

# Lawyers' Rights Watch Canada

*NGO in Special Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations*  
Promoting human rights by protecting those who defend them

[www.lrwc.org](http://www.lrwc.org) – [lrwc@portal.ca](mailto:lrwc@portal.ca) – Tel: +1 604 736 1175 – Fax: +1 604 736 1170  
3220 West 13<sup>th</sup> Avenue, Vancouver, B.C. CANADA V6K 2V5

## **Mass arrest, detention and disappearance of lawyers and other rights advocates in China**

Since 9 July 2015, the Government of the People's Republic of China (China) has conducted country-wide reprisals against criminal defence and human rights lawyers, law firm staff, family members and lay advocates, subjecting them to wrongful arrests and prosecutions, arbitrary and incommunicado detentions and enforced disappearances without judicial oversight.<sup>1</sup> Reports indicate that the number of human rights advocates arbitrarily arrested since 9 July 2015 exceeds 275 (as of 10 September 2015). As the total membership of the Chinese human rights bar is estimated at approximately 300, the effect of the current round-up is devastating to rights protection. China's extra-legal round-up of human rights advocates violates the rights of the primary victims, protected by the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other instruments, and effectively denies the right to legal representation for individuals and groups seeking remedies for rights violations.

Lawyers' Rights Watch Canada calls upon the UN Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers, the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances to address these rights violations and recommend that:

- China ensure the immediate release of all lawyers, law firm staff, lay advocates and family members arrested since the beginning of July 2015 including all those kept in "residential surveillance in a designated location";
- China reveal the location and ensure the release of all people subjected to enforced disappearance, residential surveillance in a designated place and those whose whereabouts following arrest is unknown;
- the UN Human Rights Council take steps to prevent and remedy the systematic and widespread violations against rights advocates in China referred to in this report;
- the UN Human Rights Council ask the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to publicly report on a regular basis, on the human rights situation of lawyers and other human rights advocates in China, and to present a written report at the thirty-first session of the Human Rights Council, followed by an interactive dialogue, as well as a written report at the Council's thirty-third session, followed by an interactive dialogue.

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<sup>1</sup> There had been a disturbing increase in the harassment, incarceration and beatings of human rights advocates in China from January 2015 onwards, but it exploded into a nation-wide campaign of intimidation and repression on 9 July, with the arrest of human rights lawyers and their staff in every part of China. To this point almost 100% of the criminal defence/human rights bar has been detained, disappeared, or otherwise harassed. Among China's human rights lawyers widely accepted as the best in the profession, 100% of them have in fact been targeted.

## **Background – Mass Arrests of Lawyers and Others by Chinese authorities**

The Hong Kong-based China Human Rights Lawyer Concern Group reports that—as of 4 September 2015—authorities acting on behalf of the Government of China have conducted mass arrests, detentions and disappearances of at least 284 lawyers and lay advocates, law firm staff and family members. Victims of the round-up are all people engaged in human rights advocacy, often providing legal representation to clients or causes unpopular with the Government of China, or are staff and family of such advocates. Without legal justification and in contravention of China’s international law obligations, victims have been subjected to arbitrary arrests, arbitrary or unlawful detention, incommunicado detention, enforced disappearance, denial of legal representation, denial of due process and other prohibited treatment. The China Human Rights Lawyer Concern Group reports that at least 29 of these people remain either disappeared or arbitrarily and unlawfully detained.

The mass arrests started after human rights lawyer Wang Yu, her husband Bao Longjun, also a rights lawyer, and their 16-year-old son were abducted by state officials on 9 July 2015. The China Human Rights Lawyers Concern Group reported that on 10 July 2015 nine lawyers and four law office staff were arrested. By 21 July 2015, the Guardian reported that at least 238 lawyers and associated people had been arrested, detained or questioned and of those at least six were missing.<sup>2</sup> Lawyers attempting to represent or speak on behalf of victims of the mass arrests were also arrested. On 6 August, human rights lawyer Yu Wensheng was arrested. Police created an atmosphere of terror and violated the law in making their arrests. According to Human Rights Watch, between mid-July and mid-August 2015, more than 250 members of China’s small community of human rights lawyers had been targeted by police in a coordinated sweep across the country.<sup>3</sup>

The list below includes the names of some victims of the country-wide crackdown on human rights lawyers and advocates. The dates and other details have been taken from reports by media and human rights organizations. While it is known that China is, without legal justification and in contravention of the applicable international law, arresting, detaining and disappearing lawyers, their staff and family and lay law advocates, it is not possible to confirm these details or the whereabouts or condition of any of the victims.

