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Investigative Report on Zhou Yongkang's Involvement in the Persecution of Falun Gong

July 25, 2012

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Foreword

Zhou Yongkang was born in December 1942. Since 2007 he has been Secretary of the Political and Legislative Affairs Committee (PLAC) and Secretary of the Central Committee for Comprehensive Social Management (CCCSM). He has held various CCP positions including Director of Liaohe Oil Exploration Bureau, Deputy Secretary and Mayor of Panjin City, Liaoning Province (1983—1985), Vice-Minister of Ministry of Petroleum Industry (1985-1988), Deputy Secretary and Deputy General Manager, and then Secretary and General Manager of China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) (1988-1998), Secretary and Minister of Ministry of Land and Resources (1998-1999), Secretary of Sichuan Province Party Committee (1999-2002), Deputy Director of the Political and Legislative Affairs Committee (PLAC), Minister, Secretary and Ministry of Public Security, the first Secretary of Armed Police Force, director of the Committee to Combat Drugs (2002 -2007) [1].

Since becoming Sichuan Party chief in 1999, Zhao Yongkang has been actively involved in the persecution of Falun Gong. After he became Secretary of PLAC and Secretary of the Party Central Committee in 2007, Zhou was in control of the public security and legal system. Under the names of the Olympics and "maintaining stability", Zhou went beyond the legal system and spent a large amount of security budget for persecuting Falun Gong.

In July 2004, WOIPFG published the first investigation report on Zhou's persecution on Falun Gong [2], which listed partial evidence from 2002 to 2004. This report will show partial evidence collected from 2005 to 2012.

1. Commanding persecution through speeches and official documents

Most of the CCP orders on Falun Gong persecution are verbal. Few were in written forms and were classified as top secret. All documents tried to avoid using the word "Falun Gong," instead they used "evil cult" or "overseas hostile force". Zhou Yongkang used speeches at the Political and Legislative Affairs Committee (PLAC) or documents to the giant PLAC system in order to maintain the persecution in the country. The following are Zhou's related speeches or instructions from CCP's official websites.

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In February 2006, Zhou hosted a teleconference for officials of public security, police stations, and armed police force at province and municipality level. Zhou classified the groups related to Taiwan independence, Tibet independence, Uighur independence, "evil cult" and groups in exile as "overseas hostile force". Zhou deployed specific programs to suppress these groups [3].

In February 2007, Zhou gave a speech at the public security center to the directors of public security at province and municipality level, 1.8 million police officers and armed police. He stressed on cracking down "overseas hostile force" in order to "maintain socialist harmonic society" [4].

In April 2007, the Central Committee for Comprehensive Social Management (CCCSM), which was under the control of Zhou, gave 16 guidelines on countryside and township control. The 6th guideline asked all levels of government agencies to crack down all activities of domestic or overseas "hostile force", and especially to continuously struggle with Falun Gong under the direction of the Central "610 office" [5].

On Sept. 5, 2007, Ministry of Public Security held an extended CCP committee meeting on safeguarding the 17th CPC National Congress. Zhou emphasized on the "severe crackdown on Falun Gong" and ordered to strengthen Internet traffic filtering and blockade [6].

On May 26, 2008, the official website of the management committee of Fenglingdu Economic Development Zone in Shanxi Province published the plan on maintaining the safety and stability of the society. Among the tasks it listed, the first one was investigating and monitoring Tibet independence, Taiwan independence, pro-democracy activists and Falun Gong. In the plan it was emphasized the task was directed by CCP committee and carried out by public security, police station, court and procuratorate [7]. It was similar to the 16 guidelines Zhou gave to the countryside in April 2007. The guidelines went down to each level. As a result, public security, police station, court and procuratorate all worked together and intensified the persecution on Falun Gong nationwide during the Beijing Olympics.

