# Chinese Officials & Surgeons Associated with Forced Organ Harvesting

## Individual Profiles

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*Additional submission written by Matthew Robertson.

Content directly relevant to forced organ harvesting highlighted for ease of reference.
Canada Magnitsky Act Submission
Falun Dafa Association
August 2018

Perpetrator: BO, Xilai （薄熙来）

Personal Information

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<th>Full Legal Name of Perpetrator:</th>
<th>BO, Xilai (薄熙来)</th>
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<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Country:</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date of Birth:</td>
<td>July 3, 1949</td>
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APPOINTMENTS

- 1999 – 2000, Secretary of Dalian Municipal CCP Committee, Mayor of Dalian, member of Liaoning Provincial CCP Standing Committee
- 2000 – 2001, Deputy Secretary of Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee, Acting Governor of Liaoning Province
- 2001 – 2004, Deputy Secretary of Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee, Governor of Liaoning Province
- 2004 – 2007, Minister of Commerce, Deputy Secretary of the Leading CCP Members’ Group of Ministry of Commerce, Secretary of the Leading CCP Members’ Group of Ministry of Commerce
- 2007 – 2012, member of the CCP Central Politburo Committee, Secretary of Chongqing Municipal CCP Committee.²
- 2013 – Present, Imprisonment³

BACKGROUND

1. Bo Xilai, born July 3, 1949, is the son of senior Party leader Bo Yibo, one of the “eight elders” who controlled the Party-state during Deng Xiaoping’s era.

² Bo Xilai Baidu, (https://baike.baidu.com/item/)
³ On September 22, 2013, Bo Xilai was sentenced to life imprisonment for bribery, corruption, and abuse of power (See: https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hans/)
2. Bo Xilai and his family were persecuted during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Bo Xilai, then seventeen years old, was imprisoned for five years on charges of counterrevolutionary activities. It is said that prison life taught Bo Xilai the ways of the prison, and convinced him that might is right.

3. Bo Xilai is keen to continue his father's legacy. With the help of his powerful father, he launched his political career as a local Party official of a county in Dalian city of Liaoning province in the early 1980s.

4. Bo Xilai was swiftly promoted to become the mayor of Dalian city in the 1990s. As Dalian mayor, Bo Xilai and his wife, Gu Kailai amassed immense wealth by corrupt means. They once worked with a British businessman, Neil Heywood, who helped move their wealth overseas. Neil Heywood was later murdered by Gu Kailai on November 14, 2011. The murder of Neil Heywood was an international news event.

5. Bo Xilai's political career reached a stalemate in 1997 during the 15th National Party Congress when he failed to obtain the coveted appointment of provincial Party secretary and membership in the Central Committee. For his efforts at self-promotion, he received zero votes and remained mayor of Dalian city in Liaoning province.

6. In July 20, 1999, then Party chief, Jiang Zemin, launched the persecution of Falun Gong. A month later in August 1999, Jiang Zemin made a rare visit to Liaoning province. The purpose of the visit was said to identify and muster local party officials who are willing to be complicit in Jiang Zemin's policy of eradication against Falun Gong. According to Bo Xilai’s former chauffeur, Mr Wang, Jiang Zemin told Bo Xilai in explicit terms that, “you have to demonstrate toughness towards Falun Gong, only then can you have the capital to advance.”

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5 Epoch Times Report, May 12, 2010 (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/10/5/12/n2906158.htm)
6 Epoch Times Report, October 17, 2012 (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/12/10/17/n3707619.htm)
8 Malcolm Moore (17 April 2012). "Briton ‘was poisoned after threatening to expose Bo’s web of money””. The Daily Telegraph (UK). p. 14.
9 Epoch Times Report, October 17, 2012 (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/12/10/17/n3707619.htm)
10 Epoch Times Report, October 17, 2012 (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/12/10/17/n3707619.htm)
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7. Following Jiang Zemin’s visit, Dalian city, under Bo’s leadership, quickly became the vanguard in the national eradication campaign against Falun Gong. Falun Gong practitioners all over the country were being sent to Dalian for torture and brainwash.\(^\text{11}\)

8. In 2000, Bo Xilai was promoted to become the acting governor of Liaoning province. In 2001, he formally became the governor of Liaoning. In 2007, he became a member of the Central Politburo and Secretary of Chongqing Party Committee.

9. Bo Xilai’s political career was cut short in February 2012 by the defection of his subordinate—Wang Lijun reportedly turned over large amounts of evidence of Bo Xilai’s corruption\(^\text{12}\) and gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners to the Chinese Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and to the U.S. Consulate.\(^\text{13}\)

10. Bo Xilai was dismissed as Chongqing party chief in March 15, 2012. On September 28, 2012, Bo Xilai was expelled from the Party.\(^\text{14}\) The decision was ratified by a full plenary session of the Chinese Central Committee. Bo was removed from all public posts on October 26, 2012.\(^\text{15}\) He was sentenced to life imprisonment on September 22, 2013.\(^\text{16}\)

11. There are reasons to believe that Bo Xilai controls significant wealth overseas through intermediaries such as the murdered Neil Heywood. While Bo has been committed to prison, efforts to account and confiscate those ill-gotten assets are ongoing.\(^\text{17}\)

12. Bo Xilai has been the subject of lawsuits by victims of human rights violations in many countries. In November, 2007, New South Wales Supreme Court in Sydney issued default judgment against Bo Xilai

\(^{11}\) Epoch Times Report, October 17, 2012 (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/12/10/17/n3707619.htm)

\(^{12}\) Bill Gertz, China probes police official after Obama administration rejected asylum request, Washington Free Beacon, 10 February 2012.


\(^{14}\) Xinhua Report, September 28, 2012 (http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-09/28/c_131880079.htm)

\(^{15}\) BBC Report, October 25, 2012 (https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-20091588)


for the torture of a Falun Gong practitioner, Pan Yu\textsuperscript{18}. On November 11, 2009, Bo Xilai was indicted in Spain for genocide and torture of Falun Gong practitioners under exercise of universal jurisdiction.

**OVERVIEW**

13. As the top ranking official in Dalian city, Liaoning province and finally, Chongqing City, Bo Xilai was an active partner in crime in driving the policy of extermination of Falun Gong in his regions.

14. During his leadership, both Liaoning Province and Chongqing City reported some of the worst persecution of Falun Gong practitioners. Falun Gong practitioners were imprisoned and tortured in large numbers. Many were permanently disabled or killed in captivity and tortured. Many more were illegally rounded up, and forcibly taken to forced transformation facilities where they were subjected to brainwash.

15. According to available information, during Bo Xilai’s tenure as mayor of Dalian there were 15 reported cases of Falun Gong practitioners being tortured to death\textsuperscript{19}. During Bo Xilai tenure as governor of Liaoning Province, there were 103 reported cases of Falun Gong practitioners killed through torture—a figure that was ranked fourth in the country\textsuperscript{20}. In 2007, when Bo Xilai moved to Chongqing, there were about 20 reported cases of Falun Gong practitioners being tortured to death\textsuperscript{21}.

16. Under Bo Xilai’s directives and policies, forced labour camps and prisons such as the Masanjia Forced Labour Camp\textsuperscript{22}, Dabei Prison, Zhangshi Forced Labour Camp, Longshan Forced Labour Camp, Dalian Forced Labour Camp subjected Falun Gong practitioners to some of the most agonizing and cutting edge torture methods, which were subsequently modelled after by other jurisdictions.

17. Large-scale killing of Falun Gong practitioners by means of forced organ harvesting is also likely to have started in Liaoning province under Bo Xilai’s leadership. The earliest reported case of forced organ harvesting and industrial sale of human cadaver happened in Dalian city of Liaoning province when Bo Xilai was mayor. Indications of forced organ harvesting were mostly found in Liaoning province*.

\textsuperscript{19} WOIPFG Report, December 18, 2003 (http://www.zhuichaguoji.org/node/279)
\textsuperscript{21} Minghui Report, March 8, 2012 (http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2012/3/6/253965.html)
\textsuperscript{22} Minghui Report, August 11, 2003 (http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2003/8/11/55444.html)
VIOLATIONS

A. Violations as mayor of Dalian City and governor of Liaoning province (1999-2004)

6. Bo Xilai is the key figure responsible for torture, extrajudicial killing and other gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong practitioners in Dalian City from 1999 to 2000 and Liaoning Province from 2000 to 2004.

Issuing Directives to Persecute Falun Gong

7. When Bo Xilai was mayor of Dalian and the governor of Liaoning province, he hosted several work meetings where he issued commands and directives in relation to the persecution of Falun Gong. His directives to persecute Falun Gong have been documented in the following reports:

- Speech on February 8th, 2000 at the Study and Research meeting of Dalian city Communist Party Committee;
- Liaoning Government work report at the 9th Liaoning people’s congress, 4th session, on February 18, 2001;
- Liaoning Government work report of 9th Liaoning province People’s Congress, 5th session;
- Government Work report at 10th Liaoning province People’s Congress, 1st session.

8. The nature and extent of Bo Xilai’s participation in the torture, extrajudicial killing, and gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners is disclosed in an important testimony by veteran journalist, Jiang Weiping.

9. Jiang Weiping was a veteran mainland Chinese journalist. Jiang Weiping has been investigating and writing about Bo Xilai in the 1980s when he was still a junior local correspondent at Dalian city while

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23 Guangming Daily Report, January 27, 2000 (Bo Xilai spoke at a forum "Some Opinions of the Central Committee of the CCP on Strengthening and Improving Ideological and Political Work". He said weakness in ideological and political work would lead to instability in the regime. We should be highly vigilant about this. From the resolution of the “Falun Gong” issue, we can also clearly see the importance of ideological and political work.)
24 People’s Network United Daily Report, March 5, 2001 (Bo Xilai made a report on the work of the Liaoning Provincial Government at the Fourth Session of the Ninth People’s Congress of Liaoning Province. He said “Persistently educate, unite, and rescue the vast majority of ‘Falun Gong’ practitioners, severely cracking down on diehards according to law.”)
25 China’s Network Report, March 5, 2002 (Bo Xilai made a report on Liaoning Provincial Government Work at the Fifth Session of the Ninth People’s Congress of Liaoning Province.)
26 Liaoning Daily Report, January 20, 2003 (Bo Xilai made a report on the work of Liaoning Provincial Government at the First Session of the Tenth People’s Congress of Liaoning Province.)
Bo Xilai was a small county official in Dalian. For exposing corruption by mayor Bo Xilai and other Chinese Communist officials, Jiang Weiping was detained by Dalian Police in December 2000 on charges of revealing “state secrets”. He was eventually sentenced to six years in jail. Jiang Weiping was awarded a CPJ International Press Freedom Award in 2001 and the “One Humanity Award” in 2006 by PEN Canada. Jiang Weiping immigrated to Canada in February 2009, on a special Ministerial authorization from then Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Jason Kenny.

10. In an exclusive interview with The Epoch Times published on March 18, 2012, Jiang Weiping recounted the following about Bo Xilai’s involvement in the persecution of Falun Gong when it first began in 1999,

“When Jiang Zemin gave the order to strike against Falun Gong in 1999, Mayor of Dalian, Bo Xilai was the most active [participant]. Not only did he [...] personally went to the scene to direct the police and guards to disperse [...] Falun Gong practitioners, he also made careful inspections, meticulous arrangements and specific instructions to prisons, detention centres, and re-education centres that held these [Falun Gong practitioners]. Bo Xilai ordered the Public Security Bureau and State Security Bureau, to ‘viciously wreck Falun Gong to the death’.

11. Shortly after the beginning of persecution of Falun Gong in July 20, 1999, Jiang Weiping witnessed an incident of mass police brutality at Dalian municipal government building led personally by Bo Xilai against Falun Gong practitioners. According to Jiang Weiping, Bo Xilai instructed leaders of the PSB to “beat them [Falun Gong practitioners] viciously” and that “if they die, serve them right.” *

Personal use of prisons and detention centres

12. As the mayor of Dalian, Bo Xilai built large prison compounds and detention facilities as instrument of dominance and power. He invested 20 million RMB to establish the biggest detention centre in Asia in Ganjingzi District of Dalian. After the persecution of Falun Gong began in July 1999, he directed further expansion of prison and detention facilities and ordered all prisons and labour camps in Liaoning province to “focus all energy in transforming Falun Gong”.

28 Epoch Times Report, October 17, 2012 (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/12/10/17/n3707619.htm)
13. According to Jiang Weiping, from 1999 to early 2006, Bo Xilai has ordered to arrest and persecute more than 3,000 Falun Gong practitioners, subjected more than 1,000 to forced labour, with the result of dozens of Falun Gong practitioners being tortured to disability and death.

14. Jiang Weiping testified that Bo Xilai built secret infirmaries below prison facilities such as Dalian Diabase Cast Stone prison, Nanguanling prison and Wafangdian prison where large numbers of Falun Gong practitioners who were driven insane by torture were held. These Falun Gong practitioners were “chained on hospital beds, some were shouting slogans all day long, some would sing without stopping, some would jump and dance. The sight was unbearable.”

15. Jiang Weiping revealed that there were seven Falun Gong practitioners kept at the infirmary of Dalian Nanguanling prison in 2005. They have lost all abilities to take care of themselves. The prison guards forced food down their nostrils, making them choke and vomit with blood.

16. The atrocities in prison took place with Bo Xilai’s knowledge. According to Jiang Weiping, one of Bo Xilai’s hobby is to visit and tour around the prisons and detentions facilities. He would make the trips at every end of the month, “no matter how busy he was”.

Masanjia Labour Camp

17. As the governor of Liaoning, Bo Xilai is responsible for developing and overseeing the Masanjia Labour Camp (Masanjia), a place that practices abhorrent and depraved methods of abuse and torture against Falun Gong practitioners.

18. Masanjia is a labour camp located near Shenyang city in Liaoning province. Mansanjia is a model establishment for abuse and torture of Falun Gong practitioners29. The Central 610 Office itself adopted the transformation experience in Masanjia to develop its directives on transforming Falun Gong practitioners30.

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30 Chinascope, August 21, 2013 (http://chinascope.org/archives/6443)
19. The Chinese government claims that this facility holds more than 10,000 prisoners. Witnesses in the camp claim that approximately 80 percent of the prisoners are Falun Gong practitioners.31

20. Under Bo Xilai’s leadership, the Chinese authorities tortured and killed Falun Gong practitioners in Masanjia with impunity.32 In fact, Bo Xilai dedicated a massive budget to upgrade and expand Masanjia. In 2003, the governor spent five hundred million yuan to develop Masanjia into a prison city.33 The news was well reported by Chinese media. With the expansion, Masanjia evolved from a standalone prison facility to a self-sufficient and self-contained prison ecosystem that allowed human rights atrocities to occur at yet greater scale and impunity.

21. The abuse at Masanjia is a matter of international notoriety. On December 23, 2012, an American woman, Julie Keith, found a letter stuffed into a Halloween decoration set that she purchased from Kmart. The letter, written by a Falun Gong practitioner, described abuse at the camp. The news gained mainstream traction and was made into a documentary, “Letters from Masanjia” in 2018. Masanjia is the subject of books, reports, and documentaries. The documentary, “Women Above Ghost’s Head” is freely available on Youtube.

22. Masanjia is notorious for its systematic use of rape and sexual torture on female detainees, particularly Falun Gong practitioners.38 In October 2000, Masanjia guards stripped 18 female Falun Gong practitioners naked and threw them into the men’s cell to be freely and repeatedly gang raped.

by male prisoners. As a result, five of them died, seven of them went insane and the rest suffered varying degrees of disability\(^{39}\). This is not an insolated incident in Masanjia\(^{40}\).

23. A prison guard in Masanjia reportedly said, “What is tolerance (alluding to the Falun Gong principles of truthfulness, compassion, and tolerance)? Tolerance is you not being able to complain even after being raped!”\(^{41}\)

24. In April 14, 2016, Yin Liping, a female Falun Gong practitioner who was once a victim at Masanjia, testified before the U.S. Congressional-Executive Commission on China in a hearing on “China’s Pervasive Use of Torture”. She testified about the sexual torture of Falun Gong practitioners in Masanjia that occurred in April 2001\(^{42}\):

“We were taken to nine different rooms. I was sent to the first room. There was a large double bed and a floor hanger in the room. Four men were already in the room waiting. When I went to the public rest room, I saw there was a big room with more than 30 men sleeping there.

I was frightened and wondered what kind of place this was. Who were these men? Why were there so many men sleeping here?

I got the answer that night. Those men all got up, made a lot of noise, banged on doors, and kept on shouting dirty words. They kicked open my room door and held a camcorder, videotaping me.

[…] Four or five male inmates threw me onto the bed. Some held my arms. Some held my legs. One younger man sat on me and beat me. I became dizzy and passed out.

When I came to consciousness, three men were lying beside me. I realized that I had been videotaped when I was sexually attacked and humiliated by gangs of inmates.

[…] I saw with my own eyes a group of bad guys beating an elderly Falun Gong practitioner in the restroom. They forcefully inserted a broken broomstick into her private part.


\(^{41}\) Epoch Times Report, April 9, 2013 (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/13/4/9/n3841917.htm)

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Among the Falun Gong practitioners whom I know personally, 10 were persecuted to death. Thirty developed mental disorders from the torture. Ms. Wang Jie was one of them. She died in my arms on April 21, 2012.

[...] Wang Jie, Zou Guirong and I had gone through brutal and evil persecution. We promised one another that any one of us who survives will expose the persecution to the world."

25. By 2013, Minghui has published 8,109 reports documenting nearly 100 methods of torture inflicted on Falun Gong practitioners in Masanjia labor camp.43

26. For the atrocities committed against Falun Gong practitioners, Masanjia was hailed by the Chinese authorities as a model institution. The facility and its directors were lavished with financial rewards44. Su Jing, a director of Masanjia, was named by Justice Bureau as a “Second Class Hero”45. She was described as an “angel who purifies the heart”.46 Top party leaders Li Lanqing, Luo Gan and Wang Maolin have delivered personal letters and speeches praising Masanjia’s success47. In the years since 2000, Masanjia and the perpetrators within have received countless commendations and awards from the Chinese authorities48.

27. Annex A presents a selection of individual cases of torture and extrajudicial killing that took place at Masanjia and other prison facilities under Bo Xilai’s leadership as the mayor of Dalian and governor of Liaoning. Bo Xilai must be held responsible for these crimes.

B. Body plastination and forced organ harvesting

28. There are reasonable grounds to believe that Bo Xilai and his wife, Gu Kailai were involved in the business of body plastination. These plastinated bodies likely belonged to Falun Gong practitioners.
who were tortured and killed in captivity in Dalian city and Liaoning province. By profiting from the torture and extrajudicial killing of these prisoners of conscience, Bo Xilai is at the minimum responsible as an accessory to these crimes.

29. Body plastination is a process where silicon, epoxy, and other polymer mixtures are used to replace fluids in the human body, creating a human body specimen that is realistic and enduring. These specimens are used in medical education and bodies exhibitions. The barrier to creating human specimens is the availability of fresh human corpses. According to forensic medicine, the fresh period for a human body is two days after death⁴⁹.

30. 1999, the year when the eradication campaign against Falun Gong began, coincided with an emergence of large amounts of fresh cadavers and organs in China. This abundance of fresh cadavers and organs precipitated a rapid growth in the body plastination and organ transplant industries in China.

31. The persecution of Falun Gong began in July 1999. In autumn that year, Falun Gong practitioners were flooding the Chinese detention facilities, doubling China’s total prisoners and detainees by the beginning of 2001⁵⁰. As mentioned above at para. 12-16, Bo Xilai, then mayor of Dalian city, ordered an expansion of prison and detention facilities following the persecution of Falun Gong. With increased carceral capacity in Dalian, nameless Falun Gong practitioners from all over China were sent to the city⁵¹. Dalian city, and the larger Liaoning province, quickly became infamous as a vast holding pen for young and nameless Falun Gong practitioners⁵².

32. The first body plastination company in China, the Von Hagens Plastination Co Ltd, was established in August 1999, one month after the persecution of Falun Gong began⁵³. The business was approved by the Dalian municipal government led by Bo Xilai.

33. The business was located in Gan Jingzi District of Dalian city⁵⁴, in proximity to three prison camps, Dalian Labour Camp, Yaojia Detention and Nanguanling Prison⁵⁵. These three facilities are known to

⁵² Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter” (2014) at p. 298
⁵⁴ WOIPFG Report (http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/236#report236_28)
severely torture Falun Gong practitioners. In one instance on March 19, 2001, Dalian Labour Camp conducted a torture campaign against more than four hundred detained Falun Gong practitioners for three days and three nights. By 2004, there were 14 documented cases of Falun Gong practitioners being tortured to death in Dalian Labour Camp.

34. In a phone call with an undercover WOIPFG investigator, former general manager of Von Hagens plastination factory, Sui Hongjin, said that the cadavers used in the factory originated from the Public Security Bureau. As discussed in the accompanying report, “Architecture and Chain of Command”. PSB is precisely the organ responsible for the running of detention facilities and labour camps.

35. In May 2008, Premier Exhibitions, the owner of “Bodies: The Exhibition” posted an admission on its official website. The admission was part of a settlement between Premier Exhibitions and the attorney general’s office of New York. The admission states,

“This exhibit displays full body cadavers as well as human body parts, organs, fetuses and embryos that come from cadavers of Chinese citizens or residents. With respect to the human parts, organs, fetuses and embryos you are viewing, Premier relies solely on the representations of its Chinese partners and cannot independently verify that they do not belong to persons executed while incarcerated in Chinese prisons.”

36. Premier Exhibitions and its bodies exhibition are partners with Sui Hongjin, who left Gunther Von Hagens’ company and founded his own body plastination business in 2004. While von Hagen’s body exhibitions are distinct from Sui Hongjing’s body exhibitions, their body plastination operations were both located in Dalian and likely shared the same cadaver source.

Bodies belong to killed Falun Gong practitioners

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59 WOIPFG Report (http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/236#report236_41)
37. The confluence of factors such as timing and location indicate a likelihood that the cadavers used for plastination belong to Falun Gong practitioners who were killed or tortured to death. The Von Hagens plastination factory and Sui Hongjin’s plastination factory(s) were too proximate in time and space to the hotspots of persecution against Falun Gong practitioners in Liaoning province, which are convenient sources of fresh corpses.

38. It must be noted that von Hagens has already developed his plastination technology in the early 1990s, and has been producing small-scale corpse exhibitions since 1995 in Japan. Von Hagens had nearly a decade to set up a plastination factory in China, but only did so in August 1999, one month after the systematic and widespread torture and killing of Falun Gong practitioners began, at a location proximate to three detention facilities where severe torture and killing of Falun Gong practitioners frequently takes place. To claim that this is a coincidence beggars belief.

39. Shortly after the von Hagens body plastination factory was established in Dalian, it immediately became the primary production base and major source of earnings for von Hagens’ body plastination business. In an interview with Oriental Outlook on October 13, 2003, von Hagens said that the Dalian branch was responsible for 80 percent of his company’s research and production. By then, von Hagens’ corpse exhibitions were claimed to be seen by 13 million people, bringing in earnings of approximately US$800 million.

40. As mentioned, the bottleneck in body plastination business is the availability of fresh cadavers. Von Hagens’ ability to obtain a steady supply of fresh bodies requires explanation. The cogent explanation is that the abundant supply of fresh cadavers used in the von Hagens factory belonged to Falun Gong practitioners who were killed or tortured to death in the detention facilities nearby.

41. The alternative explanations for these fresh cadavers are not feasible.

42. The fresh cadavers could not be donated in China. Gunther von Hagens himself admitted this. On October 21, 2003, Hagens wrote in an email, “so far, we haven’t received any donated bodies yet in China.” In an interview with Gunther von Hagen’s son, Rurik von Hagens, published on Deustche

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60 Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter” (2014) at p. 294
62 ibid.
63 Spiegel Report (http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-29725567.html)
Welle on August 17, 2012, the son said, “In China we tried to establish a body donor program. There were some people who were interested. But we only ended up getting one actual donor.”

43. Gunther von Hagens himself claims that the bodies were sourced through a donation system that he set up in Germany in 1993. This claim is inconsistent with information from news reports. On January 23, 2004, The Guardian reported that Gunther von Hagens “last night agreed to return seven corpses to China after admitting that the bodies used in his exhibitions might have come from executed prisoners.”

44. *Der Spiegel* reported an intercepted email from Sui to von Hagens dated December 29, 2001. The email reads, “This morning, two fresh, top quality corpses arrived at the factory. The livers were removed only a few hours ago.” This email is phrased like a regular, run-of-the-mill business update from a subordinate to a superior. The arrival of fresh, top quality corpses with livers removed appeared to be a regular occurrence at the factory.

45. Presumably, the livers were removed for transplantation. For organs to be viable for transplant, they must be removed from deceased donors within minutes after death. The fresh cadavers could not have come from Europe as their livers would have expired by the time they were transported to Dalian. Rather, the two donors likely died in China.

46. Award winning investigative journalist wrote in “The Slaughter”,

“[…]it is not clear that the German donation program was anything more than an effort to cover his tracks and the Heidelberg operation anything more than a place to hang his shingle. If it was otherwise, why didn’t von Hagens hold the exhibition in Germany or at least in Europe? Japan was a natural choice for the first exhibition if the bodies had come from China and had been plastinated in the labs of Dalian Medical University.”

47. The final claim that the bodies were unclaimed at hospital is refuted on the basis of timing. Chinese autopsy regulations required that a body be held in the morgue for as long as 30 days to give the

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65 Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter” (2014) at p. 294
67 Spiegel Report (http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-29725567.html)
68 Analysis on Warm Ischemia Time (https://www.healio.com/hepatology/transplantation/news/online/%7Bbc27ff15-2db7-4895-ad54-2ccc6fe34e7e%7D/donation-after-circulatory-death-may-have-positive-outcomes-for-it)
69 Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter” (2014) at p. 294-295
family a chance to identify it. Successful plastination, however, requires fresh bodies as they must be treated with formalin followed by silicone within about 24 hours of death, 48 hours at most. The fresh cadavers could not have been unclaimed bodies. They were sent for plastination before any identification could reasonably take place.

48. The combined elements of prove and disprove indicate that the fresh cadavers belonged to large numbers of unnamed Falun Gong practitioners (see para. 39), who were sent for plastination after they were killed or tortured to death in nearby prison camps. These cadavers would have satisfied every indicia for plastination—young, no external wounds (not even a gunshot to the head), nameless, and freshly killed.

Involvement of Bo Xilai in body plastination

49. Body plastination using bodies of victims of extrajudicial killing and torture is a business in which Bo Xilai is likely complicit.

50. It was Bo Xilai’s municipal government who authorized von Hagens to establish the body plastination factory in Dalian in August 1999 and Sui Hongjing to establish his own body plastination business in Dalian in 2004. Immediately after the establishment of the body plastination company, Bo Xilai personally awarded von Hagens the Xinghai Friendship Award in September 1999. In July 2002, Bo Xilai’s municipal government awarded Von Hagens Plastination Co. Ltd. the title of “Hi-tech Enterprise”. Von Hagens himself bragged about his close relationship with Bo Xilai.

51. The circumstances suggest that the establishment of Von Hagens Plastination business in Dalian is not just a pure corporate move—there are deeper relationships and business interests between Bo Xilai and von Hagens at play.

52. There are witness testimonies and undercover phone investigations that incriminate Bo Xilai and his wife, Gu Kailai in body plastination.

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73 ibid.
74 WOIPFG Report (https://www.upholdjustice.org/node/236)
53. An undercover investigator from the WOIPFG recorded a phone conversation with an official from the 610 Office. The transcript follows,

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: ah?

Investigator: is this the 610 office?

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: yes.

Investigator: Do you know...

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: Who are you?

Investigator: Do you know that you guys are a criminal group?

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: I am (610 Office). Who are you?

Investigator: Once the persecution ends, have you ever thought about what will happen to you?
See what had happened to Gu Kailai [the wife of Bo Xilai], on the surface, she...

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: Gu Kailai was selling organs of Falun Gong.

Investigator: What did you say?

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: I said, you were talking about Gu Kailai, the one who sold organs of Falun Gong people.

Investigator: Yes, she had two human cadaver plastination factories in Dalian. She sold plastinated full-body cadavers for one million U.S. dollars each; the cadavers without internal organs were sold for US$800,000.

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: Oh,

Investigator: she is a devil.

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: what she sold were not all from Falun Gong.

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Investigator: you know they were not just from Falun Gong, right?

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: ah, ah

Investigator: some were Tibetans and Mongolians went to appeal.

Mr. Zhao, 610 Office: forget it. (Hung up the phone.)

54. In November 2014, a former worker at the Dalian body plastination factory reported,

“I can tell this plant was Bo Xilai wife’s plant. Once Bo was arrested, it was closed. I had been working there one and a half years. Nobody was allowed to enter without the specific card. Those allowed to enter the factory gave up our cell phones [...] I was responsible for assembling the livers. I dare to testify on this matter.”

55. Von Hagens’ body plastination company ceased human plastination activities in Dalian in 2006, following a decree from Beijing prohibiting commercial importation or exportation of plastinates (note: Sui Hongjin’s human body plastination business continues to present). However, Von Hagens’ company continued plastination with animal bodies in Dalian until the factory’s closure in between 2011 to 2012.

56. It is noted that the timing of closure of von Hagens factory in Dalian coincides with the timing of circumstances leading to Bo Xilai’s downfall. In August 2012, a popular Chinese blogger, known as “Suyan Gege” investigated von Hagens’ factory in Dalian. She was told by a former worker at the factory,

“[t]he factory has closed for an entire year. The German boss ran away in June last year. Later, there were workers coming to the factory to demand for their pay everyday. But in November [2011], a group of people suddenly came one evening and paid all the workers and even gave them generous compensation. Everyone left that night. In just two nights, everything inside was moved away. All traces were cleaned. Even the underground cold storage was smashed to pieces.”

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78 Ibid.
57. The cleaning up of von Hagens factory in November 2011 coincided with murder with the Neil Heywood (see para. 4 and para. 11), Bo Xilai’s family friend and money launderer who had intimate knowledge of Bo Xilai family’s business dealings.

58. A few months later on February 6, 2012, Bo Xilai fell out with his deputy, Wang Lijun, who defected to the U.S. consulate, apparently with evidence of Bo Xilai’s corrupt dealings. A few days later on February 29, 2012, von Hagens’ company building in Dalian was sealed and then expropriated by the government. Bo Xilai was investigated for corruption and dismissed from his political post on March 15, 2012.

59. The circumstances and timing of Von Hagens’ factory closure in Dalian is indicative of a likely attempt at cover-up following the exposure and threatened exposure of Bo Xilai’s corrupt dealings.

60. The combined circumstantial evidence and witness testimonies above indicate Bo Xilai’s involvement in body plastination. In addition, given Bo Xilai’s authority over prison facilities as the mayor of Dalian and governor of Liaoning, and his policies to expand the carceral capacity in these regions to detain large numbers of Falun Gong practitioners, Bo Xilai was likely to have played an active role in killing Falun Gong practitioners and supplying their corpses for plastination.

61. As a final note, investigative journalist Ethan Gutmann did an independent research of body plastination in China in his book, “The Slaughter”. The following portion of his findings is worth quoting in full,

“We cannot reconstruct Bo Xilai’s exact motivations with regard to Von Hagens Plastination (Dalian) Co. Ltd., but the company’s sudden breakthrough suggests a close linkage to the Falun Gong repression that started in July. In August, von Hagens received his approval from Dalian municipal, possibly with an assist from Bo’s wife, Gu Kailai, and her consultancy firm. Finally, in September, Bo Xilai personally gave Gunther von Hagens an award certificate and medal at the Xinghai Friendship Award Ceremony (held in Dalian). According to Sui Hongjin, following the splashy ceremony, von Hagens bragged about his close connection to Bo Xilai.

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82 Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter” (2014) at p. 296-301
However, von Hagens faced a problem in 1999, specifically a shortfall of bodies. His business model was based not just on exhibitions, but also on selling plastinated bodies and parts to universities and other medical entities in volume. As von Hagens complained, the Chinese don't donate their bodies. A plastinator could perhaps use the unclaimed corpse of the odd homeless vagrant, but Chinese autopsy regulations required that such a body be held in the morgue for as long as thirty days to give the family a chance to identify it. Successful plastination requires the injection of formalin followed by silicone within about twenty-four hours of death, forty-eight hours at most (and even if exceptions could be made to the autopsy regulations, one wonders if homeless bodies might be too unhealthy to show). Was it theoretically possible to use death-row prisoners if the Public Security Bureau played along? Perhaps. Yet according to doctors and police that I have interviewed, using a bullet to kill the prisoner (with the family receiving the bill and so on) was still a sanctified PSB procedure in 1999, and such bodies would bear scars that would be difficult to explain—in fact, both Sui and von Hagens have made reference to purging such bodies from their exhibitions over the years. Adults between twenty-five and forty years of age, freshly killed, with no external wounds—that was the demographic that von Hagens required. And he needed a steady supply of them.

The next few years brought in a vast wave of this precise demographic. Liaoning Province, in part because of its proximity to Jilin Province, the cradle of the Falun Gong movement, had an unusually high number of practitioners to begin with. After April 25, Jilin provincial officials accelerated spy operations and information gathering on practitioners throughout the province. Liaoning lagged. But in autumn 1999, as Falun Gong practitioners flooded the Laogai System, doubling China's total prisoners and detainees by the beginning of 2001, Liaoning would make up for its slow start, and lift the political careers of Bo Xilai and Wang Lijun in its wake. From 2000 to 2004, when Bo served as Liaoning governor, he moved to the provincial capital Shenyang, but he appears to have retained his Dalian power base. One of his first actions as governor was to authorize a massive capital infusion into Liaoning's prison and labour-camp capacity.

[...] In 2003, Bo Xilai authorized a billion yuan to expand the Laogai System of Liaoning. Fully half of the new money went to Masanjia, but it wasn't just to build more cells—Under Bo, Masanjia became the vanguard for Falun Gong “transformation” techniques—cattle prods, sleep deprivation, propaganda, and rape in the main. At the same time witnesses consistently report that Liaoning became infamous as a vast holding pen for young “nameless” Falun Gong [...]

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[...] And we can say that in 2001, under von Hagens's direction and Sui's management, receipts indicate von Hagens's factory began spitting out plastinated bodies at a good clip, with some medical institutions paying hundreds of thousands of dollars for a single specimen.”

All photos from Baike.com except Gunther von Hagens,

Figure 1: Key dates for Bo Xilai, Wang Lijun, Guthver von Hagens, and Sui Hongjin
Source: Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter” (2014) at p. 298

Forced Organ Harvesting

62. There are indications that Bo Xilai is involved in the forced organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners in Liaoning.
63. Bo Xilai, as the mayor of Dalian and governor of Liaoning, presided over part of the north-eastern region in China where the state of forced organ harvesting is the most severe. The intensity of forced organ harvesting in north-eastern China, relative to other parts of China can be seen in figure 1.

Figure 1: Geographical Distribution of 865 medical institutions suspected to conduct forced organ harvesting.
Source: WOIPFG Report, August 3, 2016 (http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/361)

69. When Bo Xilai was governor of Liaoning, his subordinate and close associate, Wang Lijun was running the Jinzhou City Public Security Bureau On-Site Psychological Research Center, where Wang oversaw “several thousand intensive on-site cases” of organ transplantation. Wang Lijun’s involvement in forced organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners will be the subject of a separate report.

70. The centrality of Bo Xilai’s Liaoning province in the forced organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners in China is corroborated by Ethan Gutmann in his independent study. He wrote, “Falun Gong labour-camp refugees that I interviewed consistently pointed to Liaoning, including specific locations in Shenyang, Dalian, and Jinzhou, as the geographic epicentre of Falun Gong harvesting from 2001 to 2006. There is little reason to doubt them, particularly as practitioners all across China

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83 Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter” (2014) at p. 299
heard a fairly similar refrain, especially in 2004 and 2005: If you don't behave, we will send you to the Northeast.84

71. A number of phone calls made by WOIPFG’s undercover investigators to CCP officials revealed information that incriminate Bo Xilai in forced organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners.

72. On September 13, 2006, an investigator called Bo Xilai during his visit as former Minister of Finance to Hamburg, Germany. The investigator presented herself as the “First Secretary of Chinese consulate in Germany”. The following conversation was recorded85:

Investigator: That is, when you were the governor of Liaoning Province, …that is to say, regarding the matter of live organ harvesting of Falun Gong (practitioners), was that your order or Jiang Zemin’s order?

Bo Xilai: President Jiang’s.

73. While the Chinese government was investigating Bo Xilai for corruption in 2012, WOIPFG investigators took advantage of this opportunity and called party officials in Liaoning to ask about Bo Xilai under the guise of “a member of Bo Xilai special investigation team within the CCP Committee for Disciplinary Inspection”. The following conversation between an undercover WOIPFG investigator and Tang Junjie, former secretary of Liaoning PLAC (Political and Legal Affairs Commission), was recorded86:

Investigator: Oh, I’m from the Bo Xilai special investigation team of the Committee for Disciplinary Inspection. I wanted to ask you a few things regarding Bo Xilai’s days in Liaoning.

Tang Junjie: When do you want me to come over?

Investigator: Yes.

Tang Junjie: When do you want me to come over?

Investigator: Let’s talk on the phone first to clear up some things. If necessary I’ll send you an invitation to come over.

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84 Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter” (2014) at p. 301
86 WOIPFG Collection of Evidence, September 11, 2013 (http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/241)
Tang Junjie: Ok, sure.

Investigator: Well we have a few questions for you.

Tang Junjie: Go ahead.

Investigator: The first question is: what kind of directions or commands did Bo Xilai give regarding removing organs from Falun Gong practitioners?

