



# THE CARDINAL KUNG FOUNDATION



## The Cardinal Kung Foundation

Press Release – February 13, 2000

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### Another Arrest of Roman Catholic Bishop in China



*Stamford, Connecticut, U.S.A.* - The Cardinal Kung Foundation, an advocate of the underground Roman Catholic Church in China, reports that only 2 months after the arrest of Bishop HAN Dingxiang, another underground Roman Catholic bishop, Archbishop John YANG Shudao of the Archdiocese of Fuzhou in Fujian Province, was arrested February 10, 2000 by approximately one hundred fifty public security police around midnight. The archbishop's whereabouts are unknown at this time.

Archbishop Yang, born in Lianjiang County, Fujian Province April 16, 1919, is almost 81 years of age. He was previously jailed for at least 30 years. He was first arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1955 for his refusal to denounce the Pope as the supreme authority of the Roman Catholic Church and for his refusal to cooperate with the government to form a Chinese independent church, the Catholic Patriotic Association. The Chinese communist government controls this Patriotic Association church and it is the only church sanctioned by the government as the official church. All other religions are illegal. Archbishop YANG was released in 1981, having served twenty-six years. He was arrested again in 1988 and served another three years. Since then, he has been re-arrested many times.

Joseph Kung, President of the Cardinal Kung Foundation, said: "Contrary to the claims by the Chinese totalitarian government that there is religious freedom in China, there are at least eight Roman Catholic underground bishops (AN Shuxin, HAN Dingxiang, JIA Zhiguo, LIN Xili, SU Zhimin, XIE Shiguang, YANG Shudao, ZHANG Weizhu), and scores of priests and lay persons now in jails. In addition, many underground Catholic bishops and priests are also under house arrest or under severe surveillance. For every person we reported as arrested, many of others arrested are unreported because we do not have the information."

"The campaign of forcing the underground Catholics to join the communist created and sanctioned Patriotic Association is being carried out across China en masse. A Chinese communist 'Donglai secret document' released by the Cardinal Kung foundation on January 10, 1997, urged the local leadership to employ 'resolute, decisive and organized measures... to eradicate the illegal activities of the underground Catholic Church.' According to another document dated August 17, 1999 reported by FIDES, the Chinese government's plan that 'the underground Church ...must be eliminated by re-education, force labor, dismissal and isolation of stubborn priests and bishops' is being carried out in earnest. The persecution of underground Roman Catholic continues and is escalating even when China has achieved impressive economic progress. While many free countries lobby hard for China's membership to the World Trade Organization (WTO), China has no hesitation to continue its arrests of the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church in China." "I wish to appeal once again that the government of the Peoples Republic of China releases immediately all prisoners of conscience and that, in negotiating with China to enter the WTO," Kung continued, " the countries of the free world must take serious consideration of these ongoing and atrocious religious persecutions in China. Any invitation or encouragement to China's entry into the World Trade Organization would be immoral and amounts to condoning the five decades of religious persecutions in China."



#### Glossary For Chinese Names

AN Shuxin 安樹新 Fuzhou 福州 Fujian Province 福建省 HAN Dingxiang 韓鼎祥 JIA Zhiguo 賈治國 Lianjiang County 連江縣 LIN, Xili 林錫黎 SU Zhimin 蘇志民 XIE Shiguang 謝士光 YANG John Shudao 楊樹道 ZHANG Weizhu 張維柱



Released on January 10, 1997

***A Document of the Donglai Township Committee  
of the Chinese Communist Party***

*Document (1996) No. 42*

***For The County Committee of Chongren Xian  
in the Fuzhou District (of Jiangxi Province)***

*Referencing The Dispatch of*

***"The Procedures Legally to Implement  
the Eradication of Illegal Activities/Operations  
of the Underground Catholic Church"***

*To*

***The Donglai Township Leadership for  
Legally Eradicating the Illegal Activities  
of the Underground Catholic Church***

The Objective of the Notice:

1. The Religious Administration;
2. "Struggle" on Eradication of the Illegal Activities, (Underground Catholic Church) and;
3. Implementation Procedures.

Copy To:

The County Committee of the Communist Party  
The County Political & Judicial Committee of the Communist Party  
November 20, 1996  
80 Copies Made (in China)

**Translator's Notes**

1. Words in parentheses are the translator's notes. These words are not included in the original text.
2. When the text was illegible and/or the phrase was not understood, the words were replaced by a string of x's (xxxxxxxxxxxx).
3. A few sentences or phrases were printed in bold characters or placed within quotation marks when the translator felt the message conveyed was critical.

