

## Making Sense of Today's China

Ask a China watcher what the five most critical factors to understanding China are and you will hear a range of responses. Economic growth. Rampant corruption. The gap between rich and poor. Communist Party infighting. And so on.

But in most cases, some-

thing will be missing from the analysis. Something big— 100 million people. Something that, once understood, can fundamentally change how we think about China and, as importantly, how we engage with it.

That something is Falun

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In China, be careful whose hand you shake

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Through Falun Gong, ancient ways come to life

# Making Sense of Today's China

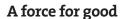
Why Falun
Gong is the
Missing
Piece to the
Puzzle

Continued from front page

Few outside China have much knowledge of it. Those who do, have a vague sense that it's old news. But if you truly grasp this issue, insight is shed on some of the most intractable paradoxes of present day China:

- Why does China still produce so many tainted products despite never-ending campaigns against corruption?
- Why is the Communist Party investing billions in internet censorship, surveillance cameras, and labor camps while schools and hospitals go without desperately needed resources?
- Why are China's leaders so reticent to loosen their grip over the judiciary and media, even at the cost of their credibility in the public's eyes?

The answer to this puzzle begins in 1992, exactly 20 years ago, in a humble schoolhouse in northeast China. That day, Mr. Li Hongzhi, the latest in a lineage of spiritual masters dating back thousands of years, gave his first public teaching of Falun Gong.



Falun Gong was different from other *qigong* practices being taught. While it did include slow-moving energy exercises, it also involved something more—teachings that guided students on a path of moral self-improvement and discovery in their daily lives.

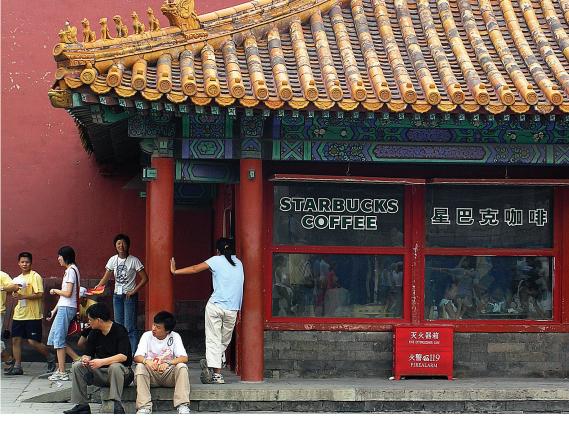
At the core of these teachings were three principles and the desire to align one's self with them in thought and action—Truthfulness, Compassion, and Tolerance (Zhen 真 Shan 善 Ren 忍).

The practice spread quickly by word of mouth, as people saw the lives of those around them changing. Sickly grandmothers transformed into the epitome of health. Couples nearing divorce saved their marriage. Within seven years, an estimated 100 million people had taken up Falun Gong.

The impact extended beyond the family circle. Policemen who learned Falun Gong would stop taking bribes, and workers would cease stealing from their factory. Though the country was still under the Communist Party's thumb, this critical mass was beginning to truly stabilize Chinese society.

### A fateful decision

This trajectory dramatically reversed in July 1999, when then-Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin launched a campaign to



NOT JUST LATTÉS AND IPHONES: To truly know today's China, one has to look beyond the Starbucks and Apple stores to a brutal campaign that has turned right and wrong upside down.

Imagine
an effort to
eradicate a
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citizens.

eradicate Falun Gong from the

Jiang was jealous and fearful of how something outside the Party's control could inspire tens of millions of people, even if it was for the good of society. Experts at the time said the move was Jiang's personal decision, even obsession.

In going after Falun Gong, Jiang launched an assault on a core contingent of mainstream society. Imagine what was entailed by an effort to eradicate a practice followed by 1 in every 12 citizens.

Jiang needed massive propaganda campaigns to demonize Falun Gong. New labor camps and makeshift detention centers to hold the huge influx of detainees. An extralegal police task force to implement the plan. And an internet censorship apparatus to stop people from learning the truth about what was happening.

### Repressing virtue, rewarding vice

Besides the human and financial cost of the campaign, it also tore at

the moral fabric of Chinese society. As the words Truthfulness, Compassion, and Tolerance became taboo, upholding these values became difficult and dangerous—Falun Gong practitioner or not—amidst a ferocious atmosphere of lies, torture, and discrimination.

Officials who actively participated in the torture and killing of Falun Gong adherents were promoted. Family members were forced to turn against each other. Members of the public were offered cash rewards for turning in their neighbors.

Meanwhile, those who refused to collaborate or stood up against the campaign were fired, abducted, imprisoned, and sometimes killed. Even attorneys and honest government officials weren't spared.

Hundreds of thousands of hardworking, upright people from every profession and of every age were sent to labor camps for "re-education." It was a domestic brain drain—and moral crisis—of staggering proportions.

### Here to stay

Despite all of Jiang's efforts, Falun Gong would not disappear. The ideas it espoused and the benefits it offered were too compelling to be erased—even under the relentless brutality of a well-oiled authoritarian machine.

Falun Gong practitioners persisted in their faith, with many resuming the practice after release from custody.

More than that, practitioners responded with a massive, innovative and nonviolent movement to encourage other Chinese to see through the Party's lies and brutality—as they pertained to Falun Gong, and beyond.

Homemade leaflets were made, DVDs were burned, banners were hung, tools to circumvent internet censorship were developed. (See "Unlikely Heroes," page 15.)

Today, after over a decade of oppression, some 20 to 40 million Falun Gong practitioners actively circulate information in China or send it abroad. In turn, investment in surveillance cameras and tracking equipment is skyrocketing in China as the Party redoubles its efforts to detain them.

Meanwhile, distorted promotion criteria bred lawlessness and corruption throughout society, from the food sector to the medical industry.

At a time when Chinese citizens are protesting daily for more accountability and freedom, Party leaders dare not loosen their grip. To do so, they fear, would lead to their crimes against Falun Gong being revealed and their best weapons—imprisonment, propaganda, and censorship—neutered.

For those outside China, these dynamics present a dilemma. Do we engage with the Communist Party powers that be in order to protect short-term interests and a superficial appearance of stability?

Or, do we resist the Party's cooptation tactics and do our utmost to preserve a force that offers the prospects of long-term hope, stability, and prosperity for China?

At this critical moment in history, China's future may seem unpredictable. But one thing is certain: one can't go wrong by standing up for the cause of Truthfulness, Compassion, and Tolerance.

### Did You Know?

- By 1999, 100 million people in China were practicing Falun Gong, slowly stabilizing society
- The persecution unleashed against them that year reversed this trend, spawning corruption, torture, and a host of intractable problems that will remain unresolved until the campaign
- The Falun Gong story offers critical insight into events in China, including the recent infighting in the Communist Party's top ranks



UNEXPECTED MESSAGE: Residents of Jiamusi in northeast China awoke in July 2011 to find this banner reminding them: "Truthfulness, Compassion, Tolerance is good. Falun Dafa is good."

### **China Today**

## The Story Behind the Headlines

# Blood on Bo Xilai's Hands

n February 6, 2012, Wang Lijun, the former police chief for the megacity Chongqing, walked into a U.S. Consulate in southwest China to seek political asylum, setting off one of the biggest scandals in Chinese politics in decades.

About 24 hours later, Wang left the building, walked into the hands of Beijing police, and was immediately taken away to an undisclosed location.

In the fallout from the incident, Bo Xilai, head of the Communist Party in Chongqing, was removed from his post and more importantly, from the party's Politburo. Bo's hopes of being chosen for the all-powerful Standing Committee that rules China were promptly dashed.

As the scandal has unfolded, accusations have surfaced that he and his wife were involved in the murder of a British businessman last year. That seems like quite a skeleton in Bo's closet.

But dig into the Falun Gong story, and one finds that this is just one of many skeletons.

Wang and Bo's history goes back long before they took up positions in Chongqing. In the early 2000s, both were in Liaoning province—



munist Party head, Wang as head of police and a top party cadre in Jinzhou. There, the two actively promoted the campaign against Falun Gong as part of their alle-

Under Bo's watch, Liaoning emerged as one of the deadliest provinces for Falun Gong and home to the notorious Masanjia forced labor camp—referred to by victims as a "den of evil."

giance to Jiang Zemin.

Bo's complicity has resulted in

former torture victims lawsuits against him in several countries around world. In

November 2009, he was one of five Chinese officials indicted by a Spanish court for these abuses.

Bo Xilai, former

Liaoning governor

Meanwhile, Wang was involved in the organ transplant industry, and linked to the gruesome practice of forcibly removing organs from living Falun Gong prisoners

of conscience and selling them at high prices to rich patients. (see

More recently in Chongqing, at least 300 Falun Gong practitioners were detained and sent to special brainwashing centers in a Bo and Wang-led "strike hard" campaign.

