# BRAINWASHING: CHINA'S HIDDEN INDUSTRY

#### ABSTRACT

The Chinese regime's persecution of Falun Gong revolves largely around institutionalized brainwashing: a highly efficient, highly monetized system executed by dedicated facilities in each city and every province. Using data collected between 1999 and 2013, this report analyzes the financial incentives and sources of revenue that drive one of the most extensive, brutal, and profitable industries in China today.

Minghui.org October 1, 2014

### **Executive Summary**

In late 2013, the Chinese regime claimed to shut down its notorious forced labor camp system after tremendous pressure from the international community. However, this was a change in name only; many of the camps were simply replaced by "black jails"—extralegal detention and brainwashing centers.

These centers are a critical component in the Communist regime's persecution of Falun Gong. Brainwashing supports the regime's goal of wiping out Falun Gong by forcing its practitioners to renounce their beliefs through coercion and torture, both physical and psychological. Local government officials and brainwashing center personnel also profit from this scheme, with performance-based rewards and opportunities for building personal wealth via extortion.

In an environment where the Chinese regime is faced with grassroots challenges to both its policies and power, systematic brainwashing is seen as an expedient solution. As implemented, it allows the regime to use financial incentives to increase obedience in its campaign to stamp out ideological opponents.

The Minghui website includes a vast repository of exclusive firsthand accounts of persecution from inside China. Drawing upon 15 years of published reports and original research, this whitepaper offers unique insight into China's brainwashing industry: a key component in the abuse of human rights in China overall, and the persecution of Falun Gong in particular.

From our accounts, we have gathered that the industry compels the public to participate in the persecution in various ways:

- Large numbers of police and guard staff are paid to carry out coercion, torture and "transformation." Incentives reward those who meet or exceed "transformation" quotas.
- Employers are made responsible for cooperating with and even orchestrating arrests and detention of practitioners in their organizations.
- Employers are charged "education fees" and "companion fees" for each Falun Gong detainee sent for brainwashing. Employers are thus dissuaded from hiring Falun Gong practitioners.

We estimate that over the past fifteen years, fees charged to detainees' employers totaled approximately 3.37 billion yuan. Government incentives for each "successfully transformed" detainee brought in a further 226 million yuan. This is in addition to government appropriations of an estimated 1.18 billion yuan dedicated to the construction and remodeling of brainwashing facilities.



Corrupt officials at various levels of the industry also reap substantial illicit profits from detainees, their families, and their employers by routinely demanding socalled "fines" in exchange for practitioners' release. Due to the state-sanctioned nature of the brainwashing system and systemic corruption, officials are not held accountable for these transgressions. The total amount extorted as of 2013 is estimated at around 95 million yuan.

Due to sparse documentation and censorship, these figures constitute only rough approximations of the actual amounts circulated. Nevertheless, they offer a glimpse into the financial impetus of human rights violations in China.

Driven by political and financial gain, officials and brainwashing center personnel have shown themselves more than willing to inflict torture on their fellow citizens: as of 2013, 15% of the 2,383 practitioners confirmed killed in the 15-year-long persecution of Falun Gong were tortured to death in brainwashing centers.

The official end of the labor camp system was celebrated, and understandably so. However, the hasty transfer of practitioners into brainwashing centers and black jails tells us that things are still regrettably the same in China. Shining a light on the brainwashing system is a first step in the right direction, but to truly, fully stop an indoctrination machine of this size and magnitude, we must again bring this issue to the international stage.

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## "The War against Falun Gong"

On August 24, 1999, one month after the persecution began, the General Offices of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the State Council of China published a circular through the Xinhua news agency, stating that "[the] transformation of Falun Gong practitioners is the key to measuring results in the war against Falun Gong."

Of course, at no time has Falun Gong ever been "at war"—the group simply seeks freedom of belief and an end to the persecution.

To further the Party's goal of eradicating Falun Gong, thousands of brainwashing centers were erected for the express purpose of "transforming" such practitioners.

At a national conference of judicial bureau chiefs held in January 2001, then-Minister of Justice Zhang Fusen mandated local judicial bureaus to take responsibility for "transforming Falun Gong practitioners."

That April, the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee passed down directives for "the war against Falun Gong" to its local branches. The instructions included "transformation" techniques gathered from three locations: the Masanjia Forced Labor Camp in Liaoning Province, the Bureau of Re-education Through Labor in Beijing, and the Party Committee in Qitaihe City, Heilongjiang Province.

Around the same time, law enforcement personnel in Dalian, Liaoning Province proposed setting up "legal education schools"–a euphemism for brainwashing centers–and conducting centralized "management and transformation" behind closed doors.

Based on these studies, the central government piloted a "legal education center" in Beijing and later promoted the methodology nationwide. Brainwashing centers mushroomed across the country soon after.

### Local Governments Carry Out National Policies

Provincial, county, city, and even village governments devised a variety of ways to implement the brainwashing directive. For example, state-owned enterprises and other employers were charged with ensuring the "transformation" of Falun Gong practitioners within their ranks. Residential committees were also compelled to monitor and "transform" practitioners under their jurisdiction.

For example, the CCP Committee in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region stated that all the heads of each level of the region's local government were responsible for "transforming" the key Falun Gong practitioners in their organization. Leaders of state-owned enterprises were expected to do the same. Even rank-and-file Party members were not exempt; they were delegated the duty of "transforming" other practitioners.

