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# Investigative Report on Zhou Yongkang's Involvement in the Persecution of Falun Gong (Part I)

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## Foreword

Zhou Yongkang was born in Wuxi City, Jiangsu Province in December 1942. He has held various CCP positions including Director of Liaohe Oil Exploration Bureau, Deputy Communist Party Chief of Panjin City Liaoning Province, Communist Party Chief of Sichuan Province, Public Security Minister, Deputy Director of the Central Committee for Comprehensive Social Management (CCCSM), Deputy Director of the Political and Legislative Affairs Committee (PLAC).

As the Communist Party Chief of Sichuan Province between December 1999 and December 2002, Zhou Yongkang did his utmost to intensify the persecution against Falun Gong and directly participated in the persecution. On numerous important public occasions, Zhou Yongkang personally slandered and attacked Falun Gong. He awarded groups and individuals in the Public Security system who actively participated in the persecution of Falun Gong. In many areas, Zhou implemented and participated in different forms of persecutions.

In December 2002, with no background in the area of public security, Zhou was appointed Minister of Public Security, Deputy Director of the CCCSM and PLAC. The "610 Office" (which, later on, often goes by the name of "the Office for Protecting against and Dealing with Evil Cults") is an organization created specifically to implement and oversee the persecution of Falun Gong in China. Due to the fact that the "610 Office" receives its orders from PLAC [1] and CCCSM [2], Zhou Yongkang had enormous control over the nation's legal system.

In December 2002, as soon as Zhou became the Minister of Public Security, he spoke of "strengthening the crackdown on Falun Gong" at a meeting of bureau-and-up-level cadres in the Public Security Bureau, and at a nationwide video-telephone conference attended by all public security departments. He also emphasized many times during inspection trips across the country, that Falun Gong practitioners should be closely monitored and strictly handled.

As Minister of Public Security, Zhou also awarded the individuals and departments who had actively participated in the persecution of Falun Gong. Besides, he has used China's public security system and justice system to persecute Falun Gong in the name of implementing Jiang Zemin's "Three Represents," comprehensive management of social security, striking out domestic and foreign hostile forces, anti-terrorism and/or protecting social stability.

Zhou Yongkang's efforts caused the persecution to escalate continuously.

## 1. Zhou Yongkang's involvement in the persecution as the Communist Party Chief of Sichuan Province (1999 to Dec. 2002)

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### 1.1 Instructing the entire province to increase the intensity of the persecution

Between 1999 and December 2002 when Zhou Yongkang was the Communist Party Chief of Sichuan Province, he pushed the entire province to increase the intensity of the transformation of Falun Gong practitioners.

In January 2001, the “Tiananmen self-immolation” incident (an act staged by the Chinese regime to frame and instigate hatred toward Falun Gong) was played on television. The next day mainland Chinese media reported that Zhou Yongkang wrote a letter to the leaders of the Communist Party Committee of Sichuan Province about Falun Gong. In the letter, Zhou emphasized that it was correct for the Central Government to ban Falun Gong. Zhou instructed all levels of Party and governmental organizations to improve the initiatives in “dealing with the Falun Gong issue,” to actively participate in the transformation of Falun Gong practitioners, and to punish the “key members” of Falun Gong [3].

Zhou spoke about intensifying the “fight against Falun Gong” at the Sichuan Province Conference on Religions [4].

On May 10, 2002, as the representative for the 7th Communist Party Committee of Sichuan Province, Zhou gave a work report at the opening ceremony of the 8th Chinese Communist Party’s Representatives’ Conference of Sichuan Province. In his report, Zhou claimed that since the 7th Provincial Chinese Communist Party’s Representatives’ Conference, Sichuan Province had made progress in the crackdown and in the comprehensive management of social security, and that the Province had fought Falun Gong firmly and would keep on fighting against Falun Gong in the future [5].

### 1.2 Direct planning and implementation the persecution activities

According to reports from Falun Gong practitioners in China, Zhou instructed the Director of PLAC of Chengdu City, Wang Tiqian to make Jinjiang District of Chengdu City an experimental site for the persecution. The experience of Jinjiang District would then be implemented throughout the province [6].