Tang Junjie: I was asked to take care of this task. Party central is actually emphasizing this, it is because the impact was quite big after the union. The result was quite positive, yeah it seemed quite positive. At that time we mainly discussed it during the meetings within the Standing Committee. It seems the result is positive. Where are you located? The fact that you are asking me about this is a bit....What is your location?

Investigator: I'm in Beijing and I'm part of the special investigation team for this case.

64. Bo Xilai’s involvement in forced organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners appears to be intractably linked with his involvement in body plastination. Ethan Gutmann wrote, in his 2014 book, “The Slaughter”,

“Fourth, and put in corporate speak: synergy. Harvesting centres like Wang Lijun's required a stable of prisoners (to get tissue matches with wealthy foreigners), and so did the plastination factories (to meet the demands of medical schools and ambitious global exhibitions) [...] Der Spiegel reported an intercepted e-mail from Sui [Hongjin] to von Hagens dating from the end of 2001: “This morning, two fresh, top quality corpses arrived at the factory. The livers were removed only a few hours ago.” Now there are two ways to take that statement, but one very obvious reading is that the bodies were harvested at another location—Jinzhou, Shenyang, or, given the short time frame, Hospital #2 of Dalian Medical University—just before they arrived for plastination. Given the extraordinary profit involved in both harvesting and plastination—approximately two hundred thousand dollars on both procedures if exploited fully—there was little reason not to cut deep in Jinzhou or Shenyang and then make the four hour drive to Dalian. As long as the cadaver arrived quickly, Sui could plastinate.”

C. Violations as Party Chief of Chongqing City (2007-2012)

87 Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter” (2014) at p. 304
65. Bo Xilai was appointed as the Secretary of Chongqing Municipal CCP Committee from 2007 to 2012. As the Party chief of Chongqing, Bo Xilai is the most powerful official in the city. In the five years of his administration, Chongqing became one of the regions with the worst persecution of Falun Gong.

66. As the Party chief of Chongqing, Bo Xilai was assisted by deputy mayor and chief of municipal PSB, Wang Lijun. Wang Lijun eventually precipitated Bo Xilai’s downfall in the “Wang Lijun incident”. Wang is also the subject of a separate report for Magnitsky sanction.


68. The report states,

“According to reports, Bo Xilai guaranteed to the evil Party that he would shorten the “2010-2012 comprehensive battle to transform, combat, and consolidate” 3-year plan into two years, and planned to carry out frenzy search, arrest, and brainwash against Falun Gong practitioners in Chongqing, to gain political capital. To achieve this political aim, Bo Xilai and Wang Lijun were partners in crime. They implemented cultural revolution style brainwash against Chongqing residents, and created an atmosphere of red terror: exhausting 17 billion to install 500,000 surveillance cameras, and established the world’s biggest surveillance system in Chongqing […] They used high salaries to recruit 4000 patrol officers who patrolled from day to night […] They issued red documents to neighbourhood offices setting out quotas for persecution.”

69. Under Bo Xilai’s administration from June 2008 to March 2012, Minghui documented 18 cases of Falun Gong practitioners who were killed extrajudicially, 41 cases of imprisonment, 211 cases of Falun Gong practitioners being tortured at labour camp, and 537 cases of practitioners being tortured in detention.

70. Chongqing is known to have 16 facilities that brainwash Falun Gong practitioners in secret. These facilities are euphemistically called “Legal Education Classes”, “Study Classes” and other innocuous sounding names. They are in fact black jails that carry out brainwashing, forced transformation, and torture against Falun Gong practitioners in secret.

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71. According to the Minghui report, state agents in Chongqing enjoy protection from Bo Xilai and Wang Lijun and persecuted Falun Gong practitioners with impunity. To forcibly transform Falun Gong practitioners, they force fed Falun Gong practitioners, poisoned their food, and brutalized them. The report compares these facilities to Nazi concentration camps.

CONCLUSION

72. Bo Xilai built his prolific but eventually short-lived political career on the persecution of Falun Gong.

73. From systematic gang rape at Masanjia to body plastinations, evidence indicates that Bo Xilai is responsible for a list of hair-raising human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners in Dalian city, Liaoning province and Chongqing city.

74. For Bo Xilai’s responsibility in torture and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners in his capacity as the mayor of Dalian, governor of Liaoning and party secretary of Chongqing, he is eligible and deserving of sanction under s4(2)(a)(ii) of Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act.

ANNEX A

Examples of Torture and Extradjudicial Killing of Falun Gong practitioners in Dalian City and Liaoning Province during Bo Xilai’s leadership

1. Wang Yunjie, 40, Dalian city, Liaoning province
Wang Yunjie was kidnapped while working at the mall in 2002 and sent to Masanjia labour camp where she suffered long-term torture, including sexual torture by male guards. She was among 50 “adamant practitioners” who were tortured in Masanjia. Her breasts were devasted by electrocution and she developed breast cancer, which eventually claimed her life in July 2006.

2. Gao Rongrong, 37, Shenyang city, Liaoning province

Falun Gong practitioner Ms. Gao Rongrong, an accountant at the Luxun Fine Arts College in Shenyang City, was abducted in July 2003, and taken to Longshan Forced Labour Camp. On the afternoon of May 7, 2004 at 3:00 p.m., she was called to the office by camp Ward Leader Tang Yubao (male) and Jiang Zhaohua (male) and shocked for about seven hours with electric batons. Her face was severely deformed, and covered with blisters. Her burned skin was stuck together with her hair and blood, and her eyes were barely visible due to the intense swelling of her face. After long-standing torture, Gao Rongrong died in the emergency room of Medical University Hospital, at 37 years old.

3. Li Jinghua, 34, Chaoyang City, Liaoning Province

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89 http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2005/10/17/112535p.html
90 http://en.minghui.org/emh/articles/2005/6/20/62065.html
91 http://en.minghui.org/emh/articles/2002/1/31/18277.html
On October 30, 1999, Li Jinghua was sent to the Masanjia Forced Labour Camp where she was severely tortured. On August 2, 2000, Li Jinghua was locked up in a small isolation cell. The practitioners are handcuffed with their hands behind their backs in a fixed position, in which the practitioners can neither move nor lie down. The small cell is very damp and dark. Detainees have to urinate and defecate in the cell. Only half of a regular meal is served to detainees locked up in a small cell during the daytime. During the night, rats scurry about. The stench in the small cell is so bad that it is difficult to breathe.] In the small cell, she endured mosquitoes and bug bites. She also persevered through the torturous forced squatting, body-folding, and sleep deprivation for three days and nights. She bore the verbal abuse and physical beatings by the collaborators, but she was not able to endure the electric shock torture by the chief warden, Zhang Yan (female, about 50 years old). Without sleeping for 3 days and nights, she was shocked on the neck, breast, chest, back, foot arches, palms, and other sensitive places. She began twitching due to the shocks. Some witnesses cried when they saw the tragic sight. The chief warden questioned her closely: "Do you give in? If not, I'll keep shocking you until you do."

By 2001, Li Jinghua has been tortured to the point of mental breakdown.

4. Wang Wenjun, 38, Jingzhou City, Liaoning Province

Wang Wenjun was sentenced to 3 years of forced labour at Masanjia labour camp for appealing against the Falun Gong’s ban in Beijing. In Masanjia, she was subject to brainwash and torture. Her legs were tied together in a double-cross posture for as long as five hours. She was forced to sit on a small stool long...
periods of time. She was later diagnosed with terminal uterine cancer at the Masanjia Hospital. On December 28, 2002, her ex-husband picked up Wang Wenjun, and the doctor at Masanjia Hospital said Wang was dying. On July 22, 2003, Wang Wenjun passed away at home.
2. Perpetrator Information : Huang Jiefu (黄潔夫)

I. Personal Information

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator:  Huang Jiefu （黄潔夫）

Gender: Male

Country: PR China

Date of Birth: March 1946

II. History of Appointments

1. April 2014 – Current, Chair of the National Organ Donation and Transplantation Committee (ODTC), responsible to the Secretariat of ODTC which is under the National Health and Family Planning Commission and Chinese Red Cross.¹
2. Honorary director at the First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-sen University, and honorary director of liver surgery department at Peking Union Medical College Hospital.²
3. 2013 – Current, Chairman (legal representative) of China Organ Transplantation Development Foundation
4. October 2001 – March 2013, China’s Deputy Minister of Health
5. 2008 – 2014, director of China Organ Donation Committee (ODC), later merge into China Organ Donation and Transplant Committee³
6. July 2006 – March 2014, director of China’s Organ Transplant Committee (COTC), later merge into the current China Organ Donation and Transplant Committee
7. 1982 – 1984, First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-sen University of Medical Sciences, served successively as surgeon, deputy director of Department of Hepatobiliary Surgery; 1987 – 1992, served as director of Department of Hepatobiliary Surgery, vice president.
8. 1992 – 1996, president and Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) of First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-sen University of Medical Sciences; vice president and CCP Standing Committee member of Sun Yat-sen University of Medical Sciences.
9. 1996 – 2001, Sun Yat-sen University of Medical Sciences, served successively as president and Deputy Secretary of CCP Committee, president and Secretary of CCP Committee.

¹ http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2014-03/07/content_2632855.htm
² http://www.pumch.cn/department_ganzwk.html
III. Introduction

1. Prisoners of conscience are being killed for their organs in China, the majority of which are practitioners of Falun Gong. Circumstances surrounding the anomalous escalation in organ transplant volumes in China lead inexorably to this conclusion. The beginning of the explosive growth in organ transplants coincides with the start of the eradication campaign against Falun Gong. Falun Gong practitioners are held at secret detention facilities in immense numbers. They are systematically subjected to blood tests and organ examinations to the exclusion of other inmates who do not practice Falun Gong.

   See: David Matas and David Kilgour, “Bloody Harvest, Revised Report into Allegations of Organ Harvesting of Falun Gong Practitioners in China” (January 31, 2007) at p. 27-45 (https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BxuyXA9XI6jOaXVNS1BuZE4weFk/view);

   Minghui, “A brutal tragedy is still ongoing” (May 9, 2006) (http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2006/5/9/127277p.html)

2. Corroboration from a large number of admissions from Chinese hospitals, Chinese officials, and witness testimonies place the aforementioned conclusion beyond reasonable doubt.


   David Matas and David Kilgour, supra, at p. 71-81, 164-176, 203-211

3. A report in 2016 found that forced organ harvesting is taking place in China, at volume and scale far surpassing official statistics. Through a calculation of bed count, bed utilization

   http://www.cppcc.gov.cn/zxww/2013/03/11/ARTI1363006186065864.shtml


   “2017 China Non-Government Medical Institution and Hospital Management Summit Forum”

   http://www.founder.com/content/details13_651.html
rates, medical staff numbers, and operating capacities of transplant hospitals and transplant centres, the report concludes that forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience continues on an industrial scale.


4. Unlike organ trafficking in black markets that take place in other countries, forced organ harvesting in China is organized and led by the State. The Central Military Commission, Political and Legal Affairs Commission, and Ministry of Health (later reconstituted as National Health and Family Planning Commission) are key players in this crime.

See: Kilgour, Gutmann and Matas, ibid, at Chapter 12 (https://endtransplantabuse.org/an-update-chapter-twelve-a-state-crime/);

IV. Background and Overview

5. **Huang Jiefu** started off as a surgeon at the First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-sen University of Medical Sciences in 1984.

6. In 1984, provisions were signed in China that permitted the harvesting of organs from executed prisoners. In the same year, Huang Jiefu embarked to Australia to study liver transplantation at the medical school of University of Sydney.

7. Upon returning to China in 1987, he continued to serve at the First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-sen University of Medical Sciences. His promotion at the hospital was swift. He first served as the vice president and director of the Department of Hepatobiliary Surgery. By 1992, he had become the President and Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) of First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-sen University of Medical Sciences, the highest position of power and authority in the Hospital.

8. It is worth noting that Huang Jiefu may be considered a prodigy and pioneer in the field of organ transplants. In 1993, he completed China’s first case of liver transplant using venovenous bypass, a surgical procedure that diverts blood flow through an external circuit to
optimize blood circulation during transplant surgery. He was widely considered as a central figure in the second wave of liver transplantation.

9. When the eradication campaign against Falun Gong began in July 1999, Huang Jiefu was reported to have led the party committee, students, and faculty at Sun Yat-sen University to study anti-Falun Gong documents and directives issued by the CCP Central Committee, Ministry of Civil Affairs and Ministry of Public Security. He also engaged them to watch television programs that defamed and demonized Falun Gong.

10. In January 2001, Huang Jiefu told a Guangzhou based newspaper, Yangcheng Evening News, that “struggle against Falun Gong is a serious political campaign. We must have no mercy towards the few active members.” In May 2001, Minghui reported that the campus of Sun Yat-sen Medical University was filled with anti-Falun Gong slogans and banners.


11. Five months later in October 2001, Huang Jiefu was appointed as the Deputy Minister of Health.

12. It is submitted that in the various capacities as the Deputy Minister of Health, Chair of the National Organ Donation and Transplantation Committee (ODTC), an affiliate of the National Health and Family Planning Commission, and the top ranking surgeon of First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-sen University, Huang Jiefu is responsible and complicit in forced or gan harvesting of prisoners of conscience in multiple ways. He is responsible as a direct participant, a superior, and an accessory in this crime.

13. In particular, he is responsible for the following crimes:

   i. Ordering vital organs on demand, with the knowledge that individuals must have been killed expressly for the purpose, and further, with the almost certain knowledge that the identity of those individuals was prisoners of conscience.

   ii. Engaging in medical research on forced donors, some of whom must have been prisoners of conscience, a fact with which Dr. Huang must have been acquainted.

   iii. Leading false narratives regarding the sources of organs to domestic and international community, in order to conceal and cover up the crime of forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience.

V. Violations
A) Ordering the Extrajudicial Killing of Prisoners for Organ Transplants

14. In September 2005, Huang Jiefu ordered two spare livers from Guangzhou and Chongqing for an emergency liver transplantation in Xinjiang province. The incident was reported in local media, Urumqi Online and sina.com.cn.

See: Urumqi Online, “Record Breaking Two Liver Transplants in 25 Hours” (October 11, 2005); Sina, “Our first autologous liver transplant was successfully performed in Xinjiang” (October 3, 2005) (The links to these reports were taken down, but details of the original reports are available at http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/264#_edn25)

15. According to the news reports, Huang Jiefu went to The First Affiliated Hospital of Xinjiang Medical University on September 28, 2005 to perform liver transplant for a local Communist Party official. Huang originally planned to conduct an allogeneic transplant on the patient. But upon inspecting the patient’s body cavity, Huang found that an autologous liver transplant would be suitable. As autologous transplant was risky and experimental (meaning that the patient’s liver is removed, the cancer excised, and the liver transplanted back into the body), Huang ordered two spare livers from the First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-sen University of Medical Sciences in Guangzhou, Guangdong province and Third Military Medical University Affiliated Southwest Hospital in Chongqing, Sichuan province.

16. Within a few hours, each hospital had managed to find a donor with the “same blood type and genetic loci” as the patient. Both spare livers arrived to Xinjiang from Chongqing and Guangzhou on the evening of the next day, September 29, 2005. Huang Jiefu began the operation at 7 p.m. on the same day and finished operating at 10 a.m. the following day. After 24 hours of observation, Huang announced that the operation was successful and that the two spare livers were no longer needed.

17. Livers typically have a cold ischemia time of between 6-10 hours. Cold ischemia time is the time between the chilling of organ after its blood supply has been cut off and the time it is warmed by having its blood supply restored in the recipient’s body. The shorter the ischemic time of the organ, the better is the success rate for organ transplant. Organs lose their eligibility for transplant if they are left too long without blood circulation.

18. It takes approximately six hours to fly the liver from Guangzhou to Xinjiang, and several more hours for Huang to perform the autologous liver transplant. If the livers were to be usable as back up for Huang Jiefu’s transplant operation, they must be harvested from donors right before they were sent to Huang. Otherwise, the livers would spend too long without blood circulation during transit and standby, losing their eligibility for transplant before they had the opportunity to be used.
19. The necessary implication is that two living donors were killed at calculated timing to satisfy Huang Jiefu’s order of two backup livers. Such calculated timing is impossible to achieve in voluntary organ donations. The livers could only be obtained through the extrajudicial killing of victims who, as established above, could only plausibly have been prisoners of conscience.

20. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the two matching livers were found by the hospitals in a matter of hours, in contrast to wait times of more than two or more years in countries with organ donation programs.

21. As well, Huang Jiefu is an experienced transplant surgeon that must be aware of the difficulty, if not impossibility, in finding and obtaining two viable backup livers from Guangzhou and Chongqing city in normal circumstances. His confidence in issuing the order shows that he is privy to the method and manner in which the hospitals procured organs.

22. No one survives the removal of a whole liver. By ordering two livers from Guangzhou and Chongqing, Huang Jiefu knowingly ordered the extrajudicial killing of two prisoners — almost certainly prisoners of conscience — for his transplant surgery in Xinjiang.

B) Engaging in Medical Research on Prisoners

23. Huang Jiefu is a prolific researcher in transplant technologies. To date, Huang Jiefu has published more than 300 papers in Chinese medical journals.

24. In January 2003, Huang Jiefu co-authored a research article titled “Prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of biliary complications after liver transplantation.”


25. In the introduction, the article stated, “We discussed and reflected on the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of biliary complications using data gathered from 123 cases of orthotopic liver transplantation performed at our centre.” The article cites the warm ischemia time of the livers as between 30 seconds to 8 minutes, and a cold ischemia time as short as 3.5 hours. (See the underlined in figure 1 below)
26. The warm ischemia time (see underlined in Fig 1) of an organ refers to the amount of time that the organ remains at body temperature, after its blood supply has been stopped and before it was cooled by perfusion. A warm ischemia time of 30 seconds means that the liver was still connected to the donor’s blood supply 30 seconds before it was treated with cold perfusion. In another words, the donor was living just 30 seconds before his/her liver was extracted. The necessary conclusion is that the organs were harvested in operating room conditions, and not on execution grounds.

27. In another words, the victims could only plausibly have been killed in the course of Huang Jiefu’s medical research. Given the circumstances surrounding organ transplants in China, this is inconsistent with the well-established pattern and procedures of organ harvesting from death row prisoners, where they are shot at an execution site. This took place in a surgical setting in a hospital. Thus, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the victims included prisoners of conscience.

28. By employing extrajudicial killings in medical research, circumstances suggest that Huang Jiefu was complicit in these crimes. More importantly, as the CCP secretary and president of the hospital in which the killings took place, and subsequently, as the Deputy Minister of Health, Huang Jiefu was clearly a superior who had authority and control over the subordinates who conducted these killings. Given that Huang Jiefu knew about these killings, and failed to prevent and punish these acts, he is responsible by way of superior responsibility for these crimes.

29. In another academic paper co-authored by Huang Jiefu, 10 liver-pancreas transplants performed between May 2004 and September 2010 were reported. The 10 alleged donors were claimed to be “voluntary donors with no heartbeat, all males, aged 21 to 41, with no history of liver diseases or other large organ diseases.” (See Figure 2)

Figure 2: Aforementioned 2012 Journal Article

30. The underlined said, “organs were from no heartbeat voluntary donors.” However, organs used in this study could not have been sourced from voluntary donors between 2004 and 2010. China only commenced its pilot organ donation programme in 2010, and its implementation only began as late as 2013. An academic article noted that between 2003 and 2009, there were only 130 freely donated organs in China among the vast population of over 1.3 billion. To locate 10 voluntary male donors, aged 21-41, with no history of liver diseases or other large organ diseases for the study is nearly impossible.


31. Consistent with the previous findings, the reasonable conclusion is that these organs are procured from extrajudicial killings, crimes for which Huang Jiefu is clearly complicit.

C) Leading False Narratives to Conceal and Cover up

32. Since 2005, Huang Jiefu has held himself out as the key messenger, ambassador, and public relations officer of the organ transplantation system in China. As the public face of the health authorities on organ transplantation in China, he was the bridge between the organ transplantation system in China and the international community. In this capacity, Huang sought to educate the international community on the state of organ transplantation in China. The international community, in turn, relied on Huang’s authority and knowledge in their assessment and judgement.
33. Through numerous international conferences, meetings, and events held by the WHO, Vatican and other organizations, Huang sought to confess, on behalf of health authorities in China, that transplantation organs were procured from death row prisoners. At the same time, Huang promised health reforms. In particular, Huang promised that China was transitioning from reliance on death row prisoners to a wholly voluntary system of organ donation. In 2015, Huang announced this transition and subsequently declared this transition successful in the mere months that followed.

34. Huang’s statements before the international community have been key in building public confidence in China’s organ transplantation system while placating criticisms and concerns over China’s organ transplant abuse. By attributing the unknown organ sources in China to death row prisoners who were already sentenced to die, Huang led a narrative that, although still ethically controversial, was justifiable by a utilitarian appeal. By promising reform, Huang led the international community to sit on the side lines while anticipating China’s reform from within. In all events, Huang portrayed the organ transplantation system in China as one that although fraught with difficulties, is ultimately well meaning and altruistic.

35. It is submitted that Huang Jiefu’s narratives are deliberate and calculated falsehood. His spokespersonship is subtle and artful, but its intended effects are clear. By conceding organ sourcing from death row prisoners, he implicitly denied forced organ harvesting from prisoners of conscience—victims who were never sentenced, let alone sentenced to die. Through promises of internal reform, Huang pacified and discouraged the international community from taking affirmative actions to investigate and stop the crime of forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience in China. Huang Jiefu played a pivotal role in steering public perceptions and opinions regarding organ transplants in China, and it is submitted that he has been deliberately steering public attention away from the ongoing fact of forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience in China.

(i) Knowledge of Forced Organ Harvesting of Prisoners of Conscience

36. To establish that Huang Jiefu’s narratives are false is one thing. To establish that Huang Jiefu’s narratives are intentionally false and misleading is another. The second allegation requires a finding of knowledge, that Huang Jiefu is aware of the true state of affairs, i.e. the organs are actually forcibly harvested from prisoners of conscience in China.

37. It is submitted that Huang Jiefu is well aware of this fact.

38. In his capacity as the Deputy Minister of Health from October 2001 to March 2013, Huang Jiefu oversaw and presided over the entire system of organ transplantation in China. In the
2016 report published by Kilgour, Gutmann and Matas (KGM), the authors stated the following:

“The Ministry of Health (MOH) and later the National Health and Family Planning Commission (NPFPC) led the health care system in the transplantation of organs. In organizing, driving, and directly carrying out such activities, these agencies are fully responsible for overall planning, making policies, regulating and managing China’s human organ transplant industry and the organ donation and allocation system.

These agencies centrally coordinate and guide the Chinese organ transplantation systems: procurement and allocation, clinical care and services, post-operative registration, oversight, and donation. These agencies also organize and implement training and sharing in the regulations, policies, and techniques for transplantation. In particular, they evaluate the qualifications of the transplant institutions, as well as the capabilities and management of clinical practices. They also grant and manage permits to the qualified transplant centres. This means the 169 licensed hospitals (to conduct organ transplants) are approved by this NPFPC.”


39. If Huang Jiefu was to lead the ministry that is responsible, among other things, for the national procurement and allocation of organs, it is impossible for him not to know where the organs come from.

40. As well, Huang Jiefu was the President, Party Secretary and lead surgeon of First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-Sen University, a hospital that, in all likelihood, is heavily involved in forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience. The 2016 report by KGM found the following about First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-Sen University,

“The First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-Sen University leads the nation in vital organ transplantation projects. It claims to have the most types of transplants and to rank second in total volume.

[...]

On March 14, 2006, Guangzhou Daily reported: Recently, in the operation room of the First Affiliated Hospital of Sun Yat-Sen University, the reporter witnessed 5 liver and 6 kidney transplants being conducted simultaneously… At its height, this centre performed 19 kidney transplants in one day. The record set for 6 liver transplants and one multi-organ transplant in one day.
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[...] Its current director is He Xiaoshun who was reported completed 1,300 liver transplants.”

See: Kilgour, Gutmann and Matas, *ibid*, at Chapter 4 (https://endtransplantabuse.org/an-update-chapter-four-approved-civilian-transplant-centres/)

41. Huang Jiefu himself told Guangzhou Daily in March 2013 that, “Last year [2012], I did over 500 liver transplant surgeries. The one that was done in Guangzhou in November [2012] was the first liver transplant case according to the voluntary donation standard of China.”


42. According to Amnesty International, there were 8401 Chinese citizens sentenced to death, giving an annual average of 1,680 executions. Between 2000 and 2005, it was 1616 executions per year. Between 2006 and 2008, the average was 1,066 executions. AI stopped reporting the number of executions in China in 2009.


43. If it is true that Huang Jiefu performed 500 liver transplants in 2012, and that the current director of Sun Yat-Sen University hospital, He Xiaoshun performed 1,300 liver transplants, these two individuals would in all likelihood, singlehandedly exhaust most of the country’s organ supplies from death row prisoners. The irresistible conclusion was that the organs they used for transplants were obtained from sources other than death row prisoners. This source, as established above, was prisoners of conscience.

44. As a primary participant, and the former head of a hospital that is participant in organ transplantation using organs from prisoners of conscience, it is improbable, if not impossible, that Huang Jiefu does not know the source of these organs. At the minimum, he must know that the organs could not have come from executed prisoners. This conclusion is consistent with the above finding, at para. 20 of this report, that Huang Jiefu is privy to the methods and manners in which the hospitals procured organs.
(ii) Interview with CCTV and Phoenix TV

45. The final basis to conclude that Huang Jiefu has knowledge can be found in an important and well publicized interview that he gave to national media, Phoenix TV and CCTV in early 2015.

46. This interview shows that Huang Jiefu has intimate knowledge of the inner workings of organ transplantation system in China. In relevant portions of the interview, Huang said,

“When we decided to stop the reliance on executed prisoners for organ transplants [it was] the most helpless period we've been in....Using prisoner organs, this kind of situation naturally would come to have all kinds of murky and difficult problems in it. Do you know the meaning of my words? .... It became filthy, it became murky and intractable, it became an extremely sensitive, extremely complicated area, basically a forbidden area.

[...]

It's just so clear. Everyone knows the big tiger. Zhou Yongkang is the big tiger; he was our general secretary of the national Political and Legal Affairs Committee, and a formerly member of the Politburo Standing Committee. Everyone knows this....So as for where executed prisoner organs come from, isn’t it very clear? (emphasis added)”

See: Interview Link (http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2015/03/16/4110679.html)

47. Zhou Yangkang was the head of Central Leading Group for Dealing with Falun Gong issues, and Secretary of the Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission from 2007 to 2012. As discussed in the Submission, “Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC”, these two organizations were the primary apparatus of power through which the Chinese Communist regime persecuted, tortured, and killed Falun Gong practitioners. Zhou Yangkang was the chief of both organizations. His extensive and profound involvement in the persecution of Falun Gong was the subject of a separate report.

48. As the concurrent head of Central Leading Group and Central PLAC, Zhou Yongkang presided over the 610 Office, Ministry of Public Security and Ministry of Justice that ran a nationwide network of labour camps that detained Falun Gong practitioners (See “Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC” at paras 45-50).

49. Military hospitals in China are important agents of organ procurement from various forms of prison and detention facilities to supply organs from death row and prisoners of conscience to
sustain the industrial scale of organ transplant in China. Although the health system Huang Jiefu controls does not direct the military, he is complicit in the crime of military organ transplant abuse when he said nothing. These military facilities also allegedly established a network of secret facilities that held Falun Gong practitioners in immense numbers. A whistle-blower from Shenyang Military Region’s Logistics Department once testified to Epoch Times that “across China, there are at least 36 secret camps similar to the one in Sujiatun (concentration camp). Located in Jilin Province, the camp codenamed 672-S is detaining more than 120,000 Falun Dafa practitioners, felons, and (political) dissidents.” The surgeon also alleged to witness “the bulk transferring of 7,000 captives from Tianjin to Jilin province by a rail train. The operation was carried out by fully armed [military] and took place at night. All the captives were cuffed to handrails, like a line of de-feathered chickens.”


50. The immense numbers of Falun Gong practitioners kept in these facilities provide the cogent and ready explanation for the huge organ transplant volumes in China. The handling and disposal of these Falun Gong practitioners were ultimately within the authority and jurisdiction of Zhou Yongkang as the head of Central Leading Group for Handling Falun Gong issues and the head of Central PLAC.

51. As such, Huang Jiefu’s admission that Zhou Yongkang was the key player in China’s organ transplant industry is consistent with this submission that organs in China are harvested from prisoners of conscience, particularly Falun Gong practitioners. Huang’s admission also indicates that he is aware of this fact.

(iii) Inconsistent and vacillating narratives

52. With knowledge of the true state of affairs, Huang Jiefu led inconsistent and vacillating narratives to mislead the international community on the source of organs in China. He is
the key figure that covered up the crime of forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience for the Chinese Communist regime.

53. Beginning in 2005, at the height of organ transplant tourism in China, Huang Jiefu claimed that over 90 percent of transplant organ sources came from death row prisoners. Huang’s claim was presented in international transplant conferences, widely announced in media in China, and in two journal articles in The Lancet, in the 2008 and 2012 issue in which Huang was the first author. In the 2012 The Lancet article Huang said, “China is the only country in the world that systematically uses organs from executed prisoners. About 10,000 transplant operations are performed each year in China, among which 65 percent are organs from cadavers, and 90 percent of which are executed prisoners.”

See: [Chinese news]


http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(11)61086-6/abstract

54. This large volume of transplant cannot be answered with organs from death row prisoners. As noted by US Congressional-Executive Commission on China, Chinese criminal law requires convicted death row prisoners to be executed within seven days of sentence. It is impossible to maintain such a large pool of organs capable of producing matching organs on demand if each living donor has to be executed within seven days. As well, organs from death row criminals are often unsuited for transplantation because of the prevalence of medical conditions and infectious diseases among them. Even Huang himself told Chinese media Southern Metropolis Daily on March 7, 2013, “More than ten years ago, the number of executed prisoners in China started to decrease by 10 percent every year. Now, there are very few prisoners being executed.” If the number of executed prisoners in China has been decreasing by 10 percent every year, and there are very few prisoners being executed by March 2013, it is impossible for executed prisoners to account for the immense volumes of organ transplant that China is doing every year. Much less can executed prisoners account for 90% of the organ transplants in China as Huang Jiefu claimed.

See: David Matas and David Kilgour, Bloody Harvest: The Killing of Falun Gong for Their Organs (Niagara Falls: Seraphim Editions, 2009);

The Congressional-Executive Commission on China, Criminal Procedure Law of the
People’s Republic of China, Article 251 (Amended March 14, 2012),
Torsten Trey and David Matas, “State-organized Criminal Forced Organ Harvesting,”
Journal of Trafficking and Human Exploitation 1, no.2 (2017), 175-186.
Kilgour, Matas and Gutmann, "Bloody Harvest/The Slaughter - An Update," Ch 12,
Deputy Health Minister Huang Jiefu: Ninety Percent Doctors Still Do Not Understand
Brain Death [卫生部副部长黄洁夫：九成医生尚不了解脑死亡]
http://news.sohu.com/20130307/n368067624.shtml

Huang was also dishonest about the volume of organ transplants. Huang claimed that China
does about 10,000 transplant operations a year (see para 53). The actual number of transplant is at least six folds of the official figure. According to the Kilgour, Gutmann, Matas update report in 2016, the transplant undertaken in China averaged 60,000 – 100,000, based on 165 licensed hospitals’ transplant bed count, bed utilization rate and medical staff strength and hospital capacities. The official figure of China’s transplant volume is easily surpassed by the volume transplants performed by a few large hospitals in China.

See: Kilgour, Gutmann, and Matas, "Bloody Harvest/The Slaughter - An Update," Ch. 10
Also, https://www.theepochtimes.com/china-hospital-built-for-murder_1958171.html

In the face of mounting pressure against questionable organ transplant practices in China,
Huang Jiefu announced at the end of 2014 that China will only use voluntary donations for organ transplants.

See: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014-12/04/content_19025683.htm

In 2015, investigators from the World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong called the institutions for voluntary organ donations in China. The few offices that answered the phone indicated that there were only small numbers of people who had registered to donate, and that the number of successful donations was extremely low.

See: Kilgour, Gutmann, and Matas, "Bloody Harvest/The Slaughter - An Update," Ch 12:

Indeed, building up an organ donation system is a slow and organic process. It took countries such as US and Canada several decades of experience and experimentation for
their organ donation systems to get to where they are today. In addition, a traditional Chinese belief is that bodies should remain intact after death. Under these circumstances, the prospect of any short term success for a Chinese organ donation programme is bleak. Huang Jiefu admitted this much in the same interview where he made the announcement in 2014.


60. Then, in an article titled “What’s Behind the Organ Donation in China Being Second in the World?” published in December 2017, the Xinhua news agency proclaimed that there were now 330,000 registered organ donors and over 38,000 donations of major organs. In particular, Huang Jiefu was quoted as saying “When China announced the end of reliance on death-row prisoners for organs, some say that winter for organ transplant in China has come, but I say that spring for organ transplant in China has come. The statistics prove that I am right.”


61. The Western mainstream media was also eager to partake in this celebration. Washington Post published an article in September 15, 2017. The article wrote,

“China’s organ-transplant system was once a cause of international scorn and outrage, as doctors harvested organs from prisoners condemned to death by criminal courts and transplanted them into patients who often paid dearly for the privilege.

After years of denials, China now acknowledges that history and has declared that the practice no longer occurs—largely thanks to the perseverance of a health official who, with the quiet backing of an American transplant surgeon, turned the system around over the span of a decade.

That official, Huang Jiefu, built a register of voluntary donors, overcoming both entrenched interests that profited from the old ways and a traditional Chinese aversion to dismemberment after death.”

62. The registry that Huang Jiefu allegedly built, was the registry maintained by the Red Cross Society of China that published official data on the number of registered organ donors, organ donations, and transplants.

63. Doctors Against Forced Organ Harvesting (DAFOH), a voluntary cross border network of medical professionals monitored this registry for 18 months from 2014-2016. In the course of monitoring, DAFOH discovered a significant discrepancy between organ donation numbers and the actual organ transplant volumes.


64. More importantly, DAFOH discovered an input of 25,000 registered organ donors inserted into the registry in a single day in December, 2015. The sudden large increase in a country that traditionally is reluctant to donate organs is implausible. The exact nature of the increase in number suggests data manipulation. DAFOH has provided a chart that demonstrates the anomalous manner of growth in the organ donor numbers on the registry. The lack of integrity of Huang Jiefu’s registry is clear.


65. Contrary to Washington Post’s suggestion, a successful organ transplant system is not built by a health bureaucratic system. It is constituted by a public who is willing to donate organs. As far as China goes, this has yet to become the case. This report is not alone in pointing this out. Other studies pertaining to Huang Jiefu and organ transplants in China have drawn similar conclusions.


66. As Huang Jiefu leads the Chinese media and much of the international community into a premature celebration, there are increasing indications that prisoners of conscience are being killed for their organs. In October 2015, Huang Jiefu told Beijing Youth Daily that he plans
to increase the number of qualified transplant hospitals from 169 to 300 and train 400 to 500 young doctors. A more recent *Xinhua* report published in *China Daily* on May 15, 2016 stated that, according to Huang Jiefu, “China will increase the number of hospitals conducting organ transplants to 300 in the next five years.”


67. In April 2014, Minghui reported that in Guizhou, Liaoning, Hunan, Hubei, Beijing, and other locations, police entered Falun Gong practitioners’ homes to forcibly take blood samples and cheek swabs. In view of China’s longstanding practice of forced organ harvesting, the reasonable suspicion is that China is expanding its organ bank from prisoners of conscience in detention to prisoners of conscience at large.


(iv). Summation

68. The foregoing shows that with full knowledge of forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience in China, Huang Jiefu has intentionally led false narratives to deceive and mislead the international community on the true source of these organs.

69. This is a clear effort at cover up and concealment of this crime. Huang Jiefu’s artful but dishonest spokesmanship diverted international attention away from the true victims of this crime. In so doing, Huang Jiefu prevented international aid and assistance that could have been forthcoming to the victims. He also maintained a fog of ignorance in the international community that enabled the continued perpetration of these violations.

70. In view of the above, it is submitted that Huang Jiefu is clearly complicit and responsible as an accessory to the crime of forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience, mainly the Falun Gong.

VII. Conclusion

71. Huang Jiefu may not have harvested organs from prisoners of conscience with his own hands. However, his involvement and responsibility in this crime of forced organ harvesting is multifaceted and profound.

72. The victims of forced organ harvesting in China belong to specific groups of people who were targeted for their conscience and beliefs. These victims fall squarely under s. 4(2)(a)(ii)
of Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act. As well, these victims were killed extrajudicially for their organs in a painful process that amounts to torture, satisfying s. 4(2)(a) of the Act.

73. By acting as participant, superior, and accessory to this crime in forms and manners elucidated above, Huang Jiefu clearly qualifies for sanction under the Act.

74. Finally, it is worth noting that forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience in China is a crime of colossal scale. The number of perpetrators responsible and implicated in this crime likely falls beyond measure. Yet, among all these perpetrators who come within the meaning of the Act, Huang Jiefu arguably stands as the person most deserving of sanction. Through more than a decade of spokesmanship, Huang has become the public face of China’s organ transplantation system in the international community. Under these circumstances, sanctioning him sends the clearest and loudest possible message to the international community that Canada opposes the crime of forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience in China.