The local government of Hexi District in Tianjin directed residential committees, police stations, and employers associated with Falun Gong practitioners to help monitor and "transform" them. All were required to sign contracts outlining their new responsibilities and requiring them to carry them out.

#### **Financial Incentives and Penalties**

To compel participation, Xiaguan District in Nanjing required each employer and the head of each residential committee to pay an annual deposit of 200 and 100 yuan, respectively.

At the end of the year, if the "transformation" quotas were met, the government would refund the deposits and reward participants with bonuses. If they failed to meet quotas, they would be subjected to disciplinary sanctions by higher authorities in addition to losing their deposits.

#### Systematic Arrests and Performance Evaluation

Local 610 Offices, together with local Political and Legislative Affairs Committees (PLAC), supervise the brainwashing centers.

Note: The "610 Office" was set up for the sole purpose of overseeing the arrest, detention, sentencing, and "transformation" of Falun Gong practitioners. It has the authority to override all other law enforcement and judicial organs. It has branches at every level of the regime, including the very highest. Its secretive nature, extralegal authority, and vast network of offices all over China are reminiscent of the Gestapo of Nazi Germany.

The 610 Office in charge of the Lannigou Brainwashing Center in Guiyang City, Guizhou Province, directs practitioners' employers and residential committees to conduct an investigation at the beginning of each year. Individuals found to practice Falun Gong are then sent to brainwashing centers.

The annual performance evaluations of these employers and residential committees are tightly associated with their "transformation" of Falun Gong practitioners. All other performance measures are secondary. The same applies to annual bonuses for the staff, which are proportional to the number of practitioners "transformed." This scheme incentivizes organizations to send as many practitioners as possible to brainwashing centers.

#### Meeting Quotas

Gu Songhai, Deputy Chief of the Heilongjiang Provincial 610 Office, oversaw the setup and operations of brainwashing centers in many cities, including Wuchang,

Jiansanjiang, Qitaihe, Hegang, Yichun, Mishan, Jixi, Shuangyashan, Daqing, Mudanjiang, Qiqihar, and Harbin. If a certain brainwashing center had a low number of detainees, the local 610 Office would have to answer to him until it arrested enough practitioners for his liking.

Another example is the Luotai Mountain Brainwashing Center in Fushun City, Liaoning Province. Every session begins with the provincial 610 Office and PLAC giving arrest assignments to local 610 Offices in nearby cities. These 610 Offices, in turn, force police stations and employers of practitioners to perform the arrests.

One police station in Fushun that was unable to reach its quota hired nonpractitioners to register at the center, at a price of 20 yuan per day. These hired individuals pretended to be Falun Gong practitioners and agreed to "give up practicing" after arriving at the center. This way, the quota assigned by higher authorities was fulfilled.

#### Number of Detainees

A key figure used in our estimates is the total number of practitioners who have been sent to the centers during the past 15 years.

Table 1 provides samples of the number of practitioners detained in brainwashing centers in each region. The data was collected from a sample of regions in China where the number of detainees during the relevant time period was available. The average headcounts were multiplied by the number of centers at each level to yield the total number of detainees.

#### Table 1. Number of Practitioners Detained in Brainwashing Centers

#### 1999 - 2013

Province	City	Period	Detainees
	Provinc	ial Level	
Guangxi <sup>1</sup>		1999 - 2013	221
	Prefecture-le	vel City Level	
Gansu	Lanzhou <sup>2</sup>	1999 - 2013	220
Hebei	Baoding <sup>3</sup>	1999 - 2009	1464
переі	Zhuozhou <sup>4</sup>	1999 - 2013	98
Heilongjiang	Yichun⁵	1999 - 2013	57
Yunnan	Honghezhou <sup>6</sup>	2000 - 2011	76
		Average	383

Source: Minghui.org

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	County and County-level City	Level	
Hebei	Zhaoping County <sup>7</sup>	1999 - 2013	27
Hubei	Shishou City <sup>8</sup>	1999 - 2013	25
		Average	26
	Town and District Level		
Hebei	Fengrun District, Tanshan <sup>9</sup>	1999 - 2013	200
Heilongjiang	Jinshantun, Yichun <sup>10</sup>	1999 - 2013	36
Jilin	High Tech Economic Development Zone, Jilin <sup>11</sup>	1999 - 2013	100
Hubei	Qiaokou District, Wuhan <sup>12</sup>	1999 -2012	371
		Average	177

The true number of detainees may well be far greater, as each prefecture-level city contains dozens of towns, districts, and counties. For example, Guangdong Province has 21 prefecture-level cities, each of which have on average 3 districts, 55 towns, and 3 counties or county-level cities.

Since the number of brainwashing centers at or below the county level is unknown, we excluded the detainees in those centers, although they make up a considerable fraction of total detainees.

Combining the data in Tables 1 (above) and 2 (in a subsequent section), we estimate that a minimum of 131,100 Falun Gong practitioners were detained in brainwashing centers at the provincial and prefecture levels between 1999 and 2013.

### Sources of Revenue

Due to the information blockade in China, it is difficult to determine exactly how much the regime has invested in the brainwashing system, and how much government officials have profiteered from it. Nonetheless, we can still approximate the total money circulated in the industry by analyzing Minghui reports published between 1999 and 2013.