Wang Tiqian instructed the Director of PLAC of Jinjiang District, Hao Xiaofeng to create an official document (of persecution) to be implemented in the Pangang Group Chengdu Iron & Steel Co., Ltd.. The document was done with the assistance of officials from Chengdu Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., head of Niushikou Police Station, and head of Niushikou Street Administrative Office.

As a result, over 400 Falun Gong practitioners at Chengdu Iron & Steel Co., Ltd. were persecuted. Some had their homes ransacked; some were detained and sent to labor camps; some were subject to involuntary invasive body searches. In addition, secret files about these Falun Gong practitioners were generated.

Although the experiment failed due to the truth clarification efforts of Falun Gong practitioners, over ten practitioners were sent to labor camps. Many lost their income for refusing to sign statements against Falun Gong. On the other hand, Wang Tiqian, Hao Xiaofeng and some management staff of Chengdu Iron & Steel Co., Ltd. were promoted for their participation in the persecution.

According to minghui.org, Zhou Yongkang also punished Huang Min, the Party chief at Chengdu Rural Enterprise Bureau, for appealing for Falun Gong. In July 2000 Huang Min went to Beijing to appeal for Falun Gong. For this Huang was sentenced to a year and a half in a labor camp, just before Zhou Yongkang left for Beijing to assume the new role of Minister of Public Security [7].

According to minghui.org, prisons and labor camps in Sichuan were filled with Falun Gong practitioners during the period when Zhou Yongkang was the Party Chief of Sichuan Province.

For instance, since late 1999, Nanmusi Labor Camp alone held several thousand Falun Gong practitioners. Guards at Nanmusi Labor Camp publicly threatened to use all kinds of torture methods to “transform” Falun Gong practitioners. Many practitioners died or mentally collapsed due to the torture. Guards also claimed, “to crack down on Falun Gong, higher-ups allocate 500 RMB for each Falun Gong practitioner arrested, and if local police want to send Falun Gong practitioners here, they need to give us money. We get 600 RMB for each practitioner transformed [8].”

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Between 1999 and December 2002, 43 Falun Gong practitioners were verified to have died in police custody in Sichuan Province making Sichuan one of the provinces with the highest number of deaths of Falun Gong practitioners in police custody (see Appendix).

Similar to Luo Gan and Wu Guanzheng, who were promoted for their loyalty to Jiang Zemin in persecuting Falun Gong, Zhou Yongkang was promoted to be the Minister of Public Security in December 2002.

## 2. Zhou Yongkang's involvement in the persecution as the Minister of Public Security (Dec. 2002 to July 2004)

### 2.1 Intensifying the persecution through speeches and inspection trips around the country

As soon as Zhou was appointed the Minister of Public Security, he immediately focused on the crackdown on Falun Gong. Zhou put the crackdown on Falun Gong as the major task for public security departments for the coming year at a meeting of high-ranking public security officials, and at a TV-and-telephone conference attended by all the public security departments of the nation [9] [10].

In May 2003, Zhou targeted Falun Gong in the name of “preventing SARS while maintaining stability.” He said that close attention should be paid to domestic and foreign hostile forces, forces of violence and terrorists, national splitting forces, extreme religious forces, and Falun Gong activities. He urged officials to seriously prevent, and severely crackdown on the “trouble-making and damaging activities” of Falun Gong [11].

According to minghui.org on May 28th, 2003, the 610 Office of Panjing City, Liaoning Province had another plaque on its door: “Office for Preventing Atypical Pheumonia” during the time when SARS was prevalent. The 610 Office placed staff in residential areas and major roadways to check where people were from. On the surface they did this for preventing SARS. Actually they not only measured passersby's body temperature but also check their IDs. Obviously their true purpose was to search for Falun Gong practitioners. On the afternoon of May 25, 2003, police forcefully detained more than 20 Falun Gong practitioners with the excuse of “preventing SARS” [12].

According to minghui.org, in May 2003, following Yongkang Zhou's visit of Liaohe Oil Field in Panjing City of Liaoning Province, where he once worked, the 610 Office of the Oil Field, Communist Party Committee of the Oil Exploration Bureau, and the Oil Field's branch companies' Communist Party Committee immediately held a meeting to discuss the crackdown on Falun Gong. The same month an official dictate was issued. According to this dictate, if any employee practicing Falun Gong refuses to be “transformed,” he/she would be removed from duty and put on probation; and if a jailed Falun Gong practitioner employee cannot be “transformed” after his term has been served, he would be fired.

