)

14 The dates of Ms. Zhang's daughter's arrest and sentencing are unknown. Nor can the organization to which the complaint was directed be identified.

15 (Popup - Popup)

15 Private communication, February 19, 1998.

16 (Popup - Popup)

16 "Underground Priest Given Re-Education Through Labor but Paroled on Bond," UCA News, March 11, 1998.