An additional list of persecuted lawyers, including prominent human rights advocates who have suffered egregious abuse by state authorities prior to the present round of mass arrest is included in Appendix I to this report. Some of these lawyers have now been released; some are seriously damaged, mentally and physically. Some have died in custody or shortly after release, as a result of injuries sustained in custody, combined with the withholding of medical treatment. Some have been forced into exile.

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<sup>2</sup> Tim Phillips, *At Least Six missing after clampdown on human rights lawyers in China*, The Guardian, 21 July 2015. Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/21/human-rights-lawyers-china-missing-clampdown>.

<sup>3</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Letter to President Obama*, 9 September 2015. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/09/09/letter-president-obama>.

## **Incommunicado Detention**

### **Huang Liqun (Incommunicado Detention)**

- 2015-Sep-09: Still held in undisclosed location; incommunicado since July 10.<sup>4</sup>

### **Liu Sixin (Incommunicado Detention)**

- 2015-Jul-21: Detained and charged with disrupting public order and violating trial proceedings (according to Chinese Communist Party newspaper the People's Daily).<sup>5</sup>
- 2015-Sept-09: Incommunicado since 10 July 2015. Detained at Tianjin Hexi Detention Centre for picking quarrels and provoking troubles.<sup>6</sup>

### **Chen Taihe (Incommunicado Detention)**

- 2015-Jul-21: Under criminal detention for "picking quarrels and stirring up trouble".<sup>7</sup>
- 2015-Sep-09: Criminally detained for charges of picking quarrels and provoking troubles on 13 July, detained at Guilin 3rd Detention Centre. Met with lawyer Qin Yongpei on the 16th, no more meetings since. Incommunicado for over 50 days.<sup>8</sup>

### **Li Shuyun (Incommunicado Detention)**

- 2015-Jul-10: A lawyer with Beijing Fengrui Law Firm was taken from her home by plainclothes officers; whereabouts unknown.<sup>9</sup>

## **Detained Under "Residential Surveillance at a Designated Place"**

"Residential surveillance at a designated place" as described in Article 73 of the Criminal Procedure Law is an extra-ordinary type of pre-trial detention reserved for people suspected of crimes that endanger state security or involve terrorist activities.<sup>10</sup>

Where, for a crime suspected to endanger State security, crime involving terrorist activities and a crime involving significant amount of bribes, residential surveillance at the domicile of the criminal suspect or defendant may impede the investigation, it may, upon approval by the people's procuratorate or the public security organ at the next higher level, be enforced at a

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<sup>4</sup> Qiao Long, *Two Months On, Lawyers For China's Detained Attorneys Still Don't Know Where They Are*, Radio Free Asia, 9 September 2015. Available: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/china-lawyers-09092015103329.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Wen Jian and Xin Lin, *China's War on Rights Lawyers Part of Wider 'Stability Maintenance' Plan*, Radio Free Asia, Radio Free Asia, 21 July 2015. Available: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/china-lawyers-07212015140342.html>.

<sup>6</sup> China Human Rights Lawyers Concern Group (CHRLCG), 4 September 2015. Available: <http://www.chrlawyers.hk/en/content/1800-4-september-2015-least-284lawyers-law-firm-staffhuman-right-activistsfamily-members>.

<sup>7</sup> Wen Jian and Xin Lin, *China's War on Rights Lawyers Part of Wider 'Stability Maintenance' Plan*, Radio Free Asia, Radio Free Asia, 21 July 2015. Available: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/china-lawyers-07212015140342.html>.

<sup>8</sup> China Human Rights Lawyers Concern (CHRLCG), 4 September 2015. Available: <http://www.chrlawyers.hk/en/content/1800-4-september-2015-least-284lawyers-law-firm-staffhuman-right-activistsfamily-members>.

