

**International Journal of Legal Information**  
the Official Journal of the International Association of Law Libraries

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Volume 34  
Issue 3 *Winter 2006*

Article 9

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January 2006

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Greenlee, Michael J. (2006) "A King Who Devours His People: Jiang Zemin and the Falun Gong Crackdown: A Bibliography," *International Journal of Legal Information*: Vol. 34: Iss. 3, Article 9.  
Available at: <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/ijli/vol34/iss3/9>

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## A King Who Devours His People<sup>+</sup>: Jiang Zemin and the Falun Gong Crackdown: A Bibliography

MICHAEL J. GREENLEE\*

### Introduction

In July 1999, the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) began an official crackdown against the qigong cultivation<sup>1</sup> group known as Falun Gong.<sup>2</sup> Intended to quickly contain and eliminate what the PRC considers an evil or heretical cult (*xiejiao*), the suppression has instead created the longest sustained and, since the Tiananmen Square protests of June 1989, most widely known human rights protest conducted in the PRC. The Falun Gong has received worldwide recognition and support while the crackdown continues to provoke harsh criticism against the PRC as new allegations of human rights violations arise.

Because of its international notoriety, the Falun Gong crackdown has generated significant academic research and governmental interest. Scholars from the fields of sociology, psychology, political science, law, journalism, religious studies, and anthropology have all contributed to the academic discourse. Governmental and non-governmental organizations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the U.S. Congressional-Executive Commission on China keep a close watch on the development of the rule of law and human rights in China and issue reports on the same. The

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<sup>+</sup> Homer, *The Iliad* 85 (Robert Fagles trans., Viking Penguin, 1990) (Achilles speaking to King Agamemnon).

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<sup>1</sup> Qigong (chee-gung) refers to the cultivation of *qi* energy in the human body through breathing exercises and meditation to promote health or cure illness. The regulation of *qi* is the basis of traditional Chinese medicine. Richard Madsen, *Understanding Falun Gong*, 99 *Current History* 243, 243-44 (2000).

<sup>2</sup> The name Falun Gong means 'Practice of the Wheel of the Law'. Falun Gong is also commonly known by its practitioners as Falun Dafa or 'Great Method of the Wheel of Law'. Benjamin Penny, *The Falun Gong, Buddhism, and "Buddhist qigong"*, 29 *Asian Stud. Rev.* 35, 35 (2005). In this paper, I will use Falun Gong when referring to the group and Falun Dafa when referring to the practice.

media coverage given to the Falun Gong has produced thousands of articles since the suppression began in 1999.<sup>3</sup>

This article provides a brief history of the Falun Gong crackdown and a bibliography of English-language materials. Included in these materials are: treatises; articles; U.S. government publications; reports of NGOs, IGOs, and other organizations; newspaper and press reports; Falun Gong websites; and translations of PRC laws and regulations affecting religious activities and the Falun Gong. Falun Gong websites and materials mainly devoted to the practice of Falun Dafa (apart from the two main texts *Zhuan Falun* and *Falun Gong*) are not included; likewise, websites mainly soliciting support for the Falun Gong and its practice have been omitted. All websites included in this bibliography are publicly accessible.

### **The Crackdown Against Falun Gong**

The Falun Gong emerged as a qigong cultivation group in 1992, as part of the “qigong boom” which began in the 1980s. The qigong boom was a reaction to the loosening of the PRC ban on religious activities following the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976.<sup>4</sup> Although religious groups and activities were still tightly controlled by the PRC, qigong groups offered an alternative “spiritual” practice outside religion. Qigong groups attracted not only popular support, but the interest of the PRC as well, as evidenced by the establishment of the China Qigong Scientific Research Association (CQSRA) in 1986.<sup>5</sup> By 1998, qigong affiliations numbered more than 2,400.<sup>6</sup>

Of these emerging qigong associations, the Falun Gong quickly became one of the most popular and widespread.<sup>7</sup> Founded by Li Hongzhi,

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<sup>3</sup>Using the term “Falun Gong” to search the headlines of “Major Newspapers” in the Lexis-Nexis Academic database retrieves over 1,000 results.

<sup>4</sup>During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) the PRC attempted to eradicate religion by closing all temples, mosques, monasteries, and all other venues for religious activity. See e.g. *God and Caesar in China: Policy Implications of Church-State Relations* (Jason Kindopp & Carol Lee Harmin eds., Brookings Institution Press 2004).

<sup>5</sup>The PRC was quite taken with the idea of qigong as a specifically “Chinese science” and hoped its widespread practice might improve the overall health of the general population. David Ownby, *A History for Falun Gong: Popular Religion and the Chinese State since the Ming Dynasty*, 6 *Nova Religio* 223, 233-34 (2003).

<sup>6</sup>Maria Hsia Chang, *Falun Gong: The End of Days* 3 (Yale U. Press 2004).