4. *A few paragraphs were divided into sub-paragraphs for easier reading.*
5. *Copies of the Chinese text are available upon request.*

**To: All units of the village branch of the Party, and  
All units directly under the Township Authority:**

In accordance with the approved study, attached herewith for your use is Donglai's

***Procedure to Legally Implement the Eradication of Illegal Activities  
of the Underground Catholic Church***

Please be practical, thorough, and serious in your implementation.

In recent years, the population of religious believers in our villages has increased due to the intensified infiltration of overseas religious enemy and opposition forces, and due to the influence of the illegal activities of the underground religious force in our country. Some have used religion to commit criminal activities, seriously disturbing the social order and affecting political stability. Therefore, every unit in this entire township must be highly vigilant in and politically attuned to the gravity and danger of the overall situation. You must strengthen the leadership, and, with resolute, decisive and organized measures, to legally develop this special "struggle" in order to **eradicate the illegal activities of the underground Catholic Church**

Eradicating the illegal activities of the underground Catholic Church is a decisive and critical political work. In developing this special "struggle", we will proceed according to the facts, abide by the law, recognize two different types of contradictions (*Note: The two different contradictions are 1) contradiction among people and 2) contradiction between enemy and defender - Mao 's Thought*), be vigilant of the enemy's power and of public instigation by religious believers, assure smooth development of "Eradicating Illegal Activities" work, and achieve the projected objectives. Any important and sensitive issues as well as the progress of all units' assignment must be reported promptly for directives.

November 20, 1996

**Procedures to Legally implement  
the Eradication of Illegal Activities  
of the Underground Catholic Church**

In order to truly unify the thorough enforcement of the Party's religious policy, to strengthen the administration of religious affairs in the township, to standardize the conduct of religious activities, and to reflect closely the circumstances of this town, effective immediately, we have decided to employ **a united action to destroy the organization of the underground Catholic Church** in Shanbei, Leifang, and Donglai, and to stop its illegal assembly activities. The following operation procedures are proposed:

## **A. Guidelines**

In the spirit of the 6th meeting of the 14th Party Conference, and in order to mobilize the vast number of people including religious believers, we learn from the document:

### *Decision of the Central Communist Party on Certain Important Resolutions Relating to the Strengthening of the Spirit of Socialism to Establish Civilization.*

For promotion of social stability and for successful eradication of the illegal religious activities by law, we must:

1. Raise the banners: "Protect the Dignity of the Law", and "Self Administer an Independent and Autonomous Church",
  2. Achieve the objectives: "Protect the Legal (Official Patriotic Association), Stop the Illegal (Unofficial underground Roman Catholic Church), Strike the Illegal, and Resist the Infiltration",
  3. Use the strategy of "Conversion Through Re-Education, Disintegration, Unification of the Majority and Attacking the Individuals", and
  4. Proceed steadily and proactively with meticulous planning, and decisive attitude to avoid major problems."
- Destroy the organization of the Catholic underground forces in the township.
  - Cut off foreign contacts with local illegal elements
  - Destroy the Church's illegal assembly place
  - Thoroughly clear all religious propaganda posters
  - Strengthen the establishment of spiritual civilization and grassroots organization
  - xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
  - Coordinate all security implementations.

## **B) Stages**

Three stages are necessary to achieve the above objectives.

### **B.I) Planning Stage: (November 20 to 25)**

B.I.1) Establish a strong organization for each rank. All personnel should report to duty and start working.

B.I.2) Carefully plan a highly secured procedure for overall implementation in this township.

B.I.3) Combine the township's workforce to organize six teams of "spiritual civilization propaganda force" to be stationed and put to work in those villages where the underground Catholic Church has the most influence.

B.I.4) Define propaganda policy and customize the propaganda campaign to target different groups of underground believers: religious, core elements, and general public believers. Utilizing the authority of the government, print announcements of prohibition. Adopt a unified propaganda approach and prepare its materials.

B.I.5) Be mentally and materially prepared to handle any unexpected incidents. Promptly report any such incidents to your supervisor.

## **B.II) Implementation Stage (November 25, 1996 - March 31, 1997):**

### **B.II.1) Before November 25, 1996**

All village "Spiritual Civilization Promotion Teams" must be stationed in the villages where the underground Catholic church believers live. The primary objective of the team is to develop an education propaganda offensive by utilizing radio broadcast to propagate the

#### *Decision of the Central Communist Party on Certain Important Resolutions Relating to the Strengthening of the Spirit of Socialism to Establish Civilization*

We must propagate the Party's religious policy and the code of law in addition to patriotism.