<sup>9</sup> Chris Buckley, *Chinese Authorities Appear to Detain 4 Human Rights Lawyers*, New York Times, 10 July 2015. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/11/world/asia/china-detains-rights-lawyers-prompting-talk-of-a-crackdown.html>.

<sup>10</sup> *Criminal Procedure Law of The People's Republic Of China* (2012) Issuing Body / Standing Committee of The National People's Congress Issue Date 19-Mar-2012. (Adopted at the Fifth Session of the 11th National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on March 14, 2012)

designated place of residence, provided that residential surveillance is not enforced in a detention house or a special venue for case investigation.

Article 73 also mandates notice to the family of the person so detained “within 24 hours upon enforcement of residential surveillance, unless notification cannot be processed.” The Criminal Procedure Law provides that residential surveillance at a designated place can be used for up to 37 days without any charge being laid.

In practice, “residential surveillance at a designated place” is widely used to detain, in secret places without access to legal representation or judicial review, prisoners who have engaged representing or exposing issues unpopular with the ruling communist Party/State. Such detention increases the likelihood of torture and other prohibited treatment used to obtain confessions. This type of detention has been described as

...pre-trial custody in a place outside of legally designated places of custody. Because it does not need to be subject to the rules of formal detention centers, in reality ‘residential surveillance at a designated place’ is often a more severe form of detention. When a detainee is tortured, it is difficult to obtain evidence.<sup>11</sup>

These people can be considered as disappeared as their whereabouts is unknown; access to them by family members and lawyers has been refused with state agents claiming no knowledge in conformity with standard procedure in such cases.

**Wang Yu** (Under Residential Surveillance at a Designated Place)

- Arrested 2015-Jul-9: Lawyer with Beijing Fengrui Law Firm; held incommunicado for over 50 days.<sup>12</sup>
- Placed under “residential surveillance at a designated place” for allegedly “provoking disturbances” and “inciting subversion of state power.”<sup>13</sup>

**Bao Longjun** (Under Residential Surveillance at a Designated Place)

- 2015-Aug-29: Husband of Wang Yu; has been placed under “residential surveillance at a designated place” for allegedly “inciting subversion of state power” and “provoking disturbances.”
- Police denied lawyers’ request to meet with Bao on August 28 but told lawyers that Bao is “suspected of the crime of harm national security.”<sup>14</sup>

**Xie Yang** (Under Residential Surveillance at a Designated Place)

- Charged 2015-Jul-21: Charged with “incitement to subvert state power”.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Yaqiu Wang, *What You Need to Know About China’s ‘Residential Surveillance at a Designated Place*, China Change, 2 August 2015 quoting Teng Biao. Available online:

<http://chinachange.org/?s=%E2%80%9Cresidential+surveillance+at+a+designated+place%E2%80%9D&submit>

<sup>12</sup> Yang Fan, *Beijing Rights Lawyers ‘Missing,’ Believed Detained: Lawyer*, Radio Free Asia, 10 July 2015.

Available: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/beijing-rights-lawyer-missing-believed-detained-07102015102944.html>.

<sup>13</sup> China Change, *Relatives of Recently Disappeared Lawyers and Activists Write a Letter to China’s Minister of Public Security*, 29 August 2015. Available: <http://chinachange.org/2015/08/29/relatives-of-recently-disappeared-lawyers-and-activists-write-a-letter-to-chinas-minister-of-public-security/>.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Wen Jian and Xin Lin, *China’s War on Rights Lawyers Part of Wider ‘Stability Maintenance’ Plan*, Radio Free Asia, Radio Free Asia, 21 July 2015. Available: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/china-lawyers-07212015140342.html>.