<sup>7</sup>Li Hongzhi received the “Advancing Marginal Sciences Award” at the 1993 Oriental Health Expos in Beijing. Also in 1993, “The Foundation for Encouraging

Falun Gong began as a cultivation system focusing on improving health and curing illness.<sup>8</sup> Prior to founding Falun Gong, Li Hongzhi was an employee at the Changchun Municipal Cereals and Oils Company<sup>9</sup> and had received some qigong training.<sup>10</sup>

The CQSRA accredited the Falun Dafa Research Society in August 1993.<sup>11</sup> In 1994, Li published *Zhuan Falun* (Turning the Wheel of Dharma) changing the focus of Falun Dafa practice from mere qigong “energy” cultivation to a cultivation method leading to salvation by following the three principles of Truthfulness, Compassion, and Forbearance (Zen-Shan-Ren).<sup>12</sup> Although the teachings in *Zhuan Falun* are heavily influenced by Buddhism and Daoism, Li claims that his teachings are at a “higher level,”<sup>13</sup> and insists that Falun Gong is not a religious group and that its exercises are not religious rituals.<sup>14</sup> Despite Li’s insistence, Western governments and human rights organizations frequently characterize the crackdown against Falun Gong as a violation of the right to freedom of religion. Oddly enough, this is the one point on which the PRC and the Falun Gong find themselves in agreement: that Falun Gong is not a religious organization. The PRC recognizes only registered religious groups, and the Falun Gong has never sought such a classification.<sup>15</sup>

This change in focus may have contributed to the growing popularity of Falun Dafa. Membership in Falun Gong was, and continues to be, largely

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People to Fight with Criminals” which is connected to the police ministry, wrote a letter of support for Li Hongzhi to the CQSRA. Lu Yunfeng, *Entrepreneurial Logics and the Evolution of Falun Gong*, 44(2) *J. for Sci. Stud. Religion* 173, 175 (2005).

<sup>8</sup> Chang, *supra* n. 6, at 3.

<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Penny, *The Life and Times of Li Hongzhi: Falun Gong and Religious Biography*, 175 *China Q.* 643, 652 (1999).

<sup>10</sup> The details of Li Hongzhi’s early life and his qigong training vary dramatically, depending on the source of information. Compare, Research Office of the Ministry of Public Security, *Li Hongzhi: The Man and His Deeds*, 32(5) *Chinese L. & Govt.* 56-64 (1999)(a PRC biography), with, *Brief Biography of Li Hongzhi*, 32(6) *Chinese L. & Govt.* 14-23 (1999)(issued by the Falun Gong).

<sup>11</sup> James Tong, *An Organizational Analysis of the Falun Gong: Structure, Communications, Financing*, 171 *China Q.* 636, 640 (2002).

<sup>12</sup> Li Hongzhi, *Zhuan Falun* 8 (Third Translation ed., Universe Publ. Co. 2000) (available at <http://www.falundafa.org/eng/books.htm>) (last updated 08/04/03).

<sup>13</sup> *Id.* at 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* at 48; Jonathan S. Landreth & J.S. Greenburg, *The Way We Live Now: Questions for Li Hongzhi; Eye of the Storm*, *N. Y. Times Mag.* 19 (Aug. 8, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> There are five official religions recognized by the PRC: Daoism, Buddhism, Islam, Protestantism, and Catholicism. *God and Caesar in China*, *supra* n. 4, at 2.

informal, crossing into all strata of society: middle aged, middle class, peasants, elderly, students, teachers, physicians, soldiers, and even CCP cadres, diplomats, and other government officials.<sup>16</sup> In 1996, *Zhuan Falun* reportedly sold nearly a million copies.<sup>17</sup> At the time of the government crackdown in 1999, estimates of Falun Gong membership ranged from 2.1 million (PRC estimate) to as high as 60-80 million (Falun Gong).<sup>18</sup>

The Falun Gong operated under a loose pyramid structure, with Li Hongzhi acting as Chairman. Apart from the main headquarters in Beijing, there were city and provincial headquarters, arch-instruction centers, instruction centers, and practice points.<sup>19</sup> As of 1999, there were 28,000 practice points established throughout the PRC.<sup>20</sup> The Falun Gong also efficiently employed the use of modern communication technology (email, mobile phones, the Internet) to organize meetings and distribute information.<sup>21</sup>

In September 1994, Li announced that he would cease training sessions in China, followed in 1995 with the termination of overseas training sessions.<sup>22</sup> The qigong boom of the previous decade was on the decline and the PRC was hardening its policy toward all qigong groups.<sup>23</sup> Fearing that these groups might morph into political organizations, the authorities saw the potential for rebellion and sought to ban such organizations in the name of combating superstition and unscientific ideas.<sup>24</sup> In March 1996, Li instructed two of his assistants to file for official withdrawal from the China Qigong Scientific Research Association and the Falun Gong was terminated in

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<sup>16</sup> Chang, *supra* n. 6, at 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Id.* at 6.

<sup>18</sup> Tong, *supra* n. 11, at 636.

<sup>19</sup> Beatrice Leung, *China and Falun Gong: Party and society relations in the modern era*, 11 J. Contemporary China 761, 765 (2002); Tong, *supra* n. 11, at 642-46.

<sup>20</sup> Leung, *supra* n. 19, at 765.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.*; Tong, *supra* n. 11, at 646-50.

