



ANNUAL REPORT

2025

中美對話

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“ There is not a single explanation for the wide range of exit ban cases. It’s a growing problem. ”

DUI HUA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR JOHN KAMM
FINANCIAL TIMES
JULY 29, 2025

A Message from Our Executive Director

When I began intervening on behalf of political prisoners in 1990, my efforts were met with ridicule and disbelief. The Chinese government, I was told, would never consider releasing a prisoner at the request of a foreigner.

By the time Dui Hua was established in 1999, the sneers had stopped. Disbelievers became believers.

In 2025, Dui Hua recorded achievements and encountered challenges brought about by fraying US-China relations, the lack of dialogue between the two nations on human rights, and the worsening human rights environments in both countries.

Despite these difficulties, we continued to advocate for at-risk detainees, submitting 17 lists and raising 89 names to the Chinese government.

We also launched our Legacy Archive project, bringing together in one place our irreplaceable collection of materials from more than 25 years of Dui Hua's work. As public access to Chinese judicial records narrows, this collection has become an increasingly rare record of China's criminal justice system.

The Legacy Archive project will continue well into 2026. We intend to identify the best possible institutional home for this unique collection.



We hope that scholars, activists, and officials of like-minded governments will use the archive to advance the cause of human rights.

We will continue to provide consultation on individual cases and submit lists of at-risk detainees to the Chinese government. Dui Hua will focus on the cases we are already working on, and we will continue to release publications that tell the story of our work promoting human rights in China.

And, as always, we will strive to maintain good working relationships with the Chinese government.

We are forever grateful for your support. Thank you.

John Kamm
Executive Director
Dui Hua Foundation

Our Mission - Dui Hua 对话 Means Dialogue

We are a nonprofit humanitarian organization seeking clemency and better treatment for at-risk detainees through the promotion of universally recognized human rights, in well-informed, mutually respectful dialogue with China.

Our work rests on the premise that positive change is realized through constructive relationships and exchange.

We focus on:

- Political and Religious Prisoners
- Juvenile Justice
- Women in Prison
- Issues in Criminal Justice

Dui Hua is the only human rights group that conducts direct dialogue on human rights in China with the Chinese government, the US government, and like-minded governments worldwide.

Our People

Dui Hua is supported by a dedicated Board of Directors, staff, volunteers, and community partners who work together to advance our mission. The Board provides governance and strategic oversight, while staff, independent contractors, and volunteers support the organization's programs and day-to-day operations.

Our Approach



ADVOCACY through respectful, well-informed dialogue with China, both directly and via the UN and government bodies.



COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT to apprise the global community of research findings and practical experience.



RESEARCH through internet and library resources to uncover relevant cases, regulations, and trends.



PUBLICATIONS on prisoner cases and analysis of developments in criminal justice and human rights.

Prisoner Advocacy

In April 1999, a small group of business leaders formed The Dui Hua Foundation. It began as a way to continue John Kamm's Prisoner Information Project, which Kamm launched after the 1989 Tiananmen protests to encourage clemency for protestors. When Kamm testified to Congress in support of Most Favored Nation trade status for China, he pledged to leverage any political capital he gained to advocate for political and religious prisoners in China.

Guided by the belief that it is a humanitarian act to monitor a foreign government's population of political and religious prisoners and to let that government know that you are doing so, Dui Hua has made requests for information about at-risk detainees in China that have prompted clemency and better treatment for many detainees.

To conduct this unique form of human rights diplomacy, Dui Hua must have an accurate account of people believed to be imprisoned for the non-violent expression of their political and religious beliefs. This is done through open-source research, the results of which Dui Hua enters into the Political Prisoner Database (PPDB).

Using the PPDB, Dui Hua compiles lists of at-risk detainees and submits them to the Chinese government.

Whenever Dui Hua submits a list, it is inquiring after a prisoner and engaging in the cultural equivalent of seeking clemency on the prisoner's behalf.

Political Prisoner Database (PPDB): One of the largest databases of Chinese political and religious prisoners. It holds information on people imprisoned for exercising universally recognized rights of free speech and association, gathered from open-source materials.

Names in the database: Political and religious prisoners incarcerated in China since 1980, foreign nationals including US citizens undergoing coercive measures, ethnic minorities, and petitioners.

Data used to: Analyze trends in clampdowns on dissent, document the treatment of prisoners in the criminal justice system, inform dialogue with government officials inside and outside China, consult with human rights advocates, and prepare prisoner lists for raising names and advocating for clemency.

Prisoner Information

Dui Hua's PPDB is one of the world's largest databases of Chinese political and religious prisoners, and Dui Hua remains the only non-governmental organization able to submit prisoner lists to the Chinese government and to receive written responses.

Despite declining judicial transparency, Dui Hua's research continues to uncover new cases from legal and government sources,

along with sentencing- and clemency-related information not known to the public.

At the end of 2025, the PPDB had more than 50,000 prisoner profiles, compared to 49,000 in 2024. Nearly 47% of those added were women. The PPDB's Active Registry, which tracks detainees currently undergoing coercive measures, contained records on 6,417 individuals.

Our 2025 Numbers



Names added to the PPDB



Sentence reductions learned for names on our lists



Names added are women



Names raised with the Chinese government



Lists submitted to the Chinese government



Prisoners about whom responses were received



The Death Penalty

China remains the world's top executioner, but transparency around its use of the death penalty continues to decline. Dui Hua's **Death Penalty Log (DPL)** tracks China's use of the death penalty, providing some of the most reliable figures on China's death sentences and executions available.

Dui Hua added 143 new entries to the DPL. We learned of 24 death sentence judgments and 120 executions, 41 of which were carried out during 2025.