All of these details are critical to understanding the current scandal and party infighting. Yet, they have been almost entirely absent from mainstream news coverage. The media would seem to have a blind spot when it comes to Falun

Gong. Consider these

• First, in light of the blood already on his hands, Bo's link to a murder suddenly doesn't seem so unlikely.

• Second, according to a leaked 2007 U.S.

diplomatic cable, Bo was essentially demoted from Minister of Commerce to governing Chongqing in part because of embarrassment he was causing the regime with the torture lawsuits against

- Third, some reports indicate that among the dirt on Bo, which Wang offered U.S. consular officials, were incriminating details related to the campaign against Falun Gong.
- Lastly, this past March, internet censorship suddenly loosened for searches like "Wang Lijun organ harvesting" in a likely sign that members of the Hu and Wen ruling faction (known for being less hardline on Falun Gong) wish to discredit rivals such as Bo, and disagree with their handling of Falun Gong.



What is Falun Gong Asking for?

Since the Chinese Communist Party first launched the persecution, Falun Gong practitioners have been urging that the following three steps be taken to end it. As circumstances change, Chinese officials may try to negotiate to escape liability. But, to do justice to the victims and ensure such horrors do not repeat, the world needs to resist their attempts and insist on the following:

Release all Falun Gong prisoners of conscience At this moment, hundreds of thousands of Falun Gong practitioners are still wrongfully held at detention centers, labor camps, and prisons, rendering them the largest group of prisoners of conscience in China. The first step to ending the campaign is releasing every single one of them.

#### Compensate all victims of persecution

Arrangements must be made to compensate all victims of the persecution, whether they suffered torture, sexual abuse, confiscation of property, or expulsion from school.

#### Bring the primary perpetrators to justice

The four men pictured below have been at the forefront of the campaign from its start. Each of the them should be tried and punished for the crimes he committed, along with any close associates who proactively participated in torture and killing. All four have already been sued outside China by victims and in 2009, two of them were indicted for torture and genocide by a Spanish

### Ms. Gao Rongrong, 37, disfigured and killed





In July 2003, during the time when Bo Xilai was governor of Liaoning, Ms. Gao, an accountant, was sent to the province's notorious Masanjia forced labor camp for practicing Falun Gong. At the camp, guards tortured her with electric batons, burning and disfiguring her once-radiant face. After years of persecution, she was tortured to death on March 6, 2005, at the age of 37.

### **Meet the Culprits**

## Jiang Zemin

Former Communist Party head and the key figure behind

Falun Gong.



all levels to participate in eradicating

### Zhou Yongkang

The Communist Party's security chief and a member of the



ing Committee. He personally traveled around China urging local officials to intensify their suppression of Falun

### Liu Jing

Head of the notorious 610 Office from 2001 to 2009, a secret police task force under the

Communist Party that has branches in every city to oversee the persecution

### Luo Gan

Jiang's right-hand man who held Zhou's position from 2003 to 2007. He zealously implemented the campaign in its early years.



# What You Should Know About Doing Business in China

## (But are never told)

In business, knowledge can be as critical to success as capital, sometimes more so. Know your business. Know your competition. Know your market. Most importantly—know your risks.

When it comes to doing business in China, there's one key area of knowledge most people miss, but that can have a lasting impact on China operations: Falun Gong.

That's right, Falun Gong. The spiritual practice that has been the target of a nationwide persecutory campaign since 1999. Be it the discipline's inspirational power, the actions of its 100 million believers, or the pervasive presence of the Communist Party's effort to crush them, Falun Gong today constitutes one of the most influential factors in Chinese society, politics, and by extension, business.

Ignore this factor and if you're not careful, you could quickly find yourself and your business in trouble.

We offer several key tips to bear in mind when navigating the business landscape of China.

### **Know your contacts**

Most major industries in China are either run by senior Chinese Communist Party (CCP) officials or heavily influenced by them. This is no secret, and a successful business plan typically involves having a clear strategy for navigating the influence of such officials. But who are these people?

When China's top Party official Jiang Zemin ordered the suppression of Falun Gong in 1999, it not only marked the start of persecution for those practicing it. It also triggered a purging of the ranks within the Party itself.

Those who toed the line or actively advanced the bloody campaign were promoted. Those who refused or stood up for people they knew had done nothing wrong were punished or demoted.

Today, after more than a decade of this warped incentive structure, the vast majority of officials at the city, provincial, and national level have had a hand

### **Did You Know?**

- Many Chinese officials involved in international business have had a hand in torture and killing
- Millions of potential Chinese consumers oppose the persecution of Falun Gong
- Abuses in China are finding their way into the products we buy



NOT JUST BUSINESS AS USUAL: There's often a shadier side to doing business in China. It's best to be prepared, as your principles are on the line.

in suppressing Falun Gong. And some, to alarming degrees.

These officials have spouted hatred against local residents, sent innocent people to forced labor camps, and in some cases, established monetary rewards for torture. In a word, they are complicit in crimes against humanity. The men featured on page 5 (see "Hand Shaking") are but a few examples.

In your business dealings in China, you will inevitably encounter high-ranking members of the Communist Party. Before you reach out to shake their hands, consider where those hands have been and just how much suffering they may have caused.

### **Know your market**

If there's one thing virtually anyone doing business in China agrees on, it's that the market potential of the country's 1.3 billion would-be consumers is impossible to ignore.

But who are the Chinese people really? What do they value, and how does one secure their long-term trust?

With the media tightly controlled and Party officials in charge at every level of society, the Party line on Falun Gong appears dominant, while Falun Gong seems marginalized. But look beneath the surface and a different reality emerges.

Unlike the Communist Party, which was imported from the West and forced upon the Chinese people, Falun Gong arises from

the heartland of China. It is quintessentially Chinese—an ancient self-improvement practice whose roots stem from China's 5,000-year-old cultural and spiritual traditions

So, while fear of punishment or deception by CCP propaganda may have pushed many to initially show support for the Party's anti-Falun Gong campaign, practitioners' grassroots efforts to educate the Chinese public are gaining traction.

In turn, millions upon millions are rediscovering an affinity towards traditional Chinese culture, and Falun Gong's place therein. Increasingly, ordinary citizens are taking a public stand for Falun Gong.

Lawyers who a few years ago didn't dare to take on Falun Gong cases are defying Party orders and actively arguing against the persecution in open court. Villagers who years ago alienated Falun Gong practitioners for fear of collective punishment are now signing petitions demanding the release of their wrongfully imprisoned Falun Gong neighbors.

Meanwhile, despite years of suppression, Falun Gong practitioners themselves—many of them highly educated—remain a potential customer base tens of millions strong.

For anyone looking to build and maintain long lasting market-share in the world's most populous country, what is held in the hearts of its people cannot be ignored. Where a corporation, or any entity, stands—with the ruling Communist Party or with the

people and the spiritual heart of China—is of vital importance.

As the CCP's power wanes, this won't be something soon forgotten by the nation's 1.3 billion people—or even future generations.

### Know your bottom line

One of the most complex aspects of international business is navigating the governing and regulatory practices of the country where you are operating. In China, this means understanding how to effectively engage with the Communist Party (since all major government posts are held by Party members).

What will this engagement look like? What demands will be put on your business? How far are you willing to go to meet those demands, and at what cost?

Again, Falun Gong arises as a central factor. It's a key issue that Chinese officials often use to test the waters with foreign companies: are they willing to set aside moral and legal obligations to curry favor with the regime and turn a profit? So, be on your guard. Examples of foreign firms in China being pressured to assist the regime in its repression abound (see sidebar "Business at Your Own Risk").

The key point is this: when doing business in China, particularly on a large scale, know that you are operating within a mafia-like system. In this corrupt and violent world, there are rules about whom you must obey. And there are acts you will be asked to carry out, some of which are illegal, morally reprehen-

## Business at Your Own Risk

Foreign firms in China are routinely pressured to assist the regime in its repression of Falun Gong. Refusing can seem risky, but complying comes with its own consequences.

#### Yahoo! and censorship

In China, search engines like Yahoo! are required to return only Communist Party-approved results for "Falun Gong."

Wittingly or unwittingly, their censorship contributes to a climate of ignorance and hatred in which innocent people are arbitrarily abducted, abused, tortured and sometimes killed simply for following the spiritual path of their choice.

Google's desire to cease such complicity was one of the reasons for the firm's 2010 withdrawal of its search engine from China.

### Mary Kay and discrimination One of the world's largest dis-

tributors of cosmetics, Mary Kay, found itself in hot water in 2003 when news emerged that all of their sales reps in China were being required to sign a form that they did not practice Falun Gong before being hired.

The discovery evoked an angry lashing from members of Congress. Mary Kay was forced into an embarrassing retreat and a protracted public relations effort to repair its image.