<sup>22</sup> Tong, *supra* n. 11, at 640.

<sup>23</sup> In addition to the Falun Gong, several other qigong groups fell under similar surveillance and suppression by the PRC including Guo Gong (Nation Gong), Cibei Gong (Compassion Gong), and Zhong Gong (China Gong). Amnesty International, *The People's Republic of China: The crackdown on Falun Gong and other so-called "heretical organizations."* 13-16 (Mar. 23, 2000)[hereinafter *Crackdown*]; The PRC levied fines of over 8 million yuan on a qigong organization in Suzhou and prohibited the use of qigong for healing. Tong, *supra* n. 11, at 640

<sup>24</sup> Chang, *supra* n. 6, at 6.

November 1996.<sup>25</sup> Falun Gong applied to reclassify itself as both a non-religious, academic organization and as a non-religious, cultural organization, but both applications were denied; leaving the Falun Gong without any official recognition by the PRC.<sup>26</sup> By December 1997, the Falun Dafa Research Society had disbanded, abolishing its organizational structure, ceasing the acceptance of donations, and stopping the publication of official texts; Falun Gong now existed only through the practice of local groups and by electronic communication.<sup>27</sup> Li Hongzhi left China in October 1996, ostensibly to teach a training seminar in Houston, Texas. However, he immediately applied for an immigration visa, which was granted in February 1998.<sup>28</sup> He has since resided in New York City where he continues to teach.

The official government suppression against the Falun Gong originated on April 11, 1999. An article calling Falun Gong “bogus qigong” and a health hazard appeared in the magazine *Teenager Science and Technology Outlook*.<sup>29</sup> The magazine refused to retract the article, so, on April 19, a demonstration of approximately 6,000 Falun Gong supporters was staged outside the magazine’s offices at Tianjin College of Education.<sup>30</sup> The arrest of several supporters led to a mass appeal of more than 10,000 practitioners who gathered outside of Zhongnanhai, the seat of the Chinese Communist Party in Beijing, on April 25, 1999.<sup>31</sup>

By all accounts, the April 25 demonstration was peaceful and orderly; however, it took the Chinese leadership completely by surprise.<sup>32</sup> An emergency meeting was convened among top officials from the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of State Security, the People’s Armed Police, the Central Security Forces Bureau, the General Office of the Central Committee, and the General Office of the State Council.<sup>33</sup> Afterwards, representatives from the Falun Gong were invited into Zhongnanhai for a dialogue. The Falun Gong presented their appeal, which included official recognition as a

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<sup>25</sup> Tong, *supra* n. 11, at 640.

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* at 641.

<sup>27</sup> *Id.*

<sup>28</sup> *Id.*

<sup>29</sup> He Zuoxiu, *I Do Not Approve of Teenagers Practicing Qigong*, 32 Chinese L. & Govt. 95, 97 (1999).

<sup>30</sup> Chang, *supra* n. 6, at 8.

<sup>31</sup> Some sources place the number of demonstrators as over 20,000. Zong Hairen, *Handling the Falungong Case*, 35(1) Chinese L. & Govt. 53 (2002) (trans. from the Chinese text *Zhu Rongji zai 1999*).

<sup>32</sup> *Id.* at 59.

<sup>33</sup> *Id.* at 54.

legitimate organization, the release of the individuals arrested at Tianjin, and a promise that the government would refrain from prosecuting the demonstrators.<sup>34</sup> Having communicated their appeal and believing that they would not be prosecuted, the Falun Gong departed.<sup>35</sup> However, the Falun Gong continued to appeal to the government after the Zhongnanhai protest. By July 22, 1999, the PRC reported that the Falun Gong had organized over 300 protest rallies against the government and party agencies, as well as some news organizations.<sup>36</sup>

The PRC quickly began planning a strategy to eliminate the Falun Gong. Jiang Zemin denounced the April 25 demonstration as unprecedented and the boldest public challenge to regime authority since the founding of the People's Republic.<sup>37</sup> Jiang proposed the establishment of a leadership committee to deal with the Falun Gong by gathering intelligence, exposing Li Hongzhi's political motives, systematically critiquing superstitious beliefs, and publicizing cases where the practice of Falun Dafa caused deaths, suicides, or schizophrenia.<sup>38</sup> A new department, which became known as the "610 Office," was created on June 10, 1999, to study, investigate, and develop a unified approach to resolve the Falun Gong problem.<sup>39</sup> In all, more than 3,000 public security agents investigated Falun Gong activities in China and abroad prior to the official ban on July 22, 1999.<sup>40</sup>

Arrests of Falun Gong members began on July 20, 1999, two days before the official announcement banning the practice.<sup>41</sup> Within the first few days, between 5,000 and 6,000 Falun Gong members were arrested.<sup>42</sup> The proclamation banning Falun Gong was made on July 22, forbidding the practice of Falun Dafa, the distribution of Falun Gong materials, and the

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<sup>34</sup> *Id.* at 55.

<sup>35</sup> *Id.* at 58.

<sup>36</sup> James Tong, *Anatomy of Regime Repression in China: Timing, enforcement institutions, and target selection in banning the Falungong, July 1999*, 42 *Asian Survey* 795, 795 (2002) (citing an article in *Renmin Ribao* [*People's Daily*,] Aug. 5, 1999).