- Arrested 11 July 2015: Taken away on 11 July 2015, detained incommunicado for over 55 days. Now under ‘residential surveillance at a designated place’ on charges of disrupting court order and inciting subversion of state power.<sup>16</sup>

#### **Sui Muqing** (Under Residential Surveillance at a Designated Place)

- 2015-Aug-29: Placed under “residential surveillance at a designated place” for allegedly “inciting subversion of state power.”<sup>17</sup>

#### **Gou Hongguo** (Under Residential Surveillance at a Designated Place)

- 2015-Jul-31: Tianjin resident, taken away in Beijing by Tianjin police. Placed under “residential surveillance at a designated place” for allegedly “provoking disturbances.”<sup>18</sup>
- On 24 August, authorities changed allegation against him to “inciting subversion of state power.”<sup>19</sup>

#### **Zhang Kai** (Under Residential Surveillance at a Designated Place)

- 2015-Aug-31: Mr. Zhang, a prominent Chinese rights lawyer, was arrested on 25 August and charged with endangering state security and “assembling a crowd to disrupt social order”. Mr. Zhang was placed under “residential surveillance at a designated place” according to the NY Times.<sup>20</sup>

### **Whereabouts Unknown**

#### **Xie Yanyi**

- 2015-Sep-09: Questioned on 10 July, taken away on the morning of 12 July. Disappeared, placed under “compulsory criminal measure.”<sup>21</sup>

#### **Wang Quanzhang**

- 2015-Aug-29: Unreachable since 13:00, 10 July 2015. Criminally detained for allegedly “provoking disturbances” and “inciting subversion of state power.” Home in Beijing searched by Beijing police on 5 August.<sup>22</sup>

#### **Li Heping**

- 2015-Aug-29: Taken away at 14:00, 10 July. Coercive measures used against him.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> China Human Rights Lawyers Concern Group (CHRLCG), 4 September 2015. Available: <http://www.chrlawyers.hk/en/content/1800-4-september-2015-least-284lawyers-law-firm-staffhuman-right-activistsfamily-members>.

<sup>17</sup> China Change, *Relatives of Recently Disappeared Lawyers and Activists Write a Letter to China’s Minister of Public Security*, 29 August 2015. Available: <http://chinachange.org/2015/08/29/relatives-of-recently-disappeared-lawyers-and-activists-write-a-letter-to-chinas-minister-of-public-security/>.

<sup>18</sup> Amnesty International, *China: Latest Information on Crackdown Against Lawyers and Activists*, 31 July 2015. Available: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/press-releases/2015/07/china-list-of-lawyers-and-activists-targeted/>.

<sup>19</sup> China Change, *Relatives of Recently Disappeared Lawyers and Activists Write a Letter to China’s Minister of Public Security*, 29 August 2015. Available: <http://chinachange.org/2015/08/29/relatives-of-recently-disappeared-lawyers-and-activists-write-a-letter-to-chinas-minister-of-public-security/>.

<sup>20</sup> China Change, *The Work of Lawyer Zhang Kai: ‘I Have God as My Backer’*, 31 August 2015. Available online: <http://chinachange.org/2015/08/31/the-work-of-lawyer-zhang-kai-i-have-god-as-my-backer/>.

<sup>21</sup> China Human Rights Lawyers Concern (CHRLCG), 4 September 2015. Available online: <http://www.chrlawyers.hk/en/content/1800-4-september-2015-least-284lawyers-law-firm-staffhuman-right-activistsfamily-members>.

<sup>22</sup> China Change, *Relatives of Recently Disappeared Lawyers and Activists Write a Letter to China’s Minister of Public Security*, 29 August 2015. Available online: <http://chinachange.org/2015/08/29/relatives-of-recently-disappeared-lawyers-and-activists-write-a-letter-to-chinas-minister-of-public-security>.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

## May Have Been Released

### Zhou Qing (No News)

- 2015-Sep-09: Lost contact as of July 10 and purportedly released.<sup>24</sup>

### Zheng Enchong

- 2015-Sep-09: Taken away and home raided on 11 July. Released on 12 July. Home raided again on 17 July and in August.<sup>25</sup>

### Liu Xiaoyuan

- 2015-Sep-09: “under restriction of personal freedom on July 10, 2015, released on the 13<sup>th</sup> morning”.<sup>26</sup>

## China’s International Law Obligations

As a member of the United Nations and a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), China is obligated to ensure the enjoyment by all of the rights and freedoms recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and guaranteed by the ICCPR, including rights to: equality, liberty, expression, association, presumption of innocence, determination of rights by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal, legal representation, freedom from arbitrary detention and remedies for violations of protected rights. As a member of the Human Rights Council, China is additionally bound to “uphold the highest standards in the promotion and protection of human rights” and “fully cooperate with the Council...”<sup>27</sup> The arrests and detentions referred to in this report violate rights protected by the UDHR and ICCPR and constitute a violation by China of its international human rights obligations.