We estimate that the total amount circulated in the industry was 4.9 billion yuan, where:

- government-funded construction totaled approximately 1.15 billion yuan
- government-funded rewards and incentives totaled approximately 226 million yuan
- education fees collected by centers totaled approximately 3.37 billion yuan

• ransoms collected by centers and staff totaled approximately 95 million yuan

Below, we analyze each revenue source in detail using data compiled from published reports.

#### **Government Appropriations**

We found that, in total, government appropriations accounted for 29% of all funding received by brainwashing centers.

#### **Construction Funding**

Each province sets up a provincial-level center, such as the Xinjin Center in Sichuan Province and the Hubei Legal Education Center in Hubei Province. Each prefecturelevel city and county may also have its own center. The centers at these levels are permanent.

*Note: In China, prefecture-level cities are an administrative division below a province and above a county or county-level city.* 

At the township level, there are numerous ad hoc centers that may be set up as needed and decommissioned after one or two sessions. We exclude the temporary centers in our analysis and focus only on the permanent ones.

For example, of the 35 million yuan used to construct Shapingba Labor Camp and Brainwashing Center in Chongqing, 20 million were allocated from the proceeds of selling government bonds. The City of Wuhan officially allocated 4 million yuan for a flood control center, but a brainwashing center was built with the funds instead.<sup>13</sup> This is a strategy to keep brainwashing centers out of the public eye.

In addition to building construction (or remodeling when re-purposing existing buildings), brainwashing centers also require the installation of various confinement and torture equipment, including solitary confinement cells, surveillance systems, electric batons, handcuffs, chains, "death beds," etc.

Periodically, additional funding is needed to add new or replace worn-out equipment. For example, the Lanzhou City 610 Office in Gansu Province gave the Gongjiawan Brainwashing Center 100,000 yuan in June 2012 for meeting room furniture, television sets, and bedding.<sup>14</sup> Jinan Brainwashing Center spent 103,035 yuan in May 2012 installing surveillance systems.<sup>15</sup>

In some cases, the private sector provides contributions in the form of mandatory donations: when the Hebei Province 610 Office ordered provincial and city-level organizations to make donations for renovating brainwashing centers, Shijiazhuang Dongfang Thermoelectric Company paid a lump sum of 200,000 yuan.<sup>16</sup>

Table 2 contains examples of governmental investment in brainwashing centers at different levels.

#### Table 2. Construction Costs of Brainwashing Centers (1999 - 2013)

Name of Center	Location	Project Type	Year	Cost (Yuan)
	Provincia	l Level		
Hebei Legal Education Center <sup>17</sup>	Shijiazhuang, Hebei	Remodeling	2001	1.5 million
Laodaohe Center (Changsha Legal Education Center) <sup>18</sup>	Changsha, Hunan	New Construction	2002	10 million*
Luotaishanzhuang Center (Fushun Legal Education School) <sup>19</sup>	Fushun, Liaoning	Remodeling	2003	1.4 million
Banqiao Center (Hubei Provincial Legal Education Institute) <sup>20</sup>	Wuhan, Hubei	New Construction	2008	70 million
Xinjin Center (Chengdu Legal Training Center) <sup>21</sup>	Chengdu, Sichuan	Remodeling		1 million*
Shapingba Center (Falun Gong Transformation Base) <sup>22</sup>	Chongqing	New Construction		35 million
	Average			19.82 million
	Prefecture-Lev	el City Level		
Zibo Center (Zibo City Legal Education Center) <sup>23</sup>	Zibo, Shandong	Remodeling	2002	0.4 million
Hongweixing Center (Daqing Oil Company Transformation Base) <sup>24</sup>	Daqing, Heilongjiang	Remodeling	2002	2 million*
Zhangshi Center (Shenyang City Legal Education School) <sup>25</sup>	Shenyang, Liaoning	Remodeling	2002	1.8 million
Huaihua Center (Huaihua City Legal Education Base) <sup>26</sup>	Huaihua, Hunan	Remodeling	2005	2.8 million
	Average			1.75 million
	Town and Dis	strict Level		
Etouwan Center <sup>27</sup>	Qiaokou District, Wuhan, Hubei	New Construction	2000	0.6 million
Jiansanjiang Center <sup>28</sup>	Jiansanjiang, Heilongjiang	Remodeling	2000	0.2 million
	Average			0.4 million

Source: Minghui.org

\* Lower bound used

There are 31 provinces, 324 prefecture-level cities, and 2,855 counties in China. It is safe to assume that there is at least one regular center in each province and each prefecture-level city. Based on this conservative assumption, the total construction cost of brainwashing centers is estimated to be 1.18 billion yuan.

This estimate gives only the lower bound of the scale, as centers at county and town levels are excluded from the analysis due to sparse data.

#### **Operational Funding**

Very limited information about the source of operational funds is available. Therefore, we cannot estimate operational funding as a separate category of revenues. We assume that operational costs are covered by a mix of government funding and education fees collected by each center.