<sup>37</sup> *Id.* at 799.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.*

<sup>39</sup> Chang, *supra* n. 6, at 9.

<sup>40</sup> Tong, *supra* n. 36, at 804.

<sup>41</sup> *Id.* at 814.

<sup>42</sup> *Id.* at 815.

organizing of demonstrations resisting the relevant government decisions.<sup>43</sup> The police reportedly seized and destroyed more than 1.5 million books, videotapes, and compact discs containing Falun Gong teachings.<sup>44</sup> Within a few days of the banning, all Falun Gong-related websites operating in mainland China were shut down;<sup>45</sup> by August 1999, the government had an anti-Falun Gong website up and running.<sup>46</sup> Falun Gong was declared an illegal, unregistered organization, conducting illegal activities, propagating superstitions, deluding people, creating disturbances, and jeopardizing social stability.<sup>47</sup> Communist Party members and state functionaries were officially prohibited from practicing Falun Dafa.<sup>48</sup> On July 29, the Ministry of Public Security issued an arrest warrant for Li Hongzhi<sup>49</sup> and a \$6,000 reward was offered for information leading to Li's arrest.<sup>50</sup>

A broader arrest campaign was launched in October 1999, following the passage of new regulations criminalizing cults and investing law

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<sup>43</sup> *Two Documents Concerning the Banning of the Research Society of Falun Dafa: Notice of the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China*, 32(5) Chinese L. & Govt. 31-32 (1999).

<sup>44</sup> Randall Peerenboom, *China's Long March Toward Rule of Law* 92 (Cambridge U. Press 2002).

<sup>45</sup> Nancy Chen, *Healing Sects and Anti-Cult Campaigns*, 174 China Q. 505, 515-16 (2003).

<sup>46</sup> Mickey Spiegel, *Dangerous Meditation: China's Campaign Against Falungong* 113 (Human Rights Watch 2002) (citing Michael Laris, *Beijing Turns the Internet Against Its Enemies; Sect Members Abroad Claim State Harassment*, Washington Post A01, August 4, 1999).

<sup>47</sup> *Regarding the Wanted Order Issued for the Suspect Li Hongzhi: The Spokesman for the Ministry of Public Security Holds a Press Conference*, 32(5) Chinese L. & Govt. 35 (1999) (reprinting Xinhua News Agency dispatch from July 29, 1999).

<sup>48</sup> *Circular from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Forbidding Communist Party Members from Practicing Falun Dafa*, 32(5) Chinese L. & Govt. 14 (1999); *Ministry of Personnel issues notice stipulating that state functionaries may not practice Falun Dafa*, 32(5) Chinese L. & Govt. 26 (1999) (reprinting Xinhua News Agency dispatch from July 23, 1999).

<sup>49</sup> *Wanted Order Issued by the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China*, 32(5) Chinese L. & Govt. 33 (1999) (reprinting Xinhua News Agency dispatch from July 29, 1999).

<sup>50</sup> \$6,000 equals about 50,000 yuan, equivalent to six years salary of the average Chinese urban worker. Chang, *supra* n. 6, at 10; *Beijing Posts Reward for Arrest of Li Hongzhi*, 32(5) Chinese L. & Govt. 37 (1999).



enforcement agencies with new powers to arrest and prosecute cultic organizations.<sup>51</sup> At this time, the total number of detainees reached 20,000.<sup>52</sup>

Most of those arrested were not criminally prosecuted. By November 1999, only 40 members of Falun Gong were known to have been tried in various places in China.<sup>53</sup> Instead, thousands of practitioners were administratively detained, without trial, to “re-education through labor” camps (*laojiao*) for as long as three years.<sup>54</sup> Distinctions were made between sect leaders, who were considered criminal elements and deserving harsh treatment, and common practitioners, who could be released upon renouncing the practice of Falun Dafa or be re-educated into society.<sup>55</sup>

Shortly after the detentions began, reports of abuse and torture of Falun Gong practitioners started to emerge. Because of the difficulty involved in substantiating these allegations, due to both the secrecy of the PRC concerning the treatment of prisoners and the reliability of third-party reports, independent verification of the exact number of cases is lacking. By April 2002, the Falun Gong headquarters in New York claimed that more than 350 followers had died in custody or from official persecution.<sup>56</sup> The U.S. State Department estimates that, since the crackdown began, between several hundred to a few thousand Falun Gong adherents have died in custody due to torture, abuse, and neglect.<sup>57</sup> The PRC claims that any deaths of Falun Gong

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<sup>51</sup> *Notice on Various Issues Regarding Identifying and Banning of Cultic Organizations*, 36(2) Chinese L. & Govt. 22 (2003); *Notice on Intensive Strikes Against Activities of Various Cultic Organizations*, 36(2) Chinese L. & Govt. 101 (2003); *Legislative Resolution on Banning Heretical Cults*, 36(3) Chinese L. & Govt. 85 (2003); *Judicial Explanations on Crimes by Cults*, 36(3) Chinese L. & Govt. 87 (2003).