## Detentions Arbitrary and Unlawful

The ICCPR, Article 9 prohibits and guarantees freedom from both arbitrary arrest and detention and unlawful deprivation of liberty. This Article obliges China to ensure that no one shall be deprived of liberty except “on such grounds and in accordance with such procedures as are established by law” and that “[n]o one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.” Freedom from arbitrary detention is non-derogable and cannot be justified under any circumstances.<sup>28</sup> As determined by the UN Human Rights Committee (HR Committee) in General Comment No. 35 (GC No. 35),

An arrest or detention may be authorized by domestic law and nonetheless be arbitrary. The notion of “arbitrariness” is not to be equated with “against the law”, but must be interpreted more broadly to include elements of inappropriateness, injustice, lack of predictability and due process of law, as well as elements of reasonableness, necessity and proportionality. For

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<sup>24</sup> China Change, *Relatives of Recently Disappeared Lawyers and Activists Write a Letter to China’s Minister of Public Security*, 29 August 2015. Available: <http://chinachange.org/2015/08/29/relatives-of-recently-disappeared-lawyers-and-activists-write-a-letter-to-chinas-minister-of-public-security/>.

<sup>25</sup> China Digital Times, 13 July 2015. <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2015/07/campaign-against-rights-lawyers-criminal-gang-broadens/>

<sup>26</sup> China Human Rights Lawyers Concern (CHRLCG), 4 September 2015. Available online: <http://www.chrlawyers.hk/en/content/1800-4-september-2015-least-284lawyers-law-firm-staffhuman-right-activistsfamily-members>.

<sup>27</sup> China Change, *Relatives of Recently Disappeared Lawyers and Activists Write a Letter to China’s Minister of Public Security*, 29 August 2015

<sup>28</sup> UN Human Rights Committee General Comment No. 35, CCPR/C/GC/35, 16 December 2014, para. 66.

example, remand in custody on criminal charges must be reasonable and necessary in all the circumstances.<sup>29</sup>

Detention is unlawful when, inter alia, it “is incompatible with the requirements of article 9, paragraph 1, or with any other relevant provision of the Covenant.”<sup>30</sup> (GC para. 44).

Factors rendering the arrests and detentions referred to in this report arbitrary and/or unlawful include:

1. lack any legal bases (GC No. 35, para. 12);
2. denial of “[p]rompt and regular review by a court or other tribunal possessing the same attributes of independence and impartiality as the judiciary...” i.e. review of the legality of detention and treatment by a competent, impartial and independent tribunal. (GC No. 35, para. 16). The HR Committee has confirmed that, absent extraordinary circumstances, the first judicial review of detention must be held within 48 hours of arrest (GC No. 35, para. 33);
3. denial of legal representation required by Article 14;
4. denial of “access to independent legal advice, preferably selected by the detainee”. (GC No. 35, para. 16);
5. denial of the right to the presumption of innocence and pre-trial release. All prisoners suspected of or charged with criminal offences are entitled to be released pending trial, except when a risk of flight, interference with evidence or recurrence of the offence(s) has been established in court and there is no means other than detention to prevent the established risks;
6. arrests and detentions used as “punishment for the legitimate exercise” of rights guaranteed by the ICCPR (GC No. 35, para. 18);
7. use of enforced disappearances, a particularly aggravated form of arbitrary detention (GC No. 35, para. 17);
8. use of incommunicado detention; and,
9. use of criminal charges not “defined with sufficient precision to avoid overly broad or arbitrary interpretation or application.”<sup>31</sup> (GC No. 35, para. 22). Such charges deny prior notice of proscribed acts, allow an arbitrary and standardless sweep and prevent effective defense and objective assessment by a court.