75. Sanctioning Huang Jiefu will also be the most powerful move that vindicates the victims of conscience and advances Canada’s cause for international justice and human rights.
Canada Magnitsky Act Submission

Falun Dafa Association

April, 2018

Perpetrator (Case # 16): JIA CHUNWANG (贾春旺)

I. PERSONAL INFORMATION

Legal Name: Jia Chunwang (贾春旺)

Gender: Male

Country: P. R. China

Date of Birth: May 1938 in Daxin county, Beijing

II. HISTORY OF APPOINTMENTS

1998 - 2002 Minister of Ministry of Public Security

2003 - 2008 Procurator-General of Supreme People’s Procuratorate

\[1 \text{ China vitae net; http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Jia_Chunwang/travel} \]
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III. OVERVIEW

Jia Chunwang was a former Minister of Public Security, the department of state that presides over the Public Security Bureau, policemen and labour camps (see paras. 45-50 of Architecture and Chain of Command). His tenure as the Minister of Public Security from 1998-2002 coincides with the beginning of eradication campaign of Falun Gong. As the chief of Public Security, Jia Chunwang was an active supporter and a zealous partner in crime in the persecution of Falun Gong. In the chain of command of the anti-Falun Gong machinery, Jia Chunwang took orders directly from the Central PLAC and 610 Office, and commands the nationwide network of police and security personnel to fulfill these orders (see paras. 16-26 and 45-50 of Architecture and Chain of Command). Under his charge, large numbers of Falun Gong practitioners were detained, imprisoned, tortured and killed extrajudicially by police and security personnel in police stations, detention facilities and labour camps across the country.

Jia Chunwang was subsequently appointed as the Chief Procurator of Supreme People’s Procuratorate where he continued to lead the persecution of Falun Gong.

IV. VIOLATIONS

1. Conspiring the persecution of Falun Gong

Jia Chunwang conspired the persecution of Falun Gong even before the campaign against Falun Gong was publicly announced in China on July 20, 1999.

An article from Epoch Times dated June 12, 2015 reported that four months into Jia Chunwang’s tenure as Minister of Public Security, he issued an internal directive, [1998] No.555 “Notice to commence investigation of Falun Gong”. The directive first designated Falun Gong as an evil

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2 Epochtimes, June 12, 2015 (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/15/6/12/n4455857.htm)
cult, before instructing the PSB of various regions to commence thorough investigations into Falun Gong, to grasp the internal situation of Falun Gong and to gather evidence of Falun Gong’s alleged illegal activities. In essence, the directive first targeted Falun Gong for crackdown and only sought evidence of wrongdoings by Falun Gong practitioners as post mortem justification for the abuse.

Under Jia Chunwang’s charge, the PSB began spying and harassing Falun Gong practitioners across China with escalating intensity until the eradication campaign of Falun Gong began in full force on July 20, 1999.

In July 1999, the PSB under Jia Chunwang’s charge contrived and concocted large amounts of evidence to falsely accuse Falun Gong practitioners of crimes. In particular, the PSB alleged approximately 1,400 cases of so-called Falun Gong practitioners engaging in illicit activities such as self-mutilation, manslaughter and suicide. By portraying Falun Gong as a cult, the PSB legitimized the eradication campaign and gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners.

2. Leading the Public Security apparatus and the Prosecutorate to commit gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners

In the eradication campaign of Falun Gong, the Public Security apparatus is the primary agent of persecution. From 1999 to 2002, the Public Security Bureau across China arrested, detained, tortured and killed Falun Gong practitioners in large numbers. They committed human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners at an intensity unmatched in the history of the eradication campaign.

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3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
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campaign. In these three years, the PSB was responsible for 2,369 documented cases of Falun Gong practitioners being tortured to death\(^5\), 6,000 documented cases of Falun Gong practitioners being sentenced to prison, and hundreds of thousands of Falun Gong practitioners sent to forced labour camps\(^6\).

Jia Chunwang, as the head of the Public Security apparatus in the relevant period, cannot evade responsibility for these crimes. The coordination and scale shown in these gross human rights violations suggests centralized planning and command on his part. The intensity and scale of these human rights violations were such that it was impossible for Jia Chunwang not to know about this situation. His failure to prevent or punish the perpetrators give rise to command responsibility on his part.

A series of high profile speech he made to security personnel and party members urging the crackdown of Falun Gong establishes his role in the eradication campaign beyond reasonable doubt.

(1) September 2001, Seventy Days Manhunt

On September 20, 2001, China News Service reported that the Chinese police have commenced a seventy days large scale operation to arrest and capture fugitives\(^7\). Deputy Minister of Ministry of Public Security was reported to have said at the teleconference that a major target of the operation was “fugitive criminal suspects who are alleged to engage in Falun Gong cult criminal activities”\(^8\). Minister of Public Security, Jia Chunwang, also gave an important speech at the conference. Among other things, he emphasized that Public Security agencies of different regions

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\(^6\) Epochtimes, June 12, 2015 (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/15/6/12/n4455857.htm)


\(^8\) Ibid.
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must cooperate better, departments of Public Security agencies must be spontaneous, assume an overall combat stance, and create a flawless web to crush the fugitives.9

(2) March 2002, Strike Hard Campaign

On March 26, 2002, the People’s Daily reported that the Central Politics and Legal Affairs Commission held a national teleconference on escalating and intensifying the “Strike Hard” transformation and Douzheng (battle) campaign.10 Secretary of Central PLAC and member of Central Politburo, Luo Gan stated “to integrate ‘Strike Hard’ transformation and Douzheng, closely prevent and pre-empt, to strike fiercely against […] subversive activities by Falun Gong cult organization.” Jia Chunwang was reported to have attended and spoken at the conference.

(3) October 2002, Statement by Jia Chunwang

On October 24, 2002, China News Service reported a speech by Minister of Public Security, Jia Chunwang. The Ministry of Public Security was said to have a six-point emphasis which includes “to closely prevent and strike harshly against […] sabotage by Falun Gong cult organizations” so as to ensure social and political stability when the sixteenth congress was being held.11

(4) December 2002, Leadership Transition Ceremony

On December 17, 2002, Xinhua reported on the leadership transition ceremony for the Ministry of Public Security. The ceremony celebrated the appointment of Zhou Yongkang as the new leader of Ministry of Public Security and celebrated the departure of Jia Chunwang who was being transferred to lead the Supreme People’s Prosecutorate. The Supreme People’s Procuratorate is the highest prosecutorial body that exercises the power of prosecution in China. In practice, the Supreme People’s Procuratorate reports to the Politics and Legal Affairs Commission (PLAC) and has been complicit in the eradication campaign against Falun Gong (See paras. 34-35 of Submissions on Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC).

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9 Ibid.
10 People’s Daily, March 26, 2002 (http://www.mingjing.org.cn/zxxx/2020326/01.htm)
At the ceremony, the head of CCP Organization Department, He Guoqiang, gave a high appraisal of Jia Chunwang’s performance as the Minister of Public Security. He Guoqiang said that, “in the last five years, the Public Security frontline adamantly executed the Party’s guiding spirit, struck harshly and closely pre-empted enemy forces both within and abroad, and sabotage and destructive activities by Falun Gong cult organization.”

It is evident from this performance review that Jiang Chunwang has been recognized as an active partner in crime in the Chinese Communist regime’s persecution of Falun Gong, who has been responsible for the torture, extrajudicial killing and other gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong practitioners by the PSB.

(5) December 2004, Jia Chunwang’s report at the National Prosecutorate Conference

Jia Chunwang has continued to lead the persecution of Falun Gong in his capacity as the head of the Supreme People’s Prosecutorate. In the National Prosecutorate Conference held on December 22, 2004, Jia Chunwang reported that the Prosecutorate had to “follow the requirements of the National Political and Legal Affairs work conference, to increase the sense of urgency and the sense of national security and stability, to penalize harshly in accordance with law […] the destructive activities of cult organizations such as Falun Gong.”

In particular, his call to “embody the directions of the Strike Hard campaign in arrest and prosecution works” was in essence a call for human rights violations through criminal prosecution. It was previously noted in other reports that “Strike Hard” is not an adjective, but a term of art first used by former chief of Central PLAC and Central Leading Group for Dealing with Falun Gong, Luo Gan, to denote the eradication campaign against Falun Gong (see para 38 of Architecture and Chain of Command).

Jia Chunwang has made similar speech on the imperative to crack down on Falun Gong on behalf of the Supreme People’s Prosecutorate in other major national conference.\(^\text{12}\)

\(^{12}\) Justice Net, December 22, 2004 (http://www.jcrb.com/zyw/n462/ca329547.htm)
V. Conclusion

Jia Chunwang occupied an important position on the chain of command, in the machinery of persecution and genocide against Falun Gong. As the chief of PSB, he was the custodian of the coercive institutions of the state. He abused this position to inflict torture, violence and death on Falun Gong practitioners.

Jia Chunwang was also a pioneer in the eradication campaign against Falun Gong. He was part of the earliest conspiracy that contrived the prohibition and crackdown of Falun Gong in 1998. He was also the minister who reshaped PSB from the enforcer of law and order into the agent of persecution against individuals who sought to exercise their freedoms and human rights.

For his instrumental role in perverting the course of human rights, peace and justice in China, it is submitted that he deserves sanction under the Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act.

Perpetrator: Jiang Zemin (江泽民)

I. Personal Information

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator: Jiang Zemin, (江泽民)
Gender: Male
Country: People’s Republic of China
Date of Birth: August 17, 1926

II. History of Appointments

General Secretary of the Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party (July, 1989 to Nov. 2002)
President of the People's Republic of China (1993-2003)

III. Overview

As the architect of the persecution of Falun Gong, Jiang Zemin personally launched, planned, orchestrated, ordered and executed the persecution and crimes against millions of Falun Gong practitioners in China starting 1999. He established this crackdown not as a law enforcement program within the context of criminal law or procedure, but as an extralegal political campaign utilizing primarily Chinese Communist Party (CCP)—not state—personnel and resources, resulting in the torture, death, and organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners.

Persecution of Falun Gong was former Chinese leader Jiang Zemin’s personal decision. Jiang Zemin dictated to the politburo his decision of establishing an extralegal Communist Party organization, “610 office”, to administer and execute his persecution policy. The “610 Office” was established under the direct order of Jiang. The “610” office is actually Jiang’s commanding system and personal platform to direct and oversee the persecution campaign.

<See: Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC at paras. 31>

IV. Violations

1. Jiang Zemin personally ordered the persecution of Falun Gong by issuing five directives for
the Communist Party to prepare the persecution

The persecution of Falun Gong was triggered by Falun Gong practitioners’ peaceful appeal at the Central Petition Office in Beijing on April 25, 1999. The mass arrest started on July 20, 1999. During this period, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its central leadership, especially Jiang Zemin and Politburo, prepared the persecution. During this period of time, at least five directives were issued by Jiang Zemin as the instructions for the Party leadership to take measures against Falun Gong. Three of them became the official documents of the CCP Central Committee (CCPCC) and were distributed to the Party officials. One was a speech given to mobilize the persecution the day before the mass arrest.

i) The April 27 Directive

On April 27, 1999, the General Office of CCPCC issued “Notice about Copy and Distribution of ‘Letter from Comrade Jiang Zemin to the Politburo Standing Committee Members and Related Leaders’”. This notice requested study of a letter written by Jiang on the night of April 25, 1999. It further requested the recipients to carry out and report to the central committee. According to this notice, it was Jiang who came to a negative judgment for the appeal on April 25. Jiang’s letter and the notice showed that he wanted to impose his views to the top leadership of the party before the politburo was given a chance to discuss the issue. Jiang’s personal letter had been distributed to the lower levels as an official direction from the Party central to study and carry out the letter, not asked for suggestions or advice.

Jiang revealed a few important signals in his letter (since this letter was written the same day of the Falun Gong April 25 petition, it could not be the results of any investigation.):

“Was it related to overseas and the Western countries? Were there ‘Master-hands” behind the scene planning and directing?” -- This was the signal of a crackdown before even any investigation.

“Can the Marxism, Materialism, and Atheism that we communists have really not win over the theory that Falun Gong advocates? If that were true, it would be a thumping joke!” -- This showed Jiang having initial thoughts of a crackdown. In CCP history, the ideological difference is the most serious accusation.

“This incident showed how weak our ideological, political, and mass work has been in some areas and sections. We must insist on educating the cadres and general public with the right world outlook, philosophy, and values… Our leaderships at all levels, especially at high levels, should be clearheaded now!” -- This indicated that the high level leaderships in the party did not have the desire of a crackdown. It was the personal decision by Jiang. Thus it became necessary to “educate the cadres and general public” and to make the high level leaderships “clearheaded”.

1 Beijing Spring 2001(6): A letter to the standing members of the Politburo and other top leaders by Jiang Zemin. (April 25, 1999)
ii) The May 23 Directive

The second document was also issued by the General Office of CCPCC. “The notice about printing and distributing ‘Comrade Jiang Zemin’s Memorandum to the Politburo members, Office of the Central Party Secretaries, Central Military Committee’”. (General Office of CCPCC Official Document [1999] #19)\(^2\) This document was issued on May 23, 1999.\(^3\) The content of the document is about how to secretly prepare the persecution.

iii) The June 7 Directive

The third document was also issued by the General Office of CCPCC and requested to study and carry out “Jiang Zemin’s Speech in Politburo Meeting about Paying Attention to Deal with and Solve the Falun Gong Issue”.\(^4\) It was dated June 7, 1999. In the speech, Jiang analogized Falun Gong to the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, which is a clear signal that the crackdown was imminent. He said,

> “Falun Gong issue involved deep political and societal contexts and complex international background. It was the most significant incident since the political turmoil in 1989. We must treat it seriously, do thorough research and take effective countermeasures.”

This speech also said,

> “The central authority has agreed that Li Lanqing is going to lead the effort of establishing a leading group particularly dealing with the Falun Gong issue. Li Lanqing will be the chief of the group. Ding Guangen and Luo Gan will be the deputy chief. Other group members will be the leaders from all related departments. It will centralize all effort of hashing out the detailed steps, tactics, and measures of solving the Falun Gong issue. The central committee, all departments at state level, provinces, municipality autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government must cooperate closely.”

The leading group mentioned here was later called “the Leading Group For Handling Falun Gong Issue”. This speech directly resulted in the establishment of this extralegal entity and its office which is to execute the eradication campaign against the Falun Gong. Because it was established on June 10, it

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\(^2\) Notice on the "Instruction of Comrade Jiang Zemin to Comrades of the Politburo, Secretariat, and Central Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee" of the Central Office of the Communist Party of China (Zhongbanfa [1999] No. 19) 关于中共中央办公厅《江泽民同志给中共中央政治局、书记处、中央军委诸同志的批示》的通知（中办发[1999]19 号）。

\(^3\) Zhang Wannian Biography: Resolutely Opposes Falun Gong“《张万年传》：坚决反对“法轮功”

\(^4\) Beijing Spring 2001(6): A speech at the meeting of the CCP Politburo on how to swiftly handle and solve the “Falun Gong problem.” by Jiang Zemin. (June 7, 1999).
was commonly referred as “610 Office.”

The speech mentioned that, “The central committee, all departments at state level, provinces, municipality autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government must cooperate closely”. It is clear that the leading group was given overarching power above the existing administration of party and government. The implication is that the leading group was accountable to no one but Jiang himself. In this manner, the leading group was intended by Jiang to be his personal system of command and apparatus of power.  <See Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC at para. 11-12>

The speech also mentioned that the leading group should “collect among Falun Gong practitioners in all areas the extraordinary cases including schizophrenia, suicide, and refusing medicine resulting in diseases worsening or death.” Those “victim situations” were declared here before any “investigation work” even started. The speech also said, “after the establishment of the central leading group for dealing with Falun Gong issue, it should immediately organize the resources to investigate the organization structure of Falun Gong nationwide, establish the warfare strategy and tactics, and fully prepare for the work of dividing and demoralizing [Falun Gong]. We should not go in a fight without preparation.” 5 This portion of the speech shows that the Party’s subsequent findings on the alleged harmful effects of Falun Gong was never the result of a bona fide investigation, but means contrived to rationalize the campaign against Falun Gong. This directive resulted that starting from July 22, 1999, the Chinese Central Television (CCTV) broadcasted a series of forged news alleging that 1400 individuals developed a mental disorder, committed suicide or killing, without any investigation, concluded that they were all Falun Gong practitioners. 6 The news was fabricated by the “610 office” according to Jiang’s instruction. 7 The existence of Jiang’s speech can be proven by the local reports on the study of the speech. The speech shows that the findings of Falun Gong causing, among others, “1400 cases of death from mental disorder, suicide and refusing to take medicines” were never the reason for Jiang to initiate the persecutory campaign against Falun Gong. These findings did not even exist before this speech. Jiang’s true motive, as seen in this speech, was to eliminate Falun Gong as a political and ideological threat.

According to the Washington Post in its November 12, 1999 report, “The campaign has revealed dissent at the top echelons of power, undermining the image of China's leadership as united and pragmatic. Communist Party sources said that the standing committee of the Politburo did not unanimously endorse the crackdown and that President Jiang Zemin alone decided that Falun Gong must be eliminated.”

5 Fujian Economy Management College notice: July 26, All the Party members come back to school, Listen to “The Central Office of the CCCCCP’s notification on printing and distribution of “Comrade Jiang Zemin’s speech at the meeting of the Political Bureau of CCCCCP regarding speeding up the dealing with and settling the problem of Falun Gong”.  
was Jiang who ordered that Falun Gong be labeled a ‘cult,’ and then demanded that a law be passed banning cults, a party source said. ‘This obviously is very personal for Jiang,’ said one party official. ‘He wants this organization crushed.’”

The findings by Washington Post are consistent with the content of the aforementioned directives. In these directives, there were no indications of any actual discussion or deliberation between Jiang and his contemporaries. The directives were all framed as orders and instructions from Jiang, issued directly from Jiang to the highest levels of Party leadership.

iv) Two other letters

The fourth letter was mentioned in Zhang Wannian Biography. The Biography mentioned that “After April 25 incident, Falun Gong tried to create mass gatherings nationwide on May 1, 2, and 3. Jiang Zemin wrote a letter to Politburo members according to the situation on April 29. Since those gatherings never happened and there had been no evidence of any planning for those gatherings to date, the plausible explanation is that Jiang Zemin and perhaps others made these allegations to justify the planned and upcoming persecution.

The fifth instruction was a speech given by Jiang Zemin at a meeting on July 19, the eve of the mass illegal roundup of Falun Gong practitioners which marked the beginning of the persecution. The meeting was to mobilize the CCP officials for the persecution against Falun Gong which was about to begin the following day.

2. Jiang Zemin set up a Chain of Command to carry out the extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners

The five aforementioned directives showed that all decisions to persecute Falun Gong ultimately came from Jiang Zemin himself. Among the five directives, at least three were relayed by the General Office of CCP Central Committee to become formal internal documents of CCPCC. Those documents were distributed and relayed to Communist Party Committees at provincial and city levels who were to follow and implement these documents. Thus, Jiang Zemin's personal decision to persecute Falun Gong became the Party's policy.

For instance, on May 8, 1999, Jiang Zemin wrote a Memorandum to the comrades of Politburo, Office of Secretariat, and the Central Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. Then, on May 23, the General Office of the CCP Central Committee issued a formal internal

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8 Washington Post November 11, 1999, “Cracks in China's Falun Gong Crackdown" by John Pomfret
9 Zhang Wannian Biography: Resolutely Opposes Falun Gong
10 The Speech at the Leaders of the Communist Party Committees of the Provinces, the Autonomous Regions, and the Municipalities《在省、自治区、直辖市党委负责同志会议上的讲话》(July 19,1999).
document to distribute Jiang’s Memorandum for the Party officials to study (the Notice of the General Office of CCP Central Committee Official Document [1999] #19). On May 28, the Standing members of Provincial Party Committee studied that document. At this point, the document reached the level of Provincial Standing Committee of CCP. On June 3, the Office of CCP Hebei Province Committee issued its own notice to relay the General Office of CCP Central Committee’s notice: “Seriously Following and Carrying out the Order of ‘the Office of CCP Central Committee Official Document [1999] #19’” (Hebei Official Document [1999] #21). This document was exposed by whistle-blower Xu Xinmu, a Falun Gong practitioner who worked for the Hebei province government. For this, Duan Rongxin and Xu Xinmu were sentenced to 8 and 4 years in jail, respectively, for “leaking state secret”. The sentence affirmed the document's authenticity. Chinese Official Media reported on the trial. On June 11, 1999, the CCP Langfang City Committee issued its own notice to relay the notice of CCP Hebei Province Committee's Official Document [1999] #21. Thus, Jiang Zemin's personal instructions to persecute Falun Gong became the Party's official instruction and were relayed to every level of Party officials through the Party Committees of each level.

The persecution of Falun Gong is not based in law and violates the Chinese constitution. Falun Gong practitioners did not violate any law and exercise their rights as a Chinese citizen. The persecution of Falun Gong was, at its inception, is extralegal with a political motive led by Jiang Zemin. The Leading Group and the 610 Office that were established respectively on June 7, 1999 and June 10, 1999 were extrajudicial bodies that operated outside the law. Since 1999, the sole mandate of the 610 Office is to persecute Falun Gong, although its functions were expanded in later years. The 610 Office has power and authority over above all state administrative organs at the same level. It is responsible for all the tortures, torture to deaths, brainwashing, arbitrary detentions, forced labour, illegal trials and sentences. The 610 Office belongs to the Communist Party, not the state. It only reported to Jiang Zemin and his associates. Its existence was maintained as a state secret until December 2013, when its head Li Dongsheng was ousted during the anti-corruption campaign. Li Dongsheng's two titles were announced at the time: the deputy chief of the Leading Group and the director of the Central 610 Office. That was the first time that Chinese regime officially admitted the existence of the Leading Group and its 610 Office. <See Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC at paras. 10-15, 31>

14 Shijiazhuang Daily, Oct. 17, 2000: Duan Rongxin was sentenced 8 years in Jail.
15 VOA Report, Jan 4, 2000: Xu Xinmu sentenced 4 years in Jail for “leaking State Secret”.
16 People’s Daily, July 9, 2000
17 Notice of Chinese Communist Party Committee of Langfang City on Carrying Out Policies in CCP Hebei Provincial Committee Office Release [1999] No. 21
21 “Central Authority Decided to remove Li Dongsheng from office” 中组部:中央已决定免去李东生领导职务 http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2013-12/25/c_118709712.htm
3. Jiang Directly Gave Secret Orders to Carry Out the Eradication Campaign of the Falun Gong Group

During the time Jiang Zemin was in power, through the “610 Office,” Jiang Zemin had given out a series of secret orders targeting Falun Gong practitioners. These orders include the order to “eradicate Falun Gong within three months” by “defaming their reputations, bankrupt them financially, and destroying them physically”; the order to “counting a beaten-to-death case as suicide; and the order to “directly cremate the body without checking the identity.” These orders have resulted in the extrajudicial killing, torture, and other gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners on a national scale.

i) “Eradicate Falun Gong within three months”

Taipei’s China Times reported on September 1, 2000, “The Chinese Communist Party has decided to escalate its oppression on Falun Gong and plans to eradicate Falun Gong within three months. Sources indicate that Falun Gong practitioners in New York are planning to have a large demonstration of over 1,000 people during the United Nation’s millennium meeting in New York, which the Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Jiang Zemin is expected to attend. They also plan to publish and deliver a letter to urge Beijing to stop the genocide against Falun Gong practitioners.”

The article quoted the New York-based Falun Dafa Information Center, “Reliable sources in China have disclosed plans issued by Chinese Communist head, Jiang Zemin, to mount a new attempt to wipe out Falun Gong within three months. The new plan is called ‘Destroying the reputation of Falun Gong completely, exhausting Falun Gong practitioners financially, and eradicating Falun Gong within three months.’”

The article further reported that on August 28, 2000, the Chinese Ministry of Public Security held a nationwide telephone conference to relay new orders from Jiang. Its key point: “further intensify the crackdown on Falun Gong.” The plan recommended that some practitioners considered “backbone adherents” be “heavily punished.” The authorities also reportedly discussed executing certain practitioners who have remained faithful to their beliefs. The purpose of such a move is apparently to threaten a large number by killing a few.

ii) “Defaming Falun Gong practitioners’ reputation, bankrupt them financially and destroy them physically”

Sources from within Chinese law enforcement agencies and members of the Chinese People’s Congress

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22 China Times September 1, 2000, report from Hong Kong on Network Postal Newspaper《中国时报》2000年9月1日报导

23 http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/89
revealed that at the beginning of the persecution, Jiang Zemin had a secret meeting with Luo Gan on the Falun Gong issues.\(^\text{24}\) The key points of the meeting are as follows:

1. Show no mercy to Falun Gong practitioners, especially those who appealed or distributed truth-clarification materials. Beat them at the point of arrest and beat them hard. If they are beaten to death, count them as suicides. Cremate their bodies directly without checking their identity.

2. In regards to the [Falun Gong] issues, we shall use all possible means to eradicate Falun Gong without being constrained by anything, including the laws. No accountability for the death of any Falun Gong practitioner. I don’t believe that I cannot eradicate Falun Gong.

3. Defame Falun Gong practitioners’ reputation, bankrupt them financially, and destroy them physically.

4. Under normal condition, no classified documents will be issued. Orders will be given either verbally or through encrypted telex with no undersigning names. In general, simply say it is the “Central Committee’s instruction,” and it should be sufficient.

In their book “Bloody Harvest”, Canadian Human Rights lawyers David Matas and David Kilgour wrote: “According to Li Baigen, then assistant director of the Beijing Municipal Planning office who attended the meeting, during 1999 the three men heading the 610 office called more than 3,000 officials to the Great Hall of the People in the capital to discuss the campaign against Falun Gong, which was then not going well. Demonstrations were continuing to occur at Tiananmen Square. The head of the 610 office, Li Lanqing, verbally announced the government’s new policy on the movement: "defaming their reputations, bankrupting them financially, and destroying them physically." Only after this meeting were the deaths of adherents at police hands recorded as suicides.”\(^\text{25}\)

During 2000, Luo Gan traveled around the country to verbally transmit Jiang Zemin’s secret orders: Defame Falun Gong practitioners’ reputation; destroy them financially and physically; count it as suicide if a practitioner is beaten to death; cremate the body on the spot without checking the identity. Upon completing the mission, Luo Gan returned to Beijing.

The orders were carried out by Luo Gan. Take the Wangcun Labour Camp in Shandong Province, for example.\(^\text{26}\) Under Luo Gan’s direct command, the labour camp forced Falun Gong practitioners to attend forced transformation sessions, deprived them of sleep for days at a time, forced them to watch videotapes that slandered Falun Gong and write reports on their thoughts, and savagely tortured them

\(^{24}\) Ibid.


both physically and mentally. Zheng Wanxin, the captain of the 9th Squadron of the labour camp, and his staff hung up Falun Gong practitioners, shocked them with more than 10 electric batons at the same time, and force fed practitioners.  

iii) “Kill without mercy. Shoot Falun Gong practitioners at sight.”

According to Falun Dafa Information Center’s report on March 4, 2002, “Sources revealed that one of the leaders of the national ‘610 Office,’ Liu Jing, held a meeting regarding the persecution of Falun Gong shortly before the Chinese New Year. During the meeting, Liu Jing angrily criticized Jilin Province’s lack of effectiveness in the persecution and gave a strict order to ‘completely eliminate’ Falun Gong. This meeting was where the infamous ‘shoot to kill’ order was given.”

Between February and March of 2002, the Public Security Bureau in Changchun, Jilin, Jiang gave an order that they may shoot to “kill [Falun Gong practitioners] without mercy” if they see practitioners handing banners with truth-clarification messages or distributing materials containing the facts about Falun Gong. Shortly afterwards, the Public Security Bureau in Liaoning Province and Shandong Province received the same secret order. In several large cities in northeastern China, the police shot Falun Gong practitioners on sight during this period of time. On February 26, 2002, the police force in Anshan City, Liaoning Province, shot a Falun Gong practitioner while they were in pursuit of three Falun Gong practitioners. A policeman shot four bullets in a row and wounded a Falun Gong practitioner in the thigh. According to Falun Dafa Information Center’s report on March 4th, 2002, at least three shooting incidents took place and one Falun Gong practitioner’s thighbone was fractured as a result of the shooting. Du Yongshan, a policeman in Mishan City, Heilongjiang Province, shot a Falun Gong practitioner, Jiang Honglu, in public and broke one of his legs.

Chang Xiaoping is the First Undersecretary of Changchun’s Party Committee who oversees the city’s “610 Office.” In the early morning of March 12, 2002, Falun Gong practitioner Liu Haibo, alleged to have provided lodgings for practitioners involved in the cable TV interruption, died as a result of the forced interrogation and torture by the criminal police unit of the Kuancheng Public Security Division. Chang Xiaoping rushed to the Kuancheng Division and issued the following instructions on how to handle the incident:

- It is an arduous task to handle Falun Gong issues. Therefore, injury and death are not to be worried [about].

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27 http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/89
28 Falun Dafa Information Center March 4, 2002, report: Jiang Zemin Group Order Gun-shooting Falun Gong Practitioners
30 Falun Dafa Information Center March 4, 2002, report: Jiang Zemin Group Order Gun-shooting Falun Gong Practitioners
31 http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/89
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2018 (supplemented April 25, 2018)

- Carefully cover the death of Liu Haibo to prevent it from leaking and causing international pressure.
- Commission for Inspecting Discipline at different levels shall not get involved and investigate the injury and death of Falun Gong practitioners. Take the whole situation into account.

This is essentially an order to kill without mercy. Considering the highly centralized power system of the Chinese Communist regime, such an order can only come from the very top. 32

4. Ordering Forced Organ Harvesting against Falun Gong Practitioners

The basic perimeters of forced organ harvesting is established in the submissions on Huang Jiefu (See: paras. 1-5 of Submissions on Huang Jiefu). That submission concluded that forced organ harvesting was led by the Chinese Communist regime, carried out on an industrial scale, and that its primary victims are Falun Gong practitioners.

On September 30, 2014, an investigator from World Organization to Investigate Persecution of Falun Gong (WOIPFG) made a phone call to Bai Shuzhong, former head of the Health Division for Chinese People’s Liberation Army General Logistics Department. 33 In an exceptionally clear and explicit interview, Bai Shuzhong spoke, in unequivocal and unmistakable terms, that forced organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners was first ordered by Jiang Zemin.

The transcript for the aforementioned interview merits substantial quotation 34:

Investigator: This is the situation. When you were the head of the health division for the PLA General Logistics Department, regarding taking organs from the detained Falun Gong people for organ transplantation, was it an order from Wang Ke, the then-director of the PLA General Logistics Department? Or did it directly come from the Central Military Commission?

Bai Shuzhong: Back then, it was Chairman Jiang.

Investigator: Hmm.

Bai Shuzhong: There was an order, a sort of instruction that said this.

Investigator: Hmm.

Bai Shuzhong: It instructed to carry out this thing, that is, organ transplantation.

Investigator: Hmm.

32 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
Bai Shuzhong: Later, Chairman Jiang, (I) heard there was an instruction document, about people selling kidneys for transplant surgeries. This, I should say, was not just the military, which was doing kidney transplants.

Investigator: We also obtained some intelligence, that is to say back then, the Joint Logistics Departments (of the Military Regions) had detained a number of Falun Gong people as live donors, is that true?

Bai Shuzhong: This, this is back then, ah, I think, at least this is how I remembered, because back then after Chairman Jiang issued the order, we all did a lot of work against the Falun Gong practitioners.

Investigator: You guys (the PLA General Logistics Department) and the Joint Logistics Department No. 1, Joint Logistics Department No. 2, including the Joint Logistics Department No.40 subdivision, and the military hospitals they were in charge of, do you have supervisory relationship with them?

Bai Shuzhong: We directly control the military medical universities, they are directly affiliated with the PLA General Logistics Department, and they received repeated orders, because Jiang paid a lot of attention to this matter back then, and put a lot of emphasis on this matter.

Investigator: Who put a lot of emphasis on this matter?

Bai Shuzhong: Jiang, it was when Jiang was in power.

Investigator: Hmm.

Bai Shuzhong: (Jiang) paid a lot of attention to this matter, there were written orders.

Investigator: From 1998 to 2004, you were ….

Bai Shuzhong: Correct, correct, correct, (I was) the head of the health division for the PLA General Logistics Department, from 1998 to 2004.

On September 13, 2006, another secret caller from WOIPFG called then-Minister of Finance, Bo Xilai during his visit to Hamburg, Germany. During the phone call, the secret caller asked, “[…] regarding the matter of live organ harvesting of Falun Gong (practitioners), was that your order or Jiang Zemin’s order?” In response, Bo Xilai answered, “President Jiang’s!”35 The manner of the secret shopper’s questioning may not withstand scrutiny by a formal court of law. Nonetheless, this admission by a senior State official provides a valuable corroborating evidence. As well, when asked about live organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners, Bo Xilai’s apparent familiarity with this term indicates that live organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners exists and it is known by Bo Xilai.

V. Conclusion

Perpetrators who committed gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners are many.

35 Ibid.
Among these individuals, Jiang Zemin stands out as the person most culpable and responsible for these crimes. Jiang Zemin singlehandedly contrived the eradication campaign against Falun Gong. By unilateral will, he engaged organs and institutions of the entire Party-state into the eradication campaign and devised the extralegal organization 610 Office that was to become the primary apparatus of persecution against Falun Gong. Since Jiang dictated to the politburo his decision of establishing such an extralegal organization to administer and execute his persecution policy, he has at the minimum command responsibility, if not direct responsibility for the gross human rights violations committed by the 610 Office against Falun Gong.

Jiang Zemin, in his capacity as the Secretary General of the CCP, the highest position of leadership in China, has also issued both open and secret orders to exterminate Falun Gong practitioners with violence and impunity. These are essentially orders for state agents to commit extrajudicial killing and gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners on a nationwide scale. Under these orders, Falun Gong practitioners are victimized because of their insistence and adherence to their religion, conscience, and belief.

For the aforementioned reasons, the report submits that Jiang Zemin satisfies the circumstances described in s4(2)(a)(ii) of the Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act.
Canada Magnitsky Act Submission
Falun Dafa Association
April, 2018

Perpetrator (Case 16): Li Dongsheng (李东生)

I. Personal Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Legal Name of Perpetrator:</th>
<th>Li Dongsheng (李东生)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country:</td>
<td>PR China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Birth:</td>
<td>December 1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Status:</td>
<td>Sentenced to 15 years in jail due to abuse of power and bribery in January 2016</td>
</tr>
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</table>

II. History of Appointments

1. October 2009 – December 2013, Director of the 610 Office, Deputy Minister of Public Security of China, Deputy Secretary of Public Security Party Committee
2. June 1999 – October 2009, Deputy Director of the 610 Office
3. May 2002 – October 2009, Deputy Head of the Central Propaganda Department
4. July 2000 – January 2001, Deputy Director of the State Administration of Radio Film and Television of China (SARFT)

III. Overview

1 Li Dongsheng CV, accessed from (http://www.baike.com/wiki/%E6%9D%8E%E4%B8%9C%E7%94%9F%E5%B0%85%E5%AC%E5%AE%89%E9%83%A8%E5%89%AF%E9%83%A8%E9%95%BF%5D); WOIPFG (5 September 2013) “An Investigative Report on the Director of the Central 610 Office Li Dongsheng”, Retrieved (http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/243)
2 Ibid.
1. The eradication campaign of Falun Gong is conceived by the Chinese Communist regime in two broad aspects—physical killing and torture; and corruption of public opinion. Physical killing and torture is carried out by coercive institutions of the state first led by former Deputy Director of Central 610 Office, Liu Jing (see paras.1-5 of Submissions on Liu Jing). Corruption of public opinion in relation to Falun Gong is carried out by the media agencies, departments and organizations of propaganda led by Li Dongsheng who was the other Deputy Director of Central 610 Office. The crimes and transgressions that Li Dongsheng committed against Falun Gong practitioners in his capacity as the chief of propaganda from 1999 to 2009 forms the main subject of this report.

2. In 2009, Li Dongsheng was promoted to become the Director of Central 610 Office and Deputy Minister of Public Security of China and gained control over the entire apparatus of persecution including both propaganda and public security (See paras. 13-15, 31 of Submissions on Architecture and Chain of Command). In his new appointments, Li Dongsheng visited different cities to inspect and tighten security work, a euphemism for the persecution of Falun Gong. His visits were followed by an escalation in the torture, imprisonment, and forced transformation of Falun Gong practitioners in these cities.

3. Li Dongsheng’s political career ended in 2013 when he was investigated for “grave violations of Party discipline and law” by the Party. However, Li Dongsheng was never investigated, punished, or held accountable for his role in the persecution of Falun Gong.

IV. Violations

(i) Leading propaganda campaigns to vilify and dehumanize Falun Gong practitioners
4. Li Dongsheng began his career working in Chinese state-controlled media, China Central Television (CCTV), where he was promoted quickly through the ranks to become deputy director of CCTV by 1993\(^3\).

5. When the former chief of Chinese Communist Party, Jiang Zemin, launched the eradication campaign against Falun Gong in July 1999, Li Dongsheng was selected to lead the campaign as Deputy Director of Central 610 Office. He was subsequently given formal authority over state propaganda departments—the State Administration of Radio Film and Television of China in July 2000 and Central Propaganda Department in May 2002\(^4\).

6. As the chief of propaganda, Li Dongsheng led the propaganda machineries to conduct several national, high profile, and devastating attacks to demonize Falun Gong practitioners.

“Focus” Documentary

7. During his tenure as the Deputy Director of CCTV, Li Dongsheng was in charge of “Focus”, a popular documentary style news programme that devotes 45 minutes episodes to the exploration of particular social issues\(^5\). When the eradication campaign against Falun Gong began in earnest on July 20, 1999, the Focus series became an important avenue of information used by leaders of the campaign to disseminate emotional and demonizing narratives against Falun Gong to the Chinese population.