#### **B.II.1.a) Laying the Foundation:**

In order to accomplish conversion through education, the team members should

B.II.1.a.1) Eat, live and labor together with the people,

B.II.1.a.2) Perform good public relations act by visiting every family, and

B.II.1.a.3) Sincerely offer them solutions to their practical production problems.

The above steps will re-educate the attitude (of the Catholics) to work for us (our favor).

#### **B.II.1.b) Investigation**

In order to insure that this campaign of eradicating illegal religious activities is fully implemented,

B.II.1.b.1) Thoroughly understand all basic characteristics of the vast group of religious believers. In cooperation with the local police department, develop a complete headcount of both local and transient populations. **Register and set up a file for each one of them.**

B.II.1.b.2) Investigate and clearly understand the background of those out-of-town Catholics visiting the villages.

B.II.1.b.3) Fully and legally utilize the grassroots organization of the Party as the center of operations for this campaign by:

B.II.1.b.3.a) Strengthening the establishment of the leadership class for those villages most populated by religious believers, and

B.II.1.b.3.b) Performing a thorough evaluation of the Party's village branch. Make any adjustment or reinforcement to insure that the branch can serve as the fortress of this campaign.

#### **B.II.2) Before November 30, 1996**

B.II.2.a) Thoroughly investigate and understand the underground Catholic religious, the core members of the underground force, the number of Catholics and the basic circumstances of the illegal activities.

B.II.2.b) Investigate each one of the following groups, understand its activity schedules, overseas connections, the degree of its stubbornness, the traits that could be taken advantage of, and its psychological characteristics:

B.II.2.b.i) Underground Catholic religious

B.II.2.b.ii) Catholic believers in the Communist Party, Communist youth league, government cadre, militia, staff and their families, and

B.II.2.b.iii) The people responsible for illegal activities.

#### **B.II.3) Develop different class levels**

Each team must strengthen the target of education. Tailor the classes to the varying needs of the public audience.

B.II.3.a) The first objective is for the Party. Its objective is to use the constitution of the Party to unify the thoughts of the member of the Party so that they could develop the influence as a model to stop the underground Catholic illegal activities.

B.II.3.b) The second objective is to create a reserve force of zealous young people for the Party's undertaking. This class is to help them:

B.II.3.b.i) to cultivate the life and world outlook of the proletarian thoughts,

B.II.3.b.ii) to be aware of the capacity of different ideas which could have infiltrated them from the non-proletarian people, and

B.II.3.b.iii) to be capable of resisting these ideas.

B.II.3.c) The third objective is to induce underground Catholic religious and its core members to carry on their religious activities normally and legally by making them aware of those activities which are **in line with "theology"**, those which are unreasonable and illegal. This class is to indoctrinate them about the policies and objectives of the Party, and the law of the nation.

#### **B.II.4) Make a big effort to disintegrate the underground religious influence**

B.II.4.a) Underground religious activities are illegal and dangerous. This should be explained clearly in the class.

B.II.4.b) The policy of the government is to protect and support the autonomous church. Only through the autonomous church will there be hope.

B.II.4.c) Break up the underground religious influence by:

B.II.4.c.i) Uniting the majority through education,

B.II.4.c.ii) Isolating and attacking the extremist,

B.II.4.c.iii) Developing overall education,

B.II.4.c.iv) Organizing specialists, and

B.II.4.c.v) Using any other conceivable means.

With the exception of the few stubborn and core members (of the underground Catholic Church) who must be prosecuted according to law, the remainder will be indoctrinated by education. Persistent effort should be applied to convince the believers to obey the government and no longer to join illegal religious activities. Settle those who join legal religious activities and provide them with a suitable assembly place.

Using the principle of uniting the majority and isolating the extremist, prompt the workers to take care of each person (underground Catholic), **forcing him (the underground Catholic) to write a statement of repentance (apostasy letter), to recognize the policy of independence and autonomy (of the church), and to join the legal religious activities (the Patriotic Association).**

**B.II.5. Thoroughly and legally eliminate the assembly locations for illegal activities by the following means.**

B.II.5.a) Public relations,

B.II.5.b) Reliance on Party's grassroots organization,

B.II.5.c) Harvesting the power of the public (opinion), and

B.II.5.d) Adopting the procedure of settling the religious issue as non-religious.