Daily operational expenses include staff salaries, utility fees, and rent (for centers using non-owned property). For example, the rental cost alone for Changchun Brainwashing Center in Jilin Province is several hundred thousand yuan each year.<sup>29</sup>

Local governments usually fund staff salaries. For example, Lannigou Brainwashing Center in Guizhou Province employs two Communist Party Secretaries and various officers responsible for logistics, security, collaborators, etc. These secretaries are also given cars and chauffeurs.

In addition, dozens of "educators" are hired to "transform" practitioners. They work 9 hours a day, with special shuttles arranged for their transportation. Wages also go to a large security staff, consisting mostly of previously unemployed workers. Staff members working in the dining halls are often inmates from detention centers. However, their wages are paid to their respective detention centers, not to the individuals.

These expenses translate to high operating costs: at its peak, Beijing Brainwashing Center costs as much as 400,000-500,000 yuan per day to operate.<sup>30</sup> Officials often travel domestically or overseas in the name of "training" and receive large bonuses.

#### **Rewards and Incentives**

In addition to funding facility construction and renovation, governments at different levels reward centers for each practitioner successfully "transformed."

We calculate total rewards from the government as the reward for "transforming" one practitioner multiplied by the number of practitioners who were forced to give up practicing Falun Gong. The latter is the product of the total number of practitioners detained in brainwashing centers and the claimed "success rate of transformation."

"Transformed" practitioners have to write one or more of the following:

• a statement guaranteeing one will not practice Falun Gong in the future

- an admission of guilt for having practiced Falun Gong
- a statement renouncing Falun Gong

Using such statements as evidence, a brainwashing center can then claim a "successful transformation" and obtain a monetary reward from the government. Below, we give four examples previously reported on Minghui.org:

- In 2007, Lannigou Brainwashing Center in Guiyang City, Guizhou Province was given 10,000 yuan by the government for every practitioner who wrote statements.<sup>31</sup>
- In 2009, brainwashing centers in Beihai City, Guangxi Province obtained 15,000-30,000 yuan for "transforming" one practitioner.<sup>32</sup>
- In 2011, the government of Hubei Province paid the Hubei Provincial Law Education Institute 20,000 yuan for "transforming" one practitioner.<sup>33</sup>
- In 2013, the Political and Legal Affairs Commission (PLAC) of Heilongjiang Province promised a brainwashing center in Mishan City 20,000 yuan for "transforming" one practitioner.<sup>34</sup>

The rewards, averaging around 18,000 yuan, amount to almost twice the average monthly education fee a center can obtain for each Falun Gong practitioner (9,400 yuan). Thus, it is in a center's interest to achieve a large number of "transformations" in a short period of time.

In general, local 610 Offices set a goal of 100% "transformation" for the brainwashing centers. For example, the 610 Office in Liaohe Oilfield and the governments of Nanchang City, Jiangxi Province, and Hubei Province all aim for 100% as their target.<sup>35 36</sup>

However, since many detained practitioners refuse to write guarantee statements, the actual rate is lower. To claim their incentives, brainwashing centers often forge practitioners' signatures on the statements and inflate the "transformation rate" in their reports to the government.

As a result, the reported "transformation rate" is usually between 90-100%. For example, the Laodaohe Brainwashing Center in Changsha City, Hunan Province, the center in Fushun City, Liaoning Province, and the center in Chengde City, Hebei Province all claimed a "transformation" rate greater than 90% for every "school" term.<sup>37 38 39</sup> Thus, in our aggregate calculations, we used 95% as the claimed "transformation rate" to estimate the total revenue from government rewards.

#### **Education Fees**

For each practitioner admitted, a brainwashing center charges an "education fee" to his or her employer (if it is a state-owned enterprise) or local government.

When the Langfang City 610 Office arrested and sent 85 practitioners to a brainwashing center located in a hotel, the practitioners' employer, China Petroleum Pipeline Bureau, had to pay 850,000 yuan.

While some state-owned enterprises were forced to pay the fee, others did so voluntarily. For example, after the Liaohe 610 Office arrested and sent nearly 100 practitioners from Liaohe Oilfield to a brainwashing center, Liaohe Oilfield officials voluntarily paid 3,500 yuan per practitioner as the education fee.<sup>40</sup>

When the Changle Labor Camp held brainwashing sessions, officials often held practitioners there for one or two months. After a teacher was detained for 53 days, officials extorted 13,000 yuan from her employer, who refused to send more practitioners to the brainwashing center.

Even if practitioners have retired or were laid off, their previous employers were still held responsible for these education fees. For example, retired kindergarten teacher Ms. Huang Yanyun was detained at the Xining Brainwashing Center in September 2012 for 35 days. Officials forced Dongfeng Kindergarten, her former employer, to pay 5000 yuan.<sup>41</sup>

Education fees vary widely by geographic region: in rural areas, it ranges from 1,500 yuan for a local resident to 30,000-50,000 yuan for a detainee from another town. The fee is usually several times or more than ten times higher than the regional average salary. For example, Hubei Brainwashing Center charged an education fee of 15,000 yuan per month while the average salary was 460 yuan; as the average salary increased to 580 yuan in 2007, the education fee increased to 30,000 yuan per month.<sup>42</sup>

<u>Appendix 1</u> contains a list of education fees charged by 42 brainwashing centers for which we have detailed information.

In this data set, the average education fee is more than 9,400 yuan per month per practitioner.