2. Using Olympics as an excuse to persecute Falun Gong

With the 2008 Olympics being held in Beijing, Zhou Yongkang used the excuse of "safety for Olympics" and pushed persecution on Falun Gong to another peak nationwide. On July 10, 2008, Beijing Committee for Comprehensive Social Management and Beijing Public Security Bureau published a notice offering a reward up to 500,000 yuan on reporting about Olympics safety. In the notice the only group was listed was Falun Gong [8]. The same notice was also issued in Shanghai [9] and Guangzhou [10].

In April 2008, on a working meeting of the Multifaceted Approach to Public Security, Zhou Yongkang, used the excuse of ensuring the success of Beijing Olympics, brought forward "crack down strictly, rectify in-depth, control by household" [11] and intensified monitoring and abducting Falun Gong practitioners.

On June 1, 2008, when Zhou came to Beijing for an inspection, he said the safeguarding Olympics reached the most important stage of the battle. Anti-terrorism and removal of any factor that might disturb public order and security should be implemented to all combatants and all positions throughout each specific action [12].

On July 4, 2008, at a PLAC and CCCSM meeting, "overseas hostile force", ethnic separatists, and religious extremists were named as the biggest threat to the Olympics safety. On the meeting, the Human Right Torch

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Rally, organized by international human rights organization, was said to be an event of Falun Gong disturbing the Olympics. The Political and Legislative Affairs Committee, led by Zhou Yongkang, carried out strict investigation, patrol, and control in major cities including Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Qingdao, Shenyang, Qinhuangdao, etc. [13].

On July 10, 2008, the website of Construction Bureau in Qitai County, Xinjiang, published a program outlined by the "610 Office" titled "Implementation of a program preventing Falun Gong from disturbing Beijing Olympics." The article requested CCP members, officials and staff to follow the program and "resist the disturbance" [14].

On July 22, 2008, when Zhou came to Beijing for an inspection, he said the safeguarding Olympics reached most important stage of the actual battle. Zhou visited the police station at Nanchizi, Donghuamen Street, Dongcheng District [15]. Zhou chose this location because Nanchizi Street is an important intersection to Tiananmen Square where many Falun Gong practitioners held their peaceful petitions. Starting from July 1999, the police station at Nanchizi became a place for intercepting, arresting, and detaining Falun Gong practitioners. Minghui had a record on true event happened in 2001 when practitioners were stopped and illegally arrested at Nanchizi Street [16].

According to Minghui, from January to July 2008, at least 586 Falun Gong practitioners were arrested in Beijing. By June 30, 8,037 practitioners were illegally arrested nationwide [17]. Around 10pm on Jan. 26, 2008, Mr. Yu Zhou, a musician, and his wife Ms. Xu Na were driving home after a performance. They were stopped by police for an "Olympics safety search" at Yangzhuanglu, Beiyuan, Tongzhou District, Beijing. Police discovered they were Falun Gong practitioners and arrested them right away. 11 days later, Mr. Yu Zhou was tortured to death. He was 42 years old. Ms. Xu Na was sentenced to 3 years and was detained at Beijing Female Prison [18].

3. Large scale persecution on Falun Gong under the excuse of World Expo

The World Expo was held from May 1 to October 31, 2010 in Shanghai. Under the leadership of Zhou Yongkang, the PLAC made another peak on Falun Gong persecution.

Before the World Expo, the "610 office" made up an advocacy outline to slander Falun Gong and incite the masses to "fight with Falun Gong". It was secretly issued to all levels of officials and was required to be passed on internally. Although it was a secret order, some local preach activity records can be seen on websites, and they all quoted the outline from the "610 Office." Here are some cases:

The CCP Committee at Zhoujia Village, Meizhu Township, Langxi County, Xuancheng City, Anhui Province held Comprehensive Management Awareness Month in April 2010. A lecture on "welcoming World Expo, against evil cult" was held following the advocacy outline from the "610 office" [19].

The official website of the CCP Committee in Shanzhuang Township, Anfu County, Ji-an City, Jiangxi Province published an article slandering Falun Gong. Without any evidence it claimed that "from gathered information, overseas Falun Gong plans to sabotage the World Expo." How could a small, remote village be able to gather such information? They must have followed what was said in the advocacy outline.