Seal those places used for comparatively less serious illegal activities, and, through the workers, register them so that they could practice legal religious activities, and be brought into normal administration. In the mean time, **if any underground seminary is discovered, it must be categorically eliminated.**

**. B.II.6) Firmly eliminate large scale illegal assembly activities such as on (the Christmas day) "December 25".**

B.II.6.a) Control underground religious and core members' illegal activities.

B.II.6.b) All religious believers in the village must be well prepared for the task of interception. Firmly warn religious believers not to leave the village.

B.II.6.c) The procedure must be prepared early, and the propaganda must be completed early. Licenses or permits for vehicles and equipment used for religious activity are not only to be confiscated, but also their users be fined. In the meantime, be prepared to handle any sudden unexpected incidents.

### B.II.7. Infiltrate Schools

Must have a very strict policy. Adjust and strengthen the power of teachers in the religious believers' village.

B.II.7.a) Those teachers performing illegal religious activities must be punished, or even dismissed.

B.II.7.b) Do not allow any missionary activities in the school.

B.II.7.c) Do not allow the study, observation, or visits of any form of religious activities.

B.II.7.d) Do not allow students to carry any religious goods and propaganda materials.

Disobedience must be punished most severely. Stop firmly the use of religion to interfere with this directive and with other policies such as birth control. Take care of these issues on a case by case basis.

**Through implementation of the above procedures, the objective of destroying the organization of underground Catholics and their assembly places must be achieved.** Breaking up the underground Catholic influence, preventing the underground Catholics from participating in large scale assemblies on Shitangshan, cutting off the relationship between the criminal elements and overseas enemy force are steps to normalizing legalized religious activity.

### B.III) Consolidation Stage (April 1, 1997 - June 30, 1997)

In order to consolidate the hard-won results and to prevent the repetition of the illegal activities, we must make the struggle of **stopping the illegal Catholic activities a long term political objective**. After this unified and concentrated action, we must take advantage of these three months to consolidate the result, to insist on additional work on this project, and **to insure that the illegal underground Catholic influence and the illegal assemblies in our township are eradicated**. Each village must also strengthen its systems and regulations.

### C. Leadership Organization

Establish "Donglai Leadership Team to Stop the Underground Catholic Church Illegal Activities According to the Law"

Officer-in-Charge: Yang Shusen

Vice Officer in Charge: Chen Zemin

Team workers: Li Xianchang, Xong Xiaoqiu, Huang Lusun, Xiao Jingxing, Chen Guimin, Lu Yaomin, Huang Rongshun, Sun Guangrong, Zhou Kaiwu, Huang Xinming.

Office Manager: Huang Xinming

## **D. Matters Demanding Special Attention**

D.1) Having a good grasp of policies, being particular about tactics, and strictly managing affairs according to the laws, the leaders of various levels must carry out the assignment of "stopping illegal activities" as an important "Engineering Task" by strengthening the spiritual build-up in order to manage and to put society in order. They must be firm and proactive in the strategy; active and steady in tactics. Political matters should be treated as non-political ones while the **problems of religious character should be so solved as non-religious ones**. Do not agitate the already conflicting situation; thereby irritating the restless factors and causing very serious social disturbances as the result of erroneous problem management.

D.2) Discipline must be observed, and commands must be obeyed. Decisions made by the leadership group of the county and township government must be carried out firmly. Mistakes caused by negligence must be investigated and dealt with seriously. Reporting and feedback systems must be strictly enforced. Each week, the working unit is to report to the township leadership group about its work in progress. In the meantime, confidentiality is to be strictly observed. Do not disclose the undisclosed. Those who negatively impact the overall strategy as the result of compromised secrets will have to be dismissed, or, if the situation is serious, criminally prosecuted according to the law.

D.3) In order to accomplish this difficult and **glorified assignment** from the county committee of the communist party and the county government, responsibility oriented systems must be put in place and enforced. Each village committee and unit should clearly understand its assignment in conformity with local practice. One must clearly understand and be responsible for one's own obligation. Serious unfavorable consequences arising from disobedience, irresponsibility, and resulting in the undermining of the strategically planned objective must be conclusively investigated. All village committees and township units must work and support each other by coordinating all initiatives.

### **The Propaganda Slogans of the Special Struggle of "Eradicating Illegal Activities" in Donglai Township**

- 1) All religious activities must only be conducted within the scope of the national constitution, laws, regulations and policies!
- 2) Actively expand the special struggle of eradicating illegal religious activities in accordance with the laws!
- 3) Firmly attack and eradicate the unlawful and criminal activities committed through religion!
- 4) Firmly attack and eradicate illegal missionary activities and unlawful assemblies!
- 5) Do not offer sites, supplies for illegal religious activities! Offenders will be punished severely!