When a practitioner is not affiliated with a state-owned enterprise, the local government absorbs the entire cost. In the case of Luotaishan Brainwashing Center in Fushun, Liaoning Province, the county-level government paid 1,500 yuan per practitioner per session, while city and state-level governments each paid 1,000 yuan.<sup>43</sup> Each session is about one month long.

For each Shenzhen practitioner sent to the local brainwashing center in 2012, the city government paid 70,000 yuan.<sup>44</sup> Ximeng officials in Inner Mongolia adopted the same system; in 2011, the fee was 7,000 yuan per practitioner.<sup>45</sup>

#### **Companion Fees**

Brainwashing centers typically employ four types of staff members: officers from the 610 Office or labor camps, "teachers" (previously "transformed" practitioners), companions from practitioners' employers, and security personnel hired as temporary workers.

In addition to paying education fees, practitioners' employers were also required to send at least two companions to stay with practitioners and watch them 24 hours a day. When the National Working Committee held a brainwashing session in Changping District near Beijing in July 2001, they required three companions from each practitioner's workplace, including one manager and two coworkers.<sup>46</sup>

Instrumental to the "transformation" process, companions are ordered to isolate practitioners physically and mentally from other practitioners. For example, at the Xinjin Brainwashing Center in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, practitioners are not allowed to go to the dining hall; instead, one of their companions must retrieve their meals for them.

Even bathroom visits require approval from both companions: one would make sure no other practitioners were around before escorting his assigned practitioner to the bathroom. Companions also play propaganda videos to their assigned practitioners, keep detailed records of their behavior, and make reports to officials.

#### Profit and Embezzlement

Employers who do not wish to contribute two companions are required to pay a "companion fee" for labor provided by the brainwashing center.

Brainwashing centers add large markups to these companion fees. Based on the available data, centers charged practitioners' employers an average of 2,700 yuan per companion per month.<sup>47 48 49</sup> However, data collected from three centers indicate that they paid each companion between 280 and 1000 yuan per month, depending on the region.<sup>50 51 52</sup>

In some cases, practitioners' employers take advantage of this opportunity to make easy money by assigning their relatives to act as companions. For example, in Hebei Brainwashing Center, one practitioner's employer used company funds to pay his sister a travel stipend (100 yuan per day over several months) to act as the practitioner's companion. These funds were later deducted from the practitioner's wages.<sup>53</sup>

#### Extortion of Practitioners and Their Families

In addition to collecting "education fees" and "companion fees" from employers, brainwashing centers often extort money from detained practitioners themselves and their families. These arbitrary charges appear under a number of names, such as "education fees," "living expenses," "safety fees," and "transformation deposits."

When practitioners held hunger strikes to protest the torture, some centers even required their families to pay a "force-feeding fee." Sometimes, practitioners develop severe health problems due to torture, in which case centers require families to pay inflated fees for healthcare.

All other revenues described in this report are officially registered in the centers' accounts. However, revenue from extortion is not, nor are receipts given for the collection of such fees. Since the centers control practitioners' terms of detention and can refuse to release them until the fees are paid, the practitioners' families usually have no choice but to give in.

The amount charged in each case is arbitrary and varies greatly based on practitioners' and their families' ability to pay.

#### Widespread Profiteering

Over the last 15 years, staff members of 610 Offices, police departments, and domestic security divisions have profiteered heavily from this industry. Through various illegal means, the heads of some provincial-level centers can accumulate up to millions of yuan in personal funds. Below, we explore how the system allows officials to amass personal fortunes.

#### Provincial and City-Level Centers

The Xinjin Brainwashing Center in Sichuan Province, officially known as the Chengdu Legal Education Center, serves as a cash cow. To line their pockets, personnel from the 610 Offices, police stations and domestic security divisions of the Chenghua, Wuhou, Jinniu, Qingyang, and Jinjiang districts take turns to be "on duty" at the Xinjin center each month. Staff at police stations and residential committees rely on this so-called "stability maintenance" to earn additional income.

The head of Wuhou District Domestic Security Division, Wang Pengfei, admitted that his division received 200,000 yuan from the government to arrest Chengdu practitioner Zhong Fangqiong.<sup>54</sup>

Yin Shunyao, the deputy chief of the Xinjin center, has acquired millions of yuan through the center. In February 2013, local Falun Gong practitioners filed a lawsuit against Yin for extortion.<sup>55</sup>

Staff members like Yin Shunyao, who has accumulated a large fortune through brainwashing centers, are common in the 610 Office system. It is now an open secret that operating such centers is a quick way to increase one's wealth.

In Hebei Province, heads of police departments in Langfang channel funds using the local brainwashing center. First, Deputy Chief Liu of the city police applies for funding from the provincial Public Security Department and the national Ministry of Public Security. The funds then go to the city's 610 Office.

The head of the 610 Office, Han Zhiguang, manages the funds and draws up plans to arrest and extort money from Falun Gong practitioners. Periodically, city police officers and the 610 Office split the loot.<sup>56</sup>



FIGURE 1. LANGFANG BRAINWASHING CENTER IN HEBEI PROVINCE

Since taking up his post, Han, 56, has replaced his apartment in Chunhe District with three houses in Langfang and several villas in Yongqing and Gu'an. It is estimated that Han has made millions of yuan from running brainwashing centers.<sup>57</sup>

#### **County-Level Centers**

The amount of money officials at county-level centers acquire is also appalling.