### Cisco and surveillance

In May 2011, Cisco Systems was slapped with a classaction lawsuit in San Francisco for allegedly pitching, designing, and building technology for Chinese authorities to identify and track Falun Gong practitioners.

Among the evidence cited in the complaint was a Cisco PowerPoint presentation that offered solutions for helping the authorities to capture Falun Gong practitioners.

The suit names several Cisco executives as defendants, including CEO John Chambers. Should the plaintiffs win the case, Cisco will be liable for millions of dollars in damages and its standing in the public eye will be irreversibly harmed.

sible, or may yield deadly outcomes.

Refuse such pressures and yes, in the short-term there may be a lost contract or two. But comply, and in the long-term you will lose much more.

To emerge unscathed from this world, you have to know what your bottom line is—the ethical one as much as the financial one. What is your strategy for not complying with a demand that you'd regret in the future?

In China, you need to know your business and you need to know the market, but perhaps most important of all, you need to know your stance on Falun Gong.

### **Faces of China's Forced Labor Camps**



Ms. Zhang Lianying, a CPA, was sent to labor camps three times for practicing Falun Gong. In 2008, police burst into her Beijing home in a pre-Olympic crackdown, put a sack over her head, and dragged her away. She was taken to the Masanjia labor camp, stripped naked, and tortured. In 2011, she escaped to the United States.



Mr. Chen Gang, a musician, was held at Beijing's notorious Tuanhe Forced Labor Camp for a year and a half, where torture almost left him crippled. After an international campaign, he was freed and now lives in the United States.



A graduate of China's prestigious Tsinghua University, Mr. Huang Kui spent two years in detention and three years in a forced labor camp making Christmas tree lights and flower ornaments for export. Kui's time in the labor camp featured sixteen-hour days, beatings, torture, and sleep-deprivation.

# Where Do Your Chopsticks Come From?

Wooden chopsticks are a cornerstone of Chinese takeout in cities across the world. Unfortunately, they're also a regular feature in testimonies of Falun Gong practitioners who fled China after being imprisoned in one of the country's many labor camps.

"The quota was around 7,000, sometimes 10,000. If you didn't finish, you weren't allowed to sleep," says Chen Gang (pictured above), recalling wrapping chopsticks in a Beijing labor camp where he was sent for practicing Falun Gong. "It was a dirty environment. We had to go months without a shower."

Today, Falun Gong practitioners remain an enormous percentage of detainees in China's vast network of gulags. Like Chen, they are typically abducted from their home, taken to a police station, and told they will be sent to a labor camp for up to three years for "re-education"—an Orwellian sounding word if there ever was

Once at the camps, they are tortured, shocked with electric batons, deprived of sleep, and more often than not, forced to work over 12 hours a day manufacturing products, some intended for export.

Some glue soles onto shoes. Others sew clothing. Many wrap disposable chopsticks in unsanitary conditions

So you might want to opt for a fork next time you get takeout.

# Think You're Safe from the Hazards of Repression in China? Think Again.

Sitting on the back porch of my Albuquerque home, nestled in the soft light of the American Southwest, I casually put down my newspaper, looked at my son playing with his toy train and suddenly realized: China's corruption could kill him.

I had just finished reading about the latest tainted product from China—Thomas the Tank Engine toy trains—only to realize that was the exact train he was playing with there on the deck. Needless to say, the train is now in the garbage and I washed my son's hands with soap—three times

Shoddy products from China are nothing new, but how do they come to be that way, and why

does it seem they are on the rise even as oversight processes are supposedly improving?

Poor manufacturing is partly responsible, but there's something more pervasive and sinister happening in China: an erosion of basic morals. It's not that products are merely made of poor quality material. They are made with hazardous material and consciously

During the 1990s, China, though still autocratic, saw advances in freedom, law, and the economy. When the persecution of Falun Gong was launched in 1999, however, it threw many institutions back several decades.

Tyrannical officials were pro-

moted and kind ones were purged in a cleansing of the Communist Party ranks. Policies were implemented with oppressing Falun Gong as the core objective, disregarding their implications for social and economic wellness.

In short, the persecution of Falun Gong spawned an enormous backslide in morals. CNN's senior analyst Willy Lam called it the greatest crisis facing China.

So long as such a systematic persecution persists, Chinese officials and common people will continue to lose sight of our common humanity and responsibility for each other's wellbeing. That moral crisis will result in more and more dangers being exported from the world's factory.

## Know Whose Hand You're Shaking

Chinese officials and the details you won't find in their biographies

After over a decade of persecution, many of the officials who run China's provinces and cities have had a hand in suppressing Falun Gong, including encouraging torture. The following four men are just the tip of the iceberg.

Name	Positions held	Track record on Falun Gong
Bo Xilai	Chinese Communist Party head in Chongqing; Minister of Commerce and member of Communist Party Central Committee; Governor, Liaoning Province.	Under Bo's watch, Liaoning province became a hotbed of torture and killing, and a central node in the illegal harvesting of Falun Gong organs. Bo has been sued for torture in multiple countries, and judged liable in one court already.
Liu Qi	Chinese Communist Party head and former Mayor of Beijing; head of the Beijing Olympics Organizing Committee; member of the CCP Politburo	Beijing police under Liu's command publicly beat practitioners. In 2004, a U.S. federal court found Liu liable for torture and sexual assault. Some 8,000 practitioners were detained in the run-up to the Olympics, which Liu oversaw.
Wu Guanzheng	Former Deputy Governor of Shandong Province; former member of the Chi- nese Communist Party Politburo	Under Wu's watch, a punitive system for officials was implemented that led to widespread torture, according to a Pulitzer Prize winning article. Eighteen months later, 24 practitioners were dead, with many more thought to have been killed.
Xia Deren	Deputy Governor of Liaoning Province; former Mayor of Dalian	Using his control of local state-run media, Xia fueled the persecution campaign, making Liaoning one of the deadliest provinces for Falun Gong. In 2004, a U.S. federal court found Xia liable for overseeing the torture of practitioners.

HEALTH

MINGHUI 明
INTERNATIONAL 慧

# Positively Well

## How millions are finding abundant health through Falun Gong

For Carrie Dobson, simply climbing out of bed was a struggle. Much less getting dressed, or making it through the day. Half her body had lost sensation

The Pennsylvanian's life was being defined by a condition she had never asked for, or even heard of: Lyme disease. For 10 years the rare, fibromyalgia-like disease had grown progressively worse, to the point of being crippling.

"I would have paid anything, or traveled anywhere, to get well. I was desperate," she recalls.

But as fate would have it, Dobson's solution was right in her own backyard—or park, as it turned out. And it didn't cost a cent.

At the recommendation of a Chinese friend, Dobson discovered a traditional Chinese spiritual practice, called Falun Gong. In a matter of weeks, Dobson had her life back.

"Falun Gong was what did it," says the 56-year old flight instructor, looking a decade younger than her years. "It's all about improving one's mind and body," she says.

"The teachings guide you in truthfulness, compassion, and tolerance. The exercises bring in the health benefits."

Today, some twelve years later, Dobson remains cured of Lyme disease, healthier—and happier than ever.

### Parks Abuzz

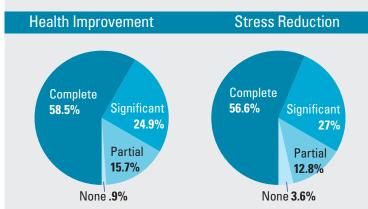
What's perhaps most remarkable about Dobson's story isn't simply it's unlikelihood (Lyme disease is widely considered uncurable).

Most incredible is that her story

## Healthy in Beijing

It isn't exactly a city synonymous with good health, being the world's 10th most polluted metropolis. But scores of Beijing residents have found better health through Falun Gong, as reflected in a 1998 survey of some 12,731 adherents in the city.

Two charts provide a glimpse of the remarkable findings.



parallels that of thousands—even millions—of other Falun Gong adherents around the world, particularly in China. Her case is anything but isolated.

Dobson's recovery provides a fascinating window into the health benefits of Falun Gong as well as the explosive growth of the practice in 1990s China—where millions of residents made Falun Gong part of their daily routine.

### But why Falun Gong?

"Chinese people are by nature practical," says Zhao Ming, a native of Beijing, who now lives in New York and who witnessed Falun Gong's growth in China up close, practicing it in the park at his university.

"If something works, they'll hear about it and give it a try. If it doesn't work, they'll drop it," Zhao says. "They've learned a lot of harsh lessons under communism, about blind faith in leaders, or ideologies. It's made them more practical, more discerning."

Falun Gong "worked," by that account.

By the mid-90s, in most every park across China, Falun Gong practitioners could be found performing their trademark blend of gentle, rhythmic *qigong* exercises and meditation.

"People found that Falun Gong worked, and worked well," Zhao explains. "Pretty much everyone knew somebody who had tried it and benefitted, physically or psychologically."