- 6) Out of town religious visitors are not to be allowed! Offenders will be punished severely!
- 7) Protect the lawful, stop the unlawful, and attack the illegal offenders!
- 8) Gatherings are not permitted on Yujiashan, Shitangshan and Zen's House. Offenders will be punished severely!
- 9) Conducting religious activities are not allowed at the sites forbidden by the government. Offenders will be punished severely!
- 10) Firmly eradicate all illegal religious activity sites!

### **Donglai Township Spiritual Enhancement Propaganda Team Membership List**

Shanbei Village Committee:

Group Leader - Li Xian Chang

Group Assistant Leader - Xiao Jing Xing

Members - Chen Zhengsun, Zhou Xiaogiu, Li Yonggen

Leifang Village Committee:

Group Leader - Xong Xiaoqiu

Group Assistant Leader - Chen Guimin

Members - Le Guixiu, Zheng Xiaoping, Sun Guangrong

Donglai Village Committee:

Group Leader - Huang Lusun

Group Assistant Leader - Chen Zeming

Members - Luo Chunfa, Deng Dongyu, Zeng Yonggao

Tangren Village Committee:

Group Leader - Huang Rongshun

Members - XXX Shuiming

Chenjia Village Committee:

Group Leader - Lu Yaoming

Members - Yuan Youxing

Caochang Village Committee:

Group Leader - Zhou Kaiwu

Members - Dai Xinsheng

### **The Planning of "Eradicating the Illegal Activities" in Donglai Township**

#### **I. Propaganda & Initiative Stage (11/20/96 -11/25/96)**

I.1) The committee of the communist party and the government of the township summons a council meeting to strategize the "Eradicating the Illegal Activities" initiative and to set up definitive procedures.

I.2) The government of the township convenes a meeting of all the township Party cadres.

I.3) The village committee convene meetings of the Party Branch Committee, Party members and all the villagers.

I.4) The village committees set up special subgroups.

I.5) The units and committees of all villages produce banner - sized slogans (2 to 3 slogans per village unit).

## **II. Investigation Stage (11/26/96 - 11/30/96)**

II.1) Research and count the exact population of religion believers.

II.2) Locate the key village committees (30 or more Catholic families in the village) and the key families ( 2 or more Catholics in the family).

II.3) Clearly ascertain the locales of religious activities, i.e. the religious gathering sites.

II.4) Fully investigate the background and illegal activities of the underground Catholic clergy population as well as key and active Catholics.

## **III. Education and Transformation Stage (12/1/96 - 12/15/96)**

III.1) Prepare the propaganda literature and "the three courses", i.e. the policy on religion, laws and regulations, and build-up of spiritual civilization.

III.2) Establish the learning classes for Catholics.

III.3) Convene mass meetings. Educate them in accordance with their (required) standards.

III.4) Establish township regulations and civil disciplines.

III.5) Account for the responsibility between the village subgroups and the village committee.

III.6) Complete and sign an accountability system for mutual support between village committee and village subgroups.

III.7) Strengthen the establishment of grassroots Party branch committee and the government.

## **IV. Legal Control Stage (12/16/96 - 12/31/96)**

IV.1) Blockade the exits. **Guarantee that no one leaves the village and township on December 25.**

IV.2) Forbid out-of-town Catholics from entering the township.

IV.3) Tighten the surveillance and control of the area.

IV.4) Clamp down and seal the sites of illegal religious activities.

IV.5) Strictly forbid unlawful gatherings and activities in schools.

#### **V. Conclusion and Consolidation Stage (1/1/97 - 6/30/97)**

V.1) Consolidate the achievement of "Stopping Illegal Activities", undertake and implement the special struggle of lawfully eradicating illegal religious activities as **a long-term political project**.

V.2) Strengthen the regime's infrastructure. Establish a permanent religious surveillance group.

V.3) Meticulously execute the phases of consolidations and re-examinations.