As soon as the SARS alert was lifted in June, the 610 Office of the Oil Field, the Communist Party Committee of the Oil Exploration Bureau, the Oil Field's branch companies' Communist Party Committee, and Public Security Bureau of Liaohe Oil Field started to abduct employees who practice Falun Gong to the Fushun Legal System School – a brainwashing center for “transforming” Falun Gong practitioners. (To the outside world, the school's name is “Liaoning Love and Care Center.”) Each session lasted a month. Several dozens of Falun Gong practitioners were sent to this brainwashing center, where the Falun Gong practitioners were subject to torture such as beating and sleep deprivation, and were forced to listen to and watch anti-Falun Gong propaganda all day and all night [13].

Zhou advocated “severe crackdown” on Falun Gong when he inspected Tianjin City, Hubei Province and the Beijing People's Police Institute. He required his subordinates “to be on high alert and seriously crackdown on domestic and foreign hostile forces, nationality-splitting forces, religious extreme forces, violent and terrorist forces, and Falun Gong's activities. [14] [15] [16]”

### 2.2 Fabricating false news to defame Falun Gong

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On June 26, 2003, a series of cases of beggars poisoned to death happened in the town of Longgang, Cangnan County, Wenzhou City, Zhejiang Province. Soon after, mainland Chinese media reported that Zhou Yongkang and the Communist Party Committee of Zhejiang Province issued dictates about these cases. Xinhua News Agency published an article on July 2, 2003, claiming that these cases were solved on July 1 and that “the suspect was a member of Falun Gong.” A few clues were mentioned in the report, which had nothing to do with Falun Gong. But on July

2, according to the “City Express Newspaper” of Zhejiang Province, the police were undergoing investigations and issued announcements that offered a reward to anyone who could provide information leading to the arrest of the killer. On December 30, 2003, the Middle Court of Wenzhou City, Zhejiang Province sentenced the suspect (Chen Fuzhao) to death. Xinhua News Agency and CCTV (China’s state-controlled Central TV station) were the only media to cover the event. In the reports by state controlled media, fabricated “Falun Gong theories” which obviously violated the teachings of Falun Gong, were included to defame Falun Gong.

The World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong confirmed through Chen’s family members, friends, physicians and local government officials, that Chen Fuzhao had mental problems for years. His father had taken him to seek treatments in hospital just before the killings happened. But the Court covered up this fact and sentenced Chen to death. It is obvious that the purpose of the death penalty was to hide the truth about Chen’s mental state [17].

### 2.3 Rewarding and encouraging participation in the persecution

In December 2002, the Ministry of Public Security awarded the Director of the Political Security Bureau of Dashiqiao City Liaoning Province, Wang Zhaolin the title of “Second Level Hero Model in the National Public Security System.” Wang was the main implementer of the persecution [18]. Zhou Yongkang praised Wang as a loyal follower of Jiang’s “Three Represents.” Zhou called on public security departments and police officers nationwide to learn from Wang and to increase the enthusiasm of practicing Jiang’s “Three Represents” [19].

In February 2003, Zhou Yongkang signed an order to praise four “Special Case Groups” in Gansu Province Public Security system as “First Level Achievement” and to award each group 10,000 RMB. Among these four groups there was the so-called “7·26” Falun Gong Special Case Group [20].

Between August 17 and 19, 2002, several Falun Gong truth-clarifying programs were played in the cable television network in Xining City and Minhe County of Qinghai Province, and in Lanzhou City of Gansu Province. The television broadcast lasted for up to 30 minutes and covered about 80% of the areas. Many people learned the truth about Falun Gong and the persecution.

After this, local officials increased the persecution against Falun Gong practitioners. At least 15 were arrested and tortured. On Dec. 30, 2002, the Middle Court of Xining City Qinghai Province sentenced some of these Falun Gong practitioners to seven to twenty years in prison. The rest were sent to labor camps.