People reported everything from better sleep and less stress to increased energy, better moods, better digestion, and even recovery from chronic diseases. Falun Gong's primary text, *Zhuan Falun*, appeared on China's best seller lists

Word traveled fast and far, and by 1999 the number of Chinese citizens practicing Falun Gong had reached 100 million—eclipsing even the Communist Party's membership.

#### **Deeper Health**

But how could a simple program of exercise, meditation, and principled living make for such an impact? What made Falun Gong different? What made it "work"?

In the words of practitioners, Falun Gong works on multiple levels, going deeper, as it were, than typical exercise programs or health protocols.

In a word, it ain't "Yoga Buns."

"It works on an energetic level," says Dr. Jingduan Yang, a medical doctor of both Chinese and Western medicine who has studied Falun Gong. (See sidebar, "Kicking the Habit")

"It's not just about your flesh and blood. It works on the body on a different level, it gets at the deeper roots of illness by working on the mind and the body."

Indeed, a central component of Falun Gong is its moral teachings, which complement the medita-

## Kicking the Habit (Without Raising a Foot)

Though his job as an M.D. was to tell people how to live healthy and make good health decisions, John Yang just couldn't quite practice what he preached.

"I was a chain smoker,"
Yang recalls. "I smoked a
pack or two of cigarettes a
day—Chinese cigarettes. No
matter how hard I tried, I
just couldn't quit."

All that changed overnight, however, after taking up Falun Gong.

"Suddenly cigarettes just tasted awful," Yang says.
"A few days after learning Falun Gong, out of habit I tried to smoke, and immediately I felt like throwing up."
And that was it. Yang

hasn't picked up a cigarette since, in fourteen years.

"Something changed when I learned Falun Gong. My body didn't want to smoke anymore, and I managed to quit just like that—without even trying, you could say."

tive exercises. Many say it is the teachings, in fact, that form the core of the practice and that differentiate Falun Gong.

It's the blend of virtuous living, of aligning one's life with higher principles, and powerful exercises that proves such a winning combination.

"It's more than being free of illness. It's about being well—really well," says Ryan Smith, an educator from New Jersey.

"I can't tell you how amazing it is not to live in fear of all the things that can go wrong with you, trying to prevent this, prevent that," he says.

"With Falun Gong, you're taking such good care of yourself, everything's covered."

## Learn More

To learn more about Falun Gong, visit the following sites:

FalunDafa.org TiantiBooks.org en.Minghui.org





A MORNING STRETCH: Residents of Sichuan province perform the first exercise of Falun Gong. Millions in China discovered the powerful health benefits of the practice in the 1990s.





ENJOYING SERENITY: New Yorkers perform the meditation of Falun Gong in a city park. A central component of the practice is self-improvement, or "cultivation," making it truly a practice of mind and body.

# Cultivating Yourself

# A portrait of the practice and history of Falun Gong reveals much not commonly seen in the headlines

alun Gong is an ancient Chinese spiritual discipline in the Buddhist tradition. It consists of moral teachings, a meditation, and four gentle exercises that are a truly unique and highly enjoyable way to improve your health and energy levels.

At the core of Falun Gong are the values of Truthfulness, Compassion, and Tolerance (or in Chinese, *Zhen* 真 *Shan* 善 *Ren* 忍). Falun Dafa teaches that these are the most fundamental qualities of the uni-

### **Family Matters**

To hear Kate describe how her mother, Susan, once was, you'd think she had horns.

"Judgmental. Unaccepting. Never satisfied. Selfabsorbed." Not the stuff good mother-daughter relationships are forged of.

Yet today, both cherish their friendship—no longer merely a "relationship"—and look back at the Susan of the past as a whole 'nother creature.

"Falun Gong completely changed our relationship, our family," the 61-year old mother says, looking back. "It enabled me to finally think about others first, to put myself in their shoes. I can now put others before myself."

By distilling a range of classical Chinese sensibilities, values, and ideals, Falun Gong brings the best qualities of Chinese tradition to bear on lives in the present.

verse, and takes them to be a guide for daily life and practice.

In the words of Falun Gong's teacher, Mr. Li Hongzhi, "assimilation to the highest qualities of the universe—Zhen 真 Shan 善 Ren 忍—is the foundation of practice. Practice is guided by these supreme qualities, and based on the very laws which underlie the development of the cosmos."

Falun Gong is also commonly known as "Falun Dafa."

By 1999 Falun Gong had grown to become the largest and fastest growing practice of the sort in Chinese if not world history. In just seven years since its 1992 introduction to the public, an estimated 100 million people in China were by then learning or practicing Falun Gong.

In Asia spiritual practices of this variety are often referred to as ways of "cultivation," or "selfcultivation," and form an integral part of classical Chinese culture. Various Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian practices fit this rubric.

Through consistent and dedicated practice, the student of Falun Gong comes to achieve a state of selflessness, greater insight and awareness, inner purity, and balance—the deeper workings of what might be called true health. Ultimately he or she approaches a state of spiritual attainment that in the Asian tradition is known as "enlightenment" or "attaining the Dao (Way)."

While Falun Gong aspires to inner transformation of the self, it nevertheless typically translates outwardly into positive change in the world, insofar as the practitioner becomes a more patient family member, a more conscientious employee, or a more active member of society.

Falun Gong has thus been the subject of many citations, awards, and proclamations, conferred by government officials and a variety of organizations. Many who practice Falun Gong have been the recipients of service awards in their communities and at their workplaces.

The practice's founder, Mr. Li Hongzhi, is a five-time Nobel Peace Prize nominee and was nominated by the European Parliament for the Sakharov Prize For Freedom of Thought. He is the recipient of Freedom House's International Religious Freedom Award.

Eschewing the spotlight, Mr. Li guides the practice through his writings and occasional speeches, typically at Falun Gong conferences.

Mr. Li has always insisted that the practice be taught for free and available to all, and as such, all Falun Gong books, video recordings, and the like are available for free viewing online.

Few people today are aware that Falun Gong and its followers received much in the way of official recognition in China during the 1990s, prior to a dramatic and violent change in political winds in 1999 which saw the practice persecuted.

In 1993, Mr. Li was named the "Most Welcomed Qigong Master" in Beijing and bestowed by an official body with the Award for Advancing Frontier Science.

The same year, *The People's Public Security News*—the official newspaper of China's Ministry of Public Security—praised Mr. Li for his contributions "in promoting the traditional crime-fighting virtues of the Chinese people, in safeguarding social order and security, and in promoting rectitude in society."

By 1999, Chinese officials went so far as to quantify Falun Gong's benefits, such as when one official from China's National Sports Commission, speaking with *U.S. News & World Report*, declared that Falun Dafa "can save each person 1,000 yuan in annual medical fees. If 100 million people are practicing it, that's 100 billion yuan saved per year in medical fees."

The same official went on to note that, "Premier Zhu Rongji is very happy about that."

Today Falun Gong is practiced in more than 100 countries around the world, with clubs and associations existing in a range of cities, companies, universities, and other settings

There might very well be one coming soon to a park near you.

### **The Five Exercises**



**Buddha Displaying a Thousand Hands**Using gentle stretching movements, the exercise opens all of the body's energy channels, creating a powerful energy field



Falun Standing Stance
Comprised of four still positions that can
be held for several minutes each, the
second exercise boosts energy levels
and awakens wisdom.



**Penetrating the Two Extremes**With its gentle hand-gliding movements, this exercise purifies the body

using energy from the cosmos.



**Falun Cosmic Circuit**By gently tracing the hands over the body, front and back, the fourth exercise rectifies abnormal conditions in the body and circulates energy.



Strengthening Higher Abilities
A meditation that incorporates special mudra and hand positions to refine body and mind, it strengthens higher abilities and energy.

# Think You Know About Falun Gong? Think Again ...

Four critical elements of the Falun Gong story reveal just how far China's Communist Party will go to crush its perceived enemies

Before picking up this newspaper, you most likely knew Falun Gong as a group of meditators that are being imprisoned and tortured in China. That's true, of course. But without understanding four critical points, it's difficult to fathom the lengths of deceit, manipulation, and violence that Party officials have gone to in their efforts to crush this peaceful

group.

Whether you're new to the Falun Gong story or a veteran China watcher, one aspect or another of these four developments has likely already touched your life or will at some point. We offer these details to help you navigate the complex and confusing world of Communist Party propaganda and cover-ups.

# Self-immolation Hoax on Tiananmen Square

On January 23, 2001, five people allegedly set themselves on fire in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Within hours, state-run media were claiming that the self-immolators were Falun Gong practitioners

For days, media aired grisly footage of the victims and blamed Falun Gong teachings for the tragedy. The problem is that a wealth of evidence suggests that the entire incident was staged—a sophisticated propaganda stunt contrived to demonize Falun Gong.