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Meanwhile, the document from the "610 office" attached with a "strictly confidential law". The words on the website above provided a proof: "advocacy activities are limited internally. The advocacy outline is internal material and should not be published on internet, on media, or be lost" [20].

Qiligou Street Committee in Xuzhou City, Jiangsu Province had an advocacy activity targeted Falun Gong from June 1 to 20, 2010, followed the "Shanghai World Expo advocacy outline" [21].

4. Praising and awarding individuals and groups who actively participant in the persecution of Falun Gong

4.1. Awarding public security

In August 2005, Zhou Yongkang awarded 49 "Nationwide Excellent Public Security Bureau", 456 "Nationwide Excellent Public Security Grass-root Unit", 28 "Public Security Director as Ren Changxia", and 956 "Nationwide Excellent Police Officer". Each awarded individual and group obtained from 5,000 Yuan to 50,000 Yuan in prize. Among them, Haidian Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau and 9th Security Corps of Beijing Public Security Bureau were awarded as "Nationwide Excellent Public Security Bureau". Li Xueming [22], the director of Tainanmen Area Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau was awarded as "Public Security Director as Ren Changxia". Zhou pointed out the purpose of following Ren Changxia was to maintain the leadership of the CCP [23] [24].

Ren Changxia was a former director of Fengdeng City Public Security Bureau in Henan Province. She was killed in a traffic accident in April 2004. According to Minghui, 4 Falun Gong practitioners were arrested in Fengdeng City when distributing Falun Gong truth materials in the city government compound. Ren said: "Falun Gong dared to distribute materials in the government compound! They must be punished." The 4 local Falun Gong practitioners and a practitioner from Zhengzhou City were all sentenced to 5 years and sent to Xinxiang Female Prison [25]. Ren was promoted to the director for her actively persecution of Falun Gong. After her death, Zhou Yongkang named her as a model and many public security directors were named "Public Security Director as Ren Changxia" as awards every year.

Zhou Yongkang especially praised and awarded groups and individuals who actively participant in persecution of Falun Gong. The following are some examples of the persecution by Haidian Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau, which was awarded "Nationwide Excellent Public Security Bureau". Ms. Zhao Xin, a 32 year-old teacher at Beijing University of Industry and Commerce, was arrested while practicing Falun Gong exercises in Zizhuyuan Park in Haidian District, Beijing on June 19, 2000. She was first taken to the park police station and then the detention center of the Haidian Branch. In three days under police custody, she was tortured so badly that her 4th, 5th and 6th vertebrae were broken. She passed away on December 11, 2000 [26].

Mr. Xu Zhiguang, 26, a Ph.D. student in Tsinghua University. He was abducted in April 2002 and had been detained in various locations - Beijing Law Education Center, Tuanhe Forced Labor Camp, and Haidian Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau. He was secretly sentenced for 18 months in May 2003. The trail was taken place in Haidian District, Beijing [27].

In December 15, 2007, a banner appeared on a residential building in Haidian District. The banner said "Heaven will destroy CCP, quit CCP for safety" and it caused big stir locally. On December 16, police

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accused and arrested Mr. Li Jingpeng, a practitioner from Beijing for the banner. After being detained for 16 months, Mr. Li was illegally sentenced for 5 years in February 2009 [28].

In the morning of December 4, 2008, Ms. Zhang Ziwei, a student at Zhongguancun Middle School in Haidian District was reading a Falun Gong leaflet during a recess. A teacher saw it and reported to the school director. In the afternoon, a dozen of policemen from Haidian Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau and Zhongguancun Police Station broke into Miss Zhang's home. Police abducted Ms. Zhang Ziwei and her mother Ms. Cong Dawei, and Mr. Liu Yujian, who was a Falun Gong practitioner and a guest at their home at the time, and ransacked their home, smashing the glass and taking away personal belongings including computers, printers, mp3 players, cell phones and Falun Gong books [29].