<sup>52</sup> Tong, *supra* n. 36, at 815.

<sup>53</sup> *Crackdown*, *supra* n. 23, at 22. See also Amnesty International, *People's Republic of China: Falun Gong practitioners: lists of sentences, administrative sentences, and those detained*, (Mar. 29, 2000).

<sup>54</sup> Re-education through labor (RETL) is a form of administrative detention conducted outside the formal criminal justice system and is designed to rehabilitate the behavior of societal “agitators” through moral and cultural education. Robert Bejesky, *Falun Gong & Re-Education Through Labor: Traditional rehabilitation for the “misdirected” to protect societal stability within China’s evolving criminal justice system*, 17 Colum. J. Asian L. 147, 148 (2004).

<sup>55</sup> Chang, *supra* n. 6, at 13; See also Tong, *supra* n. 36, at 816.

<sup>56</sup> Chang, *supra* n. 6, at 25.

<sup>57</sup> U.S. Dept. State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, & Labor, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2005: China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and*

members that have occurred while in custody are the result of either suicide or natural causes.<sup>58</sup> Reports issued by human rights organizations and independent investigators also include allegations of psychiatric abuse and forced commitments,<sup>59</sup> and unlawful organ harvesting.<sup>60</sup> The PRC claims the allegations of organ harvesting are groundless and that any organ transplants are conducted in compliance with World Health Organization principles.<sup>61</sup>

The crackdown against Falun Gong also extended to those who do not practice, but, nevertheless, protest the PRCs actions. One example is human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng, director of the Shengzhi Law Office in Beijing, who has participated in several high-profile cases involving Chinese activists. On October 18, 2005, Gao published an open letter calling for religious freedom and an end to the brutal persecution of the Falun Gong.<sup>62</sup> By December 2005, the operations of the Shengzhi Law Office were officially suspended and Gao Zhisheng's license to practice law was revoked.<sup>63</sup> In addition to issuing several more letters and reports, Gao launched a nationwide hunger strike on February 4, 2006, to protest government abuses.<sup>64</sup> On August 15, 2006, Gao Zhisheng was detained while visiting relatives in Shandong Province.<sup>65</sup> He was formally charged with "inciting subversion" on September 21, 2006.<sup>66</sup>

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*Macau*) § 1(c) (May 8, 2006) (available at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61605.htm>).

<sup>58</sup> Chang, *supra* n. 6, at 25.

<sup>59</sup> Robin Munro, *Dangerous Minds: Political Psychiatry in China Today and its Origins in the Mao Era* 158-76 (Human Rights Watch 2002).

<sup>60</sup> David Matas & David Kilgour, *Report into Allegations of Organ Harvesting of Falun Gong Practitioners in China* (July 6, 2006) (available at <http://OrganHarvestInvestigation.net>).

<sup>61</sup> Xinhua News Agency, *Reports on harvesting Falun Gong practitioners organs groundless: official*, [http://news3.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-07/28/content\\_4888428.htm](http://news3.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-07/28/content_4888428.htm) (updated July 28, 2006).

<sup>62</sup> Gao Zhisheng issued three open letters to the PRC on Dec. 31, 2004, October 18, 2005, and December 12, 2005. English translations of these letters are available at The Epoch Times, *Gao Zhisheng*, <http://www.theepochtimes.com/211,107,,1.html> (accessed Nov. 21, 2006).

<sup>63</sup> Joseph Kahn, *Legal Gadfly Bites Hard, and Beijing Slaps Him*, N. Y. Times A1 (Dec. 13, 2005).

<sup>64</sup> Jonathan Watts, *China activists vanish amid protests; Security police may be holding hunger strikers*, Guardian (London) § (International) 17 (Feb. 25, 2006).

<sup>65</sup> Joseph Kahn, *Chinese Crackdown on Rights Lawyers Signals Effort to Deter Increasing Legal Challenges*, N. Y. Times A7 (Aug. 19, 2006).

<sup>66</sup> Robin Fields, *China Charges Activist with Subversion*, L. A. Times A8 (Oct. 14, 2006).

The current number of Falun Gong practitioners remaining in China is difficult to determine. According to one source, there are approximately 60,000 practitioners in China; half of them are in labor camps and the other half are under strict surveillance and control.<sup>67</sup> There are still reports of arrests of practitioners<sup>68</sup> and large confiscations of Falun Gong materials.<sup>69</sup> Police reportedly fill quotas for arrests of Falun Gong practitioners and the government uses mandatory anti-Falun Gong study sessions to force practitioners to renounce their practice.<sup>70</sup> NGOs not affiliated with the Falun Gong documented 500 cases of Falun Gong members detained, prosecuted, or sent for re-education in 2005.<sup>71</sup> Despite the change in PRC leadership from Jiang Zemin to Hu Jintao, little has been done to alter the hardline stance to eliminate Falun Gong in China.

Outside mainland China, however, the Falun Gong is thriving. The Falun Gong is a registered civic organization and allowed to practice freely in both Hong Kong<sup>72</sup> and Taiwan.<sup>73</sup> There are hundreds of Falun Gong groups operating throughout North America, Australia, and Europe.