### What were some of the questionable points?

• A Washington Post investigation found that two of the self-immolators had never practiced Falun Gong.

- An award-winning documentary showed, via slow-motion footage, that one of the immolators collapsed after being hit over the head, in fact, by a policeman.
- In the state-run media reports, a policeman stands next to an immolator, as if waiting for him to finish speaking. He then casually places a blanket over him to extinguish a non-existent flame, giving the scene an extremely staged feel.
- Falun Gong's teachings explicitly prohibit killing—including suicide—making it unlikely the immolators were actual practitioners. Quotes said by the immolators in state-run TV coverage were not, in fact, attributable to Falun Gong teachings.

But why would the CCP stage such an elaborate hoax?

With 100 million believers, Falun Gong was by 1999 a respected household name, making many Chinese hesitant to wholeheartedly support the Party's persecution of these people.

By staging the "self-immolation" and repeatedly airing the footage on state-run television, the Party led many Chinese who had sympathized with Falun Gong to now believe practitioners were crazy or even dangerous.

This in effect made it easier for the Party to abduct practitioners, take them for brainwashing, and torture them.

Want to see for yourself? Visit www.falsefire.com



WAITING FOR A CUE: In a poorly acted scene, a policeman stands waiting beside a supposed self-immolating Falun Gong practitioner. This is just one of dozens of suspicious points in this horrific scam.



LINING UP FOR JUSTICE: Falun Gong practitioners stand quietly in Beijing on April 25, 1999. This historic, peaceful appeal against escalating harassment was later re-characterized by state media as a "siege" in an attempt to justify the party's campaign of repression.

# Peaceful Appeal Falsely Blamed for Persecution

It was April 25, 1999. Some 10–20,000 Chinese gathered early in the morning in Beijing, young and old. All were practitioners of Falun Gong.

They had come to China's central appeals office to ask the government to stop its escalating harassment and intimidation of practitioners—including the beating and arrest of over 40 in the nearby city of Tianjin the day before—and to allow them freedom to practice openly without threat.

Those assembled stood in an orderly line. Some meditated, others chatted quietly.

It was the largest and most peaceful protest in Beijing in

The Chinese premier came out to meet with Falun Gong representatives. That evening, the group's concerns were met and everyone went home.

The problem was, then-Party head Jiang Zemin had other plans. He soon ordered the establishment of the 6-10 Office (named for its June 10th creation)—a special Party police force tasked with overseeing the effort to wipe out Falun Gong. The following month, the massive persecution campaign was launched.

When the state-run media's propaganda apparatus went into full swing, the April 25th gathering was quickly re-cast. It was not depicted as the peaceful appeal

that it was, but rather as Falun Gong "laying siege" to the central government compound. This account was used to portray Falun Gong as a provocative political group, and to justify the horrific persecution just unleashed.

This "blame-the-victim" framing of the persecution has spread beyond China's borders, and informs some reporting on Falun Gong. But in truth, the behind-the-scenes repression of Falun Gong had already been underway since 1996, and the large-scale persecution campaign was soon to be launched either way. The April 25 appeal became a convenient scapegoat. It was certainly not the cause

# Fabrications Allege Falun Gong is Responsible for 1,400 Deaths

Throughout the 1990s, millions took up Falun Gong as news of its dramatic health benefits spread by word-of-mouth (see page 6, "Positively Well"). Government entities, including state media and the National Sports Commission, helped the practice's expansion by touting Falun Gong's positive impact on health and the ensuing savings on medical care.

So, when the Party launched its campaign against Falun Gong in 1999, it had a lot of explaining to do. It was faced with justifying an effort to stop people from doing something healthy and from which so many had benefited. It also had to offset its own endorsements.

To achieve this, the Party suddenly began claiming that Falun Gong had "led to more than 1,400 deaths" of followers. State-run media publicized everywhere alleged cases of such deaths, using highly graphic, emotional imagery. The main claim was that Falun Gong prohibits practitioners from taking medicine and thereby led to unnecessary deaths.

Besides the suspiciously timed reversal of the government's attitude, these claims are undermined by the fact the Party never furnished proper evidence to support them. It also blocked outside, third-party attempts to investigate. Meanwhile, no such "deaths" have ever occurred outside China

in the 70-plus countries where Falun Gong is practiced freely.

More importantly, those who did investigate individual cases found them to have been fabricated. One telling example was the case of Ms. Zhang Zhiwen, from Shanxi province. In November 1999, a local media outlet reported that Ms. Zhang had burned her six-month-old daughter and then committed suicide in protest of the Party's crackdown on Falun Gong. The report was reprinted across the country. A few months later, an investigation into the case revealed that the story was a complete fabrication. In fact, Ms. Zhang had never existed.



LIES ON DISPLAY: A man views an anti-Falun Gong exhibition hosted by the Communist Party, replete with stories of alleged harm the practice had done. The problem: investigations reveal these are all fabrications.

# Forcible Organ Harvesting From Falun Gong Prisoners of Conscience

Mounting evidence tells a terrible tale of murder and mutilation in China. Reports from witnesses and Chinese physicians reveal that thousands of Falun Gong practitioners have been killed for their organs, which are sold and transplanted at enormous profit.

The perpetrators are officials of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), acting in collaboration with surgeons, prison authorities, and military officials.

Victims are held in concentration camps prior to having their organs harvested, after which the bodies are immediately cremated.

The story, almost too dreadful to believe, was first revealed in March 2006 when a woman claimed that Falun Gong practitioners had been killed for their organs at the hospital where she had worked. She also said that her husband, a surgeon at the same hospital outside the northeastern city of Shenyang, had disclosed to her that he had removed cornea from the living bodies of 2,000 Falun Gong practitioners.

One week later, a Chinese military doctor not only corroborated the woman's account but also claimed that such atrocities were taking place in 36 different concentration camps throughout the country. He said he had also witnessed Falun Gong practitioners being massively transported in cattle trains, at night and under the cover of tight security.

Falun Gong supporters and human rights activists overseas immediately began investigating the allegations. They placed calls to Chinese hospitals pretending to be shopping for a kidney or a liver. To their horror, one doctor after another openly confirmed: We've got Falun Gong in stock; just come in and we can get you the organ within a week.

"[This is] a form of evil that we have yet to see on this planet."

David Matas, Canadian investigator

Shocked by these reports, two prominent Canadian lawyers launched their own investigation. In July 2006, former Secretary of State for Asia Pacific David Kilgour and human rights lawyer David Matas published a 140-page report. It drew "the regrettable conclusion that the allegations are true."

American freelance journalist Ethan Gutmann soon followed suit with his own inquiry. Both investigations concluded that somewhere in the range of 40,000 to 65,000 Falun Gong practitioners had been killed in this way from 2000-2006.

So, how does the organ harvesting work? Sometime around 2000, prison officials and medical doctors started colluding to give systematic medical testing to Falun

Gong detainees—testing that suspiciously ignored injuries but checked the health of vital organs. Then, when a patient needed an organ, a suitable detainee would be matched, killed, and his or her organ taken and used for a transplant operation.

In fact, one Chinese website had boasted that it could provide matching organs in 1-4 weeks, a time frame medical experts say is impossible unless the Chinese hospitals had access to a huge stock of living organ "donors."

Since the accusations of organ harvesting first emerged, CCP officials have attempted to destroy evidence, while denying the allegations. They have also stonewalled investigations even after the United Nations Committee against Torture asked for a thorough accounting of the source of organs. At present, it is unclear whether the practice continues.

As David Matas, one of the Canadian investigators, stated, the harvesting of organs from living prisoners of conscience is a "a form of evil that we have yet to see on this planet." It brings the atrocities committed by the regime in China to new heights.

Moreover, given how much international interaction China's transplant industry has—from doctors' trainings to accepting foreign patients to collaborative research—the impact of these abuses is not limited to China.

For this reason, various governments and international agencies have taken action upon learning of the allegations and evidence. In early 2007, Israeli health insur-

ance carriers stopped sending patients to China for transplants.

And in June 2011, a United States immigration form (DS-160) added the following question, applicable

to China and other countries: "Have you ever been directly involved in the coercive transplantation of human organs or bodily tissue?"

### **Admissions of Organ Harvesting from Chinese Doctors**

Perhaps no evidence of the killings described herein is greater than the admissions of physicians in China's own hospitals. The following are transcripts from conversations recorded by undercover researchers.

June 8, 2006: Mishan City Detention Center, Heilongjiang province

**Caller**: Do you have Falun Gong [organ] suppliers? ...

Mr. Li: We used to have, yes.

C: ... what about now?

Mr. Li: ... Yes. .....

**C**: What about the price?

**Mr. Li**: We'll discuss after you come. .....

**C**: How many [Falun Gong suppliers] under age 40 do you have?

Mr. Li: Quite a few. .....

C: Are they male or female?

Mr. Li: Male .....