On May 28, 2003, He Wanji, who was involved in the television broadcast, was tortured to death at the Haomen Prison of Qinghai Province. His wife, Zhao Xiangzhong was tortured in a labor camp until she was almost paralysed. She died in January 2003, not long after she was sent home. He Wanji’s father died of sorrow on January 30, 2004. To cover up the crimes done to He Wangji’s family, He Zaigui, Director of Public Security Bureau of Qinghai Province, had one of He Wanji’s sons deployed out of Xining City to the remote area of Haixizhou. Later He Zaigui ordered to have him transferred from the military to civilian work.

The house of He Wanzhu, younger brother of He Wanjin, was ransacked because He Wanzhu exposed the persecution to people in his neighborhood. About 6,000 RMB was taken away. He Wanzhu was then illegally sentenced to three years in Qinghai Labor Camp located in Duoba County [21]. It was reported that during He Wanzhu’s stay at the Labor Camp, poison was once put in his food [22].



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Afterwards, Zhou Yongkang awarded the Public Security Bureau of Qinghai Province for the strict handling of those practitioners who interrupted the television signals. Some individuals and relevant departments of Xining City and Minhe County were cited as “leading forces” [23].

In 2003, Zhou signed a document called “No.4 Order of Citation” of the Ministry of Public Security, citing the Domestic Security branch of Xining City’s Public Security Bureau as the “Leading Work Unit in Fighting against Falun Gong in the National Public Security System”. An Shouwei of Public Security Division of Qinghai Province, Li Bing of the Public Security Division’s Main Team of Action & Technology, and Jia Badan of the Public Security Department of Haixizhou City were cited as the “Leading Individuals in Fighting against Falun Gong in the National Public Security System.” Meanwhile, “based on the orders from Ministry of Public Security,” the above mentioned three individuals were awarded “Second Level Achievement” by the Public Security Division of Qinghai Province.

On June 30, 2003, Zhou signed another document called the “Order of Citation of Excellent Work Units and Individuals in the National Public Security System,” citing Public Security Department of Minhe County, which had arrested Falun Gong practitioners involved in the television signal interruption, as “Excellent Public Security Department of the Nation,” and citing the Police Station on Shengli Road of Chenxi District Public Security Branch, Xining City, (which had been heavily involved persecuting Falun Gong), as “Level One Police Station of the Nation”[24].

On September 30, 2003, the Political Division of the Public Security Ministry cited the Legal Department of Chenbei Public Security Branch of the Xining City’s Public Security Bureau as “Leading Work Unit in the National Public Security’s Legal System”. It also cited Wei Zhanhu, Director of the Legal Department, Public Security Bureau of Minhe County, as “Leading Individual of the National Public Security’s Legal System.”

In addition, between May and November of 2002, all levels of the public security system of Qinghai Province blocked the public from Falun Gong information with the excuse of “specifically eliminating and dealing with harmful information on the Internet and cracking down on illegal and criminal actions on the information network.” For this the Public Information Censor Department of the Public Security Bureau of Qinghai Province received a national commendation.

Zhou also commended and awarded police officers in Jilin Province who had abducted and tortured those who had hijacked television signals to play Falun Gong truth-clarifying programs. On March 5, 2003, “Falun Dafa is practiced all over the world” and “Truth of the Self-immolation” were broadcast on eight channels of the cable television network of Changchun City. About 300,000 subscribers, totalling over a million viewers watched the programs.

5,000 Falun Gong practitioners in Changchun City were abducted. It is known that at least seven died in police custody, including Liu Chenjun [25], Hou Mingkai [26], Li Rong, Shen Jianli, Liu Yi, Liu Haibo [27] and Li Shuqin. Police even shot Liu Chenjun in the leg at the time of the abduction. According to minghui.org, the Domestic Security branch of Changchun City’s Public Security Bureau (also called, “Division One”) had a secret torture chamber in an apartment near Jingyuetan. The torture methods such as “Tiger Bench,” electrifying private parts, clamping fingers, beating while hung, freezing, and suffocating by covering heads with plastic bags had been used to extort confessions from Falun Gong practitioners [28] [29].