As an international organization, the Falun Gong maintains an effective and significant Internet presence, using hundreds of websites for the

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<sup>67</sup> H.R. Subcomm. on Africa, Global Human Rights, & Intl. Operations, *Falun Gong and China's Continuing War on Human Rights*, 109<sup>th</sup> Cong. 34 (July 21, 2005)(statement of Yonglin Chen, former Consul for Political Affairs, Chinese Consulate, Sydney, Australia).

<sup>68</sup> Cong.-Exec. Comm. China, *Annual Report 2006*, 109<sup>th</sup> Cong. 95 (Sept. 20, 2006) (citing various news agency reports of arrests).

<sup>69</sup> The PRC confiscated 169 million illegal publications in 2005, including 4.6 million Falun Gong and other evil cult organization propaganda materials. Cong.-Exec. Comm. China, *People's Daily Publishes 2005 Censorship Numbers*, <http://www.cecc.gov/pages/virtualAcad/index.phpd?showsingle=46660> (Nov. 6, 2006).

<sup>70</sup> U.S. Dept. State, *supra* n. 57, at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61605.htm>.

<sup>71</sup> U.S. Dept. State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, & Labor, *International Religious Freedom Report 2006: China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)* § II. Restrictions on Religious Freedom (Sept. 15, 2006) (available at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006/71338.htm>).

<sup>72</sup> *Id.* at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006/71338.htm>.

<sup>73</sup> U.S. Dept. State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, & Labor, *International Religious Freedom Report 2006: China (includes Taiwan only)* § I. Religious Demography (Sept. 15, 2006) (available at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006/71337.htm>).

distribution of publications and teachings by Li Hongzhi, news of the crackdown, practitioner testimonials, and general announcements.<sup>74</sup> Two U.S. Internet companies founded by Chinese Falun Gong practitioners, Dynaweb Internet Technology Inc. and UltraReach Internet Corp., have been at the forefront of overseas Chinese and U.S. efforts to breach the PRC “Internet firewall” to allow Chinese Web users the ability to circumvent government censorship and access websites blocked by the PRC.<sup>75</sup> Such circumvention has allowed Falun Gong groups outside of China to send and receive information with the Falun Gong remaining in China.

The Falun Gong has also been actively filing lawsuits against Jiang Zemin and other members of the PRC and CCP leadership, alleging violations of international law and human rights. Sixty-nine lawsuits have been filed in more than two dozen countries, including 17 lawsuits in the United States.<sup>76</sup> A lawsuit filed against Jiang Zemin in the U.S. was dismissed in September 2003, recognizing Jiang Zemin’s head-of-state immunity.<sup>77</sup> However, Falun Gong claims against the former mayor of Beijing and the former Deputy Mayor of Da Lian City were upheld, in part, granting declaratory relief for violations of the plaintiffs right to be free from torture; to be free from cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment; and to be free from arbitrary detention.<sup>78</sup>

### Conclusion

In the face of growing international pressure, the PRC shows no sign of relenting in its crackdown against a group that it continues to call a threat to social stability and the legitimacy of PRC authority. Ironically, while the PRC has largely succeeded in crushing the Falun Gong movement within China, the crackdown has, if anything, strengthened Falun Gong’s position abroad. Outside the control of the PRC, Falun Gong can now freely criticize and report on the crackdown, practice without restraint, and disseminate reports to the international community. In seeking to eliminate a threat to its authority, the PRC has ensured that the Falun Gong will continue to exist and

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<sup>74</sup> Mark R. Bell & Taylor C. Boas, *Falun Gong and the Internet: Evangelism, Community, and Struggle for Survival*, 6 *Nova Religio* 277, 278-79 (2003).

<sup>75</sup> Thomas Lum, *CRS Report for Congress: China and Falun Gong* 8, (May 25, 2006).

<sup>76</sup> Justice for Falun Gong, *Legal Actions*, <http://flgjustice.org> (updated Nov. 23, 2006, 23:42).

<sup>77</sup> *Plaintiffs A, B, C, D, E, F v. Jiang Zemin*, 282 F. Supp.2d 875 (N.D. Ill. 2003), *aff’d*, *Ye v. Jiang Zemin*, 383 F. 3d 620 (7<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2004), *cert. denied*, 544 U.S. 975 (2005).

<sup>78</sup> *Doe I v. Liu Qi*, 349 F. Supp 2d 1258 (N.D. Cal. 2004).

widely report on the crackdown in an effort to undermine its legitimacy, all the while enjoying the protection of international law, human rights, and the rule-of-law which has been denied in China.

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**I. Books**

Chang, Maria Hsia, *Falun Gong: The End of Days*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

In addition to discussing the history of Falun Gong and the crackdown by the PRC, Chang examines Chinese religious and millenarian movements and the persecution of contemporary religious sects.

Ji Shi, *Li Hongzhi & His "Falun Gong": Deceiving the public and ruining lives*. Beijing: New Star Publishers, 1999.

An official publication of the Chinese government that justifies the suppression of Falun Gong based on physical and mental harm.