#### **Glossary**

**THIS PAGE CANNOT BE MAILED WITH CHINESE CHARACTERS.  
IT WILL BE FAXED TO YOU UPON REQUEST.**

Caochang  
Chen Guimin  
Chen Zhengsun  
Chenjia  
Chen Zemin  
Chongren Xian  
Dai Xinsheng  
Deng Dongyu  
Donglai  
Fuzhou  
Huang Lusun  
Huang Rongshun  
Huang Xinmin  
Jiangxi  
Leifang  
Le Guixiu  
Li Xianchang  
Li Yonggen  
Lu Yaoming  
Luo Chunfa  
Shanbei  
Shitangshan  
Sun Guangrong  
Tangren

XXX Shuiming  
Xiao Jingxing  
Xong Xiaoqiu  
Yang Shusen  
Yuan Youxing  
Yujiashan  
Zen  
Zeng Yonggao  
Zheng Xiaoping  
Zhou Kaiwu  
Zhou Xiaoqiu



# THE CARDINAL KUNG FOUNDATION



*Very recently a series of policy changes have occurred within the China mainland. On August 17, 1999, within high-level Chinese Communist cadres, a sixteen-page document was circulated with special reference to the work of the Roman Catholic Church in the mainland, whose contents (in excerpts) are printed below:*



## **A Document from the Inner Center of the Chinese Communist Government**

### **A Proposal to Reinforce the Work on the Roman Catholic Church Under the New Currents of Change**

**(Secretariat of the Central Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party)**



#### **(I) To emphasize the importance, urgent nature, and complexity of the work at hand:**

Mention has been made of the principles governing the resumption of diplomatic ties between China and the Vatican: the Vatican should not interfere with the inner government of our country, including the fact that they should not interfere in our internal affairs under the pretext of religious interests. (The Vatican will take advantage of the normalization of relations between China and the Vatican to deny us the rights of independence, sovereignty, and autonomy within the Church, and will seek to regain power over the Roman Catholic Church in China.)

Our immediate and most important task at hand is: To consolidate the Patriotic Church; to exert total control over education so as to obviate the influence of the Roman Catholic underground movement; to preserve the peace and security of society; to confirm and strengthen the sovereign powers of our country's Roman Catholic church; and to ensure that the Patriotic Church is in firm grasp and control of the situation.

#### **(II) To boost and confirm the structure of the Patriotic Church:**

Regardless of the future development of Sino-Vatican relations, our firm and unshakable resolve is to maintain independence and self-autonomy at all costs.

**A. To confirm the construction of a Catholic patriotic association which will lead the Roman Catholic church, govern it in a spirit of democracy, under different levels and with different points of emphasis:**

The final goal of all our work is to rely on a minority of church leaders and faithful, and through their total dependence on the Patriotic Church and related organizations, to ensure that a wholesome and democratic concentration of power is made, so as to counteract and thwart the Vatican from using her special privileged position to grasp and control our country's church.

To administer the church through democratic means might arouse certain doubts in the minds of some of the clergy or some of the bishops, or even the obstruction and interference of international Roman Catholic extreme conservatives.

Democratic procedure and democratic administration should be combined with the general administration of religious affairs, and there should neither be too much haste in doing so, which might affect the unity and stability of the Roman Catholic church in China, nor should inaction take place because of constraints imposed by traditional and conservative rules and regulations.

### **B. To adapt and adjust the powers of the Patriotic Church with the work functions of the Chinese Bishops' conference.**

The basic work function of the Patriotic Church is to assist the government in carrying out her policy of freedom of religion, and to realize her goal of independence and self-autonomy in religion. The Patriotic Church and the bishops' conference should join together in a combined control of church affairs under the premises of democratic governance, self-sufficient social services, and external activities. Unity is emphasized, and also participation in socialist modernization and reconstruction.

The duties of the bishops' conference is to manage church affairs under the principles of independence and democracy.

"Faith in Action" is the motto for the church, and to represent the Chinese Church's activities to the outside world.

The conference of representatives of the Chinese Roman Catholic Church constitutes the highest forum of power for all the country's Catholics. And it is through elections made by them that the leaders are selected under the principle of "One Association and One Conference" (One Patriotic Association and One Bishops' Conference) and they deliberate over work reports and draw up and revise rules.

The Central United Front and the Bureau for Religious Affairs wish to direct and guide all the regulations governing "One Association and One Conference". And at the present moment, they will draw up strictly the work conditions of the Patriotic Church, as well as rules governing the administration of each diocese. They wish to adapt and reinforce the leading elite of "One Association and One Conference", to pick out and select Catholic intellectuals to reinforce the Chinese Patriotic Church, and to pick out priests for on-the-spot work with the bishops' conference.

The automatic self-governing units of each city and province should also be adapted in accordance with the functioning powers of "two societies" and the organizational system of work. They should register supervisory articles under the heading of each social group. Related rules should gradually be set up in each diocese to ensure that a democratic institutional system takes

place. Cities and counties with a comparatively heavier load of church duties should establish their own Patriotic Church unit, or other comparable democratic organizations. The governing elite should take over and exercise their rights and powers.