Zhao Kejun, head of the local 610 Office in Gaobeidian, a county-level city in Hebei Province, supervises the arrest and detention of Falun Gong practitioners. He had the sole power to decide whether a practitioner is taken to a brainwashing center or sent to a labor camp or prison. Brainwashing centers often serve as a prelude for the next steps.

Through the Gaobeidian Brainwashing Center, Zhao extorted over a million yuan from practitioners' families through 11 government offices and districts between 1999 and the first half of 2006.<sup>58</sup>

Zhao did not issue any receipts to practitioners for the charges he collected. The extorted cash was split among Zhao and other 610 Office personnel.

#### **Town-Level Centers**

At the town level, most brainwashing centers are temporary. Officers often use violence to extort money from practitioners in short periods of time.

For example, in March 2000, Jiang Yongjian, the head of the Communist Party Committee in Yuantaoxu Town, Shandong Province, and Liu Xingshi, the mayor of the same town, operated two temporary centers located at the town government.

During March 5 and 6, 2000 alone, 150 practitioners were arrested and had funds extorted from them.  $^{\rm 59}$ 

Officers wined and dined at a restaurant before returning to the brainwashing center, where they beat the detained practitioners with wooden boards, police batons, chairs, and bamboo sticks. No practitioner was spared: men, women, children, and the elderly were beaten indiscriminately.

One practitioner lost his vision, some vomited blood, and six lost consciousness. The officers then poured cold water on the practitioners and locked them outside the building.<sup>60</sup>

After each beating, the officers demanded money from the practitioners, including those unemployed or disabled. In two days, they extorted 700,000 yuan total.

Most of these 150 practitioners had to pay 4000 yuan, while fifteen of them had to pay 8000 yuan. Officers later took back the receipts and destroyed them. Several practitioners went bankrupt as a result.<sup>61</sup>

This ruthless behavior was praised by the Communist Party Committee of Mengying County and Linyi City. The committee asked 610 Offices in each town and county in Linyi City to follow Yuantaoxu's model.<sup>62</sup>

#### Private On-Demand Brainwashing Centers

Even a typical police officer can operate a "private brainwashing center" to make money.

In May 2000, Officer Yang from Shijingshan Police Station in Beijing searched for and arrested practitioners within his jurisdiction. Yang told two previously "transformed" practitioners to lecture (brainwash) the new detainees.

After the lecture, Yang demanded a 5000 yuan "transformation fee" from each practitioner. He then released the practitioner as soon as he received the fee from the family, even though the practitioner did not give in to the "transformation."<sup>63</sup>

#### Aggregate Data

See <u>Appendix 2</u> for a table containing reported extortion cases.

Within this data set of 77 extortion cases, the national average term of each practitioner detained in a brainwashing center is 38 days. On average, each was forced to pay 7,256 yuan in undocumented fees. Analysis of the data shows that the average amount extorted increases by 844 yuan annually.

#### Example Cases

Fu Yanchun, the head of Wuchang City Brainwashing Center in Heilongjiang Province, threatened practitioner Shi Mengchang: "We have all kinds of tricks to 'transform' you. We can make you go bankrupt. Every day, we will give you 60yuan injections and charge you 800 yuan. If you don't take the injections, we will hold you down and force you to take it. You will have to pay tens of thousands of yuan in a month."  $^{\prime\prime 64}$ 

Practitioner Li Taohua, an employee of Gansu Qilianshan Cement Group Co., Ltd., in Gansu Province, was sent to Gongjiawan Brainwashing Center in Landzhou City in June 2012. Her term ended at the end of August. However, Chief Gong Manfu of Qilihe Police told her family that if they didn't pay a 4500 yuan "education fee," Li would not be released. Left with no choice, Li's family had to pay the fee and an extra 11,500 yuan "safety fee" to secure Li's release on September 3.<sup>65</sup>

### Follow the Money

Neither political pressure nor financial incentives alone are sufficient to sustain the vast, brutal system of brainwashing that exists in China today. Without the policy of persecution set forth by the central government, the brainwashing industry would not have been created. Without the lucrative financial incentives and profiteering opportunities available, local governments and brainwashing center staff would not be sufficiently motivated to carry out their task to such an extent.

By uncovering the flow of money in China's brainwashing industry, this report sheds light on behind-the-scenes incentives that drive participation at the lower levels of the system. When coupled with the systematic persecution policies, money becomes powerful motivation for CCP officials to take a personal stake in executing such a barbaric directive.

Ultimately, China's taxpayers (including detainees themselves) are footing the bill. However, the greatest cost is not in money but in human life: a report published at the end of 2013 found that 15% of practitioners killed in the 15-year-long persecution of Falun Gong were tortured to death in brainwashing centers, based on a sample of 2,383 total confirmed deaths. In other words, the brainwashing industry and the persecution in general breed individuals who are more than willing to inflict torture and disregard human life in pursuit of career advancement and financial gain.