Li Hongzhi, *Falun Gong*. New York: Universe Publishing Co., 2001 (available at <http://www.falundafa.org/eng/books.htm>).

First published in 1993, this is an introductory book to Falun Dafa beliefs and practices. Two English translations are available on the Falun Dafa website.

Li Hongzhi, *Zhuan Falun*. New York: Universe Publishing Co., 2000 (available at <http://www.falundafa.org/eng/books.htm>).

The core text of Falun Dafa practice first published in 1995. Three English translations are available on the Falun Dafa website.

Peerenboom, Randall, *China's Long March Toward Rule of Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Pages 91-102 contain a case study of the Falun Gong demonstrating the strengths and limits of the rule of law in China.

Schechter, Danny, *Falun Gong's Challenge to China: Spiritual Practice or "Evil Cult"?* New York: Akashic Books, 2000.

A collection of essays, news reports, and government publications concerning the Falun Gong, especially as portrayed by the media (both Chinese and international).

Wong, John & William T. Liu, *The Mystery of China's Falun Gong: Its rise and its sociological implications*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd. & Singapore University Press Pte. Ltd., 1999.

This book contains two essays: *The Mystery of Falun Gong: Its Rise and Fall in China*, by John Wong; and *A Sociological Perspective on Falun Gong*, by William T. Liu.

## II. Articles

Two issues of the journal *Chinese Law & Government* published in 1999 were devoted to the topic of the crackdown against Falun Gong. Volume 32(5) published translations of official PRC documents related to the crackdown; Volume 32(6) reprints materials issued by the Falun Gong.

Ming Xia & Shiping Hua, eds., *The Battle Between the Chinese Government and the Falun Gong*, 32(5) *Chinese Law & Government* (1999).

Shiping Hua & Ming Xia, eds., *The Falun Gong: Qigong, Code of Ethics, and Religion*, 32(6) *Chinese Law & Government* (1999).

Bejesky, Robert, *United States Obligations under International Law and the Falun Gong v. Jiang Zemin Lawsuit: A justified reaction to a threat to public security or genocide? You decide*, 11 *U.C. Davis Journal of International Law and Policy* 295 (2005).

Bejesky, Robert, *Falun Gong & Re-Education Through Labor: Traditional rehabilitation for the "misdirected" to protect societal stability within China's evolving criminal justice system*, 17 *Columbia Journal of Asian Law* 147 (2004).

Bell, Mark R. & Taylor C. Boas, *Falun Gong and the Internet: Evangelism, community, and the struggle for survival*, 6 *Nova Religio* 277 (2003).

Burgdoff, Craig A., *How Falun Gong Practice Undermines Li Hongzhi's Totalistic Rhetoric*, 6 *Nova Religio* 332 (2003).

Chan, Cheris Shun-ching, *The Falun Gong in China: A sociological perspective*, 179 *China Quarterly* 665 (2004).

Chen, Chiung Hwang, *Framing Falun Gong: Xinhua News Agency's coverage of the new religious movement in China*, 15(1) *Asian Journal of Communication* 16 (2005).

Chen, Nancy N., *Healing Sects and Anti-Cult Campaigns*, 174 *China Quarterly* 505 (2003).

Cheung, Anne S.Y., *In Search of a Theory of Cult and Freedom of Religion in China: The case of Falun Gong*, 13 *Pacific Rim Law and Policy Journal* 1 (2004).

Ching, Julia, *The Falun Gong: Religious and political implications*, 19(4) *American Asian Review* 1 (2001).

Chlopak, Erin, *China's Crackdown on Falun Gong*, 9 *Human Rights Brief* 17 (2001).

Edelman, Bryan & James T. Richardson, *Falun Gong and the Law: Development of legal social control in China*, 6 *Nova Religio* 312 (2003).

Edelman, Bryan & James T. Richardson, *Imposed Limitations on Freedom of Religion in China and the Margin of Appreciation Doctrine: A legal analysis of the crackdown on the Falun Gong and other "evil cults"*, 47 *Journal of Church and State* 243 (2005).

Evans, Carolyn, *Chinese Law and the International Protection of Religious Freedom*, 44 *Journal of Church and State* 749 (2002).

Fisher, Gareth, *Resistance and Salvation in Falun Gong: The promise and peril of forbearance*, 6 *Nova Religio* 294 (2003).

Goering, Kevin W. & Kesan Ruza, *Falun Gong, International Law, and the First Amendment*, 24 *Communications Lawyer* 16 (2006).

Irons, Edward, *Falun Gong and the Sectarian Religion Paradigm*, 6 *Nova Religio* 244 (2003).

Keith, Ronald C. & Zhiqiu Lin, *The "Falun Gong Problem": Politics and the struggle for the rule of law in China*, 175 *China Quarterly* 623 (2003).

Kindopp, Jason, *China's War on "Cults"*, 101 *Current History* 259 (2002).

Leavy, Mark J., *Discrediting Human Rights Abuse as an "Act of State": A case study on the repression of the Falun Gong in China and commentary on international human rights law in U.S. Courts*, 35 *Rutgers Law Journal* 749 (2003-2004).