Ms. Liang Bo, a teacher at at Wenchuan College, Central University for Minorities. Police from Haidian Branch abducted her in May 2010. She was tortured so badly that the cartilage around her ribs broke and and bled. It caused her losing consciousness multiple times and losing walking ability for a while. At the beginning of 2011, Ms. Liang's body weight dropped to 30kg with a blood pressure 40 to 60, and she was in danger of thrombosis [30].

Tiananmen Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau was formerly known as Qianmen Police Station. It is near Tiananmen Square. Since July 1999, the Falun Gong practitioners who were arrested at Tiananmen Square were first sent to Tiananmen Branch and transferred to other locations later. Here are some cases: On October 19, Ms. Gu Yujun and her husband Mr. Liu Changping, both Falun Gong practitioners from Jinzhou City, Liaoning Province, were abducted on Tiananmen Square. They were sent to the Tiananmen Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau. They were locked in a big iron cage with other practitioners until October 30 when police from Jinzhou took them to a Jinzhou office in Beijing, which was specially designed for persecution of Falun Gong [31].

Mr. Liu Yongsheng, an airplane engineer from Chengdu Airplane Construction, was arrested when he was appealing for Falun Gong in Beijing at the end of June, 2000. Mr. Liu was taken to Tiananmen Branch where 300-400 Falun Gong practitioners were detained at the time. In the afternoon, buses took them to different locations. Mr. Liu was taken to Xicheng District Detention Center where he was brutally tortured. At the New Year 2001, Mr. Liu Yongsheng went to Tiananmen Square again, and again he was abducted by police to Tiananmen Branch before being transferred to Langfang City, Hebei Province [32].

Ms. Huang Hongying, 40, was a practitioner from Yingcheng City, Hubei Province. She was abducted when she was at the Tiananmen Gate in the morning of Dec. 29, 2000. Police took Ms. Huang and other practitioners into two rooms, searched them and beat them. Police used electric baton on Ms. Huang's head and some of her hair even fell off because of the electric shocks. Police took them to Tiananmen Branch. When they refused to give their names and addresses to the police, police took practitioners' coats off and forced them to stand outside in the frozen temperature for an hour until they said their names and addresses [33].

Mr. Zhou Yong was an engineer at the Seamless Tube Plant in Chengdu City. In the summer of 2001, Mr. Zhou went to Tiananmen Square and shouted: "Falun Dafa is good! Zhen Shen Ren are good!" "Clear my teacher's name! Clear Dafa's name!" He was abducted to Tiananmen Branch and severely beaten by police. He lost consciousness and his body became rigid. Police threw him to the side of the road and left him there.

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In the afternoon of September 2001, Mr. Zhou was abducted by police at his home. In the same evening he was beaten to death. His family members saw a hole behind Mr. Zhou's head. He was 34 years old [34].

Between 1999 and 2001, a large amount of Falun Gong practitioners from Shengli Oil Field came to Beijing for petitioning. Petitioners were arrested and detained at Tiananmen Branch first, and then transferred away by the Beijing Office of Shengli Oil Field. The officers in the Beijing Office of Shengli Oil Field wanted less number of petitioners to be reported, so they bribed the officers of Tiananmen Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau. Many Beijing offices from other cities did the same, paying about 5,000 yuan for each number not to be reported. Tiananmen Branch made a large sum of money in this way [35].

4.2. The prisons Zhou Yongkang awarded

Prisons and forced labor camps, controlled by Political and Legislative Affairs Committee, have been the main places detaining Falun Gong practitioners. The practitioners suffered severe tortures both mentally and physically there. Also, a large number of prisons and forced labor camps are slavery labor factories. WOIPFG has published numbers of related reports, such as "Products Practitioners Are Forced to Manufacture in Labor Camps" [36] and "Hygienic Conditions of 'Disposable Chopsticks'" [37]. WOIPFG also collected, organized, and published many cases from more than 100 prisons and forced labor camps from various provinces.

In this report we list a few typical prisons which Zhou Yongkang praised for their persecution of Falun Gong.