**C. To carry out effectively the United Front tactics, they should assist patriotic organizations to solve practical difficulties and problems.**

Effective measures should be taken to resolve different problems, the political status and salaries of responsible functionaries within each Patriotic Church should be dealt with on a national or provincial basis.

To open up and develop veteran members of patriotic organizations, help to choose a group of politically dependable members to fill the positions of the governing elite.

The appointment of bishops and the realignment of diocese boundaries -- All bishops over seventy-five years of age should be aided in their daily work by the appointment of an auxiliary bishop. To prevent work mishaps, a sense of urgency is needed, and strict observation of functions.

Bishops should be elected on a systematic basis, and a class should be arranged for fostering future candidates for bishoprics. Young or middle-aged priests, or classes for teaching core members of the Patriotic Church. Solutions should be found for problems in connection with thought-indoctrination. Their political awareness should be raised and enhanced.

**(III) Education should be fully exploited to guard against the influence of the Underground Church.**

The normalization of relations between China and the Vatican should help to solve the problems raised by the power and influence of the Underground Church. This favorable opportunity could even be used to win over the majority of the underground church members, for it is an important element in the central government's battle strategy. If we do not take advantage of this opportunity, we will find ourselves being used by the Vatican in a passive way, and so we should adopt special tactics, and take a more positive and active part.

**A. Educational movement**

. . . (While) the majority of them, because of strict religious observation, disapprove of the idea of autonomy and independence within the church, only the tiniest minority use religious problems to create riots or disturbances, or to oppose the government.

The government's aim is to convert the majority and isolate the minority, to see that real power within the Roman Catholic church should be vested in the hands of the Patriotic Church.

To differentiate between the bishops and priests of the Underground Church, to distinguish each separate case.

Suitable disposition should be made for those who have come over, in order to guard against future agitations. It is necessary to overcome those who have negative reactions and who fear

continued battle and difficulties. Political standards should be lowered, and mass acceptance simplified. One should guard against the core of the Underground Church emerging from hiding to take over power in the Patriotic Church, and employing open and legal positions to continue their battle with us. Illegal criminal activities should be strictly punished according to law.

## **B. Conversion work to be undertaken under different circumstances.**

The guiding principles of conversion should be “To observe the country’s constitutional law and other laws, obey management by the government, promise not to carry out any further illegal activities, and accept the government of the Patriotic Church.”

Prior to the normalization of relations between China and the Vatican, if underground bishops from the “One Association and One Conference” organization make the necessary arrangements and acknowledge their bishop’s status, then everything should go smoothly. But those who agree to accept government instructions, but who refuse to obey the Patriotic Church should be the focal center of our conversion tactics.

Underground priests who meet the requirements of conversion should be dealt with on a provincial basis. Those underground bishops who do not meet these conditions should be educated for conversion, but at the same time strict measures should be taken to prevent them from consecrating underground priests.

After the normalization of relations between China and the Vatican, measures should be taken to deal with those bishops and priests of the Underground Church who have not been converted. From the motto of “One Association and One Conference”, a public proclamation should be made requesting them to sign and register within a specified period of time under the principle of “One Person, One Case”, and their cases will be examined, and each person will be dealt with separately according to outer circumstances:

1. Each bishop or priest will be required to change his place of residence in order to prevent him or them from building on the influence which they have already gained in the past in that district.
2. For the aged and weak priests who are unable to carry out their pastoral duties, they should be dealt with by their residential and local leaders for retirement in an old folks’ home.
3. To those who have carried on long-term opposition to the government, and who have refused to cooperate, regardless of whether the Vatican acknowledges his bishop’s status, we, on our side, refuse to recognize them. Those underground priests who have not converted will be treated to collective re-education. They will be taught at seminaries allocated by the “One Association, One Conference” people, and which should not be for less than one year. For those who have met the official requirements, then their status as a priest will be recognized, and they will be allocated to their appointed church, to carry out their priestly duties. For those who do not meet the official requirements, then their priestly status will not be recognized, nor will they be allowed to carry out any ecclesiastical duty or function.
4. Within the time limit, those underground bishops who refuse to register with the provincial “One Association, One Conference” people, and those underground priests

who refuse to undergo re-education at government-stipulated seminaries will be denied the right to participate in any activity as a priest.