8. The “Focus” series aired dedicated programs on Falun Gong during peak viewing hours. Based on available information gathered by NGO, World Organization to Investigate Persecution of Falun Gong, “Focus” aired 102 episodes on Falun Gong in a period of six and half years from July 21, 1999 to late 2005. During the initial five months of the eradication campaign from July to December 1999, there were 70 episodes on Falun Gong produced and broadcasted by Focus throughout the country\(^6\).

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\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) See WOIPFG Report, Supra at note 1
Tiananmen Self-immolation Act

9. On January 23, 2001, the eve of Chinese New Year, five individuals set themselves on fire at Tiananmen Square in Beijing. The scene of immolation was captured on camera, at close view, from multiple angles. Mere hours after the event, state-controlled media flooded the airwaves and newspaper columns with reports of the incident. These reports showed grisly footage of the victims. The victims were said to be Falun Gong practitioners. The teachings of Falun Gong was said to be directly responsible for this tragedy. No international media was allowed access to the victims. Even their family members were barred from contacting them.

10. This act of self-immolation on Tiananmen Square was staged for propaganda. Among the five self-immolators, Liu Chunling and 12-year-old Liu Siying reportedly died in hospital. One of the few, if not only, independent third party investigations into the incident conducted by journalist Philip P. Pan from Washington Post found that “no one ever saw [Liu Chunling and Liu Siying] practise Falun Gong.” On the contrary, the journalist found out that Liu Chunling worked in a nightclub and took money to keep men company. As observed by David Ownby, a Professor of History from University of Montreal and scholar on Falun Gong, these findings of Liu Chunlin were highly inconsistent with the typical profile of a Falun Gong practitioner.

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8 Xinhua News Agency (31 January 2001) "The Tragedy of Falun Gong Practitioners- Rescue: Doctors, Nurses Rush to Save Life"
9 Ibid.
10 David Ownby, "Falun Gong and the Future of China”, Supra at note 7, p.218
11 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 David Ownby, "Falun Gong and the Future of China”, Supra at note 7
11. The teachings of Falun Gong prohibit any form of killing. Mr. Li Hongzhi, the founder of the practice, has explicitly stated that suicide is a sin. Minghui identified 54 indications that the self-immolation incident was staged. Similarly, New TangDynastic Television (NTDTV) produced a documentary, *False Fire*, providing a detailed analysis of inconsistencies and weaknesses in the official accounts. In 2002, six Falun Gong practitioners in Changchun city successfully hacked into the satellite feed to broadcast the *False Fire* documentary on national TV. For intercepting broadcast to show this documentary, they were all eventually imprisoned and tortured to death. Their stories are discussed in an accompanying report (see paras. 13-20 of *Submissions on Liu Jing*). The collective findings of these reports were corroborated in different parts by numerous third party studies and analysis on this issue.

12. International Education Development (IED) is a NGO which has followed the topic of terrorism and human rights for many years. In August, 2001, IED submitted a statement to the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights of United Nations’ Fifty-third session (Agenda item 6). The statement referred to the Tiananmen Self Immolation Incident and stated in clear terms, “[h]owever we have obtained a video of that incident that in our view proves that this event was staged by the government. We have copies of that video available for distribution.”

13. While we express conviction that the Tiananmen Self Immolation Incident was staged, our arguments for sanction does not depend on this finding. Whether the self-immolators were genuine Falun Gong practitioners, what is beyond dispute is that the Chinese propaganda machinery led to the representation that the incident was a genuine act of self-immolation. This is supported by numerous reputable sources.

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18 Link to Falsefire (http://www.falsefire.com)
by Li Dongsheng has vigorously capitalized on this event in an intensive propaganda campaign to demonize Falun Gong practitioners, and to justify an escalation in the persecution of Falun Gong.

14. The eradication campaign against Falun Gong was generally unsuccessful in the initial years\(^\text{21}\). The campaign of torture and abuse drew criticisms from both China and abroad. For instance, Chinese newspaper, Southern Weekend, published several veiled attacks on the campaign, comparing China’s treatment of Falun Gong practitioners with Nazi Germany’s treatment of Jews\(^\text{22}\).

15. Following the Tiananmen Self Immolation Incident, public opinion dramatically turned against Falun Gong. The Chinese population lost sympathy for Falun Gong and disgust towards the eradication campaign turned to support\(^\text{23}\).

16. The decisive change in public opinion was not the result of the act of self-immolation. It was the result of a propaganda campaign that capitalized on this act. In the wake of the incident, Journalist Philip Pan reported that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) “launched an all-out campaign to use the incident to prove its claim that Falun Gong is a dangerous cult, and to turn public opinion in China and abroad against the group […] Every morning and night, the state-controlled media carry fresh attacks against Falun Gong and its U.S.-based leader, Li Hongzhi.”\(^\text{24}\) The public was inundated with graphic images of the self-immolation act on television and in newspaper\(^\text{25}\).


\(^{25}\) Erik Eckholm (18 August 2001) "Beijing Judge Jails 4 for Promoting Falun Gong's Public Suicides", The New York Times
17. The CCP seized on the momentum of public opinion to escalate the persecution of Falun Gong, sanctioning systematic use of violence against the group. Freedom House reported that “months of relentless propaganda succeeded in turning public opinion against the group. Over the next year, the scale of imprisonment, torture, and even deaths of Falun Gong practitioners from abuse in custody increased dramatically.”

18. There is no evidence showing that Li Dongsheng was personally involved in the Tiananmen Self Immolation propaganda campaign. However, Li Dongsheng’s responsibility for this campaign, and the gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong practitioners in its wake, is clear. At the time of campaign, Li Dongsheng was the Deputy Director of China Central Television, Deputy Director of State Administration of Radio Film and Television of China, and Deputy Director of Central 610 Office. He was the central authority that controlled both the administration and tools of propaganda. A national propaganda campaign of such intensity and scale is inconceivable without his authorization, support, or leadership. At the minimum, he is responsible by way of superior responsibility for failing to prevent or punish those involved in the campaign.

**Personal involvement in propaganda**

19. Li Dongsheng is not just a mastermind of propaganda behind the scenes. He also personally led the charge to defame and dehumanize Falun Gong. On April 9, 2001, Li Dongsheng gave a speech at the 57th Annual Meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights as the special consultant for the Chinese delegation. During the speech, he accused Falun Gong of manipulating and endangering the lives of women while making reference to the Tiananmen Self Immolation Incident. On April 17, 2001, Li Dongsheng gave an interview to Japan’s Kyodo

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29 Ibid.
News and China News Service at the UN Human Rights Summit30. During the interview, Li Dongsheng accused Falun Gong of being an anti-China force manipulated by the West, and used extreme vocabulary to vilify Falun Gong.

(ii) Leading brainwashing campaigns in the Education sector

20. The campaign to mould public opinion in relation to Falun Gong goes beyond news dissemination; state perpetrators led by Li Dongsheng exercise more explicit forms of mind control through “Educational Transformation” campaigns, an euphemism for brainwashing. Conceptually, educational transformation is distinct from forced transformation (see paras. 21-22 of Submissions on Liu Jing) in that the former does not engage physical violence and relies primarily on deception and persuasion to achieve the goal of transformation. However, distinctions between both types of transformations often blur in practice. Operations to brainwash the population to hate Falun Gong are directed at both Falun Gong practitioners and the public at large.

21. In particular, WOIPFG reported that the Central 610 Office has set up a special workgroup, “Coordination Team for Educational Transformation” to direct and coordinate brainwashing activities against Falun Gong nationwide. Li Dongsheng was the team leader31.

22. One of the focus of this workgroup is the educational sector where the perpetrators integrated anti-Falun Gong propaganda into educational literature and textbooks. In an article titled, “Conniving for promotion, Li Dongsheng sows the seeds of poison into the next generation,” the Epoch Times wrote the following,

“[...] The education sector has always been an emphasis for persecution, writing lies into primary school textbooks, the purpose is to sow the seeds of hate into the hearts of an entire generation of Chinese people from their youth.”32

31 WOIPFG Report, See supra at note 1
32 Epochtimes (22 December 2013) “Conniving for promotion, Li Dongsheng sows the seeds of poison in to the next generation (李东生为升官施奸计 向下一代“种毒”)” Retrieved (http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/13/12/22/n4040062.htm)

24. Content that vilifies and dehumanizes Falun Gong is integrated into primary school textbooks. For instance, the text book, “Rejecting Cult in Campus” published by People’s Education Publishing in 2001 and the chapter on “Mental virtue” in “Nine Years Voluntary Education-Six Years Primary School Textbook”, published in November 2011, all carried content vilifying and dehumanizing Falun Gong. These textbooks have been inciting young children nationwide to hate and fear Falun Gong since 2002.

25. Regular anti-Falun Gong study classes were held in Chinese schools. Eight million students joined the “Anti-Cult Action by Young Civilized Communities Across the Nation”. Twelve million children submitted writings disapproving Falun Gong.

26. “Anti-Cult Warning Education” was brought into primary and secondary schools. “Warning Education and Information Booklet” was printed and distributed in campus. Organizers held “knowledge contest” to reward those most brainwashed in the campaign of lies and deceit. Through different forms of initiatives, propaganda, and hate speech against Falun Gong flourished in schools.

27. These brainwash campaigns under the euphemism of “Educational Transformation” led generations of youths who lacked better means of judgment into the carnival of hate and hysteria against Falun Gong. These acts of brainwash are egregious, their effects profound. The propa-

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33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Pan, Philip P (5 February 2001) "One-Way Trip to the End in Beijing" International Herald Tribune, Cult Education Institute
37 Ibid
38 Epochtimes Article, Supra at note 31
39 Ibid.
gandist preyed on the weaknesses of youth and corrupted forums of learning where the children relied on for education, guidance and knowledge.

28. It is unclear to what precise extent Li Dongsheng was personally involved in the corruption of schools. However, the fact of his involvement is clear, in view of his chief editorship over primary school educational materials denigrating and dehumanizing Falun Gong; in view of his appointments as the team leader of “Coordination Team for Educational Transformation”; Deputy Head of Central Propaganda Department from May 2002 to October 2009 and Deputy Director of the State Administration of Radio Film and Television of China (SARFT) from July 2000 to January 2001.

29. Finally, it is worth noting that Li Dongsheng’s involvement in “Educational Transformation” initiatives was not limited to the corruption of schools. On November 15, 2007, the Anti-cult Association of Shandong province reported that the Anti-cult Association of Weifang city produced a book titled “The implementation and exploration of Educational Transformation”\(^{40}\). The book, encompassing more than 170,000 words, was said to be a systematic conclusion of the fruits of experience and theoretical research gained in the struggle against “Falun Gong”. The book was given comments by Li Dongsheng, then Deputy Director of Central 610 Office and Deputy Head of the Central Propaganda Department, who recommended the manual be “used and further developed in depth across the country”\(^{41}\).

(iii) Supervising the imprisonment, torture, and forced transformation of Falun Gong practitioners as Director of Central 610 Office

30. Li Dongsheng was promoted to become the Director of Central 610 Office and Deputy Minister of Public Security of China in October 2009. As mentioned in the accompanying report on 610 Office, the Central 610 Office is the highest executive body in the apparatus of persecution against Falun Gong (See para.50 of Submissions on Architecture and Chain of Command). Whereas Li Dongsheng only led the struggle against Falun Gong in the sphere of public opinion.

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\(^{41}\) Ibid.
before October 2009, he led the eradication campaign against Falun Gong in its entirety as the Director of Central 610 Office after October 2009.

31. Relatively little is known about Li Dongsheng’s involvement as the Director of Central 610 Office from October 2009 to December 2013. However, it is clear that as the Director of Central 610 Office, Li Dongsheng had toured many different cities of China to inspect and tighten local security work, a euphemism for supervising the persecution of Falun Gong. His visits were followed by an escalation in the torture, imprisonment, and forced transformation of Falun Gong practitioners in the areas of his visit.

32. On August 5, 2010, as the leader of the Security Coordination Team for the Asian Games and Director of the Central 610 Office, Li Dongsheng inspected Huadu District in Guangzhou City and Shaoguan City. Li Dongsheng’s visits were purportedly to oversee security for the 2010 Asian Games which took place from November 12 to November 27, 2010. A wave of arrest and torture of Falun Gong practitioners was reported by Minghui in these cities following Li Dongsheng’s visit. Between January and October 2010, there were 35 Falun Gong practitioners arrested, sent to forced transformation centres and labour camps, and imprisoned in Guangzhou City. It is clear that Li Dongsheng’s visits to “oversee security” was to oversee security from Falun Gong practitioners.

33. On August 5, 2010, the same day of Li’s inspection, Guangzhou Public Security Bureau announced that individuals who reported a Falun Gong incident could be rewarded from 10,000 RMB up to 500,000 RMB from August until December 31, 2010. Tan Kaiqing, female, was illegally arrested from her home in Guangzhou City on November 5, 2010. She was first held in the Henan District Police Department and then transferred to the “Guangzhou City Law Educa-

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42 gz.gov.cn (5 August 2010) “Li Dongsheng visits Huadu District” [see WOIPFG Report, Supra at note 1]
43 sgrb.com (6 January 2010) “Li Dongsheng visits” [see WOIPFG Report, Supra at note 1]
tion School”, a brainwashing facility. Her family suspected, with good reason, that the reason behind the arrest was the 2010 Asian Games.46

34. On November 29, 2010 and April 14-15, 2011, as the Director of Central 610 Office and Deputy Minister of Public Security of China, Li Dongsheng visited Shenzhen city twice to “inspect, co-ordinate, and guide” the security work for the 2011 Summer Universiade, an international sports event organized for university athletes. Minghui reported that between November 2010 and August 2011, there were at least 30 Falun Gong practitioners arrested, imprisoned, and tortured in brainwashing facilities in Shenzhen47. For instance, on June 21, 2011, Falun Gong practitioner Liu Jingze from Shenzhen city was arrested by Shenzhen police. He was detained at the Meilinguan Detention Centre in Futian District, put to a show trial on November 25, 2011, and later sentenced to three years of imprisonment.48

V. Conclusion

35. The Sergei Magnitsky law only sanctions those responsible for torture, extrajudicial killing, and other gross human rights violations. Reputation ruin is not torture. Vilifying words do not kill. However, the campaign of propaganda led by Li Dongsheng against Falun Gong is an enabling condition for nation-wide torture and killings to take place. By portraying Falun Gong as an evil and dangerous cult, the eradication campaign erodes sympathy for the victims, incites hatred against them, and manufactures consent for the state to commit gross human rights violations against Falun Gong. The architects of the eradication campaign themselves clearly recognized the importance of propaganda in the eradication of Falun Gong when they appointed Li Dongsheng from the propaganda sector to lead the Central 610 Office alongside Liu Jing who was chief of Public Security.

47 Minghui (24 July 2011) “Shenzhen authorities using the occasion of Universiade to persecute Falun Gong”, Retrieved (http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2011/7/24/%E6%96%87%E7%95%8C%E5%85%A4%E7%9F%8E/124477.html)
36. Reputational ruin and corruption of public opinion is not just a means to the eradication of Falun Gong, it is also an end in itself. Raphael Lemkin, in his seminal comment on genocide, described genocide as

“A coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups […]”

37. The campaign of propaganda led by Li Dongsheng was calculated to disintegrate the social institutions, culture, national feelings, religion, personal security, liberty, and dignity of Falun Gong practitioners. It is part of a comprehensive and coordinated plan to eradicate Falun Gong in both body and spirit.

38. As such, it is submitted that Li Dongsheng is not just responsible as an accessory for aiding and abetting the campaign of torture, extrajudicial killing, and gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners; he is also directly and principally responsible for committing gross human rights violations against Falun Gong.

39. In view of Li Dongsheng’s responsibility for committing gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners as the chief of propaganda from 1999 to 2009, and in view of his responsibility for supervising the torture, imprisonment, and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners as the Director of Central 610 Office from 2009 to 2013, it is submitted that Li Dongsheng is eligible and deserving of sanction under s.4(2)(a)(ii) of the Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act.

Perpetrator (Case # 13): Li Lanqing (李岚清)

I. Personal Information

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator: Li Lanqing (李岚清)

Gender: Male

Country: PR China

Date of Birth: May 22, 1932

II. History of Appointments


III. Overview

1. Li Lanqing planned, deliberated, conspired, incited, initiated, ordered, organized, directed, authorized, supervised, oversaw, and controlled forced live organ harvesting, extrajudicial killing, forced disappearance, arbitrary mass detention, robbery, torture and other gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong practitioners from 1999 to 2002, primarily in his capacity as head of the “Central Leading Group to Handle the Falun Gong Issue Leading Group” (referred to as the “Leading Group” in this report) of CCP Central Committee (CCPCC), and member of the CCP Central Politburo Standing Committee.

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3. World Organization of Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong (WOIPFG), Investigative Report on Li Lanqing, the Former Lead of the “CCP Central Committee Leadership Team to Handle the Falun Gong Issue” (December 2, 2013): http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/244
2. At the meeting of CCP Central Politburo Standing Committee on June 7, 1999, Li Lanqing was appointed by Jiang Zemin as the Head of the Leading Group. Jiang dictated to the members at the Politburo meeting that: “The central authority has agreed that Li Lanqing is going to lead the effort of establishing a leading group particularly dealing with the Falun Gong issue.” 5

3. As the head of the Leading Group and member of the CCP Central Politburo Standing Committee, Li was the first and foremost perpetrator under Jiang Zemin with respect to the persecution against Falun Gong. He’s responsible for commanding all the killing, mass detention, torture, economic loss and many other atrocities Falun Gong practitioners suffered during his tenure.

4. The Leading Group is the ultimate policymaker of the persecution campaign, which exercises authority, command, and control over the primary perpetrators through Central 610 office and its branch offices at various levels all across China. The organizational architecture and chain of command of the 610 Office are illustrated in the umbrella submission titled: “Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC”6.

5. The 610 Offices was established for the specific purpose of persecuting Falun Gong. It was given plenary power to direct and coordinate state apparatus including Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of State Security, Ministry of Justice, Supreme People’s Court, Supreme People’s Procuratorate, and Armed Police, in joint effort to eradicate Falun Gong. It authorizes the arbitrary detention, forced disappearance, unlawful trial, torture, forced live organ harvesting, extrajudicial killing, other gross human rights violations, and dramatic deviations from the ordinary course of the

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5  Beijing Spring 2001(6): A speech at the meeting of the CCP Politburo on how to swiftly handle and solve the “Falun Gong problem.” by Jiang Zemin. (June 7, 1999).
Canada Magnitsky Act Submission  
Falun Dafa Association  
April 2018

**domestic rule of law in pursuit of forcing Falun Gong practitioners to renounce their belief**.

6. From 1999 to 2002, in his capacity as the head of the Leading Group and member of CCP Central Politburo Standing Committee—the pinnacle of the Communist power structure, Li planned, deliberated, conspired, incited, initiated, directed, ordered, supervised, oversaw and controlled the gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners across China. Through the chain of command that connects 610 Offices to the individual perpetrators such as the policemen, prison guards and labour camp officers, every act of gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners was ultimately within the scope of Li’s supervision and control.

7. He is found to be directly responsible for the torture, arbitrary detention, and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioner Song Tingfang and Cheng Sizhong.

### IV. Violations

**A. Commanded, directed, incited, monitored, supervised, and controlled the persecution**

8. On June 7, 1999, Jiang Zemin, the then general secretary of CCP appointed Li Lanqing to be the Head of the Leading Group of Handling the Falun Gong Issue, in charge of the persecution campaign.

9. On Nov. 26, 1999, Li Lanqing addressed the national meeting of “Report Situations of the Struggle against Falun Gong” held in The Great Hall of the People in Beijing. In his speech titled “Several Issues in the Struggle against Falun Gong”, Li Lanqing dictated verbally the persecution policies in details to over 3,000 attendees to the meeting, which had been subsequently carried out all across China. He further ordered that his speech was not to be reduced into a written form, instead it must be passed on to lower level officials all across

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Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC at paras. 31.
the country via oral communications. A reasonable inference from the fact is that he has been actively destroying the evidence and concealing his role in the gross human rights violations.

10. On Dec. 15, 1999, Li Lanqing addressed the Second National Popularization of Science Working Conference jointly convened by the Ministry of Science and Technology, Ministry of Publicity, and China Association for Science and Technology. In the speech, published in People's Daily, he attempted to further conceal the violence, torture, and mass murder against Falun Gong practitioners by analogizing the crackdown to the popularization of science.

11. On Aug. 29, 2000, Li Lanqing sent a congratulatory letter to a conference of “Experience Sharing and Award Ceremony for the Outstanding Achievement in the Education and Transformation.” At the conference, Masanjia Labour Camp, a notorious establishment of human rights violation, was made a role model in terms of forcing Falun Gong practitioners to renounce their belief through extreme violence. After the conference, officials from all over China visited Masanjia Labour Camp to learn from their experience and replicate that model across the country.

12. Li Lanqing’s direct support, encouragement and incitement, violence against Falun Gong victims have been officially recognized and promoted as an efficient way to force Falun Gong practitioners to renounce their belief.

12. On Jan. 5, 2001, Li Lanqing called a meeting of the leaders of the National Federation of Trade Unions, the Communist Youth League, and Women’s Federation. During the meeting, Li Lanqing ordered the attendees to “thoroughly mobilize the general public to participate and intensify the anti-Falun Gong activities.” On Jan. 8, 2001, the Communist Youth League Central Committee held a meeting of all leaders of the Youth Leagues to study Li Lanqing’s
speech and a related announcement from Central 610 Office about “Falun Gong activities during the Chinese New Year in Beijing”, which specified tasks to be completed and delegated regarding the persecution of Falun Gong.  

13. On Feb. 26, 2001, Li Lanqing addressed the “Conference on Awards and Commendations for Accomplished Individuals and Organizations (in the ‘battle’ against Falun Gong)” in Beijing. The conference was jointly held by 610 office and seven Ministries, including the Ministry of Human Resources of CCP Central Committee (CCPCC), Ministry of Publicity of CCPCC, Political & Legal Affairs Committee, Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of Civil Affairs, Ministry of Personnel and the State Council. All told, 110 organizations and 271 individuals were rewarded at the meeting for their “achievements” in the battle against Falun Gong, including some most notorious human rights perpetrators. For example, the individual rewarded included Chen You—Chief of Beijing Public Security Bureau Tiananmen Branch—who according to reports violently beat Falun Gong practitioners on Tiananmen Square, and Su Jing, the head of the notorious Masanjia Labour Camp in Liaoning Province, where Falun Gong practitioners have been subject to brutal torture. These notorious human right perpetrators were sharing their experiences at the meeting to over 3000 attendees on how to persecute Falun Gong practitioners.  

14. From 1999 to 2001, the 610 office launched an extensive hate propaganda to mobilize public support and justify the persecution. As the head of the Leading Group, the highest level of the 610 office system, it is safe to say that Li Lanqing knowingly permitted it to happen, if not directly ordering such. One important case is the so called the “Tiananmen Square Self-immolation”. On Jan 23, 2001, 5 people allegedly committed self-immolation on Tiananmen Square. Within 2 hours after the incident, without any investigation, Xinhua news agency reported that they were Falun Gong practitioners.  

14 WOIPFG (December 2, 2013), Investigative Report on Li Lanqing, the Former Lead of the “CCP Central Committee Leadership Team to Handle the Falun Gong Issue” : http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/244
15. It is unequivocally clear that the “Tiananmen Square Self-immolation” is fabricated news following a detailed analysis of the footage of the scene broadcasted by Chinese Central Television\(^{16}\).

16. On Feb. 7, 2001, two weeks after the staged hoax, the State Council held a “Working Meeting to Struggle against Cult.” Li Lanqing gave a speech at the meeting reiterating Jiang Zemin’s order to “eradicate Falun Gong.” Li Lanqing defined a three-stage-plan in the eradication campaign. Li also attempted to justify and accelerate the persecution against Falun Gong by analogizing it to the struggle against “international hostile forces” and “anti-CCP, anti-China forces.”\(^{17}\) As a result of his direct incitement, the persecution was intensified throughout the nation.

**B. Knowingly supported, participated, and initiated forced live organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners**

17. Convincing reports corroborating with large numbers of admissions from Chinese hospitals, officials and witness testimonies demonstrated that prisoners of conscience are being killed for their organs in China, the majority of which are practitioners of Falun Gong\(^{18}\).

18. Circumstances surrounding the anomalous escalation in organ transplant volumes in China also lead inexorably to this conclusion. The beginning of the explosive growth in organ transplants coincides with the start of the eradication campaign against Falun Gong. Falun Gong practitioners are held at secret detention facilities in immense numbers. They are systematically subjected to blood tests and organ examinations to the exclusion of other inmates who do not practice Falun Gong\(^{19}\).

\(^{16}\) Ibid.

\(^{17}\) WOIPFG, Investigative Report on Li Lanqing, the Former Lead of the “CCP Central Committee Leadership Team to Handle the Falun Gong Issue” (December 2, 2013): http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/244.


\(^{19}\) David Matas and David Kilgour, “Bloody Harvest, Revised Report into Allegations of Organ Harvesting of Falun Gong Practitioners in China” (January 31, 2007) at p. 27-45 (https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BxuyXA9XI6j0aXVNS1BuZElE4weFk/view);
19. A report in 2016 found that forced live organ harvesting is taking place in China at volume and scale far surpassing official statistics. Through a calculation of bed count, bed utilization rates, medical staff numbers, and operating capacities of transplant hospitals and transplant centres, the report concludes that forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience continues on an industrial scale. 

20. Unlike organ trafficking in black markets that take place in other countries, forced organ harvesting in China is organized and led by the 610 Office. Reports indicate that the forcible removal of organs and sale for profits started as early as in 2000, when Li Lanqing was in charge of Leading Group. As the ultimate leader and decision maker of the persecution campaign from 1999 to 2002, he presumably knew and supported the organized crime of live organ harvesting, if not directly under his plan, deliberation, order and supervision. Thus, he should be held responsible for initiating the mass murder for organs which resulted in numerous deaths of Falun Gong practitioners.

C. Directly responsible for the torture of Zhang Yijie and Li Yixian, and the extrajudicial killing of Song Tingfang and Chen Sizhong

21. In June 2001, Li Lanqing directly ordered the arbitrary detention of Ms. Zhang Yijie, a Falun Gong practitioner and wife of China's ex-ambassador to Romania, to a forced labour camp for 18-month followed by a 10-month extension, without due process. She was detained merely on the basis of her faith in Falun Gong. During the 28-month incarceration, Zhang Yijie suffered sixty-nine different types of torture and barely survived.

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Minghui, “A brutal tragedy is still ongoing” (May 9, 2006) (http://www.minghui.org/zh/articles/2006/5/9/127277p.html)
21 Kilgour, Gutmann and Matas, ibid, at Chapter 12 (https://endtransplantabuse.org/an-update-chapter-twelve-a-state-crime/);

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22. In October 1999, Li Lanqing ordered the arbitrary detention of Mr. Li Yixiang, a Falun Gong practitioner and doctoral student at Tsinghua University. He was incarcerated in an extrajudicial brainwashing centre, commonly referred to as “black jail”, where he was tortured for a whole month under the direct supervision of Li Lanqing.  

23. Li Lanqing directly ordered the arbitrary detention and torture of Mr. Song Tingfang, a Falun Gong practitioner and public servant at Dolonnur County, Inner Mongolia, which resulted in the death of Mr. Song in 2002.  

24. In early 2000, Li Lanqing directed the arbitrary detention of Mr. Chen Sizhong, a Falun Gong practitioner and the deputy head of Construction Industry Bureau of Qidong City, Nantong, Jiangsu Province. Chen Sizhong was detained in a labour camp without due process. The chronic harassment and psychological torture against him continued after his release from the labour camp, which eventually resulted in his death in 2007.  

**Conclusion**  

25. The compelling evidence demonstrated that Li Lanqing planned, deliberated, conspired, instigated, incited, directed, supervised, oversaw, and controlled the persecution against Falun Gong all across China in his capacity as the Head of the Leading Group and the Member of CCP Politburo Standing Committee.  

26. He is responsible for the innumerable instances of extrajudicial killing, torture, and other gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong practitioners all across China during his tenure from 1999 to 2001.

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24 Minghui (December 03, 2001), 清华大学海内外校友，清援救遭受迫害的清华学子 (Students and Alumni of Tsinghua University: Please Help Students Who are Being Persecuted): www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2001/12/3/清华大学海内外校  

25 Minghui (April 12, 2012), 江苏省法轮功学员死于中共迫害部份案例 subsection: 李岚清在任期间迫害 陈思忠遭难终离世(Section 6 of Partial List of Falun Gong Practitioners who were Persecuted to Death in Jiangsu Province): www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2012/4/12/江苏省法轮功学
27. Falun Gong practitioners were persecuted because they sought to exercise, defend, and promote the rights to freedom of religion and expression. For these reasons, the report submits that Li Lanqing satisfies the criteria provided in s4(2)(a)(b) of the Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act (Sergei Magnitsky Law) and should be put on the list of foreign nationals who are subject to the prohibition orders under the Act.
Perpetrator: Liu Jing (刘京)

I. Personal Information

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator: Liu Jing (刘京)

Gender: Male

Country: People’s Republic of China

Date of Birth: December 1944

II. History of Appointments

1. 2002 – 2012, Member of the 16th & 17th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
2. January 2001- March 2011, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Public Security
5. June 1999 – August 2001, Deputy Director of the Central 610 Office

See: Chinese Ministry of Public Security on the Brief Introduction of Liu Jing (https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%88%98%E4%BA%AC/82134)

III. Overview
1. Liu Jing is responsible for extrajudicial killing, torture and other gross violations of internationally recognized human rights committed against Falun Gong practitioners primarily in his capacity as:

(i) Deputy Director of the Central 610 Office from June 1999 to August 2001;

(ii) Director of the Central 610 Office from September 2001 to October 2009.

2. The detailed architecture, scope of authority and chain of command of the 610 Office has been shown in the umbrella submission titled, “Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC”. As seen in Architecture and Chain of Command, Central Leading Group is the highest policy making body while Central 610 Office is the highest implementation body with respect to the campaign against Falun Gong.

   See: Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC at paras. 10-13

3. In particular, Central 610 Office is the command center that directs and coordinates judicial, legal and coercive institutions including Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of State Security, Ministry of Justice, Supreme People’s Court, Supreme People’s Prosecutorate and Armed Police in the campaign against Falun Gong. The control of Central 610 Office over prosecutors and courts allows the organization to act outside the law and order extrajudicial killing, torture and other gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners with system and impunity.

   See: Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC at paras. 31

4. As head of Central 610 Office from September 2001 to October 2009, Liu Jing was the point man that ordered and coordinated gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners across China. Through the chain of command that connects Central 610 Office to the individual perpetrators on the ground such as the policemen, detention guards and labour camp personnel, every act of gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners was ultimately within the scope of Liu Jing’s supervision and control.
5. The actual number of gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners that Liu Jing ought to be responsible for is likely to be vast and immeasurable. Only a fraction of these violations are mentioned for the purpose of this report. These violations include:
   i. Ordering and directing the extrajudicial arrest, kidnap, imprisonment, detention, defamatory and torture of Falun Gong practitioners from 2001 to 2009
   ii. Ordering and planning the manhunt and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners in Changchun city, Jilin province
   iii. Directing and establishing a nationwide network of brainwashing centers for the purpose of torturing Falun Gong practitioners in the context of forced transformation
   iv. Inciting hatred against Falun Gong practitioners through planning and participation in the “Tiananmen Self Immolation” event
   v. Demonizing Falun Gong practitioners and concealing facts of gross human rights violations committed against them before the international community.

IV. Violations

(i) Ordering the extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners from September 2001 to October 2009

6. In his capacity as the Director of Central 610 Office from September 2001 to October 2009, Liu Jing led the nation-wide network of 610 offices, public security bureaus, justice bureaus, state security bureaus, armed police and other Party organs to commit gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners.

7. Under Liu Jing’s leadership, the 610 Office and other coercive organs of the Party and State secretly arrested and openly abducted Falun Gong practitioners; illegally sentenced Falun Gong practitioners to prisons or labour camps often without trial; established and operated brainwashing sites across the country to torture Falun Gong practitioners, and forced Falun
Gong practitioners to renounce their beliefs in Falun Gong. The practitioners who adhered to their beliefs in Falun Gong were mentally and physically tortured, in many cases to the point of death.

8. Based on statistics from Minghui, there are, as of January 2009, 3,347 reported cases of Falun Gong practitioners being tortured or beaten to death in prisons, detention centres, labour camps, brainwashing sites and other places. Approximately 2,607 of these deaths happened during Liu Jing’s tenure as the Director of Central 610 Office from September 2001 to October 2009. Cases of death will only be reflected on Minghui if relatives, friends or fellow practitioners of the deceased victims were able and willing to report, which is likely to be exception rather than the norm. As such, the actual death count is likely to be much higher than the reported figure.

See: Minghui.org, Statistics and Charts
(http://library.minghui.org/category/32,95,,1.htm)

9. These Falun Gong practitioners were killed extra-judicially by personnel and organizations which were ultimately under Liu Jing’s orders, supervision or control. In the time period of these killings, Liu Jing as the Director of Central 610 Office exercised overall command and authority over the coercive institutions where Falun Gong practitioners were killed. As the Deputy Secretary of Ministry of Public Security, Liu Jing also held direct control over the police and security personnel. As such, Liu Jing has both direct and command responsibility for these crimes.

(ii) Ordering and planning the manhunt and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners in Changchun city, Jilin province

10. Liaoning University Weekly News reported that on January 11, 2002, Liu Jing, in his official capacity as the Deputy Secretary of Ministry of Public Security gave an “important talk” about maintaining public security in a workshop on public security work held at the Liaoning Friendship Hotel at Shenyang city, Liaoning province. The meeting, organized by the
Provincial Central Committee, was attended by key leaders from the Public Security Bureau, PLAC, Procuratorate, Department of Organization, Shenyang Municipal Committee and the Court.

See: Liaoning University Weekly News, Issue 164 (December 10, 2001)
http://www.lnu.edu.cn/new/weekly/2002/mzjx164.htm (link now defunct)

11. Then, according to an internal source reported by Minghui, Liu Jing convened a meeting regarding the campaign against Falun Gong at Nanhu Hotel in Changchun City, Jilin Province a few days before the Chinese New Year in February 2002. At the meeting, Liu Jing angrily criticized Jilin Province’s underperformance in the campaign against Falun Gong and gave a strict order to “completely eliminate” Falun Gong. It was said that a “shoot to kill” order was given at this meeting.

See: Minghui, “Urgent Call for Rescue: Jiang Regime Issues Orders to Kill Without Mercy, Each Province Given Lists of Practitioners to Execute” (March 7, 2002) (http://en.minghui.org/emh/articles/2002/3/7/19564.html); World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong, Investigation Report Volume 1, Chapter 1, p. 20-21

11. On the eve of Chinese New Year, the PSB of Changchun conducted a large-scale arrest of Falun Gong practitioners on several successive nights. Minghui reported that the PSB was issued the order, “Falun Gong practitioners who were found putting up posters or banners about Falun Gong, could be shot and killed.” On February 16, four days after the Chinese New Year, policemen from Anshan city, of the nearby province, Liaoning, opened fire on three Falun Gong practitioners. In another instance, policeman Du Yongshan from Mishan city of Heilongjiang, another nearby province, found practitioner Jiang Honglu posting Falun Gong literature on February 12, the first day of the Chinese New Year. The policeman opened fire and broke the practitioner’s leg.
12. The order for policemen to shoot Falun Gong practitioners on sight is a flagrant order to break the law. Such authorization could only come from an authority above the law. Liu Jing, as the Director of Central 610 Office that presides over the Supreme Procuratorate and the Supreme Court is one of the few persons with such authority. Given that the police shooting in Liaoning and Jilin provinces began shortly after Liu Jing’s meeting with key leaders from the judicial, legal and coercive institutions in these provinces, circumstances suggest that Liu Jing did indeed give the order to shoot in the meeting at Nanhu Hotel in Changchun City, Jilin Province.

13. On March 5, 2002, Falun Gong practitioners from Changchun city intercepted the cable television network to broadcast a video that revealed the truth about Falun Gong and the persecution that it suffered under the Chinese Communist regime. The broadcast lasted about fifty minutes, and it was watched by a viewership of over one million.

14. The broadcast interception triggered severe reprisal from the regime. Informants reported to Minghui that Jiang Zemin, then General Secretary of the CCP ordered to “kill without pardon” those responsible for the broadcast. As well, on April 1, 2002, Minghui received reports from Changchun city that all leaders in Jilin Province and Changchun city will be removed from office if another cable TV broadcast takes place, and police officers who fail to meet their "arrest quota" (of Falun Gong practitioners) will be fired along with their supervisors.

15. Minghui reported that, over the next few days after the broadcast interception on March 5, 2002, the police carried out a massive manhunt in Changchun city for those responsible for the broadcast. The city was said to be in “near marshal law”. A total media blackout severely hampered many attempts by Minghui to contact locals and to confirm individual reports. Nonetheless, Minghui was able to confirm the following information:

   i. More than 6,000 policemen were mobilized, and the city was said to be “under near-martial law”.

   ii. More than 5,000 people believed to be Falun Gong practitioners were detained in this operation.

   iii. Dozens were killed as a result of police brutality during the round up.

   iv. At least 6 Falun Gong practitioners were confirmed to have been killed.

   v. 15 Falun Gong practitioners were sentenced from 4 to 20 years’ imprisonment.
See: Minghui, “After March 5th, 2002 Changchun TV Broadcasts Exposing Human Rights Violations against Falun Gong Practitioners, Jiang’s Regime Escalated the Brutal Persecution to Unprecedented Heights” (March 5, 2002), supra; Falun Dafa Info Center, “Changchun Reduced to Chaos in Effort to Round Up Falun Gong Practitioners” (March 13, 2002) (http://faluninfo.net/changchun-reduced-to-chaos-in-effort-to-round-up-falun-gong-practitioners/)

16. Individuals who participated in the broadcast, Liu Chengjun and Hou Mingkai were eventually found and tortured to death. Liu Chengjun was found on March 24, 2002. He was sentenced to 19 years in prison. After suffering torture that is too long and tragic to detail in this report, Liu Chengjun passed away at Jilin University Sino-Japanese Friendship Hospital at 4 a.m. on December 26, 2003.