4.2.1 Jinzhong Prison in Shanxi Province

Luo Gan, the predecessor of Zhou Yongkang, inspected Jinzhong Prison in July 2001 [38]. In April 2009, Zhou Yongkang inspected Jinzhong Prison and asked the prison to "create new reform methods and strengthen psychological reform" [39].

According to Minghui, Jinzhong Prison has detained a large number of Falun Gong practitioners since the beginning of 2000. There have been many reports on their cruel persecution. The "new reform methods" and "psychological reform" Zhou Yongkang ordered were in fact physical and mental tortures in the prison. Mr. Wang Zhigang was abducted to Jinzhong Prison in July 2008. While being detained there, police instructed some prisoners to beat Mr. Wang so badly that Mr. Wang lost eyesight completely in his right eye, and almost completely in the left eye [40].

Mr. Lu Haixing was arrested on July 25, 2010. He was tried twice without any verdict. In January 2011, Mr. Lu was told he was sentenced for 5 years and was taken to Jinzhong Prison. On January 10, 2012, Mr. Lu was tortured to death in the prison. He was 45 years old [41].

On April 28, 2010, Minghui reported that there were about 30 to 40 Falun Gong practitioners detained at Jinzhong Prison, distributed among 16 prison areas. The prison used all kinds of evil methods to force practitioners to quit Falun Gong [42]. Some ruthless prisoners were arranged to "guard" the practitioners. The common methods they used include: (1) "transform" (force to quit Falun Gong) by violence, monitoring, verbal abuse, force to stand for extended period, beaten, enslaved labor. (2) lock up in confinement room for unlimited time, deprivation from sleep, food, or bathroom, shackling, force to stand or sit in certain position

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for prolong time, slapping, kicking, beating. The longest "force to sit" was 8 months. Some practitioners lost consciousness under torture. Some went on hunger strikes as protest but then suffered "force feeding". At least 4 practitioners were killed, including Mr. Liu Zhibin from Xiguan Village, Lingqiu County. Mr. Liu was beaten to death at Jinzhong Prison in the evening of July 22, 2004 [43].

4.2.2. Xingcheng Prison in Hunan Province

On August 24, 2010, Zhou Yongkang inspected Xingcheng Prison in Changsha City, Hunan Province. Zhou was accompanied by officials from CCP party committees, Political and Legislative Affairs Committee, Department of Justice, and Prisons, and also the then general manager of Xinqiao Company. Xinqiao Company was in fact Xinqiao Technical School. It was funded in 2002, the peak period of persecution on Falun Gong. It can hold 3000 people at the beginning and extended to 8000 people three years later [44].

It is noted that the address of Xinqiao Company is exactly the same as for Hunan Women's Prison: 528 Xiangzhang Road, Yuhua District, Changsha City, Hunan Province [45]. According to Baidu's descriptions, "both Xingcheng Prison and Changkang Prison are at the location of Hunan Women's Prison, but the three are not the same unit. They are all provincial prisons. Xingcheng Prison is also known as Xinqiao Technical School which is for training of the prison prisoners. Changkang Prison is for prisoners who are sick. Hunan Women's Prison are Hunan's prison for women. The three have the same address and are separated after entering the main gates. The Women's Prison has branches including Supervisor Districts, Politics, Investigation, Punishment, Education, Reform through Labor Work, Production Technology, and Health. [46]"

In December 2006, Minghui reported that Changxin Group, Hunan Printing Factory, Garment Factory, and Hunan electrical equipment Factory were all belonged to Hunan Women's Prison and they were all located in one residential courtyard. Two prisons shared one office building. At the west of the building it was Hunan Women's Prison and its technical training school (for slavery labor), and the east was Xingcheng Prison and Xinqiao Technical School (for slavery labor). On the east side, another building was being built, which already had the logo of public security on it [47].

The "Xingcheng Model" Zhou Yongkanf praised and asked justice department to promote was the model of slavery labor.