**C**: Now ... the male Falun Gong [prisoners], how many of them do you have?

**Mr. Li**: Seven, eight, we have [at least] five, six now.

March 16, 2006: Shanghai Jiaotong University Hospital's Liver Transplant Center

**Caller:** I want to know how long [patients] have to wait [for a liver transplant].

**Dr. Dai**: The supply of organs we have, we have every day. We do them every day.

C: We want fresh, live ones.

**Dr. Dai**: They are all live, all live...

**C**: How many [liver transplants] have you done?

**Dr. Dai**: We've done 400 to 500 ... Your main job is to come, and have the money ready.

**C**: How much is it?

**Dr. Dai**: If everything goes smoothly, it's about RMB 150,000... RMB 200,000.

**C**: How long do I have to wait?

**Dr. Dai**: I need to check your blood type... If you come today, I may be able to do it for you within one week.

**C**: I heard that some [organs] come from those who practice Falun Gong, those who are very healthy.

**Dr. Dai**: Yes, we have those. But I can't talk openly over the phone.

# Culture Bearers

By rekindling values of China's past, Falun Gong offers new possibilities for being 'Chinese' in the 21st century

sk the typical American what he or she associates with "Chinese culture," and you're apt to get a range of replies.

Kung-fu panda. Tea. Calligraphy. The Great Wall. Confucius. Mulan.

Yet what's absent from most everyone's list is arguably the most dramatic and important embodiment of Chinese culture existing today: Falun Gong.

Few in the West have heard of the spiritual discipline or have much sense for how it is practiced.

Fewer still are aware of the fascinating glimpse into the world of classical China that Falun Gong provides, nor of the tragic tale it tells of cultural flux-or chaosin contemporary China.

Yet in the growing popularity of Falun Gong lies nothing less than the hope of cultural renewal—of a new way of being "Chinese" in the 21st century that is at once rooted in classical tradition yet fully progressive.

### Reaching back

While Falun Gong didn't become known to the Chinese public until 1992, its pedigree reaches back far beyond its years.

The most recognizable feature of Falun Gong—its trademark exercises—hark back to the earliest centuries of recorded Chinese

Its meditative exercises would be readily familiar-in form, if not in detail—to denizens of Bronze-age China.

Since at least the days of Confucius and the Zhou dynasty, the pages of Chinese lore have told of highly accomplished spiritual beings whose bodies, owing to decades of meditative discipline, had been metamorphized into immortal material.

Falun Gong's core teachings on Truthfulness, Compassion, and Tolerance, meanwhile, are echoed throughout the writings of China's sages and literati from the earliest centuries.

Its "self-cultivation" program is cut from the same cloth as early Chinese Daoist and Buddhist philosophy, while its orientation is similarly otherworldly—aspiring to a kind of harmony with the cosmos that can only be achieved through virtuous living, physical transformation, and deepening

spiritual insight.

In a word, Falun Gong is thoroughly Chinese.

#### Resonance

This is not to say that Falun Gong is in any way anachronistic in a modern China, however. It's instead a great fit.

Unabashed consumerism in China has long-since replaced Confucian ideals of rugged simplicity. For most, hopes of lucrative careers have more pull than lofty notions of enlightenment.

Yet Falun Gong proved astoundingly popular with its modern Chinese audience, as witnessed by its explosive growth in 1990s China: in just seven years it grew to have 100 million practitioners.

Something about Falun Gong resonated with people everywhere, of every sort. A typical assemblage of morning parkgoers (Falun Gong is often practiced outdoors, in the fresh air) in China would have featured everyone from students and professors to custodial workers, laboratory scientists, and the elderly.

It not only spoke to people, but inspired. People gathered in the parks and at homes of their own initiative, freely, coming together in spontaneous

And not just in China, but throughout the world and across the Chinese diaspora.

### Renewal

Falun Gong struck a chord deep in the Chinese soul. It was something authentically Chinese. And Chinese, at a time when not much else in China was.

Particularly, Communist Party

Falun Gong has provided an alternative mode of being Chinese. A way of being grounded in the noblest values of antiquitysuch as truthfulness, compassion, and tolerance—and buttressed by centuries of accumulated wisdom

It's program of physical exercises, meanwhile, provides the modern citizen a powerful tool for coping with the stresses and deprivations of a toxic world.

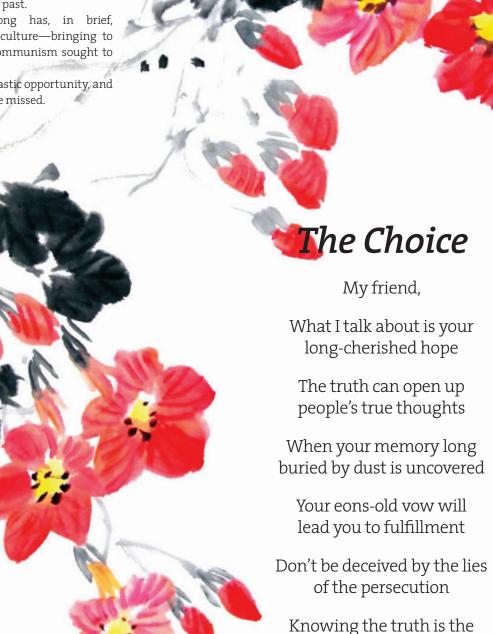
But most importantly, it has made these values and this path compelling-in no way clashing with a modern sensibility or lifestyle, as seen in Falun Gong's dramatic growth.

CULTURE

In achieving this, Falun Gong has refashioned the possibility of what it means to be "Chinese" in the new millenia, offering a way of being at once forward looking and yet grounded in the strength of a cultural past.

Falun Gong has, in brief, renewed a culture—bringing to life what communism sought to

It is a fantastic opportunity, and one not to be missed.



### Li Hongzhi

key to your life

I hope that all lives can

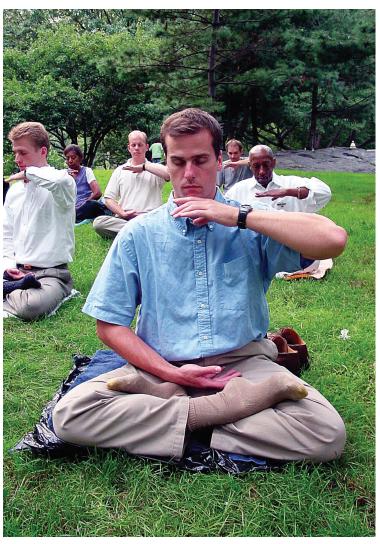
walk out of the catastrophe

Amidst good and evil, the divine

ones are fulfilling their promise

MINGHUI 明 彗

Teacher of Falun Gong April 30, 2006



An American student of Falun Gong performs the practice's meditation, tapping into a many centuries old Chinese tradition.

# A Deeper Connection

For many in the West, Falun Gong is serving as a window into a bygone culture

Like many people in America, Michael felt a connection with Chinese culture.

Meditation. Tea. Erhu music. All of it resonated.

So much so, that the native of upstate New York took up Chinese, and did advanced college coursework in Chinese history and literature. He even traveled to China upon graduation.

But it was only after studying Falun Gong that the Ivy League grad felt he could "really appreciate" Chinese culture.

"I started to know the culture on a completely different level," he says.

"Falun Gong allowed me to see that there's this profound spiritual dimension to the culture, be it in the concept of 'virtue' (德), how a landscape painting is done, or how you fold your hands when you meditate. And it was impact-

"I realized that Chinese culture isn't just pagodas, Buddha statues, and chopsticks."

ing my life in tangible ways, like when people started noting how calm I now was."

Many Chinese people were struck at how much he had connected with their culture and its deeper facets.

"It opened up all sorts of doors and conversations," he shares.

Lance, a project manager from Colorado, found that Falun Gong "ennobled" Chinese culture for him. For most of his life, Chinese culture somewhat kitch.

That changed with Falun Gong.

"I realized that Chinese culture isn't just pagodas, Buddha statues, and chopsticks," he recalls.

"It's much more of a profound weaving together of philosophies, decorum, and ways of treating each other."

Living Falun Gong benefited Lance in at least one very unexpected way.

His in-laws, who are Taiwanese, originally were opposed to his marrying their daughter. Lance was "too American" they were convinced.

All of that changed, however, when the parents saw a photo of him doing Falun Gong's meditation. They immediately respected him.

"Their attitude completely changed, just like that," Lance remembers.

Six months later, they were happily married.

# Comrade Confucius?

While the Party rushes to exploit Chinese culture, the fact remains: it ain't very Chinese

Confucius is everywhere these days.

Masses of dancers dressed as the sage paraded about at the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics in a show of unison.

His statue was erected on Tiananmen Square last year, opposite a major government building.

Institutes bearing his name, funded by the Chinese state, are popping up at colleges around the world.