17. Hou Mingkai was found and arrested on August 21, 2002. He was tortured to death by prison inmates within two days. His body was secretly cremated by the police on August 23, 2002. Prior to being found, the 610 Office placed a 50,000 yuan bounty on his head.

See: Minghui, “After March 5th, 2002 Changchun TV Broadcasts Exposing Human Rights Violations against Falun Gong Practitioners, Jiang’s Regime Escalated the Brutal Persecution to Unprecedented Heights” (March 5, 2002), ibid

18. World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong conducted an investigation into the people responsible for the death of Liu Chengjun and other Falun Gong practitioners who were killed in this operation. WOIPFG found that Liu Jing personally headed to Changchun city several times after March 5, 2002 to command the operation. On this basis, Liu Jing is directly responsible for the torture and extrajudicial killing of the Falun Gong
practitioners who were involved in the TV broadcast, as well as others who were not involved but implicated in this operation.


19. Even if Liu Jing had not been personally involved in this operation, he has command responsibility for these violations. As the Director of Central 610 Office, it is impossible for him not to know about an operation of such consequence and scale conducted by his subordinates from lower 610 offices and the PSB. As such, he is responsible for his complete failure to prevent or punish these acts.

20. Liu Chengjun, Hou Mingkai and other Falun Gong practitioners who were killed in this operation were killed because they sought to tell the Chinese people what Falun Gong really is what the Chinese regime has been doing to Falun Gong. In another words, they sought to defend the freedom of conscience, religion, belief, opinion and expression. They were precisely the kind of individuals that Sergei Magnitsky Law sought to vindicate and protect.

See: s. 4(2)(a)(ii) of Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act

(iii) Establishing and supervising a nationwide network of brainwashing sites for the purpose of torturing Falun Gong practitioners in the context of forced transformation

21. Forced transformation is a form of torture that employs extreme means to exert physical and psychological pressure on victims, in a bid to have them renounce their beliefs or faith. For instance in the Legal System Education Base in Dongshan District, Guangzhou, Falun Gong practitioners are deprived of sleep, forced to watch videos slandering Falun Gong around the clock. They are not allowed to leave the room or use the toilets, and are isolated without exposure to sunlight. In many cases, transformation is not enough. Transformed Falun Gong
practitioners must also beat and curse non-transformed Falun Gong practitioners to have the latter transform.


22. In Masanjia Re-education Center, 18 female Falun Gong practitioners were stripped naked and thrown into the men’s cells to be freely raped. In the aftermath, 5 of them died, 7 went insane, and the rest suffered varying degrees of disability.


22. Forced transformation sites or classes are primarily led by the 610 Office of each region and district. WOIPFG reported that as early as the second half of 2004, these forced transformation sites, set up by local 610 offices across the country, had covered as many as 23 provinces of China.


23. As the Deputy Director and later, Director of Central 610 Office, Liu Jing personally coordinated and supervised the forced transformation of Falun Gong practitioners across the country. According to a news report on May 20, 2001 from China News, a state owned news agency, Liu Jing personally inspected the brainwashing and conversion of Falun Gong practitioners in Wuhan city. His trip was accompanied by Chen Xunqiu, member of the Standing Committee of Hubei Provincial Committee and Hubei Provincial PSB, and Cheng Kangyan, deputy secretary of Wuhan Municipal Communist Party Committee. During the inspection, Liu Jing fully affirmed the work of transforming Falun Gong practitioners in Jiang’an District of Wuhan City.

24. The reality of forced transformation work in Jiang’an District of Wuhan City was revealed by Minghui which reported that Falun Gong practitioners were “savagely tortured” in forced transformation classes held in Jiang’an District. They were subjected to strong exposure from the sun for long hours, denied of sleep and forced to stay in a squatting position. Fu Xiaoyun, a female Falun Gong practitioner of over 50 years of age was tortured to death in forced transformation. Prior to her death, she was placed in a mental hospital, hung up and beaten for 47 days.


25. As the superior with authority and control over forced transformation activities across China, including the forced transformation activities in Jiang’an District of Wuhan City, Liu Jing has, at the minimum, command responsibility over such acts of torture against Falun Gong practitioners. In his frequent inspection trips, he clearly has knowledge of what is going on with regard to the forced transformation of Falun Gong practitioners. He did not act to punish or prevent such acts. On the contrary, he affirmed acts of torture which has shown to be gross and brutal.

26. Beyond supervision and inspection, Liu Jing has directly and personally participated in the forced transformation of Falun Gong practitioners. According to a Minghui report dated September 22, 2001, Liu Jing personally escorted to Masanjia Labour Camp six female so-called Falun Gong practitioners, who were either handcuffed or barefooted. The six women were
apparently transformed a few days later and began to attempt transforming other Falun Gong practitioners. These women were said by Minghui to be saboteurs sent by Liu Jing to distort and under the practitioners’ faith in Falun Gong.


27. Liu Jing was also reported to have made frequent trips to Mansanjia Labour Camp and once encouraged Jiang Zemin to give Masanjia 6,000,000 Yuan as a special fund to establish a “Masanjia Thought Education and Transformation Base”.


27. Whether or not the six women were genuine Falun Gong practitioners, it is clear that Liu Jing's responsibility for the torture of Falun Gong practitioners in the context of forced transformation goes beyond his role as a superior. His micromanagement and direct participation in the forced transformation work of Masanjia Labour Camp place him in a position of complicity, if not direct responsibility, for the torture that took place in Masanjia against Falun Gong practitioners.

28. It is worth noting some of the most egregious atrocities have been committed against Falun Gong practitioners in Masanjia Labour Camp. The details of these atrocities are far too numerous and extreme to be fairly represented in this report.


29. Forced transformation is a form of torture that is, in its nature, designed to violate the individual’s rights to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion. Insofar as
these interests are expressly protected under s4(2)(a)(ii) of the Act, the violations of forced transformation carries special nexus with the scope and meaning of Sergei Magnitsky Law.

(iv) Inciting hatred against Falun Gong, covering up human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners and suppressing criticisms of the violations against Falun Gong practitioners before the international community

30. In the early years of the campaign against Falun Gong from 2000 to 2002, Liu Jing, in his capacity as the Deputy Director of Central 610 Office, acted as the spokesman for the perpetrators that concealed the crimes committed against Falun Gong, suppressed criticisms of these crimes, and demonized Falun Gong before the international community.

31. Not long after the start of the campaign against Falun Gong launched by Jiang Zemin and his accomplices, the campaign was met with criticism from the international community.

32. On April 6, 2000, Liu Jing filed a statement as the Special Consultant of the Chinese Delegates on the Falun Gong question at the 56th Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights. In this statement, Liu Jing denied the gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong practitioners and stated that the methods used against Falun Gong practitioners were benign education. Liu Jing also repeatedly referred to Falun Gong as a cult that was engaged in illegal activities and implied that Falun Gong devastates the whole world.


33. Shortly after the UNCHR conference, Liu Jing held a press conference at Geneva on April 12, 2000 where he demonized Falun Gong as a cult that “engaged in a great number of criminal
activities”, and drove people to suicide, mental impairment, commit murder and self-mutilation. He denied the persecution of Falun Gong as fabrications by Falun Gong practitioners.


34. In a Press Release published by State Council Information Office of the PRC on February 27, 2001, Liu Jing repeated the demonizing narrative that Falun Gong led people to suicide and self-harm. In response to Mrs. Mary Robinson, the UN High Commissioner for Human Right’s comments that the human rights of Falun Gong members were being violated in China, Liu Jing responded that she did not understand Falun Gong. When asked about Falun Gong practitioners in forced labour and prison, Liu Jing responded, among others, that, “[w]e have such a saying in labour education: Like teachers treating students, like doctors treat patients, like parents treat children.” Liu Jing added that the process of transformation was “very touching”. As stated in para. 21-22 of this report, what Liu Jing said about transforming Falun Gong practitioners was far from the truth.


35. Denying gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong practitioners and leading false narratives regarding their treatment in China before the international community is an act of cover up, which the report submits is a form of complicity in these violations.

36. As well, by leading demonizing narratives against Falun Gong to incite hatred, and to induce and legitimize further gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners, the report submits that Liu Jing is responsible as an accessory to these crimes.

V. Conclusion
37. In various capacities at the highest echelon of leadership within the 610 organization, Liu Jing’s responsibility for the innumerable instances of extrajudicial killing, torture and other gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong practitioners is clear and compelling.

38. As aforementioned facts indicate, most if not all perpetrators on the ground, who killed or tortured Falun Gong practitioners within the period of Liu Jing’s leadership, ultimately came within Liu Jing’s orders, supervision or control in one way or another. These practitioners were killed because they sought to exercise, defend and promote the rights to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief, opinion and expression.

39. As well, gross human rights violation against Falun Gong practitioners is a state policy. The violations are such that the state is both unable and unwilling to conduct a thorough, independent and objective investigation.

40. For these reasons, the report submits that Liu Jing satisfies circumstances described in s4(2)(a)(ii) of the Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act.

**APPENDIX**

*Lawsuits and complaints of human rights violations against Liu Jing*


2. On November 15, 2004, six Canadian Falun Gong practitioners in Toronto announced that they had filed a civil lawsuit against five senior Chinese officials, including Jiang Zemin, Li Lanqing, Luo Gan, Liu Jing, and Wang Maolin, to the Ontario Superior Court, and requested a compensation of 20 million Canadian dollars.
3. On June 13, 2005, Swedish human rights lawyer Peter Bergquist and Falun Gong practitioners filed a complaint with the Swedish Police Department against Jiang Zemin, Li Lanqing, Luo Gan, Liu Jing, Ding Guangen, and others.


5. On May 30, 2005, the European Friends of Falun Gong submitted to the immigration and civil affairs departments of the British Interior Ministry a list of 14 top Chinese officials who were the principle perpetrators in the persecution of Falun Gong practitioners, as well as their crimes and evidence, and applied for a ban on their entry into the United Kingdom.

6. On May 28, 2009, the Belgian High Court held a hearing on two Falun Gong practitioners suing the "610 Office" of the Chinese Communist Party for telephone harassment.
Perpetrator: LUO, Gan (罗干)

Personal Information

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator: LUO, Gan (罗干)
Gender: Male
Country: People's Republic of China
Date of Birth: July 18, 1935

History of Appointments

- 2002 – 2007, Head of Central Leading Group for Handling the Falun Gong Issue (which supervises the 610 Office), 1 Secretary of the CCP PLAC, member of the CCP Central Politburo Standing Committee, 2
- 1998 – 2002, Secretary of the CCP PLAC, member of the CCP Central Politburo Committee, Secretary of the Secretariat of CCP Central Committee (CCPCC), State Councilor. 3 1999 – 2002, Deputy Head of Central Leading Group for Handling the Falun Gong Issue. 4
- 1997 – 1998, Deputy Secretary of the CCP PLAC, member of the CCP Central Politburo Committee, Secretary of the Secretariat of CCP Central Committee (CCPCC), State Councilor and Secretary General of the State Council. 5
- 1993 – 1997, Deputy Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee Political & Legal Affairs Committee (PLAC), State Councilor, Secretary General of the State Council. 6

Overview

1 Minghui, Aug 5, 2016
4 Minghui, Aug 5, 2016
1. Luo, Gan is responsible for and complicit in, extrajudicial killing, torture, and other gross violations of internationally recognized human rights committed against Falun Gong practitioners primarily in his capacity as:

   • Deputy Secretary of PLAC

   • Secretary of PLAC

   • Deputy head of the “Leadership Team to Handle the Falun Gong Issue” of CCPCC

   • Head of the “Leadership Team to Handle the Falun Gong Issue” of CCPCC

2. From 1997 to 1999, in his capacity as the Deputy Secretary of PLAC, he directed an investigation which misinformed and misled the information on Falun Gong which resulted in the defamation, discrimination, harassment, and arbitrary detention against Falun Gong practitioners even before the persecution officially started in July 1999.

3. In April 1999, Luo Gan planned, deliberated, conspired, and instigated the April 25 mass assembly of Falun Gong practitioners around Zhongnanhai, which eventually triggered the official persecution.

4. In January 2001, he planned, deliberated, conspired, directed, and arranged the fabricated news of Tiananmen Square self-immolation to defame Falun Gong and instigate public hatred to justify the persecution.

5. The Leadership Team Luo Gan led is the ultimate policymaker with respect to the persecution against Falun Gong, which operates through the Central 610 office and its branch offices at various levels and regions. The organizational architecture and chain of command of the 610 Office and PLAC are illustrated in the umbrella submission titled: “Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC”.

   <Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC at paras. 10-13>

6. The 610 Offices were established for the specific purpose of persecution of Falun Gong. It is the command centre that directs and coordinates governmental agencies including Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of State Security, Ministry of Justice, Supreme People’s Court, Supreme
People’s Procuratorate and Armed Police, authorizing the arbitrary detention, forced disappearance, unfair trial, torture, extrajudicial killing, and other gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners in a systematic way.

7. From 1999 to 2007, in his capacity as the head of the Leadership Team to Handle the Falun Gong Issue, Luo planned, deliberated, directed, ordered, supervised, and oversaw the gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners across China. Through the chain of command that connects 610 Offices to the individual perpetrators on the ground such as the policemen, detention guards, and labour camp personnel, every act of gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners was ultimately within the scope of Luo’s supervision and control.

8. As the top level leader of the hierarchy of 610 Offices, Luo is directly responsible for the persecution against Falun Gong in China. He is responsible for the arbitrary detention, forced brainwashing, torturing, and extrajudicial killing of millions of Falun Gong practitioners.

9. He is found directly responsible for the torture and death of Gao Rongrong, a Falun Gong practitioner in Shenyang City.

Violations

A. Responsible for the discrimination, harassment against and arbitrary arrest of Falun Gong practitioners from 1997 to 1999

10. Prior to the official start of the persecution in July 1999, Luo ordered a biased, misleading investigation towards Falun Gong practitioners, which resulted in defamation, discrimination, harassment, and arbitrary arrest of Falun Gong practitioners.

11. Throughout the history of the Communist Party, periodic persecution campaigns have been used by Party officials to climb to higher levels by demonstrating their allegiance to the Party in the campaigns. In the late 1990s, in his attempt seeking to be promoted to the CCP Central
Committee Politburo Standing Committee—the pinnacle of the hierarchical structure of the Communist Party, Luo deliberately instigated the persecution against Falun Gong.

12. In early 1997, when the Chinese government and public were supporting Falun Gong, Luo personally ordered the Ministry of Public Security (MPS) (i.e. the police system) to conduct an investigation on Falun Gong with the intention to label Falun Gong as “an evil cult", in order to initiate a persecution campaign\(^7\). The investigation, however, produced no incriminatory evidence.

13. Nonetheless, in July 1998, through MPS No. 1 Bureau (also known as the State Political Directorate), Luo issued the [1998] No. 555 public administration notice titled “Notice to Conduct an Investigation on Falun Gong.”\(^8\) In the notice, he first concluded that Falun Gong was “an evil cult", then ordered the police across the country to conduct “undercover investigations" to gather evidence to support his conclusion.

14. The Notice served as an order and implemented by local police in Jiangsu, Liaoning, Shandong, Xinjiang, Heilongjiang, Hebei, Fujian, and other provinces and declared the Falun Gong group exercise sites as “unlawful assemblies", forcibly dispersed the groups of Falun Gong practitioners while they were peacefully doing the exercises, broke into their residences, and confiscated their private properties on the alleged grounds that they were “cult members". Some even went further as to arbitrarily arrest some Falun Gong practitioners. Moreover, some media outlets, misled by the Notice, were publishing articles intentionally defaming Falun Gong practitioners\(^9\).

**B. Instigated the persecution of Falun Gong**

15. Luo conspired with his cousin-in-law, He Zuoxiu to instigate persecution against Falun Gong\(^10\). On April 11, 1999, He Zuoxiu published an article in the journal of Tianjin School of Education, groundlessly attacking Falun Gong\(^11\). As a response, some Falun Gong practitioners voluntarily visited the journal’s editorial department to ask for a clarification. The editorial department

\(^7\) WOIPFG Archives: Evidence of Luo Gan secretly ordering Public Security Bureau to investigate Falun Gong in 1997 (refer to WOIPFG: Luo Gan's Role in the Persecution of Falun Gong [http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/87](http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/87))


\(^10\) [http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/16/4/21/n7577333.htm](http://www.epochtimes.com/gb/16/4/21/n7577333.htm)

acknowledged the mistakes, prepared a correction statement, and scheduled to release it on the following day\textsuperscript{12}.

16. However, on the following day, the journal got instructions from Beijing that they were not allowed to issue a correction statement\textsuperscript{13}.

17. On April 23, Luo instructed the Tianjin local government to dispatch riot police to violently assault and arrest 45 Falun Gong practitioners who peacefully assembled on the playground of Tianjin School of Education\textsuperscript{14}. The police told Falun Gong practitioners that the orders were from Beijing, and they should go to Beijing to appeal\textsuperscript{15}.

18. On April 25, 1999, thousands of Falun Gong practitioners went to State Council Letters and Visits Office, a statutory agency to deal with walk-in petitioners, to ask for a release of the arbitrarily arrested practitioners. State Council Letters and Visits Office was located at the west gate of Zhongnanhai, the official location of CCP’s highest leadership.

19. The police, under the direction of Luo, instructed the petitioners to stand on the pedestrian walks which resulted in encircling Zhongnanhai\textsuperscript{16}, which is a location of high political sensitivity.

20. In the history of the Communist ruling, the Party has been reluctant to see mass assemblies even though it is peaceful. The massacre on Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989, is one example.

\text{<Individual case submission of Jiang Zemin report p. 3>}

21. On the night of April 25, 1999, Jiang Zemin sent a letter to all the members of CCP Politburo, expressed his intention to persecute Falun Gong as he feared that the popularity of Falun Gong may overshadow the influence of Communist Party.

\text{<Individual case submission of Jiang Zemin report p. 2>}


\textsuperscript{13} From Tianjin All the Way to “Normal Appeal Channels”(Photo), para 7, \text{http://en.minghui.org/emh/articles/2009/5/1/106969.html}; para. 7-8 \text{http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2010/4/29/222488.html}


22. It is commonly believed that the April 25 assembly triggered the persecution.

23. Convincing evidence demonstrated that Luo, planned, deliberated, and conspired to instigate the assembly to justify a persecution campaign which may be used by him as an opportunity to get promoted.
   <Individual case submission of Jiang Zemin report p. 1>

C. Launched hate propaganda to mobilize public support for the persecution

24. To further instigate public hatred and justify the persecution, Luo planned, deliberated, and directed a hoax called “Tiananmen Square Self-immolation”. On Jan 23, 2001, 5 people allegedly committed self-immolation on Tiananmen Square. Within 2 hours of the incident, without any investigation, Xinhua news agency reported that they were Falun practitioners17.

25. A detailed analysis of the footage of the scene broadcasted by Chinese Central Television led to the conclusion that it was fabricated news.

26. Prior to the incident, the Freedom Times, a Chinese newspaper outside China reported in September 2000, that because it was very hard to induce Falun Gong practitioners to commit suicide, Luo personally directed the police to find some actors pretending to be Falun Gong practitioners to commit self-immolation in order to defame Falun Gong18.


17 Self-Immolation Hoax on Tiananmen Square
http://en.minghui.org/cc/88/
https://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2005/12/20/116960p.html
18 https://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2005/12/20/116960p.html
28. The Open magazine in Hong Kong reported in April 2001 that sources from Chinese National Security Department said the whole incident was conspired, designed, arranged, and directed by Luo, including the time to put out the fire, the arrival of ambulances, the wording for the news reports were all well-orchestrated by Luo through multiple closed-door meetings.20

D In Charge of the Nationwide Persecution of Falun Gong

29. From 1999 to 2007, Luo planned, mobilized, directed, supervised, and controlled the persecution of Falun Gong.

i) Mobilized and directed the persecution

30. At multiple sessions of Nationwide Political and Legal Work Meeting and Central Commission for the Comprehensive Management of Public Security (CCCMPS), Luo groundlessly defamed Falun Gong and ordered all levels of state apparatus to carry out a systematic and ruthless persecution.

<Chart Accompanying Architecture and Chain of Command in China – resent with submission of this case>

31. On Jan. 17, 2000, Luo Gan attended the national CCCMPS meeting in Beijing. He asked that the attendee must do well in terms of “transforming Falun Gong practitioners’ belief.” “the main members of Falun Gong must be cracked-down”21

32. On June 28, 2001, at the 9th Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) in Beijing, Luo addressed the meeting, asking the attendee to “deepen the struggle against Falun Gong and speed up the strike hard campaign22.”

33. On Dec. 5, 2001, at the Political and Legal Work Meeting in Beijing, Luo alleged that Falun Gong was part of the “domestic and international hostile forces”, hence warranted a “stricter and deeper crackdown”23.

20 https://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2005/12/20/116960p.html
23 Luo Gan's speech at the National Political and Judiciary Work Meeting held in Beijing on December 5, 2001 (refer to WOIPFG: Luo Gan's Role in the Persecution of Falun Gong http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/87)
34. On Jan. 19, 2002, at the CCCMPS meeting prior to CCP's 16th Congress, Luo demanded that the “strict crackdown of Falun Gong must continue”\textsuperscript{24}.

35. On March 6, 2002, Luo addressed the Fujian Provincial Representatives’ Meeting of NPC in Beijing, where he said, “This year, we must try hard to finish the following tasks: 1. Struggle against hostiles forces; 2. Crackdown on Falun Gong”\textsuperscript{25}

36. On March 25, 2002, at the “Nationwide Deepening the Strike Hard” Teleconference, Luo instructed that “as part of the crackdown, we must strike hard on the hostile forces at home and abroad and Falun Gong”\textsuperscript{26}.

37. On Sept. 16, 2002, at the nationwide PLAC Teleconference, Luo named Falun Gong as the top of the strike hard list. A witness from Sichuan sent a message to minghui.org: “In the evening news on Sept. 16, Luo Gan ordered to make Falun Gong the most important target to struggle against.” As a result, Sichuan police launched a provincial roundup of Falun Gong practitioners\textsuperscript{27}.

38. On Jan. 13, 2003, CCCMPS held a meeting in Beijing to discuss their tasks in 2003. Luo attended the meeting and prioritized the accelerated persecution against Falun Gong during the periods of both Chinese New Year holiday and the “two Congresses”\textsuperscript{28}.

39. On Nov. 20 to 22, 2003, at the 20th National Public Security Meeting in Beijing, Luo instructed that the “struggle against Falun Gong needs to be continued and intensified”\textsuperscript{29}.

40. On Dec. 7, 2004, at the national political and legal work meeting, Luo ordered to “accelerate the struggle against Falun Gong”\textsuperscript{30}.

\textsuperscript{25} Luo Gan’s speech on March 6, 2002 in Fujian representatives meeting (refer to WOIPFG: Luo Gan's Role in the Persecution of Falun Gong http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/87)
\textsuperscript{26} People’s Daily Online” March 26, 2002 “Luo Gan’s speech on Beijing Strike Hard Teleconference” http://www.mingjing.org.cn/zxxx/2020326/01.htm (refer to WOIPFG: Luo Gan's Role in the Persecution of Falun Gong http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/87)
\textsuperscript{27} “minghui.org” Sept. 28, 2002 “How Sichuan Falun Gong practitioner Xue Yuzhen was killed by Xu Tao and others” http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2002/9/28/37200.html
\textsuperscript{28} Luo Gan’s speech on Jan. 13, 2003 (refer to WOIPFG: Luo Gan's Role in the Persecution of Falun Gong http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/87)
\textsuperscript{29} “baidu.com” Luo Gan’s speech on the 20\textsuperscript{th} public security meeting, https://baike.baidu.com/item/第二十次全国公安会议

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41. On April 11, 2006, PLAC held a Seminar on Socialist Concept of Rule of Law in Beijing, where Luo told the attendee that they “must emphasize and strengthen the struggle against enemies; effectively prevent hostile forces and individuals using Falun Gong to create chaotic situations.”

    ii) **Organized, supervised, controlled, and engaged the police forces in the persecution**

42. From 2000 to 2007, Luo had been frequently traveling to different parts of China, meeting with provincial police heads, supervising, overseeing, and engaging the police forces in the persecution.

43. Under Luo’s direction and supervision, the police were authorized to arbitrarily arrest Falun Gong practitioner without a warrant.

44. U.S.-based “Committee for Investigation on Persecution of Religion in China” obtained an internal document jointly issued by the Public Security Bureau and the Higher Court of Jilin Province. It says:

    “The crackdown on Falun Gong must be intensified. If a Falun Gong practitioner was spotted, he/she could be arrested right away. All necessary documentation can be added later.” The validity of the authorization was from May 20, 2000, to Dec. 30, 2007.

45. On Aug. 29, 2000, Luo attended a meeting convened by the Ministry of Justice, where he praised those human right perpetrators who actively participated in the persecution and made Masanjia labour camp a model for other labour camps, prisons, and brainwashing centres to learn from.

<Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC at para. 50 iii>

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31 “Qinghai News” Sept. 24, 2006 “Luo Gan’s speech on April 11, 2006”
http://www.qhnews.com/ll/system/2006/08/24/000001630_03.shtml


46. Under Luo’s direct supervision, in October 2000, the prison guards in Masanjia labour camp stripped naked 18 female Falun Gong practitioners and threw them into the male prison cells, where they were raped. As a result, five women died, seven went insane, and the rest suffered varying degrees of disability.34

47. In November 2000, when traveling to Hunan province, Luo ordered that all arrested Falun Gong practitioners must be sentenced. He dispatched a specialized team from MPS to Hunan to implement his order. As a direct result, in the following six months, a large number of Falun Gong practitioners in Hunan were sentenced in closed-door trials for prison terms35.

48. In mid-January 2001, Luo went to Nanchang city, Jiangxi province, where he assembled a specialized team who directly receive orders from him. The team was authorized to arbitrarily detain Falun Gong practitioners in extrajudicial brainwashing centres for an indefinite period of time. Those who refused to renounce their beliefs would be sent to the labour camp for further torturing. From Jan. 30 to Feb. 1, 2001, the entire province of Jiangxi was terrorized by the mass police roundups and detentions, where those known by the police who had practiced Falun Gong were arrested and detained36.

49. On July 16, 2001, a Chinese official media outlet reported that Luo Gan ordered the Central 610 Office and other departments to jointly hold exhibitions all across China to defame Falun Gong37.

50. On March 5, 2002, Luo went to Changchun City, Jilin province and ordered a mass roundup. Under his direction and supervision, within a few days, 6000 police officers were involved in the large-scale manhunt, which resulted in over 5000 Falun Gong practitioners in Changchun city arrested and detained—six were reported tortured to death by the police in the short time frame38. According to Falun Dafa Information Centre, a police officer from Changchun testified that

37 “people.cn” July 16, 2001 “Luo Gan attended activities to defame Falun Gong and ordered to intensify the persecution” (refer to WOIPFG: Luo Gan's Role in the Persecution of Falun Gong http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/87)
38 Luo Gan's Role in the Persecution of Falun Gong http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/87
because the prisons were overly crowded, some Falun Gong practitioners were sent to labour camps and extrajudicial brainwash centres.

<cross reference Individual case submission of Liu Jing para 18>

51. From April 5 to April 8, 2002, Luo Gan went to Anhui province and instructed the police to accelerate the persecution prior to the CCP 16th Congress.

52. In April 2002, Luo went to Heilongjiang province and instructed the local police that before the end of June, they must arrest 6,000 Falun Gong practitioners. Furthermore, all other criminal investigation must be halted and that all police forces be focused on cracking down on Falun Gong. His orders resulted in large numbers of Falun Gong practitioners were arbitrarily arrested, detained, and overcrowded the detention facilities.

53. In early May 2002, Luo attended Henan provincial political and legal work meeting in Jiaozuo city. At the meeting, Luo demanded that before July 22, all Falun Gong must be arrested, which caused a provincial round-up.

54. In September 2002, when Luo met with Hainan provincial police heads, he ordered extrajudicial brainwashing centres to be established to force the Falun Gong practitioners to renounce their belief, and all unyielding Falun Gong practitioners should be “eaten up” in two years.

55. In October 2004, Luo Gan went to Henan province to direct the persecution of Falun Gong, resulting in large numbers of local practitioners being arbitrarily arrested and detained in extrajudicial brainwashing centres; those who had served their full terms in the labour camps or prison were given arbitrarily extended prison terms or sent to brainwashing centres for further persecution.

40 “nanfang.net” April 9, 2002 “Luo Gan ordered intensifying the persecution of Falun Gong” (refer to WOIPFG: Luo Gan’s Role in the Persecution of Falun Gong http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/87)
42 “610 Office” in Xingyang City, Henan Province Sends Numerous Dafa Practitioners to a Brainwashing Class http://en.minghui.org/emh/articles/2002/7/13/24064.html
56. On Nov. 21, 2004, following the incident of a Falun Gong practitioner successfully escaped from Chishan Prison in Hunan province, Luo went to the prison to intensify the persecution of incarcerated Falun Gong practitioners. Consequently, some practitioners were locked up in small cells for a long time—some hung from the ceiling on handcuffs for 18 hours, some subjected to other types of tortures.

57. On Nov. 24, 2004, Luo went to Changsha city, the capital city of Hunan province. He held a “Training Course for the Key Personnel Engaging in Punishing Cult”, which resulted in accelerated persecution in the province: many Falun Gong practitioners in Huaihua city were reported being arbitrarily arrested and detained.

58. On March 29, 2005, some Falun Gong practitioners installed broadcasting devices on a bridge near Chongqing prison where many Falun Gong practitioners were reported being tortured and forced to renounce their belief. The incident got Luo’s attention. He went to Chongqing city on the following day, March 30. That afternoon, an eyewitness saw several trucks filled with armoured police driving towards Chongqing city. Under his direct supervision, in the coming weeks, many Falun Gong practitioners in Chongqing were arbitrarily arrested and detained.

59. In October 2005, when Luo visited Nanchang city, 12 Falun Gong practitioners were reported sent to a brainwashing centre as a direct result of his direction.

60. On May 16, 2007, Luo Gan went to Shijiazhuang city to direct Judge’s deliberation on the trial of Falun Gong practitioner Wang Bo and her parents.

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44 “minghui.org” Dec. 2, 2004 Mainland China news summary
45 “minghui.org” Dec. 20, 2005 “Controlling CCP PLAC system, Luo Gan’s 6 biggest crimes”
http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2005/12/20/116960.html
47 minghui.org” Aug. 27, 2010“重庆市法轮功学员唐进明遭五年囚禁折磨”
“minghui.org” April 16, 2005 “重庆潼南县大法学员付汝芳遭绑架”
http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2005/4/16/99745.html
“minghui.org” Nov. 29, 2010“重庆地区被非法判刑的法轮功学员——109顾晓敏”
“minghui.org” May 6, 2005 Mainland China News Summary: Chongqing Material site interfered with
http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2005/5/7/101301.html#2005-5-6-ch-17
iii) **Encouraged participation in the persecution by awarding the torture perpetrators**

61. According to the reports of Xinhua News Agency on February 26, 2001, 610 offices held a meeting to award about 110 organizations and 271 individuals for their performance with respect to "struggle against Falun Gong". At the meeting, Luo read the “Joint Decision of Seven Department to award advanced individuals and organizations in the struggle against Falun Gong.” The individual rewarded included Chen You—Chief of Beijing Public Security Bureau Tiananmen Branch, who were reported to violently assault Falun Gong practitioners on Tiananmen Square; and Su Jing, the head of the notorious Masanjia Labour Camp in Liaoning Province, where Falun Gong practitioners have been subjected to brutal torture. These notorious human right perpetrators were sharing their experiences at the meeting to over 3000 attendees on how to persecute Falun Gong practitioners.

62. On March 27, 2007, Luo attended Nationwide Prison Work Meeting in Beijing, where serious human rights violation perpetrators who violently persecuted Falun Gong were awarded as "advanced individuals", for example, Zhong Shan from No.4 Division at Doujun Prison, Guizhou Province, Wang Jun, head of No. 3 Division of Huhehaote No.2 prison in Inner Mongolia, Zhang Daishu, head of Yingkou Prison in Liaoning Province, Liu Wei, head of No. 5 Division of Hulan Prison, Heilongjian Province, Sun Zhixue, head of No. 1 Division of Jiamusi Prison, Heilongjian Province.

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54 “minghui.org” May 21, 2007 “Xue Xinkai was persecuted to vomit blood, Yingkou Prison refused visitation right” [http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2007/5/21/155309.html](http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2007/5/21/155309.html)
56 minghui.org” Dec. 25, 2010 “Record of Falun Gong practitioner Qu Dehong’s death”
E Luo directly caused the death of Gao Rongrong

63. On May 7, 2004, in Longshan Labour Camp in Shenyang city, Falun Gong practitioner Gao Rongrong was brutally tortured and disfigured by police officers who had struck her face with electric batons. Pictures of her badly wounded face were posted on the internet and shocked the conscience of the international community. The case was listed as an important case in 2004 UN Report on the persecution of Falun Gong.\(^{57}\)

64. On October 5, she was rescued from the labour camp by some Falun Gong practitioners. As a retaliation, Luo instructed the case to be listed as No 26 most important case of MPS. On March 6, 2005, Gao Rongrong was re-arrested and died in police custody after three months.\(^{58}\)

Conclusion

65. Compelling evidence demonstrated that as the top level leader of the 610 organizations, Luo Gan planned, deliberated, conspired, instigated, directed, supervised, and controlled the persecution against Falun Gong.

66. He is responsible for the innumerable instances of extrajudicial killing, torture, and other gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong practitioners all across China.

67. Falun Gong practitioners were persecuted because they sought to exercise, defend, and promote the rights to freedom of religion and expression.

68. For these reasons, the report submits that Luo Gan satisfies the criteria provided in s4(2)(a)(b) of the Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act (Sergei Magnitsky Law) and should be put on the list of foreign nationals who are subject to the prohibition orders under the Act.

http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2010/12/25/黑龙江鸡东县曲德洪惨遭迫害的经历-234070.html


Canada Magnitsky Law Submission

Falun Dafa Association

July 2018

Perpetrator (Case #__) Qiang Wei (强卫)

I. Personal Information

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator: Qiang Wei (强卫)

Gender: Male

Country: People’s Republic of China

Date of Birth: March 1953

Place of Birth: Wuxi, Jiangsu Province

II. History of Appointments

1. March 1996 to March 2007 - Secretary of Beijing City Political & Legal Affairs Committee of Chinese Communist Party (PLAC)

2. March 1999 to August 2001 - Director of Beijing City’s Public Security Bureau

3. March 2001 to March 2007 - Deputy Secretary of Beijing City's Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

4. March 2001 to March 2007 - Head of Leadership Group of the Beijing City to Prevent and Handle the Evil Cult Issues (known as the “610 Office,” formerly the Office of Leading Group to handle Falun Gong Issues until 2002)

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1 Baidu Baik, Qiang Wei, https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%BC%BA%E5%8D%AB;
3 At provincial and municipal levels, the PLAC presides over the People’s Court, the People’s Procurorate, the Public Security, State Security and Bureaus of Justice. See the umbrella submission titled “Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC,” at paras. 16 – 26.
4 The 610 Office was established on June 10, 1999 by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to carry out the campaign to eradicate Falun Gong. See the umbrella submission titled “Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC” at paras 10-15 for detailed architecture, scope of authority and chain of command of the 610 Office.
Canada Magnitsky Law Submission

Falun Dafa Association

July 2018

5. March 2007 to March 2013 - Secretary of the Qinghai Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

6. March 2013 to June 2016 - Secretary of the Jiangxi Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairperson of Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee

7. July 2016 to March 2018 - Vice-Chairperson of the 12th National People's Congress, Internal and Judicial Affairs Committee

8. March 2018 to present - Vice-Chairperson of the 13th National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Committee for Social and Legal Affairs

III. Overview

1. Pursuant to the Canada Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act (also known as Sergei Magnitsky Law), the Governor in Council may impose financial sanctions against foreign nationals who are responsible for or complicit in extrajudicial killings\(^5\), torture\(^6\), or other gross violations of internationally recognized human rights\(^7\) committed against individuals in any foreign state who seek to exercise human rights and freedoms such as freedom of conscience,
religion, and belief. These sanctions may be imposed on a foreign national who acts as an agent of or on behalf of a foreign state in a matter relating to the gross violations of internationally recognized human rights.

2. We request that the Governor in Council issue sanctions under the Sergei Magnitsky Law against Qiang Wei (Qiang), a foreign national who acts as an agent of and on behalf of the Chinese Communist regime in the persecution of those who practise Falun Gong, a spiritual practice.

3. This document establishes below that Qiang, a senior Chinese Communist Party (CCP) official, ordered, directed, and authorized numerous human rights violations including extrajudicial killings and torture in Beijing City, Qinghai Province and Jiangxi Province. He commanded, instigated, and incited acts of violence committed by police, prison guards, and other personnel against Falun Gong practitioners.

4. By imposing sanctions on Qiang for his gross violations, Canada will expose and hold accountable those responsible for the Chinese Communist Regime’s ongoing persecution of Falun Gong. Killings, torture, and other violations of human rights against Falun Gong must cease.