In the publish figures from Xingcheng Prison, it "trained" 26,089 "students [48]" within 8 years and 30574 within 10 years [49]. Zhu Hangao, the CCP committee secretary and the governor of Xingcheng Prison, admitted that the Xingcheng Model was built without proper laws and regulations [50].

Another Minghui article published in March 2006, "The Crimes Behind Civilized Prison in Hunan Province", exposed the slavery labor in Xingcheng Prison and Hunan Women's Prison which violated the laws. Many teams in the prisons forced prisoners to work more than 10 hours per day. With prolonged labor work and without proper health care, a large number of prisoners developed serious psychological problem. The prisons even produced pirated books, including pirated college textbooks and pornographic books [51].

Websites of many prisons wrote that Zhou Yongkang requested to spread "Xingcheng Model" after his inspection in August 2010.

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4.2.3. Beijing Women's Prison and Fangqiang Forced Labor Camp in Jiangsu Province

On April 9, 2012, Zhou Yongkang held a discussion in Beijing with "outstanding" groups and individuals from the system of prisons and labor camps. Zhou praised Li Ruihua, director of Beijing Women's Prison and Xu Yuhong, leader of Team no. 4 in Fangqiang Forced Labor Camp in Jiangsu Province [52].

Minghui reported in June 2011 that Li Ruihua, claiming "humane management" and "respect prisoners", in fact connived the prison kept hidden and long-lasting persecution on Falun Gong practitioners. Under Li's leadership, the criminals who actively took part in the persecution could do whatever they wanted without being punished [53].

Minghui reported in April 2012 that all male Falun Gong practitioners in Jiangsu Province who were sentenced to forced labor camp were detained in Fangqiang Forced Labor Camp. Many practitioners died as results of intensive forced labor and torture. Instructor Wei Honghui, political instructor Guo Yili and team director Xu Yuhong were the main ones who are responsible for the persecution in the labor camp. Xu was the police who often beat and electric shocked practitioners [54].

5. Directly commanding the abduction of Falun Gong practitioners

Since Zhou Yongkang became the director of the Political and Legislative Affairs Committee, he often visited different places in the country. Wherever he went, the persecution intensified immediately. A typical case was around November 13, 2010 when Zhou visited Chongqing. One thing he did was supporting the "singing red and fighting with black" movement which was started by Bo Xilai, former CCP secretary of Chongqing City [55], and another thing he did was secretly planning to arrest local Falun Gong practitioners.

On the 16th and 17th, a large number of Falun Gong practitioners were arrested in Chongqing City and surrounding areas. Around 7am on November 16, Mr. Zhang Shengquan and his wife were beaten and their home was ransacked by police from Dayanggou Police Station in Zhong District. At the same time, a dozen of police from Dayanggou Police Station and Gaoxin District Police Station arrested Mr. Zhang Shengxue from Shiqiaopu and took two computers and cell phones from his home. A number of practitioners in Huangnipang, Jiangbei District and Baguo City, Jiulongpo were also arrested at the same time. In the same afternoon, Mr. Zhang Xiaoqing of Chenjiaping, Ms. Fu Xiaohong from Tongnan, and four practitioners from Daping were abducted [56] [57] [58]. On the 17th, Ms. Liu Hongmei, 60, was abducted by police from Qixinggang Police Station of Chongqing, and her home was ransacked [59].

Conclusion

Since the beginning of the persecution of Falun Gong, Zhou Yongkang, following Jiang Zeming, used power in his hands and forced the entire public security, prosecutors, court, and law systems involved and carried out the genocidal persecution on Falun Gong practitioners. Especially during the period when Zhou was director of the Political and Legislative Affairs Committee, he misused funds on "maintaining stability" and ignored country's laws and regulations, and committed the crimes toward Falun Gong practitioners with ransacking homes, kidnapping, extracting money, imprisonment, torture and even murder. Meanwhile, the persecution on Falun Long caused moral turpitude and brought the country into catastrophe. As one of the main criminals responsible for the persecution, Zhou Yongkang must be brought to justice. Zhou must be responsible to all crimes he committed.

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