Thereafter, Zhou signed and issued orders to praise and award individuals and departments of Jilin Province’s Public Security System [30]. Li Shichang, Chief Officer in Changchun City for Case 305 (used by the public security system as the name of the case of television interruption in Changchun City), and Vice Director of the Domestic Security Protection Branch of Changchun City’s Public Security Bureau (now Director of the same branch), directed and directly participated in the entire action, and should be responsible for the deaths and torture. However, in April 2003 Zhou Yongkang signed an order to award the Domestic Security branch of Changchun City’s Public Security Bureau with “Level One Achievement” with a commendation plaque and a 10,000-RMB-award issued to Li Shichang and his branch. Li also received the citation of “Leading Individual” with a booklet certifying this citation. He was also awarded with “Second Level Achievement” and 1,000 RMB [30].

## 2.4 Blocking Falun Gong truth-clarifying information

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On December 27, 2002, Zhou Yongkang inspected a site for Satellite Interference Signal Detection and Location in the Wireless Management Department of Yibing City, Sichuan Province. He encouraged the staff to fight against Falun Gong [31].

During the time when Zhou Yongkang was the Minister of Public Security, Falun Gong practitioners nationwide were labelled as “disrupting social security,” [32] [33] [34] [35] “anti-communist(s),” and “anti-socialist(s).” [36] [37] [38] [39] [40] They received these labels for exposing the persecution to the public, appealing legally for Falun Gong, and for peacefully protesting on Tiananmen Square (after their legal right to appeal was deprived) by spreading a banner, which says, “Falun Dafa is good” or “Truth-Compassion-Forbearance” or by doing the Falun Gong meditation exercise.

## 2.5 Driving the persecution of Falun Gong in the name of ‘Three Represents’ etc.

Since Zhou became the Party Chief of Sichuan Province, he proposed and promoted the idea of “studying and practicing the ‘Three Represents’ as a long-term strategic task” [41]. This indicated that he follows closely Jiang Zemin’s dictates. During the time when he was Minister of Public Security there have been reports from across China that police officers claimed that they could ignore murder cases and arsons, to only focus on cracking down on Falun Gong [42] [43] [44].

In October 2003, Zhou inspected Shandong Province where he stressed that the Political and Legal Battle Field must be directed by the “Three Represents”, “create a harmonious and stable social environment”, create “peaceful Shandong”, and “maintain high alertness to domestic and foreign hostile forces, and the damaging activities of enemies” [45].

After Zhou left Shandong Province the Public Security Division of Shandong Province proposed at the extensive meeting of the Division’s Communist Party Committee, three major areas of work. The first area included the crackdown on Falun Gong [46]. This indicates that one of Zhou’s main targets in promoting the “Three Represents,” safe-guarding stability, guarding against domestic and foreign hostile forces, and pushing on comprehensive management social security is eliminating Falun Gong.

In addition, Zhou promoted “severe crackdowns” during the nation’s legal festivals and holidays and during the time when the meetings of People’s Representatives was held [47] [48] [49] [50], causing Falun Gong practitioners to be abducted or to go in hiding [51] [52] [53] [54].

In April 2004, Zhou inspected the Supreme Court and Supreme People’s Procurator, and stressed to “guarantee political direction in all work” and that “procurators should seriously practice the ‘Three Represents’” [55]. There have been no investigation into the over 1,000 cases of Falun Gong practitioners’ death in police custody. Instead, it was reported that police threatened a lawyer who had defended a Falun Gong practitioner in court that his license would be revoked, and that he would be sentenced to three years in labor camp [56]. Besides, there have been even more reports about Falun Gong practitioners having been illegally sentenced to long prison terms or gone missing following abductions by police. These indicate that justice departments have been manipulated by the “political direction” stressed by Zhou Yongkang. Since Zhou became Public Security Minister, Deputy Director of CCCSM and PLAC, verified death of Falun Gong practitioners in police custody had increased from 700 to 1007.

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To investigate the criminal conduct of all institutions, organizations, and individuals involved in the persecution of Falun Gong; to bring such investigations, no matter how long it takes, no matter how far and deep we have to search, to full closure; to exercise fundamental principles of humanity; and to restore and uphold justice in society.

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