5. Those underground bishops and priests who have been denied by the government their spiritual status will be forcibly re-educated under the system of separate work for separate individuals, with individual responsibility for the person you are assigned to. Those responsible for inciting a riot or for any illegal action will be dealt with severely by the police authorities. Those churches or locations under the control of the Underground Church will be reorganized, and those which comply with our conditions will be registered legally and assigned to regular supervision. As for illegal housing which meets the needs of the congregation, renewed transactions will be made, and all other such housing will be settled through routine procedures. All seminaries and convents which are funded by the Underground Church will be publicly dismantled. All members of the novitiate, whether men or women, who behave well will be allowed to continue their studies at regular seminaries; those who do not behave well will be sent back to their home province.

**(IV) We adopt strong measures in order to protect the safety and security of society.**

Great emphasis is placed on public safety and security during the period of the normalization of relations between China and the Vatican. Early preventive measures have been taken against all factors which contribute to social unrest. After the normalization of relations between China and the Vatican, every care must be taken to guard against the interference and control of the Roman See when based on their legal status and position. In regions where the Underground Church is most powerful, we must take every care to guide, direct, and re-educate the faithful. We must try and prevent religious fever. On the contrary, religious fever should control and prevent the Underground Church from taking advantage of the opportunity to organize large-scale meetings, demonstrations and parades. Matters have been settled since the Chinese Communist government came into being, and in recent years the composite legal settlements of individual cases in accordance with the law should not be overturned. During the period of normalization of relations, we should prevent the zeal for building churches to come uppermost. Those churches built illegally under the auspices of the Underground Church and already destroyed will not be allowed to be reconstructed.

**(V) We should increase the guidance and direction by party and government over Roman Catholic church work.**

**A. Superiors and heads of departments should penetrate to the very foundations, to the man in the street; they should carry out their ecclesiastical duties with great circumspection, and should carry out their functions on behalf of the faithful on a face-to-face basis:**

1. Increase and enhance the establishment of party units at the basic level of farm and village.
2. Proclaim party policy and legal enactments with regard to religion.
3. In accordance with the State Council's legislation on the control of locations for religious activities, and where problems most arise, control should be imposed on trouble spots, more especially those under the supervision of the underground Roman Catholic Church.
4. To set up democratic organizations under the control of village units.

5. Help the Church to establish wholesome democratic supervisory organizations and their legal enactments. To select carefully those in charge of overseeing churches. From a long-range perspective, the disposition of Roman Catholic problems will gradually go under legal channels, and will be legally supervised by the Bureau for Religious Affairs of the government. All diocese will be registered by the provincial headquarters. All Catholic organizations and Catholic churches will be registered locally and also governed locally. Central and national bureaus with their related departments wish to establish a directive center for the Roman Catholic Combined Work Conference system, and so to enhance work arrangements.

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*The above words are a summary of a document issued on August 16, 1999. This document represents the guiding policy of the Chinese Communist government towards future Catholic work during the immediate period prior to and following the normalization of relations between China and the Vatican. Her policy has not changed, for she does not intend to give up independence and sovereignty in Church matters. From this, we can deduce that if China and the Vatican establish diplomatic relations, it would be impossible for the Chinese Communists to make any concessions. Even with continued discussions, the Holy See would still not be in a position to solve factual problems. If Communist China should resume diplomatic relations with the Holy See, then tragedy would befall the Church in China, and it would leave a terrible impression on fellow Catholics in Taiwan, and even the power and authority of the Pope would be cast in jeopardy.*

*What is more horrible is the strict policy adopted towards members of the Underground Church. Regarding the loyal Church, the real Roman Catholic Church in China, the Chinese Communists refuse to recognize it as legal, and it continues to suffer persecution in silence. For over half a century, so many bishops, priests, and laymen and laywomen have chosen the bloody path of martyrdom in order to remain true to their faith. Nowadays, the Chinese Communists call it the underground force, and very recently quite a few districts have been placed by the Chinese Communists under "conversion tactics", even harder to bear than open persecution.*

*It is our hope that the Holy See, as well as other western specialists on the Church in China, can scrutinize it carefully, and publicize it amongst all the other church authorities, so that the Underground Church in China will be spared any further calamity, and so that the Church can flourish as the one, the most holy, and the most Catholic Church, transmitted by the earliest apostles, and under the leadership of the Roman pontiff. I happened to come upon this document by accident, but it is most important, and should be treated with the utmost care, and corresponding measures to deal with it should be transmitted into the hands of our loyal Church. May God's Church in China continue to flourish! Let us pray to God for His protection of the Chinese Church, and for His loving guidance of China's pastors and all the faithful!*