While China remains the world's most prolific executioner, the United States, in 2025, took steps to expand rather than restrict capital punishment.

In January, President Trump issued an executive order titled "Restoring the Death Penalty and Protecting Public Safety" calling for the use of capital punishment for federal crimes.

In response to this shift, Dui Hua raised concerns through its US submission to the UN's Universal Periodic Review process, submitting recommendations that the US: rescind the executive order reinstating federal capital punishment; rescind the Department of Justice order resuming federal executions and reinstate the prior moratorium; and retract two Department of Justice memoranda issued February 5, 2025 — one encouraging the death penalty in drug-related federal cases, and the other encouraging federal prosecutors to seek the death penalty more broadly in federal cases.

Consultations for At-Risk Detainees

2025 Consultation Numbers

118 consultations with detainees,
their families, or supporters

**An increasing focus of our interventions is
on foreign nationals, US citizens, and
permanent residents**

Dui Hua conducts consultations with at-risk individuals facing coercive measures such as detention, imprisonment, residential surveillance at a designated location, and exit bans. These consultations may involve the detainees themselves or their families and supporters. From assisting families with legal inquiries to working with the United Nations (UN) Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, consultations are an important part of Dui Hua's advocacy.

In 2025, the foundation provided 118 consultations to human rights defenders and their supporters. It also provided seven consultations to governments regarding their citizens sentenced to death in China. For the past few years, an increasing focus of Dui Hua's interventions has been on foreign nationals, US citizens, and permanent residents subjected to coercive measures.

International Advocacy

Special Consultative Status



The United States Withdrew from its Fourth Universal Periodic Review in 2025.
Image source: UN Media

Dui Hua is one of the few overseas NGOs focused on human rights in China that have **Special Consultative Status** with the United Nations Economic and Social Council. We were granted this status in 2005 and have used it effectively. We have made submissions to all of China's Universal Periodic Reviews (UPR), and when appropriate, used our status to comment on the human rights record of the United States.

In 2025, our submission to the United States' fourth UPR focused on the US President's executive order in January to reinstate capital punishment for federal crimes. Dui Hua cited this area and others as a serious concern and recommended the President rescind his order.

The UPR was scheduled for November, but the US withdrew from the process in August.

Outreach and Publications

Outreach

Dui Hua's Executive Director John Kamm and business leader and author Ken Wilcox spoke to members of the University Club in San Francisco on June 5, 2025. The event was titled "US-China Relations on the Precipice."

Special guest and former prisoner Pastor David Lin, joined the event to talk about his experience in China's carceral facilities. Lin was released in 2024 after years of Dui Hua advocacy.



Former China prisoner Pastor David Lin (foreground) speaks at the University Club of San Francisco, June 5, 2025.

Publications and Media

Dui Hua released 32 publications in 2025.



John Kamm pictured with Xu Wenli in Dui Hua's office. See John Kamm Remembers article "Home for Christmas" on Dui Hua's website.

These included 12 *Prisoner Updates*, nine *John Kamm Remembers* articles that illustrate Dui Hua's approach to advocating for at-risk detainees, and quarterly reports summarizing key cases.

Our website duihua.org attracted 23,956 visitors and 43,472 pageviews.

Our work received substantial media attention. Dui Hua was cited by *The New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, *The Washington Post*, and *Politico*, among others.

The Dui Hua Legacy Archive

Background

In 2025, Dui Hua began building a Legacy Archive to bring together over 25 years of work into one place. The goal is to preserve a record that has become hard to replace: our collections document not only China's criminal justice system during a period of steadily declining government transparency, but also the methodology behind our work — how research was conducted, sources evaluated, and information corroborated under conditions of limited access. Going forward, we will look for a partner to maintain this important archive and to support long-term scholarly access.

Significance

What began as routine documentation — case files, court judgments, government statistics, internal research notes — has become something far rarer: a record that can no longer be recreated.

As Chinese authorities have restricted or removed much of this material from public access, and as the conditions for this kind of engagement have narrowed, the archive now stands as one of the last remaining windows into how the country's justice system functioned.

Why this archive matters:

- One-of-a-kind data. The Political Prisoner Database and Death Penalty Log document more than 57,000 cases — data that cannot be reconstructed today given growing restrictions on Chinese judicial records.
- Information no longer public. The archive includes government publications, court judgments, and statistical data since restricted or removed from public access in China.
- How the research was done. The archive preserves Dui Hua's methodology — how sources were evaluated, information corroborated, and confidence assessed under conditions of limited access.
- A history of the approach. The materials reflect the evolution of Dui Hua's advocacy model, including its use of respectful engagement with Chinese authorities.

Statement of Activities (Year ended December 31, 2025)

The following statement is summarized from the financial statements audited by Lindquist, von Husen & Joyce LLP, San Francisco, California. All amounts are in US dollars.

	Without Donor Restrictions	With Donor Restrictions	Total
Support & revenue:			
Government grants	263,144	-	263,144
Individuals & corporate contributions	261,774	-	261,774
Other income	20,691	-	20,691
	545,609		545,609
Expenses:			
Program services	575,179	-	575,179
Supporting services			
Management	95,490	-	95,490
Fundraising	47,606	-	47,606
	718,275	-	718,275
Change in net assets	(172,666)	-	(172,666)
Net assets, start of year	725,240	-	725,240
Net assets, end of year	\$552,574	-	\$552,574

Dui Hua's accumulated reserves provide financial capacity to absorb the current operating deficit. However, the foundation continues to rely on external funding, including grants and contributions, to sustain its operations.

Our Generous Contributors

With our deepest gratitude...

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Thank You

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