It would seem to be good times for the philosopher-turned-cultural-ambassador. He has seemingly found the political audience he longed for, yet never won, in his own times.

But peek under the hood, and something's awry. Things are missing. Vast swathes of Confucius's philosophy are absent. His voice, altered.

Gone are exhortations to a life

of simplicity and frugality, of delighting in the ritualized workings of hierarchical relationships, of reverence for "heaven."

Gone too are criticisms of oppressive rule. It was Confucius, after all, who declared to his disciples, "Tyranny is worse than a man-eating tiger."

Call it Confucius Lite.

The sage is at once everywhere, but nowhere.

Communist ideologues have selectively exorcised the prickly parts of Confucian doctrine in favor of an avuncular parody that has something for everyone, while threatening no one.

The change is more than just an update, however. It is an appropriation for political purposes.

It also bespeaks of a larger, more unsettling question: can traditional Chinese culture cohabit with a China ruled by the Communist Party? Or more specifically, will the Party allow it?

In seeking an answer, there's one thing to keep in mind: China's ruling party isn't very Chinese.
And it knows it.

China's communist ideology was forged in Soviet Russia, and born out of the crucible of Marxist-Leninist thought—in Europe. In the early 20th century, its atheist doctrines and violent inclinations were imported to, and imposed upon, the age-old civilization of

China.

It was a terrible match.

Values that had prevailed for centuries such as propriety, harmony, kindness, and respect for elders were turned on their heads. "Struggle" became the new *lingua franca*, and violence its hallmark.

# Confucius would not be pleased.

Under Mao, assaults on the culture were startlingly overt.
Citizens were exhorted to "smash the old world" of traditional China.
Buddhist temples were bulldozed, statues of Confucius attacked with sledgehammers. Classical novels were burned in orgies of "revolutionary" zeal.

While the hammers aren't seen anymore nowadays, the discomfort with Chinese culture is still there.

Much of what today's rulers espouse is diametrically opposed to the values, beliefs, and ideals of millenia of Chinese culture.

Tellingly, when authentic expressions of Chinese culture do emerge of their own accord,

not mediated or managed by the Party, how does it feel?

Threatened.

Witness the Party's bizarre efforts to stifle the classical Chinese dance company, Shen Yun Performing Arts. The company tries to revive classical Chinese culture, while the Party tries to pressure theaters around the globe into canceling its shows.

Or consider the contrast with
Taiwan—a country with Chinese
cultural heritage that is not ruled
by the Communist Party.
There, Shen Yun meets with
no such suppression and
has instead received official
accolades.
All of this sheds a new

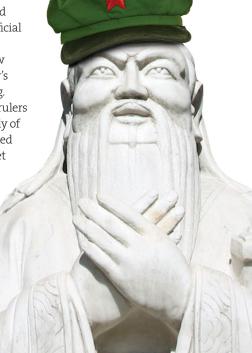


It was everything Party doctrine was not.
Falun Gong's teachings on truth-

fulness, compassion, and tolerance bettered Chinese society, inspiring acts of altruism, kindness, and humanity.

Party doctrine and its ideology of "struggle," on the other hand, spurred corruption, intolerance, and acts of horrible violence.

Confucius would not be pleased.





A colorful "dragon dance" was part of this 2010 World Falun Dafa Day celebration, at Union Square in New York City. The annual event attracts thousands of spectators.



A member of the Falun Gong-comprised Divine Land Marching Band relaxes after a parade. The band has won scores of accolades for its performances.



The Goddess of Justice appeared in Athens, Greece, at a 2007 "Human Rights Torch" event calling for justice in China.

# Faces of Falun Gong

Though Falun Gong began in China, in the 20 years since its introduction to the public it has grown to be an international phenomenon. From the parks of Australia to community centers in Brooklyn, Falun Gong can be seen everywhere. Its practitioners are inspired by a central tenet of the practice—compassion—to give back to the community and help others. A vast number of proclamations, awards, and official recognitions tell of Falun Gong's benefits to society and the lives of individuals. The images assembled here provide a mosaic of the many ways Falun Gong practitioners live and share their practice.

"This group is bringing the entire parade to a much higher level." Parade viewer



Dressed in white—the Chinese color of mourning—participants in this procession commemorate the wrongful deaths of practitioners in China.





A young child joins her parents in meditative pose at a Falun Gong

More than 10,000 gathered to march at this 2011 rally in Taiwan, meant to encourage Chinese citizens to see through the Chinese Communist Party's lies and distance themselves from its oppressive regime.



Falun Gong has received hundreds of awards, proclamations, and other official recognitions (as pictured here) for its contributions to society and the lives of its practitioners.

Falun Gong has received hundreds of awards and recognitions for its contributions to society.



A gentleman is moved by the paintings of Falun Gong artists, which powerfully depict courage, faith, and hope as well as injustices in China.



With thundering drums and colorful costumes, traditional Chinese culture is brought to life in festive form, as in this parade in Taipei, Taiwan. Falun Gong practitioners are rekindling China's classical culture.

# A Systematic Suppression of 100 Million People

How Falun Gong practitioners became China's—if not the world's—largest group of prisoners of conscience

It began in the middle of the night, July 20, 1999. Across China under the veil of darkness, police dragged hundreds of ordinary people from their beds. Many would be taken to holding centers and jails, others beaten, and some would die from torture

What had they done? Nothing more than to practice Falun Gong, a traditional form of Chinese exercise and meditation that had grown immensely popular.

Police were acting on directives from the top, from Communist Party head Jiang Zemin, who ordered the group crushed. By most accounts, Jiang was resentful of the popular practice—its believers numbering 100 million—and wished to make a show of power.

Two days later, on July 22, Falun Gong was banned across the land, marking the official beginning of a violent campaign in China that has continued for more than a decade and cast tens of millions of apolitical citizens as enemies of the state

Jiang declared that "no means are too excessive" in the drive to "eradicate Falun Gong." To date, over 3,500 deaths have been documented, most owing to torture in police custody. Hundreds of thousands more languish in China's prisons and labor camps, unlawfully held captive. Physical abuse, rape, and forced labor are routine. Permeating every facet of society, the persecution is marked by its scope and vigor.

Georges-HenriBeauthier, a human rights attorney who prosecuted Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet and perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide, has called the campaign a "horrific form of genocide."

The following are prominent features of the suppression.

### Propaganda & hate campaigns

Many millions of dollars have been put into saturating China's TV news, airwaves, and press with defamatory propaganda. The intention is twofold: to distort and demonise Falun Gong so as to turn the public against it; and to mask the Communist Party's human rights abuses by depicting the suppression as humane, beneficent, and necessary for "social order."

China's regime has 'systematically attempted to eradicate the practice and those who follow it... through organized brain-washing, torture, and murder.'

**United States Congress** 

The extent is hard for those in the West to imagine. Schoolchildren are forced to study hateful fabrications in textbooks; college entrance exams contain questions criticizing Falun Gong; workplaces hold mandatory "study sessions." And while state-run media are not as active as a decade ago in airing an endless barrage of vilifying coverage, the residual effects of those reports remain instilled in many a Chinese mind.

#### **Information control**

China's regime has gone further than just controlling media portrayals of Falun Gong. All books, audiotapes, videos, flyers, and items that cast Falun Gong in a positive light are banned.

Non-propaganda websites so much as mentioning Falun Gong are blocked. Posts to Chinese microblogging sites are systematically deleted. People known to practice Falun Gong have their phones tapped, their email monitored.

Those voicing disagreement with the Party's anti-Falun Gong campaign meet with a harsh response—some have been sent to prison for over 10 years just for visiting banned Falun Gong websites and printing their contents.

### Bending the law

The legal system offers little protection. Questionable laws were created to retroactively punish Falun Gong practitioners. Communist Party committees manipulate judges to send practitioners to prison after sham trials.

Most of the time, the authorities don't even bother to put up a façade of legality. Police abduct practitioners from their homes—8,000 were detained in just the run-up to the Beijing Olympics. Many of them were sent to forced labor camps by bureaucratic fiat.

### Labor "re-education" camps

These "re-education" camps—China's answer to the Soviet gulag—are the main holding grounds for Falun Gong practitioners. In some cases, a single camp will hold hundreds.

Under inhumane conditions, victims are forced to do heavy labor for upwards of 18 hours a day. Those who collapse, fail to meet quotas, or don't comply are typically beaten, tortured, or starved. Hundreds have died in these camps.



### Coercion and brainwashing

The "re-education" part of the experience refers to the effort to force "renunciations" of Falun Gong. But the victims are not limited to just those taken to the camps. All practitioners are targeted with brainwashing meant to destroy a person's very identity and reprogram his or her mind. Those who refuse to part with their beliefs are threatened with the loss of their jobs, pensions, homes—and freedom.