5. Due to the Chinese Communist regime’s censorship of information, presented below is but a fraction of the gross violations Qiang committed. As stated in our umbrella submission “Methodology and Evidence,” gross violations in this report are primarily based on information from Minghui.org (Minghui). This document also makes frequent references to investigative

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9 Id.
10 World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong, https://www.zhuichaguoji.org/node/48088
11 Minghui (also known as Clear Wisdom) is a website run by a global network of volunteer Falun Gong practitioners and considered the most authoritative source of information on Falun Gong related events within the Falun Gong community. See our umbrella submission “Methodology and Evidence,” at paras. 6-24.
findings of the World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong (WOIPFG for English or Zhuichaguoji for Chinese).\textsuperscript{12}

IV. Qiang’s Gross Violations in Beijing City from 1999 to March 2007

6. When Jiang Zemin launched the persecution of Falun Gong in July 1999, Qiang was the PLAC Secretary of Beijing City until 2007 and Director of the Beijing City’s Public Security Bureau until August 2001. He was further appointed to serve as the Head of the 610 Office for Beijing City from March 2001 to March 2007. As discussed in our umbrella submission titled “Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC”, the 610 Office established at the behest of CCP Head Jiang Zemin on June 10, 1999 had one charge: to plan, orchestrate, and carry out a comprehensive suppression of Falun Gong. It became the primary tool for arresting, torturing, and killing Falun Gong practitioners.

7. In these positions, Qiang held the power to not only formulate all important municipal policies and policy decisions, but also to supervise, direct, and lead the executive branch of the Beijing Municipal government, which includes the operation of Public Security Bureau of Beijing, under which the police operate, and other security forces.

8. Following the Central 610 Office mandate, his Beijing 610 Office issued policies and mandates to drive the campaign against Falun Gong in Beijing. His role as PLAC Secretary provided the authority over organizations of public security, armed police, prosecutorate offices and judicial system to implement such CCP policies and mandates in Beijing City. He was responsible for

\textsuperscript{12} WOIPFG was founded on January 20, 2003 in response to the severity and impunity of the persecution of Falun Gong by the Chinese Communist regime. It is based in New York and has branches in Europe, Australia, Asia and Canada. http://www.upholdjustice.org/ for English and https://www.zhuichaguoji.org/ for Chinese. See our umbrella submission “Methodology and Evidence,” at paras. 25-29.
the overall operation of the Public Security Bureau of Beijing in implementing the eradication policy of the CCP.

A. Qiang commanded, instigated, and incited gross violations of internationally recognized human rights.

9. On April 25, 2000, Qiang commanded 3,000 police and dozens of police vehicles to detain any Falun Gong practitioner in Tiananmen Square. At the very least, over 100 Falun Gong practitioners were beaten and kidnapped. Based on sources from Beijing Public Security Bureau, from July 1999 to April 2001 alone, Beijing police arrested at the very least over 830,000 Falun Gong practitioners.

10. During his tenure as a senior CCP official of Beijing City, Qiang conducted inspection tours of counties and labour camps under his responsibilities to ensure his policies and mandates were implemented. For example, in 2001, 2004, and 2005, he visited Pinggu County, Fangshan County, and Shunyi County and ordered additional actions against Falun Gong practitioners. More arrests were made of Falun Gong practitioners after his visits.

11. In February 2001, at a CCP event, Qiang called on the entire City of Beijing to “completely eradicate Falun Gong.”

12. On January 28, 2002, Qiang toured Tuanhe Labour Camp that has been known for torturing Falun Gong practitioners. Qiang affirmed and commended the performance of these labour

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14 Minghui, [http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2006/7/14/-132585.html](http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2006/7/14/-132585.html)
16 WOIPFG, [https://www.zhuichaguoji.org/node/48088](https://www.zhuichaguoji.org/node/48088)
camps in converting Falun Gong practitioners. As described below, Qiang’s visit directly instigated and incited further violence against Falun Gong practitioners imprisoned in the Tuanhe Labour Camp.\textsuperscript{18}

13. On January 9, 2003, Qiang attended a CCP conference on the campaign to eradicate Falun Gong. In his remarks at the conference, he was pleased with what had been done in Beijing and emphasized the importance to continue the campaign to achieve new “victories.”\textsuperscript{19}

14. On December 11, 2003, he presided over a CCP event to award 195 government organizations and 502 individuals for their role in carrying out his order to persecute Falun Gong practitioners in Beijing. He urged additional efforts to be made in the campaign to eradicate Falun Gong in Beijing.\textsuperscript{20}

15. On January 13, 2005, Qiang made a keynote speech at another event to award personnel for their role in the campaign against Falun Gong. He emphasized the long-term struggle against Falun Gong as well as announcing the persecution plan for the year of 2005.\textsuperscript{21}

B. Qiang ordered and authorized the extrajudicial killings and torture of Falun Gong practitioners.

16. Qiang had command, control or superior responsibility for police, detention guards, and labour camp personnel. Through the chain of command that connects his offices to the individual perpetrators on the ground, Qiang is responsible for every act of gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners committed by these individuals under his supervision and control.

\textsuperscript{18} WOIPFG, https://www.zhuichaguoji.org/node/48088
\textsuperscript{19} WOIPFG, https://www.zhuichaguoji.org/node/48088
\textsuperscript{21} WOIPFG, https://www.zhuichaguoji.org/node/48088
17. In October 1999, Zhuang Gangxiang was kidnapped in Beijing. As he was beaten in a Beijing detention centre, the detention guards bragged about how they killed a female Falun Gong practitioner several days ago in the same room—at the order of the detention guards, the two male detainees, each holding one of her arms, swung her against the wall, front and back. At the same time, a third male detainee kept kicking her in the neck, until she died of suffocation.22

18. Sun Jihong from Heilongjiang Province was kidnapped in Beijing on September 25, 2002. Within four days, he died in police custody. At the Beijing Public Bureau's Forensic examination and identification centre, his family members could not recognize his body. There was a hole between the eyebrows, with another six deep holes in the face, apparently caused by metal objects. Deep and large burns were all over the forehead, the lower jaw, and the neck. Additional open wounds were found on his chest, back, and legs.23

19. Dong Cui from Hebei Province was arrested in 2001 for passing out flyers about Falun Gong persecution, and sentenced to five-year prison terms in 2002. While at Beijing Women's Prison, on March 19, 2003, at the order of a prison guard, inmates beat her so severely that she died a few hours later. Her body had black and blue bruises all over, her legs were swollen, and the muscle and bone were separated on her right shoulder. An autopsy by Beijing Legal Medical Identification Centre determined that Dr. Dong was beaten to death.24

23 Minghui, http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2012/3/14/96-254208.html
20. Peng Guangjun, a 55-year-old Beijing resident, was kidnapped on September 28, 2003 and sent to Tuanhe Labour Camp. On January 22, 2004, the labour camp received the order to “transform” him (i.e., forcing him to give up the practice of Falun Gong) within three days. He died on the third day. His entire body including his head was bruised black and blue. His face was burned from shocks by the electronic baton, and his arms and legs were broken.25

21. In 2005, also at Tuanhe Labour Camp, by order of the guards, a female Falun Gong practitioner in her twenties was tied up to a bed and force-fed with two bowls of salty water. Then she was kicked hard in her abdomen and water gushed out from her mouth, nose, and abdomen. Then she was force-fed and stomped again in the abdomen. The same torture continued day after day until she died on the eleventh day.26

Torture

22. On July 20th, 1999, the Chinese Communist leadership officially banned Falun Gong. Throughout China, police immediately arrested Falun Gong practitioners that they considered key organizers. Wang Zhiwen, together with three other members of the China Falun Dafa Research Society, was among the first arrests that Beijing Public Bureau police made. Wang Zhiwen was sentenced to 16 years and was imprisoned in Qianjin Prison in Beijing. Wang Zhiwen was deprived sleep for extended periods—he was forced to sit on a bench and the beating would ensue whenever he closed his eyes. At times and directed by prison guards, inmates stood on Wang Zhiwen’s hands and inserted toothpicks under his nails. Every finger was filled with toothpicks, with blood oozing out.27

27 Minghui, http://library.minghui.org/victim/i4737.htm
23. Wang Jie, a Beijing resident, was one of two Falun Gong practitioners who filed the first complaint with the Supreme People's Procuratorate of China in Beijing against CCP leaders for its persecution of Falun Gong. Within two weeks of the filing, on September 7, 2000, Wang Jie was arrested in Beijing. While in Fangshan Detention Centre, he was subjected to daily beatings so much that at one point, after a policeman hit Wang Jie's kidney area with his knee, Wang Jie fainted and remained unconscious for a month. On November 30, 2000, Wang Jie's family received a notice to take him home for “release upon bail pending trial.” Wang Jie had lost consciousness by that time, had no control over his urine and bowels, and needed kidney dialysis every other day.28

24. Lin Shusen, also imprisoned in the Qianjin Prison, was severely tortured on February 1, 2001. Several prison guards cuffed him from his back, with his face down on the floor. With electric baton, “they shocked me on the sensitive parts of my body including my palms, the arches of my feet, my head, neck, and my genital area.” 29 Police relentlessly applied electric shocks to him. “The air was filled with the smell of burning hair and skin. Being tortured made me feel that living was worse than being dead. Each minute or each second felt as long as one century. It felt as if the flesh on my body was being cut off in small pieces, with numerous knives, and I had extreme difficulty breathing; I was struggling at death's door. It was an extremely painful suffering. At that moment, I felt the taste of an ancient torture described as ‘Cut in pieces alive.’”30 Later Lin Shusen learned that the prison guards had used eight electric batons, applying electric shocks to him at the same time.31

25. Torture occurred routinely at labour camps in Beijing under Qiang’s supervision. Sending someone to the labour camp for “re-education” was an administrative punishment and no judicial

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30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
process was required. On March 1, 2001, Mr. Yu Ming was taken to the Tuanhe Labour Camp. As in the cases of all Falun Gong practitioners, from day one, he was subjected to torture and cruel and inhuman treatment such as severe beating by detainees directed by the guards, sleep deprivation, standing in the burning sun for long hours as punishment, and intensive forced labour. Directed by the guards, detainees tied up Lu Changjun with wide transparent tape and taped his head down onto his knees. They squeezed him into a small space under a wooden plank bed while several people sat on the bed to push the bed down. The tremendous pressure crushed Lu Changjun's backbone and he became a paraplegic. The same torture was also applied to Chen Gang who was tied up and squeezed under the wooden plank bed. This form of torture was used frequently in Tuanhe Labour Camp.

26. A form of torture frequently inflicted on Falun Gong practitioners in Beijing Women's Prison is to tighten the legs of the two legs with a rope and tying the hands from behind the back and into the back, with the same rope. Liu Xiuqin, Gong Ruiping, Mao Xiuli, Wu Xi, Xu Na, Zhao Rongmin, Dong Cui, and Yue Changzhi were all subjected to such torture. In half an hour, their feet swelled up and started to bleed due to the rope cutting into the feet. Prison guards stomped on their knees, causing such excruciating pain that they passed out. The wounds were purulent, and there were large pustules on the feet and legs.

27. During Qiang’s tenure in Beijing, Beijing is one of China's municipalities that have the worst records in the persecution of Falun Gong. By March 2007 when Qiang left Beijing, at least 84 Falun Gong practitioners died of torture.
V. Qiang’s Gross Violations in Qinghai Province from March 2007 to March 2013

28. In March 2007, Qiang was appointed to the position of Secretary of Qinghai Provincial CCP Committee. As the highest CCP official in Qinghai Province, Qiang had command, control, or superior responsibility for police, detention guards and labour camp personnel. Through the chain of command that connects his offices to the individual perpetrators, Qiang is responsible for torture and other gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners committed by these individuals under his supervision and control.

29. Duan Xiaoyan was kidnapped multiple times and was sentenced in August 2002 to seven-year imprisonment in Qinghai Province Women's Prison. While in prison, she was subjected to forced labour 10 hours a day and deprived of sleep. The prison guard tied her by the hands to the top of an iron door and hung her for eight days. They force-fed her several times and beat her with electric batons on the head, back, and legs to the point that her face and back were severely burned and blistered from the electric baton shocks. Because of the torture, Duan Xiaoyan became paralyzed from the waist down during the imprisonment.36

30. At the end of 2007, police broke into the home of Wei Haiming. After ransacking the home for Falun Gong materials, police arrested Wei Haiming and his wife, Zhao Zonghua. At the detention centre, both were severely tortured. Without their lawyer’s knowledge, both were sentenced to five years, Wei Haiming to Qinghai Province Menyuan Prison and Zhao Zonghua to Qinghai Women's Prison. In prison, prison guards tortured Wei Haiming and his lung disease relapsed due to the cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment. Within six months of release from prison, he died on July 19, 2012.37

31. Zhang Xiuqin, a 48-year-old resident in Xining City, Qinghai Province, was kidnapped on the evening of November 13, 2008. She was taken to the Xining City Detention Centre the same night. A few days later around midnight on December 7, 2008, Zhang Xiuqin lost consciousness and never regained consciousness. She died at 4 o'clock on December 13. While no details are reported about the cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment she was subjected to at the detention, she fell into a coma and died in the Qinghai government’s custody.38

32. Qinghai Women Labour Camp is known for its torture of Falun Gong practitioners. As of October 2010, imprisoned at Qinghai Women’s Labour Camp included Chen Jiping, Li Guixiang, Zhang Hongxia, Zhai Jinying, and Jia Guohong. They were repeatedly kicked, slapped in the face and beaten by electric batons as well as subjected to forced labour. One evening in the summer of 2009, Zhang Hongxia was dragged into the labour camp’s administrative office where she was hit and kicked in the head, her face covered with blood. The beating continued until midnight.39

33. On September 10, 2011, police and State security agents kidnapped Ge Yanhua in Xining, Qinghai Province. She was subsequently sentenced to five years’ imprisonment at the Qinghai Women’s Prison. According to reports, she was tortured in Qinghai Women’s Prison, where the prison guards shocked her body using electric batons. Her entire body was bruised black and blue.40

VI. Qiang is Responsible for or Complicit in Gross Violations of Internationally Recognized Human Rights in Jiangxi Province from March 2013 to June 2016

34. Qiang served as Secretary of Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee, the highest political appointment at the provincial level, from March 2013 to June 2016. In this position, Qiang led Jiangxi Province in an egregious campaign of torture, imprisonment, extrajudicial killing, and other gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners.

35. Under his supervision and control, at least 615 Falun Gong practitioners were targeted for persecution due to their practice of Falun Gong, among whom, 266 were kidnapped and 18 died as result of the brutality of the persecution. The table below provides a summary of these cases.\(^\text{41}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Harassments, Home Ransacks, Fines, etc.</th>
<th>Kidnap</th>
<th>Detention</th>
<th>Criminal Detention</th>
<th>Tried and Sentenced</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Persecution case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016 2(^{\text{nd}}) half</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016 1(^{st}) half</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015 2(^{nd}) half</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015 1(^{st}) half</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014 2(^{nd}) half</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014 1(^{st}) half</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013 2(^{nd}) half</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013 1(^{st}) half</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36. As an example, Wu Yingjun, a resident of Nanchang City, was kidnapped from her home on October 1, 2014 and detained in Nanchang No. 1 Detention Centre, Jiangxi Province for two months before she was released on bail. At the detention centre, she suffered from abdominal swelling because of cruel and inhuman treatment. She was not able to stand or lie down. Her torso bent forward, the abdomen and lower body swollen, with the skin of both legs split open. She was on the verge of death. On June 8, 2015, local authorities had her carried over to court to stand trial. Twenty days later, she passed away. Previously, local authorities detained her 10 times, imprisoned her in labour camps five times as well as kidnapped her to a local brainwashing centre.\(^\text{42}\)

37. In his capacity of Secretary of Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee, Qiang ordered and authorized municipal 610 offices to step up the campaign against Falun Gong practitioners, in particular, those who filed lawsuits against Jiang Zemin.\(^\text{43}\)

38. On October 20, 2015, Qiang visited Yingtan City. A wave of suppressions ensued. Multiple sources confirmed that during the visit, Qiang issued a mandate that the 610 Office in Yingtan City must take actions against Falun Gong practitioners who filed lawsuits against Jiang Zemin. According to sources, he declared that lawsuits against Jiang Zemin were frivolous containing

\(^{42}\) Minghui, http://library.minghui.org/victim/i96619.htm
false accusations, and ordered that local authorities must interrogate every Falun Gong practitioner in Yingtan City for that matter.\textsuperscript{44}

39. Around October 28, 2015, Yingtan 610 Office and Yingtan PLAC dispatched the State security agents and police from various police branches to abduct Falun Gong practitioners in Guixi, Yujiang, and Yuehu Districts. Ning Jian, Li Chungen, Wei Qinglan, and Li Yingen were among those abducted. Once abducted to the Yingtan brainwashing class, Falun Gong practitioners were held against their will and were ordered to write “repentance paper” and “guarantee paper” to denounce Falun Gong. Those who stood up to the order were sent to detention centres as punishment.\textsuperscript{45}

40. In Yuehu District, Yingtan City, local authorities detained non-practicing family members as a way of coercing Falun Gong practitioners to give up the practice. Hu Deyuan filed a criminal complaint together with his daughter who was not a Falun Gong practitioner. The daughter was detained to intimidate Hu Deyuan and his son-in-law (not practicing Falun Gong). Liu Yunfang’s daughter who did not practice Falun Gong was also detained for 15 days, her home ransacked.\textsuperscript{46}

41. Local authorities also took suppressive actions in Yujiang County under the jurisdiction of Yingtan City. By mid-November 2015, police had kidnapped Falun Gong practitioners including Liu Changyuan and Wu Jiashan and ransacked their homes. A few were also detained.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{44} Minghui, \url{http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2015/11/24/-319505.html#151123225938-1}; \url{http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2015/11/14/-319117.html#15111401056-3}

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
VII. Conclusion

42. Qiang is a foreign national who acts as an agent of and on behalf of the Chinese Communist regime in the persecution of those who practise Falun Gong.

43. As a member of the CCP higher echelon, Qiang planned, instigated, ordered, authorized, or incited police, prison guards, and other personnel to commit gross violations of internationally recognized human rights against Falun Gong in Beijing City, Qinghai Province, and Jiangxi Province.

44. The police, prison guards, and other personnel have engaged in a widespread and systematic campaign of persecution marked by a pattern and practice of extrajudicial killings; arbitrary detention; torture; cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment and forced labour.

45. Falun Gong practitioners were subjected to these gross violations because they sought to exercise freedom of conscience, religion, and belief.

46. At all times relevant hereto, Qiang had superior responsibility over police, prison guards, and other personnel in their commission of such violations. They acted under the management, command, and supervisory authority of Qiang. Qiang knew or should have known that such violations were committed in the context of a widespread and systematic persecution against Falun Gong.

47. For the reasons stated above, we submit that the circumstance described in Section 4(2)(a)(ii) of the Sergei Magnitsky Law has occurred. We request that the Governor in Council issue sanctions against Qiang as authorized under the Sergei Magnitsky Law. The sanctions will send

Canada Magnitsky Law Submission

Falun Dafa Association

July 2018

a message to high-ranking Communist officials that Canada will expose and hold them accountable for their gross violations of human rights in China. Canada will not stay idle. The persecution must end.
Perpetrator: WANG, Lijun (王立军)

Personal Information

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator: WANG, Lijun (王立军)
Gender: Male
Country: People’s Republic of China
Date of Birth: December 26, 1959

APPOINTMENTS

Liaoning Province, Tieling City

• 1999—2002, Secretary, Public Security Department CPC, Leading Party Group Liaoning Province, Tieling City
• 2000—2003, Director, Public Security Department Liaoning Province, Tieling City

Liaoning Province, Jinzhou City

• 2003—2008, Director, Public Security Department of Liaoning Province, Jinzhou City
• 2004—2008, Vice-Mayor of Liaoning Province, Jinzhou City

1 China Vitae: Biography of Wang Lijun (http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Wang_Lijun)
Chongqing Municipality

- 2008—2009, Deputy Secretary, Public Security Department and Party Committee of Chongqing Municipality
- 2008—2009, Deputy Director, Public Security Department of Chongqing Municipality
- 2009—2012, Director, Public Security Department of Chongqing Municipality
- 2011—2012, Vice-Mayor of Chongqing Municipality

Background and Overview

1. Wang Lijun is the Josef Mengele of China. In his dual capacity as police chief and medical scientist, he led the persecution of Falun Gong and personally conducted fatal tests and medical experiments on detainees.

2. Evidence indicates that his tests and experiments, performed under the auspices of medical advancement, entails the torture and extrajudicial killing of thousands of victims who likely include Falun Gong practitioner.

3. Wang Lijun’s violations cannot be dissociated from Bo Xilai—Wang’s close associate and superior in Liaoning province and Chongqing² (Bo Xilai is the subject of a separate Magnitsky report). Wang Lijun fell out with Bo Xilai in 2012³. On February 6, 2012, Wang Lijun visited the U.S. consulate in Chengdu to seek asylum⁴. During the visit, he allegedly gave evidence implicating Bo Xilai and possibly other high ranking Party officials in corruption and

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² China Vitae: Biography of Bo Xilai (http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Bo_Xilai)
wrongdoing. 

Wang Lijun’s visit led to Bo Xilai’s fall from public office to prison. Wang Lijun himself was convicted of abuse of power, bribe taking, defection, and “bending the law for selfish ends” in September 2012. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

4. Although Wang Lijun is disgraced, he has never been investigated or held accountable for his egregious human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners committed during his office as police chief and medical scientist.

5. Wang Lijun demonstrates a history of grave human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners. His cruel acts of human experimentation set him apart from other Chinese officials complicit in the genocide against Falun Gong. For these reasons, Wang Lijun is eligible and deserving of sanction under the Sergei Magnistky law.

Part 1: Leading the torture and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners as the police chief of Tieling City, Jinzhou City and Chongqing City

6. Wang served as Director of Public Security Bureau for Tieling City (Liaoning Province), Jinzhou City (Liaoning Province), and Chongqing Municipality in succession from 1999 to December 2012.

7. As the police chief in these regions, Wang Lijun led his police and security forces to commit gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners.

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8 Ibid.
9 Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act (Sergei Magnitsky Law) S.C. 2017, c. 21
10 China Vitae: Biography of Wang Lijun (http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Wang_Lijun)
Gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners in Tieling City, Liaoning Province from July 1999 to May 2003

8. When Jiang Zemin launched the nationwide campaign to eradicate Falun Gong in July 1999, Wang Lijun was deputy director of the Public Security Bureau in Tieling City, Liaoning Province\(^\text{11}\). In August 2000, he was promoted to the position of director of PSB\(^\text{12}\). As the head of PSB, Wang Lijun was in charge of implementing the policy of eradication against Falun Gong in his city\(^\text{13}\).

9. According to Minghui, Wang Lijun personally spearheaded a number of major police operations to locate, capture, and torture Falun Gong practitioners in Tieling City.

10. One documented case involved the torture of a Falun Gong practitioner Wu Yuping\(^\text{14}\).

11. Wu Yuping was abducted one evening on March 12, 2002. She was first taken to Tieling Detention Centre and then transferred to Tieling Public Security Bureau training base for interrogation\(^\text{15}\).

12. At the training base, she learned that Wang Lijun personally spearheaded the police operation against her because he considered her a “major” case\(^\text{16}\). To force Wu Yuping to denounce Falun Gong, Wang Lijun planned a 24-hour interrogation strategy involving four shifts with eight policemen, two for each shift. She was strung up in an iron cage, with each

\(^{11}\) China Vitae: Biography of Wang Lijun (http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Wang_Lijun)

\(^{12}\) Ibid.

\(^{13}\) Magnitsky Report, “Architecture and Chain of Command” at para. 41-45

\(^{14}\) Minghui, “辽宁铁岭法轮功学员武玉萍遭迫害经历” (Experiences of persecution by Liaoning, Tieling Falun Gong practitioner Wu Yuping ), May 7, 2014 (http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2014/5/7/-291311.html)

\(^{15}\) Ibid.

\(^{16}\) Ibid.
hand cuffed in stretching position to the ceiling. She was tortured in this position for days with no food or sleep. On the sixth day, police took her out of the cage. She was viciously beaten to the extent that her legs were completely black and blue. The torture continued when she woke up. In one particular torture, she was made to kneel while a policeman stood on her calves and kneaded her flesh with his full body weight of approximately over 200 pounds. She recalled that the agony was beyond words.¹⁷

13. In the fall of 2002, shortly after Wang Lijun’s promotion to the position of PSB Director, it was said that he was looking for opportunities to crack “major” cases to advance his political career in the Party.¹⁸

14. In October 2002, Wang personally directed a police squad in the Yinzhou District to conduct clandestine surveillance of Falun Gong practitioners using techniques such as wiretapping.¹⁹ The police squad eventually located and abducted over a dozen Falun Gong practitioners, including Yi Liping, Wang Hongshu, Zhang Bo, Zhang Weiji, as well as their family members and others who were in the practitioners’ phone records.²⁰

15. When these individuals were being detained by the Yinzhou police squad, Wang Lijun personally visited the squad. During the visit, Wang Lijun stated that this was a major case and that whoever participated would be given full marks and be rewarded with a bonus.²¹

16. Following Wang Lijun’s visit, the police stepped up the torture of the Falun Gong practitioners. The Falun Gong practitioners were brutally beaten with rubber tubes for days on end.

¹⁷ Ibid.
¹⁹ Ibid.
²⁰ Ibid.
²¹ Ibid.
It was said that beating and screams of pain could be heard even at midnight. The police strung up the Falun Gong practitioners by the wrists in stretched positions. Three Falun Gong practitioners including Wang Jie were strung continuously for two days. The torture was excruciating as the weight of the whole body led the handcuffs to cut into the wrists and arms. As a result, Wang Jie lost the use of his hands for six months. He was unable to lift his right arm for eight years thereafter.²²

17. Zhou Yanpuo was another Falun Gong practitioner among those abducted in Wang Lijun’s October 2002 operation.²³ Zhou Yanpuo was abducted at her friend’s place at midnight on October 8, 2002. She was severely beaten by four policemen and taken to Tieling Detention Centre to be tortured.²⁴

18. At Tieling Detention Centre, Zhou Yanpuo was tied to the floor with her four limbs stretched in maximum tension. She was tortured in this position continuously for over a month without any break. Later, she was stripped down to one shirt. Her neck and feet was chained to the floor and she was made to freeze with the windows wide open in negative 20 degrees Fahrenheit. As a result, she lost the use of her right leg for six months. She was also forced-fed with a large amount of toilet water and brine via a gastric tube. The gastric tube was left in her stomach for over a month which led to internal bleeding.²⁵

Gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners in Jinzhou City, Liaoning Province from May 2003 to June 2008

²² Ibid.
²³ Minghui, “大连优秀护士控告江泽民” (Excellent nurse from Dalian sues Jiang Zemin), November 7, 2016 (http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2016/11/7/大连优秀护士控告江泽民-337355.html)
²⁴ Ibid.
²⁵ Ibid.
19. In May 2003, Wang Lijun was transferred to serve as the director of PSB of Jinzhou, an important city in Liaoning Province. There, he continued to play an active role in persecuting Falun Gong.26

20. Of particular note was Wang Lijun’s involvement in an operation against Falun Gong in 2008, codenamed F0801.

21. On February 25, 2008, the Ministry of Public Security launched F0801, a large scale operation to “safeguard” the Olympic Games. Wang Lijun, as director of Jinzhou PSB, led this operation in three cities, Huludao, Jinzhou, and Chaoyang27.

22. Wang Lijun directed a large round of abductions that began at 6 a.m. on February 25, 2008. Under Wang Lijun’s command, police in Huludao City adducted 16 Falun Gong practitioners on February 25, 2008. Two of them died under torture and the others were either sent to prison or forced labour camps28.

23. The documented cases of torture committed against Falun Gong practitioners abducted in Huludao on February 25, 2008 include the following.29

A. Fan Dezhen, a Falun Gong practitioner, was abducted on February 25, 2008. He was taken to Suizhong Detention Centre and found dead on April 20, 2008. His body showed multiple signs of torture. His distorted face and clenched teeth indicated that

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27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
he suffered extreme agony upon death. His upper body was covered in bruises. The police cremated Fan, without the consent of his family.30

B. Huang Lizhong, Falun Gong practitioner and resident in Huludao, was abducted on February 25, 2008. He was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. He was sent to Banjin Prison where he was subjected to various tortures. In October 2009, he was tortured to death by electric batons.31

C. Yang Zhaoying, Falun Gong practitioner and resident in Huludao, was abducted together with her parents and sister on the early morning of February 25, 2008. The police reached her home on the third floor on a ladder and broke into her home through the windows. She was disabled from torture during police custody, and was sentenced to seven years in prison.32

D. Zhou Yingchun, Falun Gong practitioner, was abducted on February 25, 2008. She was disabled from torture during police custody. She was thereafter sentenced to five years imprisonment by court personnel while she was in hospital.33

33 Ibid.
Gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners in Chongqing Municipality, from June 2008 to January 2012

25. In June 2008, Wang Lijun was transferred to the Public Security Bureau of Chongqing municipality. He returned to serve under his old superior, Bo Xilai, who was the newly appointed Party Secretary of Chongqing City.

26. Wang Lijun worked closely with Bo Xilai to carry out the policy of eradication against Falun Gong. As head of Chongqing police, it was reported that Wang Lijun had assigned quotas of arrests and detentions to each police station. Wang Lijun’s quotas made it clear to the police that no abuse of any Falun Gong practitioner would be considered too extreme, and no abuse would be punished.

27. During Wang Lijun’s tenure, the human rights abuse of Falun Gong practitioners escalated in Chongqing city. The following facts are noteworthy:

A. There were over 240 documented cases of abduction of Falun Gong practitioners during the 2008 Beijing Olympic games.

B. In 2009, there were 168 documented cases of Falun Gong practitioners being abducted. Among these abductees, there were six documented cases of death and five were known to be sent to psychiatric institutions.

34 Supra at note 1, 2
36 Ibid.
C. In 2010, there were 123 documented cases of abduction of Falun Gong practitioners, and two documented cases of death.

Part 2: Torture and extrajudicial killing through medical experimentation

28. Wang Lijun has a record of gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners as the head of PSB. However, his most egregious violations were committed not in his position as a police chief, but in his position as a medical scientist.

On-Site Psychological Research Centre

29. In May 2003, when Wang Lijun was transferred by Bo Xilai to Jinzhou as police chief, he established an “On-Site Psychological Research Centre” situated within the Jinzhou PSB.

30. Despite what its name suggests, the On-Site Psychological Research Centre is not a centre for psychological research, but a centre for experimentation in forced organ harvesting.

31. On September 17, 2006, the Research Centre was conferred the “Guanghua Innovation Special Contribution Award” and a monetary award of $2 million yuan. In Wang Lijun’s acceptance speech, he stated,

“Our scientific and technological achievements in the field are the crystallization of the thousands of intensive on-site tests and the efforts of many of our people … to those who have served in the police force for many years, when we see a person go to the place of

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execution and in a matter of minutes this person’s life is transformed and extended into the lives of other people, it is soul-stirring. This is a momentous undertaking.”

32. Wang Lijun described the nature of activities at his research centre in euphemisms. However, his descriptions of “thousands of intensive on-site tests” and “in a matter of minutes this person’s life is transformed and extended into the lives of other people” leave little room for doubt. Wang Lijun was describing mass murder.

33. At the award ceremony, Ren Jinyang gave further insights into the activities at the research centre. He remarked, “Professor Wang Lijun and the research centre carried out basic research and clinical experiments to solve the problem of a recipient’s body rejecting the extracted organs for transplant after lethal injections. They researched and developed a brand new protective solution, which is used to provide a perfusion treatment for livers and kidneys both in vivo and in vitro. Through animal experiments, in vitro experiments, and clinical application, they have made step-by-step scientific success in making it possible for an organ to be accepted by the recipient after lethal injections.”

34. Through large numbers of human experiments, Wang Lijun developed drugs that reduce complications from rejection responses after lethal injection, organ extraction, and transplantation. Wang Lijun also developed improved organ preservation solutions.

35. In June 2005, *Liao Shen Evening News* reported an example of Wang Lijun’s work at the research centre featuring “the entire process of lethal injections in death-row prisoner.” At 5:00

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a.m. on June 9, 2005, in Cuijiatun in the Jinzhou City Economic and Technological Development Zone, a field experiment and study was carried out with a lethal injection. A researcher gave the following introduction.

“Through the entire process of a convict’s death via lethal injection, the healthy person’s vital signs will be measured before and after the injection, the amount of poison residue in various organs afterwards, the prisoner’s psychological changes when facing death … this data will provide important help to organ transplantation after death by lethal injection and other aspects of human organ transplantation. Whether in China or abroad, this is cutting-edge research.”

36. According to the Chinese Ministry of Commerce website, “Jinzhou Public Security Bureau’s On-Site Psychological Research Centr” works with over ten universities and medical institutions, among which are the China Criminal Police College, Peking University, Beijing Institute of Technology, Northeastern University of Finance and Economics, China Medical University, Jinzhou Medical School, and the People’s Liberation Army Military Hospital No. 205. It is dedicated to live psychological research and techniques. It also collaborated with universities in more than 10 countries in joint research and academic exchanges, including the United States, Japan, Italy, Norway, and Sweden.

37. Wang Lijun also presided over a major project on atraumatic dissection in the Asia-Pacific region. As shown in the centre’s introduction, above, institutions that took part in this project included the Swiss Virtual Dissection Foundation, the Tribunal Science Institute of Uni-
versity of Bern in Switzerland, Medical University of Graz in Austria, China Medical University, Jinzhou Medical College, and the People’s Liberation Army Hospital No. 205.  

38. When Wang Lijun was transferred to Chongqing City in June 2008, he established another “On-Site Psychology Research Centre” in Chongqing where he intensified the study on atraumatic dissection.

Identity of the victims

39. Who were the victims in Wang Lijun’s human experiments? The aforementioned Chinese reports indicate that the victims were death-row convicts. Actual statistics suggest otherwise.

40. The exact number of executions in China is state secret. Dui Hua Foundation, a San Francisco-based nonprofit organization that seeks clemency and better treatment for detainees in China through political dialogue estimates that China executed 12,000 people in 2002, 6,500 people in 2007, and roughly 2,400 in 2013 and 2014. A more conservative estimate from Amnesty International was 1,616 executions per year between 2000 and 2005, and an average of 1,066 executions per year between 2006 and 2008.

41. With a population of 1.304 billion in 2005, these death penalty estimates produce a per capita rate of execution of less than 0.0001 percent, or less than 1 execution per 1,000,000 people.

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45 Dui Hua Foundation, “Criminal Justice” (https://duihua.org/wp/?page_id=136)
42. Wang Lijun’s On-Site Psychological Research Centre was located in Jinzhou city, which has a population of 3,126,463 according to the 2010 census. A city with such population is expected, on average, to produce no more than 3 executions per year. Considering internal variations of death penalty rate by geographical region, the annual rate of execution in Jinzhou should, nonetheless, not stray far from a small two digit number.

43. Yet, Wang Lijun claims to have performed “thousands of intensive on-site tests” involving “a person go to the place of execution” and to have his life “transformed and extended” into another.

44. It is clear that the vast majority of the thousands of victims for Wang Lijun’s medical research could not have been convicts sentenced to death.

45. A number of circumstances however indicate a likelihood that a meaningful portion of the victims were Falun Gong practitioners.

46. Foremost, this is consistent with Wang Lijun’s history and profile. As shown above, Wang Lijun has a history of committing severe human rights atrocities against Falun Gong practitioners. His role as police chief synergies with his role a medical researcher. By marshalling the police force, he was able to abduct, arrest, and hold a large number of Falun Gong practitioners. These practitioners provide a reliable source of living bodies for experimentation and medical research.

47. Second, Falun Gong constitutes the most vulnerable group of people in China against whom Wang Lijun could torture and kill for experiments with impunity.

49 Supra at note 38
48. Falun Gong practitioners are dealt with by the 610 Office—an extra-legal apparatus of power established with the sole mandate of eradicating Falun Gong. Together with the Politics and Legal Affairs Commission (PLAC), these two apparatus preside over China’s law enforcement and legal system and ensure that gross and coordinated violations against Falun Gong practitioners can be committed with impunity. Former Party Chief Jiang Zemin has issued secret orders on multiple occasions to destroy Falun Gong practitioners, count their death as suicide, and cremate their bodies. Bo Xilai, Wang Lijun’s direct superior, has authorized the police to kill Falun Gong practitioners with impunity. Under these circumstances, Falun Gong practitioners constitute a special group of people against whom Wang Lijun could experiment freely without fear of legal or political consequences.

49. Third, Falun Gong practitioners were, and continue to be, incarcerated in massive numbers in Liaoning province. Witnesses consistently report that Liaoning was infamous as a vast holding pen for young “nameless” Falun Gong practitioners. Falun Gong is one of the few, if not only, incarcerated groups capable of supporting Wang Lijun’s human experiments in scale and quantity.

50. In this regard, Wang Lijun’s forced organ harvesting experiments on Falun Gong practitioners is highly consistent with the pattern of forced organ harvesting that was, and continues to be, taking place in Liaoning province. As investigative journalist Ethan Gutmann wrote,

“But Wang [Lijun] was just part of a larger pattern. Falun Gong labour-camp refugees that I interviewed consistently pointed to Liaoning, including specific locations in Shenyang.