### **Denial of Judicial Oversight**

The courts and the judiciary are controlled by the Communist Party of China and are therefore not independent. President Xi Jinping has publicly declared that China cannot and will not accept “Western style” judicial independence. He has explained that this means the Communist Party of China must, and will, continue to retain control over the “courts”, the police, and the procuratorate. In February China’s top court, the Supreme People’s Court, rejected the notion of Western-style judicial independence and separation of powers.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid* para. 12.

<sup>30</sup> *Shams et al. v. Australia*, para. 7.3.

<sup>31</sup> See concluding observations: Philippines (CCPR/CO/79/PHL, 2003), para. 14 (vagrancy law vague), Mauritius (CCPR/CO/83/MUS, 2005), para. 12 (terrorism law), Russian Federation (CCPR/C/RUS/CO/6, 2009), para. 24 (“extremist activity”), and Honduras (CCPR/C/HND/CO/1, 2006), para. 13 (“unlawful association”).

<sup>32</sup> See *China's top court rejects judicial independence as 'erroneous thought'*, The Guardian, 26 February 2015, available: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/26/chinas-top-court-rejects-judicial-independence-as-erroneous-thought>; *China's Xi Jinping comes up with a new political doctrine, the 'Four Comprehensives' – a*

## The Duty to Ensure Remedies and Legal Representation

The duty of China under the ICCPR, Article 2, to ensure an “effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity” cannot be discharged in the absence of China also ensuring the right to legal representation guaranteed by the ICCPR Article 14(3). The UN Human Rights Committee has determined the right to legal representation applies to both criminal and civil proceedings involving the determination of rights<sup>33</sup> and is key to ensuring all rights guaranteed by both the UDHR and ICCPR. The Basic Principles on the Role of Lawyers<sup>34</sup> describe specific state duties to protect the right of lawyers to represent clients and carry out their professional duties without interference or reprisals from anyone including from state agents and authorities.

### Conclusion

LRWC calls on Special Mandate holders to encourage the UN Human Rights Council to:

- request that China immediately release all Chinese lawyers, paralegals, and legal support staff who remain in detention as a result of the recent nation-wide round-up of human rights defenders;
- request an investigatory visit to China by the Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers;
- press China to respect, comply with, and adhere to international human rights law, in particular the Basic Principles, UDHR, ICCPR and Convention Against Torture;
- require that China meet its international law obligations to provide adequate medical treatment for detained lawyers and other prisoners;
- insist that China bring Chinese legislation and practice into conformity with China’s international human rights obligations under the UDHR, Basic Principles, and the ICCPR;
- require China to implement genuine independence for judges and lawyers.

## APPENDIX I

### Lawyers persecuted by China prior to the current mass arrests.

The list, comprising 161 lawyers, includes: Ai Weiwei, Cai Shaojie, **Cao Shunli (detained and disappeared at Beijing Capital International Airport while waiting for flight to Geneva to provide information on human rights in China; held incommunicado for months while medical treatment denied; died within a week of release months after)**, Bao Mengmeng, Chen Guangcheng, Chen Jianfang, Chen Wei, Chen Zhonghe, Cheng Hai, Chi Yunling, Choedar Dargye, Dai Xuewu, Ding Zilin, Du Daobing, Feng Zhenghu, Gao Lading, **Gao Zhisheng (recognized as China’s premiere human rights lawyer; served long prison sentences as**

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*strategic blueprint for China’s future*, China Daily Mail, 27 February 2015, available:

<http://chinadailymail.com/2015/02/27/chinas-xi-jinping-comes-up-with-a-new-political-doctrine-the-four-comprehensives-a-strategic-blueprint-for-chinas-future/>.

<sup>33</sup> UN Human Rights Committee (HRC), General Comment no. 32, Article 14, Right to equality before courts and tribunals and to fair trial, 23 August 2007, CCPR/C/GC/32, para 10.