## Appendix 1: Education Fees

#### Table 3. "Education Fees" Per Practitioner by Brainwashing Center

Province	City/County	Brainwashing Center Name	Year	Monthly Fee (Yuan)
Beijing	Chaoyang District	Chaoyang District 610 Office <sup>66</sup>	2001	18,000
Chongqing		Unknown <sup>67</sup>	2002	18,000
Gansu	Lanzhou	Gongjiawan <sup>68</sup>	2004	7,000
Galisu	Lanzhou	Gongjiawan <sup>69</sup>	2007	3,000
Cuanadana	Guangzhou	Tianhe District <sup>70</sup>	2001	12,000
Guangdong	Shenzhen	Xili <sup>71</sup>	2012	70,000
Guizhou	Zunyi County	Honghuagang <sup>72</sup>	2005	5,000
Guiznou	Guiyang	Lannigou <sup>73</sup>	2008	4,000
Hainan	Qiongshan	Hainan Police Academy <sup>74</sup>	2002	10,000
	Shijiazhuang	Hebei Provincial <sup>75</sup>	2003	15,000
	Pingshan County	Hebei Provincial <sup>76</sup>	2003	4,000
Hebei	Boye County	Zhuozhou, Boye <sup>77</sup>	2004	6,000
переі	Shijiazhuang	Hebei Provincial <sup>78</sup>	2005	10,000
	Shijiazhuang	Shijiazhuang <sup>79</sup>	2007	4,500
	Zhangjiakou	Qiaodong District <sup>80</sup>	2007	8,000
	Wuchang	Wuchang <sup>81</sup>	2005	2,000
	Wuchang	Wuchang <sup>82</sup>	2011	10,000
Heilongjiang	Qiqihar	Heilongjiang Province Qiqihar <sup>83</sup>	2012	13,000
	Daqing	Daqing <sup>84</sup>	2013	10,000
	Jiansanjiang	Qinglongshan <sup>85</sup>	2011	10,000

Source: Minghui.org

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Province	City/County	Brainwashing Center Name	Year	Monthly Fee (Yuan)
	Jiansanjiang	Qinglongshan <sup>86</sup>	2011	10,000
	Wuhan	Tangxunhu <sup>87</sup>	2002	3,000
	Wuhan	Tangxunhu <sup>88</sup>	2002	3,000
	Wuhan	Jiufeng Town <sup>89</sup>	2003	6,000
Hubei	Wuhan	Tangxunhu <sup>90</sup>	2004	20,000
	Wuhan	Tangxunhu <sup>91</sup>	2007	10,000
	Wuhan	Banqiao <sup>92</sup>	2012	10,000
	Wuhan	Beihu Farm <sup>93</sup>	2013	10,000
Huppp	Huaihua	Hunan Province Huaihua <sup>94</sup>	2006	5,000
Hunan	Yongzhou	Yongzhou <sup>95</sup>	2011	12,000
Inner Mongolia	Ximeng District	Mengyuan Hotel <sup>96</sup>	2012	7,000
	Yancheng	Kangda Hotel97	2002	4,500
Jiangsu	Changzhou	Xinbei <sup>98</sup>	2007	15,000
1:1:		Unknown <sup>99</sup>	2005	5,000
Jilin	Tonghua	Tonghua <sup>100</sup>	2013	6,000
	Fushun	Luotaishanzhuang <sup>101</sup>	2001	3,500
Liaoning	Fushun	Luotaishanzhuang <sup>102</sup>	2003	3,500
	Shenyang	Zhangshi <sup>103</sup>	2004	7,000
Chanders	Weifang	Weifang 610 Office <sup>104</sup>	2004	5,000
Shandong	Linyi	Linyi <sup>105</sup>	2006	2,000
Sichuan	Xichang	Xining <sup>106</sup>	2010	5,000
Yunnan		Unknown <sup>107</sup>	2002	5,000
			Average	9,452

## Appendix 2: Ransoms

## Table 4. Undocumented Fees Extorted From Detained Practitionersand Their Families

Province / Municipality	Brainwashing Center	Year	Days Detained	Amount Extorted (Yuan)
Anhui	Huijia Hotel Center in Huainan City <sup>108</sup>	2011	22	20,000
Beijing	Shijingshan Center <sup>109</sup>	2005	1	5,000
Fujian	Provincial Working Committee Center <sup>110</sup>	Unknown		15,000
	Gongjiawan Center in Lanzhou <sup>111</sup>	2004	30	10,000
Gansu	Gongjiawan Center in Lanzhou <sup>112</sup>	2009		7,500
	Gongjiawan Center in Lanzhou <sup>113</sup>	2012	70	16,000
Guanadana	Dongshan District Center in Guangzhou City <sup>114</sup>	2001		30,000
Guangdong	Law Education Center in Sanshui City <sup>115</sup>	2004		5,000
Hainan	A Center in Fucheng <sup>116</sup>	2007		3,000
	Law Education Center in Jingxian County <sup>117</sup>	2000	10	380
	Town Government Center in Liancheng, Laishui County <sup>118</sup>	2000	30	310
	Center in Textile University in Tangshan <sup>119</sup>	2001	30	1,500
Hebei	Center in Magnesium Factory, Pingshan County <sup>120</sup>	2002	90	7,800
nebel	City Center in Baoding City <sup>121</sup>	2003		5,000
	City Center in Shijiazhuang City <sup>122</sup>	2003	30	4,000
	City Center in Baoding City <sup>123</sup>	2003	30	6,600
	Fengrun District Center in Tangshan City <sup>124</sup>	2003		1,400