In 2010, the Party reinvigorated these efforts, launching a three-year campaign that has seen thousands across the country taken to special brainwashing classes, often held at hotels, retirement homes, and even Buddhist Temples. Once in custody, they are tortured and deprived of sleep until they relent.

### Violence against women

One of the most disturbing aspects of the campaign is the how often female practitioners are sexually abused—including being shocked with electric batons on their breasts

and even raped by guards. Several women have had their pregnancies violently terminated by authorities who sought to imprison them longer.

### Living on the edge

There is much more, untold, that we do not know. Sizable evidence of forcible organ harvesting from Falun Gong prisoners has emerged (see "Organ Harvesting," page 9), but the full scale of the crimes is yet to be known.

Meanwhile, tens of millions of lives suffer damage not likely soon to be mended. Many hang in a delicate balance, one knock at the door away from illegal incarceration; one day away from another violent interrogation; one blow or electric shock away from death. Though the political dynamics in China are chaotic and changing, the campaign against Falun Gong continues to this day.

Yet amidst so much darkness, hope remains. It is nestled in the hearts of a determined people. Strengthened by their beliefs, they continue to endure, to resist, and to call for our help.

Let us answer.

### **Key Numbers of the Persecution**

- 100 million people were practicing Falun Gong when the persecution began in 1999.
- Millions of Chinese people have since been abducted, imprisoned, tortured, fired from jobs, expelled from school or forced into homeless because they practice Falun Gong.
- 450,000—1,000,000 Falun Gong practitioners are illegally held in labor camps, prisons, and detention centers at any given time—the largest group of prisoners of conscience in China, if not the world.
- Over 80,000 cases of torture have been recorded.
- Thousands have been killed.

### **Victims Young and Old**



42-year-old Yu Zhou was a popular folk musician from Beijing. On January 26, 2008, he and his wife were detained by police on their way home because they had Falun Gong materials in their bag. Within eleven days of his arrest, Yu Zhou was tortured to death. His wife, Xu Na, was sentenced to three years in prison.



Sun Min, 39, was abducted by police from her home afer her husband had been detained for distributing DVDs exposing human rights abuses against Falun Gong practitioners. The couple was interrogated and within hours, Ms. Sun was dead. Sources in China say her body had marks from electric batons and blows from a heavy object.



Mr. Xie Deqing, 69, was detained on April 29, 2009 and held at the Xinjin Brainwashing Center, suffering physical abuse. He emerged 20 days later, emaciated and incontinent. He remained largely unconscious, waking briefly to complain of pains and being injected with unknown drugs while detained. He died four days later.



SPREADING THE WORD: Grassroots efforts to raise awareness have brought together young and old, relaying an urgent message

# Unlikely Heroes

In response to injustice in China, ordinary citizens are doing extraordinary things—on both sides of the Pacific.

At the heart of these efforts is a belief: awareness is a powerful deterrent to evil.

### How you can help

- Give this paper to someone you know.
- Tell five people about what you read here.
- Call on government to press for an end to the persecution.
- For more news and insights about Falun Gong, visit: www.faluninfo.net.

A young software engineer arrives at Central Park in New York City. It's cold, with a snow-storm looming.

Robert gathers a stack of flyers from his bag and stands before a row of placards about the persecution of Falun Gong in China. For the next two hours he will spend his Saturday morning handing out flyers to passers by.

On the other side of the world, Ms. Ling Chen, a woman in her mid-40s, hops on a bicycle. Carrying a bag of leaflets, she will be peddling 90 minutes to a nearby village in central China.

An accountant by trade, Ling will be spending the next four hours placing leaflets on every door in the village. After pedaling home she'll get just a few hours of sleep before heading to work the next morning.

The two have never met, but are bound by an unspoken cause: to end the horrific persecution of Falun Gong in China.

They are part of a mounting—and global—grassroots effort, one chapter in a story of extraordinary courage and self-sacrifice.

At the heart of these efforts is a belief: awareness is a powerful deterrent to evil.

### One in a million

Inside China, Ms. Ling is not an isolated case. She and others like her are not lone activists at the forefront of a movement, much less young idealists. They are mothers and daughters, students

and professors, businessmen and government clerks. And they number in the millions.

Mobilized around the cause, they have formed into the largest grassroots, underground media in human history.

In tens of thousands of homes, basements, and other locales throughout China, Falun Gong practitioners make not only fliers, leaflets, and newspapers, but also banners, CDs, and DVDs.

The items are distributed throughout most every city and village across China, often under the cover of darkness.

The nighttime activity is for protection. If caught, the price for posting just one informational flier in public might be seven years in jail. And torture.

Despite appearances, these are no ordinary citizens, but heroes: they put their personal well-being on the line, using their own free time and resources to help save the lives of people they may have never met.

### The power of awareness

Their goal is to get the materials they've produced—which unveil the persecution in China and debunk Communist Party propaganda—into the hands of as many people as possible. In a country where a repressive regime and kangaroo courts enable police and labor camp guards to torment with impunity, exposing abuses is one of the few avenues of protection that victims have.

## For Whom?

Our informational fliers, events, and activism are meant to end a tragedy in China. But they are also meant for you, here in the free world.

As described below, we are all victims. Each of us is potentially impacted by the persecution. We might be asked in some way to betray our consciences, only to regret it later.

Each of us is also inevitably responding to the events in China—be it with sympathy, action, or indifference.

We share this paper to help you navigate these dilemmas. Just in your taking the time to read it and to care about Falun Gong, you are making a difference.

### We're All Victims

Victims of the persecution include much more than Falun Gong prisoners of conscience. People from all walks of society have also—unwittingly—become victims.

#### **INSIDE CHINA**

### The husband who is driven by his workplace to beat his own wife, having been threatened by Party officials with the loss of his job should she continue practicing Falun Gong.

**The policeman** who is coerced into torturing Falun Gong practitioners to renounce their beliefs, lest he miss a promotion or be demoted for not meeting quotas.

The student who reports a college roommate to school administrators, having believed propaganda about Falun Gong and thinking it evil or dangerous.

### AROUND THE WORLD

The reporter who betrays his journalistic integrity—and readership—by choosing not to cover abuses against Falun Gong, for fear of losing press credentials in China.

The mayor who betrays her civic duty by refusing to engage with Falun Gong constituents, lest she anger Chinese diplomats and jeopardize Chinese investments in her city.

**The businessman** who betrays his conscience and yields to requests from Chinese counterparts to disavow Falun Gong, hoping to gain favor and secure more business opportunities.

"Awareness works," says Levi Browde of the Falun Dafa Information Center. "When a corrupt policeman finds out that his neighbors—and his wife—know he is torturing innocent people, he thinks twice before doing it again."

Other practitioners directly target the torturers—by calling them. An active network of people throughout China and abroad call the actual perpetrators, informing them that the world knows of their crimes and trying to convince them to stop.

The calls often begin within hours of the information having been posted online. And the responses are more encouraging than one might expect. Some perpetrators apologize. Others beg for lenience, promising to desist, if only their names could be removed from the exposés.

Sometimes the most unlikely heroes are also the most effective.

### Long distance love

The involvement of figures like Robert in the cause, separated from the persecution by oceans, is equally remarkable.

Outside China, Falun Gong prac-

titioners have produced television documentaries, designed internet software to counteract censorship, filed suits against key perpetrators, and even pedaled across the country.

Their motivation? It goes back to a central component of Falun Gong practice: the concept of compassion.

"In Falun Gong we learn to think of others first, and to develop our compassion. That means that the suffering of others is our own, and so we can't stand by and do nothing," says Robert.

Although Robert isn't calling labor camps in China, he is helping to straighten them out.

"I'll never forget the first time I met a Chinese practitioner who had been released from a labor camp after we wrote letters for him," Robert recalls.

"He had tears in his eyes describing the moment he'd learned that so many people out there were rooting for him."

It is in this spirit that this newspaper was produced. We invite you to share it with others you know, and bring hope to the people of China.



### What is Minghui?

Minghui is an all-volunteer organization that operates minghui.org, a website dedicated to reporting on the Falun Gong community worldwide. The focus of Minghui is reports from China. For more than a decade, Minghui editors have received scores of first-

hand reports from across China each and every day—more than any other organization in the world. Minghui offers the most direct and up-to-date window into the lives of Falun Gong practitioners across China and throughout the world.

Minghui also serves as a central communication hub for Falun Gong practitioners around the world to share insights and ideas, expose the persecution faced inside China, and comment on its ramifications. It is the primary site read by Falun

Gong practitioners. It is also watched closely by Chinese regime officials.

In recent years, Minghui unveiled versions of its website in a variety of languages, including English, French, Spanish, Russian and many others.

Minghui has also launched several subsidiary websites, each with a specialized focus, such as radio broadcasts, photo libraries, leaflets and newspapers, etc.

The English version of Minghui's website is en.minghui.org.