<sup>34</sup> Adopted by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Havana, Cuba, 27 August to 7 September 1990.



reprisal for representing FLG practitioners and homeowners facing government expropriation; beaten and obscenely tortured before being released with serious psychological impairment), Gedun Thogphel, Guo Feixiong (aka Yang Maodong), **Guo Guoting (defended FLG practitioners and colleague Zheng Enchong; disbarred, placed under house arrest, and finally forced into exile in Canada)**, Gu Chuan, Guo Yan, He Depu, Hu Qingyun, Hu Jia, Hua Chunhui, Huang Jinchun, Huang Jinping, Huang Ronghe, Huang Shengrui, Huang Qi, Huang Yanming, Jampa Choephel, Jamyang Oezer, Jiang Hansheng, , Jiang Meili, , Jiang Qisheng, Jiang Shuhua, Jiang Tianyong, Jiang Yanyong, Jiang Zhongli, Jin Guanghong, Li Chunfu, Li Dunyong, Li Boguang, Li Guoguang, Li Guotao, Li Hai, Li Heping, Li Fanping, Li Jian, Li Jianhong, Li Jianqiang, Li Lanying, Li Mei, Li Pingfang, Li Qun, Li Shuangde, Li Sihua, Li Subing, Li Tiantian, Li Tingting, Li Weiji, Li Weiping, Li Wendong, Li Xiongbing, Lin Mu, Lin Wangmao, Lin Xinshu, Liu Fenggang, Liu Jie, Liu Jinlin, Liu Ping, Liu Shihui, Liu Xianbin, Liu Xiaobo, Liu Xiaoyuan, Liu Yan, Liu Zhengqing, Lo Yongzhong, Lu Banglie, Ma Wenbao, Mao Hengfeng, Mo Hongluo, Mo Shaoping, **Ni Yulan (one of China's most prominent and active defenders of homeowners losing their homes to government expropriation with little or no confirmation; had her legs broken by police while in custody in 1992 and has been in a wheelchair ever since; regularly detained and beaten by police; now detained in the current campaign of mass arrests)**, Peng Jian, **Pu Zhiqiang (one of China's very best human rights lawyers, Pu has been illegally detained since last fall and has just had an extension to his detention approved by China's highest "court")**, Qi Zhiyong, Qin Yongmin, Ren Qiuguang, Shao Yan, Shi Tao, Shi Yulin, Sui Muqing, Sun Jianguo, Tang Jitian, Tang Jingling, Tan Kai, **Teng Biao (among the very best and most courageous of the China human rights bar; illegally detained on numerous occasions; became a Visiting Scholar at Hong Kong University; now a Visiting Scholar at Harvard Law School)**, Wang Bingzhang (a courageous human rights advocate, though not a lawyer; founding member of China Democratic Party who immigrated to Canada and became a Canadian citizen; now serving life sentence in China after having been kidnapped by Chinese police while on a visit to Vietnam), Wang Jie, Wang Jinbo, Wang Man, Wang Shengrui, Wang Wanxing, **Wang Yonghang (sentenced to 8 years on a vague charge; became a quadriplegic as a result of custodial beatings)**, Wang Yu, Wei Luqiu., Wei Ruji, Wei Tingting, Wei Zhongping, Wen Haibao, Wen Jianmin, Wu Hongwei, Wu Lihong, Wu Rongrong, Wu Xuewei, Xiao Shichang, Xiao Yunliang, Xie Yang, Xu Yonghai, Xu Zhenqing, **Xu Zhiyong (among China's most celebrated lawyers; now serving a lengthy prison sentence)**, **Yu Wensheng (recently illegally detained for 88 days without charge)**, Zu Zhengqing, Zhang Yanyong, Zhang Zuhua, Yan Zhengxue, Yang Chunlin, Yang Qinheng, Yang Tianshui, Yang Zaixing, Yao Feizhu, Yao Fuxin, Yao Lifa, Ye Guozhu, Yu Jie, Yu Wang, Yu Wensheng, Yue Tianxiang, Zhang Bo, Zhao Changqing, Zhang Hai, Zhang Jianguo, Zhang Jiankang, Zhang Jianzhong, Zhang Junjie, Zhang Kai, Zhang Lin, Zhang Shizhi, Zhang Xianling, Zhang Yanyong, Zhang Zuhua, Zhao Xin, Zhao Yan, Zheng Churan, Zheng Enchong, Zheng Mingfang, Zhu Jiuhu.

Prepared for Lawyers Rights Watch Canada  
by  
Clive M. Ansley and Gail Davidson

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