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50 Magnitsky Report, “Architecture and Chain of Command” at paras. 52-53
51 Magnitsky Report, “Jiang Zemin” at p. 7-10
52 Magnitsky Report, “Bo Xilai” at paras. 10-11
53 Ethan Gutmann, “The Slaughter”, 2014 at p. 298
54 Ibid.
Dalian, and Jinzhou, as the geographic epicenter of Falun Gong harvesting from 2001 to 2006. There is little reason to doubt them, particularly as practitioners all across China heard a fairly similar refrain, especially in 2004 and 2005: *If you don’t behave, we will send you to the northeast.*

51. As a final piece of corroborating evidence, one of Wang Lijun’s key research partners obliquely acknowledged that the organ donors in Wang Lijun’s research projects were Falun Gong practitioners.

52. In the wake of Wang Lijun’s dramatic defection to the U.S. embassy in 2012, Wang Lijun was investigated by the Chinese government for defection and leaking state secrets. Members of the World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong (WOIPFG) took this opportunity to pose as Chinese government officials investigating Wang Lijun to elicit information on Wang Lijun’s medical research from Wang’s medical research partners.

53. In these investigations, a call was made to Chen Rongshang, the urology chief physician of the People’s Liberation Army 205 Hospital in Jinzhou City. This hospital was a key research partner in Wang Lijun’s medical research projects. The following conversation was recorded,

*Investigator:* “When Wang Lijun was at the Jinzhou Public Security Bureau, he was in charge of the On-Site Psychological Research Centre. The centre had some joint projects with the PLA 205 Hospital. Can you tell me more about the projects?”

*Chen:* “Oh.”

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55 Ibid at p. 301
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
“He had a project called ‘Research on Organ Transplantation from Donors who have been subjected to Drug Injection.’ The PLA 205 Hospital was their partner. Please tell me more about this project.”

Chen: “Ah.”

“What I am asking is whether you have cooperated?”

Chen: “China Medical University also partnered with them.”

Wang Lijun told us that some organ donors were jailed Falun Gong practitioners. Is that true?”

Chen: “Those were arranged by the court.”

By the court, right?”

Chen: “Yes, yes.”

Falun Gong practitioners are being incarcerated in large numbers in Liaoning province. They are being tortured and killed with impunity. Wang Lijun himself has a history of persecuting Falun Gong. Wang Lijun’s key medical research partner indirectly acknowledged that Falun Gong practitioners were victims in their medical research projects. The confluence of these factors indicate a strong likelihood that victims of Wang Lijun’s “thousands of intensive on-site tests” were, in whole or in part, Falun Gong practitioners.

Wang Lijun is an inventor of a patent called “primary brain stem injury impact apparatus”. This invention is a killing device designed to inflict brain stem injury, or brain death, to its victim. It is reasonable to believe that the device is created to facilitate forced organ harvesting. The invention was created through fatal human experiments on victims while they were still alive.
56. On August 27, 2014, Beijing Youth Daily reported that Wang Lijun had been awarded 254 patents in his office in Chongqing, 211 of which were submitted in 2011, an average of one application every 1.7 days. The report highlighted a particular invention called the “Primary Brain Stem Injury Impact Apparatus”.

57. In the China Patent Search System, the patent for “Primary Brain Stem Injury Impact Apparatus” could be found under application number 201120542042X. The inventors are Wang Lijun, Yin Zhiyong, Zhaohui, and Wang Zhengguo. The instructions claim that the device has a “simple structure, is easy to produce, and adapted to promote the application.” The patent was prematurely terminated in February 2016.

58. The inventors published an accompanying academic paper that shed light on how the device was created, how it functions, and what it can be used for. The paper, entitled “Finite Element Simulation and its Clinical Significance of Traumatic Brain Injury Caused by Temporal Impact in the Quasistatic State” was published in Trauma Surgery [2008] Issue 2.

59. The paper presents a study that simulates traumatic brain injury by applying impact on the subject’s temporal bone—the sides of the head.


61 China Organ Harvest Research Centre, “Wang Lijun’s Human Body Experiments” (https://www.chinaorganharvest.org/report/findings/appendix-admissions/wang-lijuns-human-body-experiments/#inline-ref-7); Original source archived at (http://www.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?recid=&filename=CXWK200802021&dbname=CJFD2008&dbcode=CJFQ&urlid=&yx=&uid=WEEvREcwSlJH5dRa1FiD0vZXB6MhpYUFF2OW9BM1QvRU9PY1RTaHRFSINXkYwVN M01uOEIXZG5kdVcrR3hRPT0=89A4hF_YAuwO50bgVaqNKPCYcEiKensW4HOMowwHrekJF4VYPoHbKsJw!!&v=MD k1MTRxVHJXTTFGckNVUxs5ZkrWnBGcWprVUxvT0pqWGNaYkct0SHRuTXlZOUIaWVI4ZVxgTHV4WVM3RGgx VDM=)

62 Ibid.
60. The purported purpose of this study is to save lives. In reality, the study studies and recreates death. The research studies injuries to the brain at different levels resulting from violent impacts to the primary brain stem. Different impacts lead to different brain injuries that leave the victims at various levels of cognitive and sensory motor dysfunctions, or even life threatening respiratory and circulatory malfunctions. A calculated and precise impact to the human temple cause brain stem injury, loss of consciousness, and even brain death.

61. Crucially, the paper sets out an experiment, stating that until October 2007, 12 corpse heads were used for the impact tests. All the subjects for the experiments were male, age 26-38, and with an average age of 31.

62. The subjects of the impact tests could not have been corpse heads. If the purpose of the study is to recreate and examine brain injury, it is insensible to experiment with corpses. One cannot injure a person that is already dead. The only viable conclusion is that the test subjects are living persons. These victims likely are subjected to various degrees of traumatic head injuries while still alive, with their reactions to each trauma studied and documented by the researchers. The impact test is an egregious process of torture and murder.

63. It is likely that the device is designed to inflict brain death on victims for forced organ harvesting. Brain death preserves the viability of the heart and other internal organs for transplant. A calculated and precise cranial impact is an effective alternative to lethal injection while maintaining organ function and reducing rejection responses.

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63 Ibid.
65 Supra at note 62
64. These conclusions are corroborated in a documentary entitled “The dark side of transplant tourism in China: killing to live”, produced by TV Chosun, South Korea, first aired on November 17, 2017. The 50 minutes documentary devoted seven minutes to the study of Wang Lijun and his brain death device.67

65. Remarkably, producers of the documentary recreated the “primary brain stem injury impact apparatus” according to its specifications and put it test. The model was presented to Dr. Lee Seungwon, surgeon and president of the International Association on Ethical Organ Transplant, a NGO in South Korea. Upon evaluating the device Dr. Lee commented, “it’s just to extract human organs intact, I am quite sure.”68

66. Wang Lijun’s brain death machine is understood in the broader context of systematic and widespread forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience in China. The issue of forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience in China is beyond the scope of this report. Readers may find the most systematic, comprehensive and up-to-date study on this topic at China Organ Harvest Research Centre (COHRC).69

67. By developing the brain death device to facilitate extrajudicial killing and forced organ harvesting, Wang Lijun is accessory to this medical genocide against prisoners of conscience, in particular, Falun Gong. In the process of developing the brain death device, Wang Lijun has also committed torture and extrajudicial killing against the “impact test” subjects.

Conclusion

67 Full documentary available at DAFOH website, (https://dafoh.org), timestamp: 31:50 to 39:00
68 Ibid.
68. As the police chief in Tieling city of Liaoning province, Jinzhou city of Liaoning province and Chongqing municipality; and as a medical scientist of the On-Site Psychological Research Centre in Jinzhou and Chongqing; Wang Lijun is guilty of a hair-raising series of gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners from 1999 to 2012.

69. Wang Lijun personally committed large numbers of torture and extrajudicial killing against Falun Gong practitioners and conceivably, other prisoners of conscience, in the course of his human experiments for developing organ transplant technologies. He is also responsible for spearheading a number of abduction and torture campaigns against Falun Gong as the police chief in Tieling, Jingzhou and Chongqing. Last but not least, he is likely accessory to the crime of forced organ harvesting against prisoners of conscience through his development of the brain death device.

70. Falun Gong practitioners are a group of people victimized solely because they sought to exercise, defend, and promote their beliefs in Falun Gong, and their rights to freedom of conscience, religion, and expression.

71. The eradication of Falun Gong practitioners continue to be a policy of the Chinese Communist party. Gross human rights violations committed against Falun Gong are violations that the Chinese authorities are both unable and unwilling to investigate. Although Wang Lijun is now imprisoned in China for defection and corruption, he has never been investigated or held accountable for his crimes against Falun Gong.

72. For these reasons, it is submitted that Wang Lijun satisfies circumstances described in s4(2)(a)(ii) of the Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act. The severity of his violations as elucidated in this report renders him both eligible and deserving of sanction.

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Perpetrator (Case # 14): Wu Guanzheng (吴官正)

I. Personal Information

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator: Wu Guanzheng （吴官正）
Gender: Male
Country: PR China
Date of Birth: August 1938

II. History of Appointments

2002 – 2007, Member of Standing Committee of Politburo of CPC, Secretary for Discipline Inspection Commission of the CPC

1997 - 2002, Member of the Politburo of the Central Party Committee (CPC), Secretary of Shandong Province Communist Party Committee, Principal of Shandong Province Communist Party School

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1 Wu Guanzheng CV, Retrieved from https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%90%B4%E5%AE%98%E6%AD%A3
III. Overview

1. Wu Guanzheng was the Secretary of Provincial Party Committee of Shandong Province, the highest political appointment at the provincial level, from 1997 to 2002. When the eradication campaign against Falun Gong began in 1999, Wu Guanzheng led the province in an egregious campaign of torture, imprisonment, extrajudicial killing and other gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners.

2. Under Wu’s charge, Falun Gong practitioners suffered appalling torture and died gruesome deaths. As stated by Minghui, “Between 1997 and 2002 when Wu Guanzheng was the general secretary of the Shandong Province Party Committee, Shandong Province became one of the provinces where Falun Gong practitioners were most persecuted.” By December 2013, Minghui has documented 96 cases of Falun Gong practitioners being tortured or persecuted to death in Shandong Province. Most of these extra judicial killings took place under Wu Guanzheng’s orders or supervision, for which he must be responsible\(^2\).

IV. Violations

i. Instigating the torture and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners

3. One of the first documented cases of extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners took place in Shandong Province under Wu Guanzheng’s leadership when he was governor of Shandong province. The deceased victim, Chen Zixiu was a Falun Gong practitioner from Weifang City, Shandong Province. She passed away on April 20, 2000. The torture and extrajudicial killing of

Chen Zixiu by the Chinese Communist regime was reported by journalist Ian Johnson in an article that won him the 2001 Pulitzer Prize.\(^3\)

*Death of Chen Zixiu*

4. Chen Zixiu was tortured to death because she sought to exercise and defend the freedoms recognized under s.4(2)(a)(ii) of the Sergei Magnitsky law. Ian Johnson’s article made this clear. As he wrote, “On the other end are people such as Ms. Chen, who in their simple, and perhaps naive, way are at the forefront of a slow trend to demand the freedoms guaranteed by China’s laws and constitution […] thousands have insisted openly on their right to freedom of belief and assembly. "We’re good people," Ms. Chen’s friends recall her telling officials from the Weifang city government who interrogated her in her barren concrete cell two days before she died. "Why shouldn't we practice what we want?"

5. The article chronicled the torture that led Chen Zixiu to death. The follow portions of the article vividly portrayed the brutality of human rights abuse against Falun Gong practitioners and the plenary scale of corruption under the Chinese Communist regime, such that these tragedies were able to happen with frequency and impunity\(^4\),

“This time, officials from the local district Communist Party office sent Ms. Chen to a small, unofficial prison run by the street committee, described to practitioners as the Falun Gong Education Study Class.

People who have been held there describe it as more of a torture chamber. The building is two stories with a yard in the middle. In the corner of the yard is a squat one-storey building

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4 Ibid.
with two rooms. This is where beatings took place, according to four detainees who described the building in separate accounts.

[…] Ms. Chen's ordeal began that night. Wrote an adherent who was in the next room of the squat building: "We heard her screaming. Our hearts were tortured and our spirits almost collapsed." Officials from the Chengguan Street Committee used plastic truncheons on her calves, feet and lower back, as well as a cattle prod on her head and neck, according to witnesses. They shouted at her repeatedly to give up Falun Gong and to curse Mr. Li, according to her cellmates. Each time, Ms. Chen refused.

[…] That night, Ms. Chen was taken back into the room. After again refusing to give up Falun Gong, she was beaten and jolted with the stun stick, according to two prisoners who heard the incident and one who caught glimpses of it through a door. Her cellmates heard her curse the officials, saying the central government would punish them once they were exposed. But in an answer that Falun Gong adherents say they heard repeatedly in different parts of the country, the Weifang officials told Ms. Chen that they had been told by the central government that ‘no measures are too excessive’ to wipe out Falun Gong. The beatings continued and would stop only when Ms. Chen changed her thinking, according to two prisoners who say they overheard the incident.

Two hours after she went in, Ms. Chen was pushed back into her cell on the second story of the main building, an unheated room with only a sheet of steel for a bed. Her three cellmates tended to her wounds, but she fell into a delirium. One of the cellmates remembers her moaning ‘mommy, mommy.’

The next morning, the 20th, she was ordered out to jog. ‘I saw from the window that she crawled out with difficulty,’ wrote a cellmate in a letter smuggled out by her husband. Ms. Chen collapsed and was dragged back into the cell.
'I was a medical major. When I saw her dying, I suggested moving her into another [heated] room,’ the cellmate wrote in her letter. Instead, local government officials gave her ‘sanqi,’ herbal pills for light internal bleeding. "But she couldn't swallow and spat them out." Cellmates implored the officials to send Ms. Chen to a hospital, but the officials -- who often criticize Falun Gong practitioners for forgoing modern medical treatment in favor of a superstitious belief in their exercises -- refused, her cellmates said. Eventually they brought in a doctor, who pronounced her healthy.

But, wrote the cellmate: ‘She wasn't conscious and didn't talk, and only spat dark-colored sticky liquid. We guessed it was blood. Only the next morning did they confirm that she's dying.’ An employee of the local Public Security Bureau, Liu Guangming, ‘tried her pulse and his face froze.’ Ms. Chen was dead.

[…] On the 22nd, Ms. Zhang and her brother were taken to the local hospital, which was also ringed by police. Their mother, they recalled, was laid out on a table in traditional mourning garb: a simple blue cotton tunic over pants. In a bag tossed in the corner of the room, Ms. Zhang said she spotted her mother's torn and bloodied clothes, the underwear badly soiled. Her calves were black. Six-inch welts streaked along her back. Her teeth were broken. Her ear was swollen and blue. Ms. Zhang fainted, and her brother, weeping, caught her.

That day, the hospital issued a report on Ms. Chen. It said the cause of death was natural. The hospital declines to comment on the matter. Ms. Zhang said she challenged officials about the clothing she had seen, but they told her her mother had become incontinent after the heart attack and that was why her clothes were soiled.

Ms. Zhang and her brother tried filing a lawsuit, but no lawyer would accept the case. Meantime, her mother's body lay in refrigeration, until the threatened litigation was resolved.
Then, on March 17, Ms. Zhang received a letter from the hospital saying the body would be cremated that day. Ms. Zhang called the hospital to try to prevent it, but she said officials didn't give her a clear answer and said they would have to call her back. They didn't. Ms. Zhang never saw her mother's body again.” (emphasis added)

Responsibility of Wu Guanzheng

6. In a companion article, the same journalist, Ian Johnson discussed the government officials responsible for these crimes. He wrote,

“‘The central government told Governor Wu that he was personally responsible. He risked losing his job if he didn't do something,’ said a Weifang official, now retired. ‘Everyone knew the pressure he was under.’

Mr. Wu quickly found ways to transfer the pressure. First, Weifang city officials say, Mr. Wu ensured that every official in the city knew what was at stake, by calling a meeting of police and government officials to a “study session.” There, the central government's directive was read out loud. "The government instructed us to limit the number of protesters or be responsible," says another government official.

[…] Such methods quickly led to abuses. Several Falun Dafa adherents imprisoned by local police early this year say their captors told them that their continued protests threatened to derail officials' careers. “One policeman beat me with truncheons,” says a 43-year-old factory worker imprisoned in December 1999. “He said we were responsible for his boss's political problems.”

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 [...] Few detainees say they were beaten in the Beijing representative office. Instead, they were sent directly to one of seven locally run "transformation centers" -- which earlier on were called "education and study centers" -- set up in Weifang. It was at these unofficial prisons that the killings occurred.

Use of these "centers" coincided with another policy change that added what probably was the final ingredient needed for the killings to take place: a ferocity brought on by fear of financial ruin.

 [...] Instead of just threatening to ruin local officials' careers, Mr. Wu's colleagues in the provincial government started to fine them as well. The new twist was simple: The provincial government fined mayors and heads of counties for each Falun Dafa practitioner from their district who went to Beijing. The mayors and county heads in turn fined the heads of their Political and Legal Commissions, holding them responsible. They in turn fined village chiefs, who in turn fined the police officers -- who administered the punishment.

 [...] Weifang city officials -- many of whom now privately worry that the crackdown has been a terrible mistake -- say none of the police directly involved in the deaths have been reprimanded. In fact, the three officers who oversaw Ms. Chen's interrogation have since been promoted, they say, true to the tradition of giving local authorities a free hand, no questions asked.” (emphasis added)

7. Wu Guanzheng, as the governor of Shandong Province, might not have directly ordered Weifang city officials to torture and kill Falun Gong practitioners. However, Wu adopted a series of measures that ensured the commission of these acts. As shown above, Wu implemented a system of punishment, financial disincentives to ensure that local officials of Shandong province show results in the eradication campaign against Falun Gong. Together with directives from central government that “no measures are too excessive” to wipe out Falun Gong, Wu Guanzheng’s
policies led inexorably to torture and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners. Therefore, it is clear that Wu, at the minimum, instigated and encouraged the commission of these acts.

8. Wu Guanzheng’s response to these violations solidified his responsibility. He allowed these violations to continue with impunity. As Ian Johnson wrote, none of the police directly involved in the deaths have been reprimanded; the three officers involved in Chen Zixiu’s case were in fact promoted.\(^6\) By taking no steps to prevent such violations or punish the perpetrators, Wu is responsible by way of superior responsibility for these crimes.

*Other cases of appalling torture and gross human rights violations*

9. The appalling torture of Falun Gong practitioner Chen Zixiu was by no means an exceptional occurrence in Shandong Province during Wu Guanzheng’s tenure as governor from 1999 to 2002. A Minghui report published on November 15, 2003 explored in detail the types of torture and abuse of Falun Gong practitioners that habitually took place under the policy and directives of the provincial government.\(^7\)

10. More than 40 torture methods were said to be used on Falun Gong practitioners including shocking with several electric batons for sustained period of time, at vulnerable areas such as mouth, armpits and genitals; sexually assaulting female Falun Gong practitioners; nipping flesh with pliers and penetrating their bodies with screwdrivers; driving staples into fingers; driving bamboo sticks under fingernails; prying fingernails; burning with cigarette; pouring boiling water on practitioners’ backs; forcing practitioners to kneel on pottery shards; injecting practitioners with nerve damaging drugs; penetration with ultra-high voltage needles.\(^8\)

\(^6\) Ibid.
\(^7\) Minghui, Supra at note 2
\(^8\) Ibid.
11. At the Detention Centre of Shouguang City in Shandong Province, state agents tortured female Falun Gong practitioners with a perversion and depravity seldom seen in civilized world. In June 2001, a female Falun Gong practitioner in her 30's at the aforementioned detention centre was reported to have been stripped of all her clothes and beaten until her whole body was black and blue. She fainted several times and the perpetrators poured cold water on her. She was then shocked with electric batons. Her scream was heard throughout the detention centre. Even so, the perpetrators refused to stop. One of them said, "We'll take you inside and gang-rape you till you die!" The woman vomitted blood. When the perpetrators were exhausted, they said they would do it again the next day.9

12. By October 2003, there were 93 documented cases of Falun Gong practitioners being tortured to death in Shandong. As most human rights abuse of Falun Gong practitioners are carried out in secrecy and cover-up, the actual volume of death is likely to be much higher.

13. The campaign of torture and extra-judicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners in Shandong province from 1999-2003, on account of its scale, severity and frequency, could not have taken place under the initiative of any particular local government or official. The campaign of such character arises from centralized leadership. As shown at para. 6, this leadership was taken up by Wu Guanzheng, the governor of Shandong. As such, Wu Guanzheng cannot evade responsibility for these torture and extrajudicial killings of Falun Gong practitioners that took place under his charge.

ii. Ordering and supervising torture of Falun Gong practitioners in Forced Labour Camps

14. Wu Guanzheng, in his capacity as the governor of Shandong province, plays a direct role in the torture and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioners in forced labour camps.

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9 Ibid.
15. In particular, Wu Guanzheng was personally involved in the forced labour, torture and extrajudicial killing of Falun Gong practitioner Lin Xuguo.10

16. Lin Xuguo was a Falun Gong practitioner in Zoucheng city, Shandong province. Shortly after the eradication campaign of Falun Gong began in July 1999, Lin Xuguo travelled to Beijing to petition against the banning of Falun Gong. On January 29, 2000, Lin was taken to Jining Labour Camp where he was subjected to violent force feeding.

17. During imprisonment, Lin Xuguo wrote a letter of protest, demanding his own unconditional release. In response to this letter, the chief of municipal bureau of justice of Jining city, and head of the labour camp, Wang (first name was redacted in the Minghui Report) stated that “[t]his matter was personally inquired into, and directed by Provincial Party Committee Wu Guanzheng. We have no authority to decide.”11 (emphasis added) It is clear from the context of this conversation that “this matter” referred to the matter of Lin Xuguo’s arrest and captivity. This statement indicates that Shandong governor Wu Guanzheng played a personal and direct role in the persecution of Falun Gong practitioners.

18. On February 4, 2000, Liu Xuguo was tortured to the brink of death as the feeding tube was reportedly pushed into his windpipe during force feeding. His wife, who saw him that night, found that Liu was emaciated to the bones. His lips were blue. Jining Labor Camp and Bureau of Justice

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11 Ibid. Note: In the source article, it was written that “Labor Re-education is decided personally by the Secretary of Shandong Province Party Committee Wu Guanzheng.” After checking the original Chinese report by Minghui at (http://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2001/9/19/迟来的报导-济宁大法弟子刘绪国被劳教所虐杀-16764p.html), we discovered that the aforementioned statement is an error in translation. The correct translation is “[t]his matter was personally inquired into, and directed by Provincial Party Committee Wu Guanzheng. We have no authority to decide.” The original Chinese report made it clear that Wu Guanzheng personally directed the persecution of Falun Gong practitioner Liu Xuguo.
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applied to Shandong Provincial Court and People’s Supreme Court in Beijing for directions in relation to Liu Xuguo’s predicament. The courts replied, “according to the Supreme Court in Beijing, if he cannot be resuscitated, then let him die. No one will be held responsible.”

19. Lin Xuguo was pronounced death on February 10, 2000.

20. During the interim period, Jining Labor Camp was said to have all evidence relating to Lin Xuguo’s torture and attempts to resuscitate him. The hospital declared the cause of Lin’s death to be long term abstention from food and water, resulting in organ malfunction. However, witnesses reported that Lin Xuguo was perfectly fine the day before his forced feeding, walking and talking like a normal person. Death by abstention from food and water is a long and gradual process. It does not strike a normal person down within the span of a day. Lin could not have died from abstention from food and water. It is clear that the closure of Lin’s file entailed a coordinated cover up that implicated the labour camp administration, Bureau of Justice, hospitals, coroners and the courts.

21. Wu Guanzheng personally directed Lin Xuguo’s captivity in Jining Labour Camp. The details of his instructions is yet to be known, and it is clear that Wu Guanzheng ought to be held responsible for Lin Xuguo’s torture and death in captivity.

22. Wu Guanzheng also supervised the operation and administration of other Labour camps in Shandong. He paid numerous personal visits to labour camps. The torture and abuse of Falun Gong practitioners in the camps that he went to intensified in periods surrounding his inspection.

12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
23. For instance, Wu Guanzheng visited the Jinan Women’s Labour Camp numerous times in 2000. In the same year, the labour camp began taking drastic actions to torture Falun Gong practitioners. On October 27, 2000, the Jinan Women’s Labour Camp initiated a violent session of torture and abuse against 100 Falun Gong practitioners. On that day, police cars were reported to surround the building where the practitioners were held. About two dozen fully armed police officers ran down the hallway, and began shocking the practitioners in captivity with electric batons. Non-conforming Falun Gong practitioners were savagely beaten and tortured.

24. Three Falun Gong practitioners suffered mental breakdown as a result of abuse and torture in this labour camp in 2000, the year of Wu Guanzheng’s visit.

25. Wu Guanzheng’s visit to the labour camps and the escalation of human rights abuse in these labour camps surrounding his visit cannot be independent events. It is submitted that, on a balance of probabilities, Wu Guanzheng visited these labour camps to inspect their work in ‘transforming’ (forcefully converting) Falun Gong practitioners. The torture and abuse in these labour camps was a direct result of pressure from Wu Guanzheng’s visit.

26. It is clear from these indications that Wu Guanzheng played a personal role in the supervision and leadership of torture and abuse that took place against Falun Gong practitioners in labour camps.

iii. Instigating and calling for the crackdown of Falun Gong in public speech

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15 Minghui, Supra at note 2
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
27. Wu Guanzheng, in his capacity as the Secretary of Provincial Communist Party Committee of Shandong, made speech on several occasions to instigate and direct the eradication campaign against Falun Gong. These speeches were not only hate speech that incited hatred against Falun Gong practitioners, thereby encouraging their abuse; the speeches were also statements of official policy that indicated his leadership and involvement in the persecution of Falun Gong.

28. On July 24, 1999, four days after the commencement of the eradication campaign of Falun Gong, Wu Guanzheng was interviewed by People’s Daily. In his capacity as member of the Politburo and Secretary of Shandong Party Committee, he said, “Once Falun Gong practitioners recognize the true face of Li Hongzhi and the so-called ‘Falun Dafa,’ they can stop blindly following and changing their mind. Recently, the different levels of Party government in Shandong Province took seriously the education and reform of ‘Falun Gong’ practitioners […] However, there are also a few who temporarily cannot straighten out their mind, the government on various levels are using all kinds of means to continuously work with them with patience and thoroughness, so they will be able to change their mind.”18 (emphasis added)

29. On August 22, 2001, Wu Guanzheng gave a speech at an anti-Falun Gong exhibition held in Shandong Provincial Museum where he said, “Falun Gong was against society, science, and humanity. It was the typical cult. […] Through the expo., [we should] have government officials and people know the essential evilness of Falun Gong, and firmly battle with all cults including ‘Falun Gong.’ All related government units and social organizations should fully use the opportunity of picture expo to actively work on the transformation of Falun Gong

practitioners, … For few stubborn practitioners who were using ‘Falun Gong’ cult to disturb and damage the society’s stability, [we] must punish them.”19 (emphasis added)

30. On September 27, 2002, Wu Guanzheng gave a speech at Work Meeting to Uphold Social Stability at Shandong Province, where he said, “[We] must keep sharp political alertness, greatly intensify the war against our enemy, put our emphasis on preventing and suppressing violent and terrorist activities and ‘Falun Gong’ evil cult organization. [We] must deepen the ‘Strike Hard’ movement and strictly suppress serious criminals, and uphold good social security and social order.”20 (emphasis added)

31. As mentioned in the accompanying report on Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and Central PLAC, “Strike Hard” is a term of art first used by former chief of Central PLAC and Central Leading Group for Dealing with Falun Gong, Luo Gan, to denote the eradication campaign against Falun Gong (see para 38 of Architecture and Chain of Command).

32. As well, the transformation and conversion of Falun Gong practitioners that Wu Guanzheng repeatedly mentioned in his speeches is not a walk in the park for Falun Gong practitioners. As mentioned in para. 21 of the report on Liu Jing, forced transformation is a form of torture that often employs extreme means to exert physical and psychological pressure on victims, in a bid to have them renounce their beliefs or faith.

33. Wu Guanzheng’s speeches were in essence, calls on state agents in veiled language to engage in the torture and gross human rights violations of Falun Gong practitioners.

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V. CONCLUSION

34. In light of all of the above, it is submitted that Wu Guanzheng is eligible and deserving of sanction for leading the government of Shandong province to commit torture, extrajudicial killing and gross human rights violations against Falun Gong practitioners from 1999 to 2002.
Canada Magnitsky Act Submission
Falun Dafa Association
2018 (supplemented April 25, 2018)

Perpetrator: Zhou Yongkang (周永康)

I. Personal Information

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator: Zhou Yongkang (周永康)
Gender: Male
Country: PR China
Date of Birth: December 1942
Current Status: In June 2015, Zhou was sentenced to life in prison for bribery, abuse of power, and the intentional disclosure of state secrets

II. History of Appointments

1. 2007 – 2012, Secretary of the Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission (PLAC), Secretary of the Central Committee for Comprehensive Social Management (CCCSM), Head of CPC Central Committee Leadership Group for Preventing and Handling the Problems of Heretical Organizations and its 610 Office.

2. 2002 – 2007, Minister of Public Security of China, Deputy Secretary of the Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission (PLAC), the First Political Commissar and the First Secretary of Armed Police Force. Deputy Head of CPC Central Committee Leading Small Group for Preventing and Handling the Problem of Heretical Organizations and its 610 Office.

3. 1999 – 2002, Secretary of CPC Sichuan Province Party Committee

1 https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%91%A8%E6%B0%B8%E5%9A%A7/116813
2 https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%91%A8%E6%B0%B8%E5%9A%A7/116813
3 “The Leading Group for Preventing and Handling the Problem of Heretical Organizations” was originally called “The Leading Group for Handling the Falun Gong Issue.” Falun Gong remains the primary target or persecution even the function of the group has been widened. In most of the submission documents, we retained the original name. Source: https://jamestown.org/program/the-610-office-policing-the-chinese-spirit/
III. Overview

As the Minister of Public Security, Zhou Yongkang is responsible for the persecution carried out by the Ministry of Public Security. He is also responsible for the crimes committed by the whole Chinese legal system since the system was controlled by the CCP through PLAC. The Leading Group for Handling the Falun Gong Issue and the 610 Office are the executive bodies to coordinate the persecution of Falun Gong.

From October 28, 2007 to his retirement in 2012, Zhou Yongkang should take the fully responsibility for all the persecution carried out by Chinese legal system since he was the Secretary of PLAC and the head of the above-mentioned Leading Group of CCP Central Committee. The Central PLAC controls the Ministry of Public Security, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of State Security. The Leading Group plays a key role in the system of Chain of Command, which was established specifically for persecuting Falun Gong.

In his public official capacity, Zhou Yongkang had intimately followed the persecution policies of Falun Gong since 1999. As the Secretary of CPC Sichuan Province Party Committee, he planned, conspired, and organized the persecution of Falun Gong practitioners across the province. Due to his achievements in instigating the violence against the Falun Gong, he was promoted to more powerful positions: Minister of Public Security of China, and Secretary of the Central PLAC, Secretary of the Central Committee for Comprehensive Social Management (CCCSM), Head of CPC Central Committee Leadership Team for Preventing and Handling Cults. Therefore, his iron hand began to reach a much greater range of Falun Gong believers across China, causing countless casualties and atrocities against the Falun Gong.

<Refer details of Zhou’s role in “M law_Submissions on Architecture and Chain of Command”>

IV. Violations

1. Commanded persecution against Falun Gong practitioners through speeches, official documents, and during inspection tours in the provinces.

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 Legal Affairs Commission (PLAC) or documents to the giant PLAC system in order to maintain the persecution in the country.

1. 1999 – 2002, as the Secretary of CPC Sichuan Province Party Committee

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.

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4 WOIPFG: The Political and Judiciary Committee of the CCP Directly Commanded the Chinese Judiciary Departments to Persecute Falun Gong  http://www.zhuichaguoji.org/en/index2.php?option=content&task=view&id=151&pop=1&page=0
In January 2001, one day after the Tiananmen demolition event which was utilized to defame Falun Gong and distribute hatred was broadcast on television, China media reported news that Zhou Yongkang himself wrote a letter regarding Falun Gong to other related leaders of communist party committee. Zhou Yongkang in the letter emphasized on further recognizing the correctness that Chinese government banned Falun Gong, he required all levels of communist party organizations in the province to improve their awareness to do Falun Gong work well, to actively participate converting Falun Gong practitioners and punish so-called key members of Falun Gong.  

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

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.

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.

2. 2002 – 2012, as the Minister of Public Security (until 2007), Deputy Secretary of the Central PLAC (until 2007), and Secretary of the Central PLAC

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.

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.\(^\text{10}\)

According to minghui.org on May 28th, 2003, the 610 Office of Panjin City, Liaoning Province had another plaque on its door: “Office for Preventing Atypical Pneumonia” 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”\(^\text{11}\).

Zhou advocated “Strike Hard” 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.”\(^\text{12}\)

On August 2, 2004, Zhou Yongkang published his article “About the Social Stability” in “Studytime”. In this article, Zhou listed Overseas hostile force and Falun Gong as the first of six factors that affect the country's social stability.\(^\text{13}\) “Studytimes” is the newspaper published by CCP Central Party School.

On December 6, 2004, he gave a speech at a meeting of the Ministry of Public Security, insisting that Falun Gong activities must be harshly curbed during New Year and Spring Festival holidays.\(^\text{14}\)

Zhou Yongkang inspected Hubei province (February 17 to 21, 2004),\(^\text{15}\) Anhui province (April 6 to 9, 2005),\(^\text{16}\) and Hebei province (July 9 to 11, 2005).\(^\text{17}\) During the inspection, he emphasized the persecution of Falun Gong.

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16 Zhoushan Police Net. Zhou Yongkang emphasized during inspecting Anhui the carrying out the advancement education campaign to make the new contribution to the establish the socialist harmony society.
On March 19, 2007, Zhou ordered the Ministry of Public Security to strike a severe blow to Falun Gong at a meeting.\(^\text{18}\)

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, among which the 6th guideline particularly asked all levels of government agencies to counteract Falun Gong under the direction of the Central 610 Office.\(^\text{19}\)

On September 5, 2007, Zhou emphasized on the “Strike Hard” campaign against Falun Gong during an extended CPC committee meeting of the Ministry of Public Security on safeguarding the 17th CPC National Congress.\(^\text{20}\) This resulted in a few thousand Falun Gong practitioners being arrested.\(^\text{21}\)

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.\(^\text{22}\) 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. **Directly ordered the abduction and persecution of Falun Gong practitioners.**

1. **1999 – 2002, as the Secretary of CPC Sichuan Province Party Committee**

From December 1999 to December 2002, Zhou was the Secretary of CPC Sichuan Province Party Committee. Zhou Yongkang instructed Wang Tiqian, the secretary of Political and Legal Affairs Commission of Chengdu
city to establish a test spot of persecuting Falun Gong in Jinjiang district of Chengdu city, and was planning to promote it to the whole Sichuan province. Under the instruction of Wang Tiqian, Hao Xiaofeng, the Secretary of Political and Legal Affairs Commission of JinJiang District, together with some related responsible people from Chengdu Steel Co. Ltd (Pan Steel Group), Chief of Niushikou police station, and director of Nishikou community drafted a file, which was forced to be implemented within the company. More than 400 Falun Gong practitioners were sought within their family, detained in custody, and put in labour camps. They sought Falun Gong practitioners illegally at any time and created black files to punish people. Afterwards, Falun Gong practitioners clarified the truth, the test spot was not established successfully, but still over 10 Falun Gong practitioners were sent to labour farms and camps. Many practitioners’ living allowance were deducted just because they refused to write “three declarations”.  

During the time period when Zhou served as the Secretary of CPC Sichuan Province Party Committee, jails and labour camps such as Zizhong Nanmusi female jail, Mianyang Xinhua labour camp detained quite a number of Falun Gong practitioners. Since 1999, just in Nanmusi female jail, thousands of Falun Gong practitioners have been detained. This labour camp claimed publicly: to use all brutal tortures to convert Falun Gong practitioners. Therefore, this labour camp advocated the use of torture on Falun Gong practitioners. Many practitioners were persecuted to death; some were persecuted and became insane. Policemen once claimed: “in order to crack down Falun Gong, upper level distributed money to our labour camp, 500 yuan per practitioner. Local police need to pay labour camp certain amount of money if they send one practitioner in. Converting one Falun Gong practitioner charges 600 yuan.” From 1999 to December 2002, 43 deaths were reported among persecuted Falun Gong believers in Sichuan province, which made Sichuan province one of the most severe provinces in persecuting Falun Gong at that time. Zhou Yongkang was responsible for all the above-mentioned atrocities.