Source: Minghui.org

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Province / Municipality	Brainwashing Center	Year	Days Detained	Amount Extorted (Yuan)
	A center in Xingji <sup>125</sup>	2004		1,500
	A center in Zhuozhou <sup>126</sup>	2004		4,000
	City Center in Shijiazhuang City <sup>127</sup>	2005		3,000
	Provincial Law Education Center <sup>128</sup>	2005	90	6,000
	Qiaodong District Law Education School in Zhangjiakou City <sup>129</sup>	2007		10,000
	City Center in Chengdu City <sup>130</sup>	2010		21,000
	Unknown <sup>131</sup>	2001	30	4,000
Henan	City Center in Xinyang City <sup>132</sup>	2002	60	3,000
	Unknown <sup>133</sup>	2002	30	4,000
	City Center in Wuchang City <sup>134</sup>	2002	30	2,000
Heilongjiang	Qinglongshan Center in Jiansanjiang <sup>135</sup>	2012	60	20,000
	Yujiatou Center in Wuhan City <sup>136</sup>	2003		6,000
	Xiajiadian Center in Shiyan City <sup>137</sup>	2003		6,000
	Law Education School in Jingmen City <sup>138</sup>	2004		6,000
Hubei	Unknown <sup>139</sup>	2004		8,000
	The center in the Second Detention Center in Suizhou City <sup>140</sup>	2006		2,000
	Provincial Law Education Institute <sup>141</sup>	2012		20,000
	Yunxi District Center in Yueyang City <sup>142</sup>	2002		5,900
Hunan	Laodaohe Center in Changsha City <sup>143</sup>	2004	30	7,000
	Laodaohe Center in Changsha City <sup>144</sup>	2007	30	27,000

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Province / Municipality	Brainwashing Center	Year	Days Detained	Amount Extorted (Yuan)
	Law Education Center in Yongzhou City <sup>145</sup>	2011		10,000
Jilin	City Center in Liaoyuan City <sup>146</sup>	2012		20,000
Jiangxi	The center in Qingyunpu Detention Center in Nanchang City <sup>147</sup>	2001		2,500
	The center in Drug Rehabilitation Center in Dalian City <sup>148</sup>	2001	36	2,080
Liaoning	The center in Zhangshi Labor Camp in Shenyang City <sup>149</sup>	2004		3,000
	The center in Zhangshi Labor Camp in Shenyang City <sup>150</sup>	2005	30	3,000
Inner Mongolia	Law Education Base in Chifeng City <sup>151</sup>	2004	30	4,000
	Licheng District Center in Jinan City <sup>152</sup>	2000	122	18,000
	City Center in Qingdao <sup>153</sup>	2000	43	5,000
	The center in Shuanghou Town <sup>154</sup>	2000	10	2,200
	Mengyin Center in Linyi City <sup>155</sup>	2000	30	5,000
	County Center in Linju County <sup>156</sup>	2000	30	10,000
	City Center in Qingdao <sup>157</sup>	2001	30	5,000
Shandong	The center in Tanbu Town <sup>158</sup>	2001	7	6,500
	The center in Wangcun Labor Camp <sup>159</sup>	2001		3,000
	The center in Woman Labor Camp in Jinan City <sup>160</sup>	2001	91	6,000
	The center in Changle Labor Camp in Weifang City <sup>161</sup>	2001	30	3,000
	Wangcun Center in Zibo162	2001		8,000
	Law Education School in Pingdu City <sup>163</sup>	2002		3,800
	Provincial Law Education Center <sup>164</sup>	2002	30	5,000

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Province / Municipality	Brainwashing Center	Year	Days Detained	Amount Extorted (Yuan)
	The center in Wangcun Labor Camp in Zibo City <sup>165</sup>	2002	20	3,000
	City Center in Jinan City <sup>166</sup>	2003	30	10,000
	Law Education Center in Weifang <sup>167</sup>	2004	30	13,000
	Unknown <sup>168</sup>	2004		3,000
	The center in Changle Labor Camp in Weifang City <sup>169</sup>	2004	30	7,500
	Unknown <sup>170</sup>	2005	30	2,000
	Liuchangshan Center in Jinan City <sup>171</sup>	2005	30	3,000
	The center in Wangcun Labor Camp in Zibo City <sup>172</sup>	2006		7,000
	The center in Shengli Oil Field <sup>173</sup>	2006	100	10,000
	Unknown <sup>174</sup>	2006		3,000
	The center in Wangcun Labor Camp in Zibo City <sup>175</sup>	2006		6,000
	City Center in Shouguang City <sup>176</sup>	2012		20,000
Shaanxi	City Center in Hanzhong <sup>177</sup>	2002		3,600
Sliddlixi	Lintong District Center in Xi'an City <sup>178</sup>	2002	30	2,500
	Xinjin Center in Chengdu City <sup>179</sup>	2004	30	2,500
Sichuan	City Center in Nanchong <sup>180</sup>	2010	30	12,500
Sicilian	Xining Center in Xichang City <sup>181</sup>	2010	35	1,150
	Xinjin Center in Chengdu City <sup>182</sup>	2011	30	10,000
Chongqing	Wangxiangtai Center in Yubei District <sup>183</sup>	2008		3,000
Unknown	Unknown <sup>184</sup>	2002	42	6,000
		Average	38	7,256

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