2. 2002 – 2012, as the Minister of Public Security (until 2007), Deputy Secretary of the Central PLAC (until 2007), and Secretary of the Central PLAC

Zhou ordered, conspired and supervised the persecution of Falun Gong in various activities across the country after he was promoted to Beijing. The following are just a few cases of persecution upon individuals of the community:

On December 7, 2003, Zhao Xudong, male, employee of Lanzhou City Chemical Industry Company in Gansu Province, was illegally arrested together with his mother Bai Jinyu, also a Falun Gong believer. Similarly, his wife, Li Hongping, another Falun Gong practitioner, was given a three-year forced labour sentence. Zhao was
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severely tortured, and there was a lot of blood in his nose, according to a witness. Later, he was sent to Lanzhou Prison Hospital, but died there in a few days, on February 7, 2004, at the age of 34, leaving his elderly father and eight-year-old daughter unattended at home. His father became mentally disoriented due to loss of his son.26

On November 15, 2003, Liu Qian, a third-year student at Gegezhuang Village Primary School in Xiong County, Hebei Province, was diagnosed with acute leukemia, and her life was in danger. By learning Falun Gong, she recovered completely seven days later, and could move freely. However, two months later, when school began, her principal forced her to write a guarantee statement to give up Falun Gong, and demanded that she must renounce Falun Gong, or she would not be allowed to go to school. She refused to do so, and was forcibly sent home. The sudden deprivation of access to education was a hard blow to the girl, rendering her hopeless. Her physical and mental health abruptly worsen. On the fifth day, the twelve-year-old minor passed away in a state of depression.27

In 2006, Zhou Zaitian, male, a doctor with more than 30 years of experience, with a residential address of Zhugedian Village of Yanjiao Town, Sanhe, Hebei province, was put into a detention centre for his belief of Falun Gong. He suffered severe beating in the face with a hardened sole; short-time suffocation with a plastic bag wrapped all over his head; and head immersing into a container of dirty water; and restricted use of toilet. After being transferred to Jidong Prison, Hebei province, in 2007, he suffered solitary confinement; and forced standing facing a wall for 16 hours per day from 6:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. On July 28, he was severely slapped in the face by Chen Kai, an officer from Education Section of the prison, and fell down to the ground. As a result, he had a swollen face, bleeding mouth and impaired listening.28

On September 12, 2007, Zhou Ning, male, an accomplished young artist and a teacher for deaf-mutes at Shandong Special School, was arrested again by the police in Jining, Shandong province, for his belief, together with his wife, also a Falun Gong practitioner, and two of his students. He was given a five-year imprisonment sentence. His creative and teaching studio had been interrupted more than once by the local police.29

In November 2010, Zhou, on his tour to Dalian, Liaoning province, mobilized the local police and military troops to kidnap some Falun Gong practitioners after they successfully inserted a truth-clarifying introduction about their belief into a program in Dalian Traffic Radio Station. Ms. Zhao Xue was one of the Falun Gong practitioners who was deemed as a key persecution target. She was arrested by police from the Houjiagou Police Station on November 15, 2010. After the arrest, she was brutally tortured, and hospitalized in Central Hospital of Dalian for over 10 days. She was later transferred to the Yaojia Detention Centre in Dalian where

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26 Falun Dafa Practitioner Mr. Zhao Xudong Tortured to Death in Lanzhou City No. 2 Detention Centre http://en.minghui.org/html/articles/2004/2/26/45504.html
she was detained for five months. Then, without informing her family, the CCP court illegally sentenced her to five years in jail.\(^{30}\)

3. **Using Olympics as an excuse to persecute Falun Gong**

Around the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Zhou pushed the persecution of Falun Gong to an unprecedented height under the excuse of safeguarding “the safety of Olympics”. 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 for any report of suspicious acts, in which the only group mentioned was Falun Gong.\(^{31}\) The same notice was also issued in Shanghai and Guangzhou.\(^{32}\)\(^{33}\)

According to Minghui, from January to July 2008, at least 586 Falun Gong practitioners were arrested in Beijing. By June 30, 2008, 8,037 practitioners were illegally arrested nationwide.\(^{34}\)

Around 10 p.m. 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.\(^{35}\)

4. **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 reached 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". The 610 Office issued a secret seven-page document titled "Preaching Outlines." This internal document was marked as "classified" and "web-site search prohibited." It was secretly issued to all levels of officials and was required to be passed on internally. Sample pages of the document can be seen at: [http://minghui.ca/mh/articles/2010/4/22/221953.html](http://minghui.ca/mh/articles/2010/4/22/221953.html).\(^{36}\)

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\(^{30}\) Ms. Zhao Xue Close to Death in Prison But is Still Refused Medical Parole

\(^{31}\) Beijing Committee for Comprehensive Social Management office: Announcement from Beijing Public Security Bureau on rewarding for reports of important cases during Beijing Olympics safety period
http://unn.people.com.cn/GB/14748/7505443.html

\(^{32}\) Shanghai rewards up to 500,000 yuan for Olympics safety report

\(^{33}\) Guangzhou: Encouraging on reporting criminals for Olympics safety, the highest reward is 500,000

\(^{34}\) Minghui: Beijing CCP police arrested Dafa practitioners under the name of Olympics
http://www.minghui.org/mb/articles/2008/9/16/186004.html

\(^{35}\) Minghui: Painters who follow Zhen, Shen, Ren under persecution of CCP

\(^{36}\) "610 Office" Plans Slander Campaign against Falun Gong during World Expo in Shanghai
At least 127 Falun Gong practitioners have been abducted since February 2009, according to reports received by the Falun Dafa Information Centre. Over two dozen (26) of them have then been arbitrarily sent to prison or labour camps for up to 7.5 years. Others have been taken to local “brainwashing” classes aimed at forcing them to renounce their belief in Falun Gong. Given the difficulty of obtaining information from inside China, the actual number of Falun Gong practitioners detained ahead of the World Expo is certainly higher.³⁷

3. Praised and rewarded groups and individuals who actively participated in the persecution of Falun Gong

1. Awarding public security

On August 17 to 19, 2002, a half-hour truth-clarifying television spot was successfully made in Qinghai province. Afterwards at least 15 Falun Gong practitioners were kidnapped, and some of whom were given imprisonment of seven to twenty years by Xining intermediate Court, Qinghai province. Of them He Wanji, male, was killed in Qinghai Haomen Prison on May 28, 2003. His wife was given a punishment of forced labour, who was tortured almost to paralysis. His heartbroken father passed away, unable to accept the cruel reality. His brother, He Wanzhu, was put into Qinghai Labour Camp for a three-year service.³⁸ 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”. 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”.³⁹

On March 5, 2002, Falun Gong practitioners from Changchun city intercepted the cable television network to broadcast a video that revealed the truth about Falun Gong and the persecution that it suffered under the Chinese Communist regime. The broadcast lasted about fifty minutes, and it was watched by a viewership of over one million. The response from the China Party/State resulted in 5,000 Falun Gong practitioners in Changchun City, Jilin Province were abducted. At least seven died in police custody, including Liu Chengjun, Hou Mingkai, Li Rong, Shen Jianli, Liu Yi, Liu Haibo and Li Shuqin. Police even shot Liu Chengjun in the leg.

³⁷ Shanghai Expo Fuels Falun Gong Crackdown, Over 120 Abductions http://faluninfo.net/shanghai-expo-fuels-falun-gong-crackdown-over-120-abductions/
³⁸ 15 Falun Gong practitioners severely persecuted after being accused of tapping into the TV broadcast signal in Gansu in 2002. published online, March 8, 2004 https://www.minghui.org/mh/articles/2004/3/8/02%E5%B9%B4%E7%94%98%E8%82%83%E7%9C%9F%E7%9B%B8%E7%94%B5%E8%A7%86%E6%8F%92%E6%92%AD%E5%90%8E-15%E6%B3%95%E8%BD%AE%E5%8A%9F%E5%AD%A6%E5%91%98%E9%81%AD%E5%8F%97%E8%BF%AB%E5%AE%B3%E7%BB%BC%E8%BF%B0-69474p.html
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. Although the perpetrator directly responsible for this killing and unlawful arrest was Liu Jing (refer to his submission file), Zhou Yongkang played the role of reinforcing the extrajudicial killing by commending and awarding police officers in this violent incident. 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. Li Shichang was Chief Officer in Changchun City directly responsible for the above-mentioned incident of television interruption, under Liu Jing’s command.

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, the director of Tiananmen 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.

Ren Changxia was a former director of Dengfeng 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 Dengfeng 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. Ren was promoted to the director for her active persecution of Falun Gong. After her

40 After March 5th, 2002 Changchun TV Broadcasts Exposing Human Rights Violations against Falun Gong Practitioners, Jiang's Regime Escalated the Brutal Persecution to Unprecedented Heights http://en.minghui.org/emh/articles/2004/1/12/44009.html
41 Chinese police newspaper report. Devotion to maintain political stabilities is outstanding in Jieling Province. April 2003 http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/217#report217_31
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 participate in the persecution of Falun Gong. Like the above-mentioned Changchun case, responsible Public Security officers were awarded "Nationwide Excellent Public Security Bureau" in the Haidian Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau. The followings are a few examples of the severe persecution by the Haidian Branch of Beijing 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 Zizhuyuan Park police station and then the detention centre of the Haidian Branch. In the 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. 

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 Centre, Tuanhe Forced Labour Camp, and Haidian Branch of Beijing Public Security Bureau. He was secretly sentenced for 18 months in May 2003. The trail had taken place in Haidian District, Beijing.

2. Awarding prisons

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

Zhou inspected prisons and forced labour camps, and awarded those in which Falun Gong practitioners were notoriously tortured and forcibly converted to give up their belief. For example, On April 9, 2012, Zhou Yongkang held a discussion in Beijing with "outstanding" groups and individuals from the system of prisons

44 The Crimes Committed at Haidian District Police Department and the Haidian District Detention Centre in Beijing http://www.clearharmony.net/articles/a34238-The-Crimes-Committed-at-Haidian-District-Police-Department-and-the-Haidian-District-Detention-Centre-in-Beijing.html#WqWPe-jwaUk
45 Qinghua University Doctoral Student Xu Zhiguang Released Due To His Critical Physical Condition Caused by Two-Years of Detention Under Severe Conditions http://en.minghui.org/emh/articles/2004/2/29/45599.html
47 WOIPFG: Investigation on hygiene of exported disposable chopsticks made by China's slavery workers http://www.upholdjustice.org/node/93
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and labour camps. Zhou praised Li Ruihua, director of Beijing Women's Prison and Xu Yuhong, leader of Team no. 4 in Fangqiang Forced Labour Camp in Jiangsu Province.\(^{48}\)

Minghui reported in June 2011 that Li Ruihua, claiming "humane management" and "respect prisoners", in fact connived the prison to keep hidden the 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.\(^{49}\)

Minghui reported in April 2012 that all male Falun Gong practitioners in Jiangsu Province who were sentenced to forced labour camp were detained in Fangqiang Forced Labour Camp. Many practitioners died as results of intensive forced labour 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 labour camp. Xu was the police who often beat and electric shocked practitioners.\(^{50}\)

### 4. Initiated strategies forced conversion of Falun Gong practitioners

According to Noakes and Ford, “The ideological transformation of Falun Gong practitioners is a central preoccupation of Party authorities. In prisons, laojiao (forced labour) camps, and in the 610 Office’s re-education centres, guards are expected to force recalcitrant practitioners to renounce their beliefs and sign “guarantee statements” promising not to have any future contact with Falun Gong. Transformation quotas are issued from the central levels and disseminated to local authorities, who are incentivized to use any means necessary to achieve these targets, including coercive tactics such as beatings, forced-feeding, sleep deprivation, and shocks with electric truncheons. One such transformation initiative began in 2010 under the direction of Zhou Yongkang. Designed to span three years, the plan set targets for each locale, specifying the ratio of registered practitioners to be transformed and requiring authorities to force practitioners into re-education sessions run by the 610 Office. These sessions typically lasted days or weeks, and were sometimes held in civilian establishments such as schools, hotels and temples. If the practitioner refused to renounce, they could be sentenced to Laojiao camp or prison.” Because of Zhou’s initiative, similar documents outlining the campaign appeared on local Party and government websites in nearly every province.\(^{51}\) Zhou’s strategies had

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\(^{50}\) Minghui: Persecution in Fangqiang Forced Labour Camp of Jiangsu Province [http://www.minghui.org/zh/articles/2012/4/15/%E6%81%8B%E6%95%95%E6%8A%B3%E6%B9%8F%E6%9A%9F%E6%95%95%E6%8A%B3%E6%8B%8F%E7%9C%81%E6%96%B9%E5%BC%BA%E5%8A%B3%E6%95%95%E6%89%80%E8%BF%AB%E5%AE%B3%E6%B3%95%E8%BD%AE%E5%8A%9F%E5%AD%A6%E5%91%98%E7%9A%84%E7%BD%AA%E6%81%B6-255700.html](http://www.minghui.org/zh/articles/2012/4/15/%E6%81%8B%E6%95%95%E6%8A%B3%E6%B9%8F%E6%9A%9F%E6%95%95%E6%8A%B3%E6%8B%8F%E7%9C%81%E6%96%B9%E5%BC%BA%E5%8A%B3%E6%95%95%E6%89%80%E8%BF%AB%E5%AE%B3%E6%B3%95%E8%BD%AE%E5%8A%9F%E5%AD%A6%E5%91%98%E7%9A%84%E7%BD%AA%E6%81%B6-255700.html)

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caused many Falun Gong practitioners to suffer not only severe physiological damage, but also immense psychological abuse.

5. Instructed to create fake news to defame Falun Gong

On June 26 2003, a series killing beggars with poisonous things happened at Longgang town, Cangnan county, Wenzhou city, Zhejiang province. When reporting this issue, Chinese mainland media received instructions from Public Security Department Zhou Yongkang and Zhejiang Communist Party Committee to claim this case suspect was a Falun Gong adherent. On July 2, 2003, Xinhua net reported this case and claimed that “the suspect of this case is a Falun Gong member”.

However, at 10:31:10 (Beijing time) July 2, a journalist Zewen Tang, who is responsible for reporting local criminal cases, police and public security organizations, reported this case on “City Fast Newspaper”. (see picture 1)

(Picture 1)

This article pointed out that police is issuing a reward notice and doing inspection specifically. The article also mentioned several important clues that this case has nothing to do with Falun Gong. On December 30 2003, Wenzhou middle level court sentenced the suspect Fuzhao Chen to death. The reports regarding this case were
dominated by Xinhua News Agency and China Central TV Station, their reports defamed Falun Gong with so-called theory that obviously against Falun Gong cultivation principle such as “reverse cultivation” and “killing human being to upgrade level”. The World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong found that Fuzhao Chen is an mentally insane patient by checking with Fuzhao Chen’s family, friends, known doctor, and local officials. Before this case happened, Chen’s father brought Fuzhao Chen to Neijiang hospital to check his mental health. But Zhenjiang court covered this event and sentenced Fuzhao Chen to death. The action by the court in effect destroyed all evidence by the sentencing and thereby preventing the truth from being known. This case had incited hate among the general public against the Falun Gong. Being the head of public security, Zhou Yongkang was responsible for concealing the truth and misleading the public to defame and isolate from Falun Gong.

6. Involvement in Forced Organ Harvesting

There are indications that Zhou Yongkang was a central figure in the massive and systemic campaign of forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience. The facts of forced organ harvesting are briefly discussed in the accompanying report on Huang Jiefu (See: paras. 1-5 of Submissions on Huang Jiefu). Forced organ harvesting is carried out in utmost secrecy; evidence identifying individual perpetrators in this crime is scarce. Nonetheless, we are able to gather the following information implicating Zhou Yongkang in the forced organ harvesting campaign.

On June 15, 2015, an investigator from World Organization to Investigate Persecution of Falun Gong (WOIPFG) made a phone call to Li Changchun, then chief of propaganda. The WOIPFG investigator introduced himself as “Secretary Zhang” from Luo Gan’s office (See: Submissions on Luo Gan). During the phone call, the investigator asked, “we should use Bo Xilai’s involvement in murdering and removing organs from Falun Gong practitioners to convict Bo […]” In response, Li Changchun said, “Zhou Yongkang is in charge of this specifically. He knows it […]” The admission by senior CCP leader Li Changchun is consistent with an admission from another senior CCP official, Huang Jiefu.

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52 The World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong. “Investigating Reports on the Persecution of Falun Gong (part I).” May 2004
In early 2015, Huang Jiefu, former Minister of Health gave an important and well publicized interview that he gave to national media, Phoenix TV and CCTV in early 2015 (See: paras 45-51 of Submissions on Huang Jiefu). During the interview, Huang Jiefu said,

“Using prisoner organs, this kind of situation naturally would come to have all kinds of murky and difficult problems in it. Do you know the meaning of my words? .... It became filthy, it became murky and intractable, it became an extremely sensitive, extremely complicated area, basically a forbidden area. 

[…] It’s just so clear. Everyone knows the big tiger. Zhou Yongkang is the big tiger; he was our general secretary of the national Political and Legal Affairs Committee, and a formerly member of the Politburo Standing Committee. Everyone knows this….So as for where executed prisoner organs come from, isn’t it very clear? (emphasis added)”

Although Huang Jiefu referred only to organs from executed prisoners in this interview, it is clear that the real source of organs are prisoners of conscience (See: paras 53-54 of Submissions on Huang Jiefu).

These admissions that Zhou Yongkang is a key figure in forced organ harvesting square with reality. As established in the accompanying submission on Huang Jiefu, the primary victims of forced organ harvesting are Falun Gong practitioners (See: paras.1-2 of Submissions on Huang Jiefu). The captivity, treatment and disposal of Falun Gong practitioners is ultimately within the jurisdiction and control of Zhou Yongkang as the former head of Central Leading Group on Handling Falun Gong Issue and Central Politics and Legal Commission (PLAC) (See: paras.45-50 of Submissions on Architecture and Chain of Command of 610 Office and PLAC). Given Zhou Yangkang’s final authority and control over the handling of Falun Gong practitioners, it is entirely plausible that he is responsible for the massacre of Falun Gong practitioners by way of forced organ harvesting.

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Profiles of Chinese Transplant Surgeons
Perpetrator Information - Zheng Shusen

Full Legal Name of Perpetrator: Zheng Shusen (郑树森)

Location: Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, People’s Republic of China

Title or Position:
1. President, First Affiliated Hospital, Zhejiang University School of Medicine (current)
2. Professor of Surgery, First Affiliated Hospital, Zhejiang University School of Medicine (current)
3. Director of hepatobiliary and pancreatic surgery, First Affiliated Hospital, Zhejiang University School of Medicine (current)
4. Director of Multiple Organ Transplantation Laboratory, Ministry of Health (current)
5. Deputy Director of the Division of Surgery of the Chinese Medical Association and Head of the Organ Transplantation Team (current)
6. Fellow of the American College of Surgeons (FACS) (2005-present)
7. Committee member of International Liver Transplantation Society (ILTS)
8. Chief Editor of Hepatobiliary & Pancreatic Diseases International (current)
11. Academician of the Chinese Academy of Engineering (current)

Date of Birth: January 9, 1950

Other Known Personal Identifiers: N/A

Summary of Impact

Since the advent of the medical science of organ transplantation in the People’s Republic of China, the overwhelming majority of organs acquired for transplant came from unconsenting prisoners. In the year 2000, organ transplants in China began to increase at an exponential rate. This growth persisted through to at least 2015, and possibly beyond. It took place during a period when the only officially stated source of organs — death row prisoners — was undergoing a widely documented decline. Moreover, China had no voluntary organ donation system until the last few years. By the end of 2009, there had only been 120 voluntary deceased donors in total.

5 This figure has been stated by three top Chinese transplant surgeons and medical administrators: Huang Jiefu,
The Chinese authorities have made great efforts to manage international perceptions on its organ transplantation system, cultivating relationships with leading transplantation administrators in The Transplantation Society (the global, peak professional body), the World Health Organization, and beyond.

Through this period, Dr. Zheng Shusen has been one of the most important and high-profile transplant surgeons and architects of China’s transplant system. The battery of roles he holds above gives some indication into his stature, though elaboration is needed to fully indicate the significance of his profile in China’s organ transplantation system.

Dr. Zheng is among the top-three or four most prominent Chinese transplant surgeons and administrators. He edits the national journal on the topic, published by the Chinese Medical Association,7 where he served as vice president;8 he plays host during the national annual summit for Chinese transplant surgeons, delivering the opening remarks;8 he appears as the third author, after Huang Jiefu and Wang Haibo (the administrators of China’s voluntary organ transplantation infrastructure), when publishing academic papers with over a dozen other leading surgeons9; his own eligibility criteria for liver transplant recipients (the Hangzhou Criteria) have been promulgated nationally.10

The Chinese authorities make two key claims about the operations of their organ transplantation system, on the basis of which they seek to escape opprobrium and censure, and instead gain international recognition and support. The first is that during the period that the authorities acquired organs from prisoners, only death row prisoners — not prisoners of conscience or political prisoners — were used; the second is that this practice ceased entirely from January 1, 2015, onwards. From that date forward, authorities say, voluntary citizen donors have been China’s sole organ source.

Dr. Zheng’s own activities over a period of two decades, including recent years, directly

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contradict both of these assertions, as will be found below.

Given Dr. Zheng’s prominence, prestige, and influence in the Chinese transplantation sector, both nationally and abroad, the public sanctioning of Dr. Zheng under the Magnitsky Act would deliver a clear message to the Chinese authorities that the political abuse of organ transplantation in China must cease.

It would also force The Transplantation Society and the World Health Organization to finally recognize the serious problems in China’s transplant profession, and prevent Dr. Zheng from appearing at international conferences in future (he recently spoke at TTS’s biennial conference in Madrid, despite protests.)\(^1\) It may also cause a break in the ranks of the transplant establishment in China, and cause other surgeons to worry about the possibility that they too may be subject to sanction for crimes against humanity.

The exposure and sanction of PRC physicians involved in crimes against humanity is in the pressing interests of U.S. foreign policy goals for at least two reasons. Firstly, it promotes the ideas of universal human rights enshrined in the Constitution, the realization of which globally will be a net benefit to the United States; secondly, it promotes positive reforms in China by shining a light on some of the most egregious human rights abuses currently being committed under the aegis of the Party-State, thus further educating the Chinese public in the abuses they may be subject to under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party.

**Case Type**

Available evidence indicates that Dr. Zheng is “responsible for or complicit in, or to have directly or indirectly engaged in, serious human rights abuse[s],” per Section 1.(a)(i)(A) of Executive Order 13818 of December 20, 2017.

Specifically, there is a clear and convincing evidence pattern that Dr. Zheng has been directly and indirectly complicit in the commission of crimes against humanity — the crime of extrajudicial killing as recognized under jus cogens — against unknown individuals who were killed in the process of having their organs extracted, so the organs could be trafficked for transplantation. These activities took place over a period of more than two decades.

The evidence of Dr. Zheng’s involvement in these activities is presented and evaluated below.

**Summary of Evidence**

**Background**

1. Since 1991 Zheng Shusen has been a liver transplant surgeon,\(^1^2\) later serving as director

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\(^1^2\) Weng, Jing, and Ping Su. 2016. “郑树森团队阻击肝癌存活率大幅提高.” Xinhua News Agency. February 2,
of transplant surgery, and finally president of the First Affiliated Hospital, Zhejiang University School of Medicine.\(^{13}\)

2. From 1981 to the present he has authored or co-authored 690 publications in the field of hepatobiliary surgery and abdominal organ transplantation surgery.\(^{14}\)

\section*{Zheng Shusen’s Organ Transplant Activities}

3. As of around January 2013, Dr. Zheng was the lead surgeon on about 1104 liver transplant operations.\(^ {15}\) As of around September 2015, the number was 1400.\(^ {16}\) By February 2016, this number had grown to “nearly 2000.”\(^ {17}\) It is highly likely that these figures, promulgated by official Chinese sources, are underestimates of Zheng and his team’s true transplant volume.

4. Even taken as significant underestimations of true transplant volume, these figures across the entire period come to an average annual liver transplant volume by Zheng’s transplant group at his hospital of nearly 300 per year. This refers only to liver transplants, the overwhelming majority of which are from deceased donors.

5. Aside from Dr. Zheng’s First Affiliated Hospital, there are another three major ‘AAA-grade’ hospitals in Hangzhou which offer transplant surgeries.

\section*{The Inability of Death Row Prisoners to Explain Transplant Volume at Dr. Zheng’s Hospital}

6. While the precise number of death row executions in China is not known as it is considered a ‘state secret,’ all available information indicates that there could not credibly have been sufficient death row executions in Hangzhou to supply 300 healthy liver donors for one hospital alone, annually, from early 2013 to early 2016. Evidence indicating this includes:

   a. While the total number of death row executions in China is unknown, all available evidence demonstrates that it has been in long-term decline since the turn of the

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item[\(^{13}\)] 郑树森, 李正之. 经皮穿肝胆道造影术的临床应用 (附 14 例报告) [J]. 浙江医科大学学报, 1981, (1).
\item[\(^{14}\)] Search of China National Knowledge Infrastructure.
\item[\(^{16}\)] 杭州卓健信息科技有限公司. n.d. “医院简介医院介绍 - 浙大一院官网.” Accessed July 16, 2018. https://web.archive.org/web/20160608214042/http://www.zy91.com/vyjiyis.html#139. NB: These numbers are necessarily estimates given the restrictions on access to information, and actively disseminated disinformation promulgated by Chinese authorities. The September 2015 date estimate is based on references to that date made in the text and metadata of the html source information in the August 2016 archive of Zhejiang University Medical School’s First Affiliated Hospital’s ‘About Us’ page.
\end{itemize}
century, and in particular since January 1, 2007, when review of each case was recentralized under the Supreme People’s Court.

b. Dui Hua, for instance, estimates the number of executions across the country to have been at around 2400 in 2013.18

c. Just as the precise number of death row executions is unknown, so the geographical distribution of them is also unknown. However, scholars have performed municipal-level studies of death penalty rates. According to Moulin Xiong, a professor at the Southwestern University of Finance and Economics Law School in Chengdu, death penalty data from courts in Hangzhou is unreliable — however, he notes that court data from Guangzhou, in Guangdong Province, appears to be highly credible. His figures for death penalty cases in Guangzhou for the years 2009 to 2012 were, respectively: 100, 74, 97, 46. Guangzhou is a major port city with a large internal migrant population of sometimes disenfranchised peasants from the countryside (a different demographic composition to Hangzhou). Moreover, Guangzhou’s population is 50% greater than that of Hangzhou, at 14.5 million versus 9.5 million.

d. Thus, it stands to reason that Hangzhou should have at least 50% fewer death penalty cases than Guangzhou, based on population alone.

e. Moreover, medical studies of blood borne disease rates in Chinese prison populations indicate that around half of prisoners suffer some form of infection — making them ineligible as organ donors.19

f. Zheng Shusen’s First Affiliated Hospital — though it has the largest transplant unit in the city — must also share whatever death penalty executions take place in the city with the three other transplant hospitals in Hangzhou.

g. These estimates also do not consider the kidney transplants from deceased donors performed by the Zheng’s hospital — numbering “over 3,000” as of May 2014.20 Other official data puts the annual deceased kidney transplant volume at around 100.21

h. Some rough arithmetic based on simple assumptions are as follows:

i. Assume that Guangzhou’s death penalty figure for the years in question is about 100 annually.

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18 China Executed 2,400 People in 2013, Dui Hua, The Dui Hua Foundation (2014), https://duihua.org/wp/?page_id=9270
21 肾脏病与透析肾移植杂志》2000 年 9 卷 03 期 226-228 页 “肾移植患者并发恶性肿瘤(附 5 例临床分析)” 作者：黄洪锋、陈江华、王逸民、吴建永、张建国、寿张飞(浙江大学医学院附属第一医院肾移植血液净化中心(杭州，310003)); 《中华肾脏病杂志》2008 年 24 卷 03 期 158-161 页，“复方新诺明联合更昔洛韦预防肾移植术后肺部感染” 作者：翟立辉、吕蓉、吴建永、王逸民、张建国、寿张飞、黄洪锋、陈江华(
ii. Assume that, with a population 50% smaller, Hangzhou’s figure execution figure is 75. This adjustment is conservative given that we make no control for the greater instances of violent crime in Guangzhou.

iii. Assume that 40% of these prisoners are ineligible organ sources due to age, drug use, blood-borne diseases, and other health reasons. This leaves 45.

iv. Assume that Zhejiang First Affiliated performs ⅔ of all transplants in Hangzhou (again, conservative, given that there are three other hospitals competing for the business). This leaves 30 prisoners.

v. Assume that every prisoner is used for both kidney and liver transplant (rare).

vi. With all of the above conservative assumptions — the only possible means of proceeding in this analysis given the information controls — the transplants performed at Zhejiang First during the period in question exceed available death row prisoners by around an order of magnitude.

vii. If a cruder estimate is made — simply Guangzhou’s death penalty number with no adjustments, no consideration of kidney transplants, no consideration of the demand for prisoner donors by other hospitals in Hangzhou, no consideration of prisoner health — then Zhejiang First would be performing three times as many transplants as could be explained by presumed death penalty numbers.

7. Based on all of the above, therefore, the preponderance of evidence indicates that some other source of organs — beyond death row prisoners — must explain the organ transplants performed at Zhejiang First Affiliated.

**Dr. Zheng’s Ability to Acquire Vital Organs on Demand**

8. There is, moreover, the question of organ availability. Death row prisoners must be executed within seven days of the approval of their sentence, according to China’s Criminal Procedure Law. Chinese media reports also widely discuss public pronouncements of sentence of many prisoners simultaneously, followed by immediate execution.

9. Both of these factors mean that another aspect of organ acquisition by Zheng Shusen deserves significant scrutiny: the ability to identify healthy forced donors within a very short period of time, and have them executed for their livers.

10. For instance, In 2005 Zheng authored a paper documenting the performance of 46 ‘emergency’ liver transplants, from January 2000 to December 2004. This means that


23 Zheng Shusen, “Analyzing the Results of 46 Emergency Transplants for Benign End-Stage Liver Disease” [急诊
the patients received their new livers 1-3 days of arriving at the hospital, typically with acute liver failure (which often results in death if not treated via transplantation). On January 28, 2005, Zheng and his surgical group performed 5 liver transplants in a single day and a total of 11 liver transplants that week.24

The Incompatibility of On-Demand Organ Harvesting with Death Row Prisoner Usage

12. The performance of these surgeries is significant, because China had no voluntary donor system at the time, and death row prisoners are not, according to Chinese law, arbitrarily held until needed for their organs. Given the implausibility of 46 remarkable coincidences over these four years, where a healthy criminal prisoner just happened to have their death sentence approved soon before the patient experienced liver failure — moreover, with the prisoner having compatible blood type with the patient — such transplants suggest that non-death row captive individuals were killed extrajudicially and on demand for their organs.

13. The evidence that Zheng has been able to harvest organs on demand — evidently from blood-typed captive individuals held on standby — coupled with transplants at his hospital being far in excess of available death row prisoners in Hangzhou, requires an explanation.

14. One of Zheng’s other roles offers important explanatory power in this regard.

Dr. Zheng’s Involvement in the Anti-Falun Gong Political Campaign

15. From 2007 to 2017, Zheng was the director of the China Anti-Cult Association (CACA) in the province of Zhejiang.25

16. The Zhejiang Anti-Cult Association is the provincial branch of the national agency, known as the China Anti-Cult Association.26

17. CACA, established in 2000, is a Communist Party agitprop (agitation and propaganda) agency dedicated specifically to the defamation and destruction of Falun Gong.

18. Anti-Cult Associations around China and 610 branches work hand-in-glove to carry out


25 See the research note compiled by Matthew Robertson, “A summary of Zheng Shusen's involvement in the Zhejiang China Anti-Cult Association,” August 2016: http://www.evernote.com/l/AAYFbii8JRDXycRwTq-alrJSS-iYNcQ2Y/”

the campaign against Falun Gong, the former furnishing the propaganda and creating an environment of discrimination, bias, mistrust, and hatred, the latter doing the actual work of detention and torture. Anti-Cult Association agents visit labor camps, inspect the process of ideological conversion (which victims say takes place under pain of torture, and is known as "transformation work" in official literature), and work with labor camp staff to devise more effective methods of ideological conversion.27

19. Anti-Cult Associations are also responsible for the training programs of cadres who engage in this forced ideological conversion work, and CACA agents design the curricula — textbooks, defamatory videos, etc. — used to brainwash these, often extralegally or illegally detained, prisoners.28 This literature is often the only permissible material while they are in detention.

20. In this role he has appeared at public events sitting alongside security officials, including secret police, calling for the political struggle against Falun Gong.

21. In October 2010 Zheng presided over an “anti-cult” summer cadre training program held at the Zhejiang University of Water Resources and Electric Power. According to a report on the university’s website, he chaired the session and gave the opening address. In his address, he affirmed the results of the school's anti-cult work and "rated it very highly." "Anti-cult work" in this context refers to propaganda, demonization, and incitement to hatred against the Falun Gong religion and those who practice/believe it. Following his speech, the deputy chair of the Zhejiang Anti-Cult Association, Zhao Yue, also gave a speech. There was an award ceremony, where the most politically active students in the political struggle against "cults" (i.e. practitioners of Falun Gong) were given awards. Following the awards, speeches were given by members of the Zhejiang 610 Office, the extra-legal Communist Party task force established to oversee and implement the campaign of physical violence against Falun Gong (or “deal with the Falun Gong question,” as it is described in official parlance).29 In the afternoon, a report was presented, the essence of which was "guard against and resist cults to establish a harmonious society."30

22. Zheng was head of the editorial committee behind the book "Prevention of Cults in the

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New Era – Selected Research Papers," which is devoted to vilifying Falun Gong.\(^{31}\)

23. Zheng writes in the preface to the book:

‘Falun Gong’ and similar evil religions are like viruses corroding the organism of humanity, warping the souls of believers, destroying social order, disrupting economic development, and have become a public nuisance to mankind and a cancer on society. The anti-cult douzheng [political struggle] has bearing on the construction of our country’s socialist system and harmonious society, has bearing on the whole country’s stability and solidarity, and has bearing on the safety and interests of every citizen. Launching a deep douzheng against ‘Falun Gong’ and other evil religious organizations is a duty jointly shared by the whole Party, the whole country, and the whole society.

### Blood Tests and Physical Examinations of Falun Gong Political Prisoners in Captivity in Hangzhou

24. In the context of the failure of death row prisoners to explain transplant activity and availability at Zhejiang First Affiliated Hospital, coupled with Zheng Shusen’s direct involvement in the anti-Falun Gong campaign, it is relevant to consider whether or not Falun Gong political prisoners being held captive in and around Hangzhou have been subjected to blood tests and physical examinations consistent with (and necessary for) assessment of their eligibility as organ donors.

25. The Falun Gong-run website Minghui.org is considered authoritative for first-hand information about the persecution of Falun Gong in China. It is a clearinghouse website used by the Falun Gong community in China to publish information about the campaign against them as it takes place; it is also the sole conduit for such information.


27. It is beyond the scope of this summary of evidence to undertake a full investigation of blood testing and health examinations of Falun Gong prisoners around Hangzhou, but it is possible to present the findings of an initial assessment.

28. A sampling of relevant reports on Minghui.org follows:

a. A May 5, 2012 Minghui article says that “In Zhejiang Province, detained Falun Gong practitioners have often been subject to the confusing requirement to be physically examined, including blood tests. For instance, the Shiliping Labor
b. An August 5, 2009 article discussing torture and deaths in the Zhejiang No. 4 Prison (also in Hangzhou) says that “the No. 4 prison carried out numerous blood tests and physical examinations of Falun Gong practitioners. They said it was part of the government’s ‘special care’ for Falun Gong…”

c. A May 5, 2015 article by Tian Xinfang, a male Falun practitioner from Shandong Province, says that he was captured and imprisoned in Zhejiang Province in March 2002, held in the Zhejiang No. 2 Prison (in Hangzhou). He writes: “In prison, I suffered brutal corporal punishment, high-voltage electric shocks, and extreme slave labor. Also, I also experience two large scale blood assays and organ examinations.” The writer notes that other prisoners accompanied the Falun Gong test targets, but “the prisoners’ data was not registered, yet the Falun Gong practitioners’ physical information was logged and stored in detail.” The article goes on to provide specific descriptions of the physical examinations, including the testing of vision, organ function and position. “We all knew that if the Communist Party really cared for our bodies, they wouldn’t persecute us without restraint, and then cover up the truth of the persecution. So, the examinations were absolutely not for our health, but had another purpose. But at the time, we didn’t know about the crime of organ harvesting.”

29. It should be clear that the above statements are not dispositive of whether the tests described were for the purpose of organ harvesting. In particular, all were published after March 2006, when the allegations of organ harvesting of Falun Gong were publicly made for the first time, meaning that Falun Gong practitioners in China likely knew about them, and thus may have led them to (whether deliberately or not) think of the experiences in a far more sinister light.

30. At the same time, however, such accounts would be expected if indeed organ harvesting from Falun Gong was supplying the organs for Dr. Zheng’s transplants. It is also indeed the case that the health of Falun Gong in custody is the often the least of the concerns of Communist Party officials, who regularly apply extreme methods of physical torture against Falun Gong as part of a campaign to force them to renounce their beliefs. Physical examinations aimed at testing organ health, targeting Falun Gong detainees, would be a necessary step in the use of this population as an organ source. And presumably most individuals subject to such tests, if their purpose was to assess organ health and compatibility for harvesting, would not have lived to talk about it.


31. The following considerations arise from the above evidence:

a. Dr. Zheng’s transplant team performed many more organ transplants than can be credibly explained by death row prisoner availability in Hangzhou — by a factor of between 3 and 10, depending on the assumptions and allowances made. Moreover, this figure comes from publicly reported transplant volume, which almost certainly significantly underestimates true volume.

b. Dr. Zheng during the period in question was able to obtain organs on demand, the only explanation for which is access to a living pool of healthy, blood-typed donors available to be executed on demand for organ transplantation. This scenario is inconsistent with Chinese law around death row, and with the body of scholarship on the application of the death penalty in China.

c. Dr. Zheng, during the period in question, was the chairman of a Communist Party-led organ dedicated to the eradication of the Falun Gong religion in China.

d. Given the inability of the official explanation to account for Dr. Zheng’s organ transplants — both in quantity and availability — some other explanation is required.

e. The above fact pattern demonstrates that by far the most plausible explanation for Dr. Zheng’s transplants during the period in question, both in quantity and availability, is that they came from the detained political prisoners that he describes as a “cancer on society” in his role as the leader of an organization dedicated to their destruction.

f. Dr. Zheng should thus be publicly named as a suspect implicated in the extrajudicial killing of unknown individuals for the purposes of organ trafficking, and subject to relevant sanctions under the relevant laws.