Lueng, Beatrice, *China and Falun Gong: Party and society relations in the modern era*, 11(33) *Journal of Contemporary China* 761 (2002).

Lowe, Scott, *Chinese and International Contexts for the Rise of Falun Gong*, 6 *Nova Religio* 263 (2003).

Lu, Sunny Y. & Viviana B. Galli, *Psychiatric Abuse of Falun Gong Practitioners in China*, 30 *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law* 126 (2002).

Lu, Yunfeng, *Entrepreneurial Logics and the Evolution of Falun Gong*, 44(2) *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 173 (2005).

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Ping, Hu, *The Falungong Phenomenon*, *China Rights Forum* 11 (2003) (available at <http://www.hrichina.org>).

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Rahn, Patsy, *The Falun Gong: Beyond the headlines*, 17 *Cultic Studies Journal* 166 (2000).

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Tong, James, *An Organizational Analysis of the Falun Gong: Structure, Communications, Financing*, 171 *China Quarterly* 636 (2002).

Tong, James, *Anatomy of Regime Repression in China: Timing, enforcement institutions, and target selection in banning the Falungong, July 1999*, 42 *Asian Survey* 795 (2002).

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Zong, Hairen, *Handling the Falungong Case*, 35(1) Chinese Law and Government 53 (2002).

### III. NGOs and Other Reports

#### A. Amnesty International

*People's Republic of China: The crackdown on Falun Gong and other so-called "heretical organizations"*, (Mar. 23, 2000) (available at <http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGASA17012000>).

Examines the legislation passed to legitimize the crackdown; unfair trials and sentences; detention in psychiatric hospitals; torture, ill-treatment and deaths in custody; and harassment of journalists.

*People's Republic of China: Falun Gong practitioners: list of sentences, administrative sentences, and those detained*, (Mar. 29, 2000) (available at <http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGASA170122000>).

Practitioner information includes: name, occupation, place of origin, detention date, trial/re-education date, sentencing body, charge or accusation, sentence, current status, and notes.

#### B. Human Rights Watch

Munro, Robin, *Dangerous Minds: Political psychiatry in China today and its origins in the Mao era*, (Aug. 13, 2002) (available at <http://hrw.org/reports/2002/china02>).

Includes a chapter on the Falun Gong. Appendix III reprints two articles. The first discusses what is described as "Qigong deviation syndrome"; the second presents forensic psychiatric evaluations of cases involving the Falun Gong.

Speigel, Mickey, *China: State Control of Religion* (Oct. 1, 1997) (available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/china1>).

An overview of how the Chinese Government controls the practice of religion in theory, through its bureaucracy, and in practice. The appendices include translations of laws, regulations, and internal documents relating to the state control of religion.

Speigel, Mickey, *Dangerous Meditation: China's campaign against Falungong*, (Feb. 7, 2002) (available at <http://hrw.org/reports/2002/china>).

Covers the basic beliefs and practices of Falun Gong; a chronology of events; accounts of Falun Gong practitioners held in custody; the

Falun Gong outside of mainland China; and an analysis of the government response. Appendix II reprints selected Chinese laws and regulations concerning religious groups, state security, and criminal conduct.

*C. Other Reports*

Center for Religious Freedom, *Report Analyzing Seven Secret Chinese Government Documents*, (Feb. 11, 2002) (available at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion>).

Two of the documents include discussion of the Falun Gong: a speech concerning political dissident groups and a digest of Public Security Bureau meetings on controlling and cracking down on unauthorized religious groups.

ter Haar, Barend J., *PR China: Falun Gong: Assessing its origins and present situation* (July 2002) (available at <http://website.leidenuniv.nl/~haarbjter/falun.htm>)

This report was prepared for use by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, on behalf of WriteNet, a network of researchers and writers on human rights, forced migration, and political conflict.

Matas, David & David Kilgour, *Report into Allegations of Organ Harvesting of Falun Gong Practitioners in China* (July 6, 2006) (available at <http://OrganHarvestInvestigation.net> or <http://investigation.go.saveinter.net>).

David Matas is a Canadian immigration and human rights lawyer and David Kilgour is a former member of the Canadian Parliament and former Secretary of State of the Government of Canada for the Asia Pacific Region.

Mo Wen (pseudonym), *Poisonous Deceit: How the Chinese government (literally) gets away with murder by lying, deceiving and fabricating its "evidence" against Falun Gong*. Deep Six Publishing, 2002 (available at <http://www.deep6-publishing.org>).

Mo Wen (tr. Silently Writing), claims to be a high-ranking official in the Chinese Communist Party who wishes to reveal the truth concerning the Falun Gong persecution in China.

#### **IV. United Nations – Commission on Human Rights**

The U.N. Commission on Human Rights issues a number of reports on human rights violations through the work of its Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups. The reports of the Rapporteurs and Working Groups are available on their websites. The following Working Groups and Special Rapporteurs have addressed alleged human rights violations involving Falun Gong practitioners in their reports issued from 2000-2006. A collection of these reports from 2000-2003 is available at: <http://www.specialtribunal.org/reports/un>.

*Special Rapporteur on the Commission on Human Rights on freedom of religion or belief*, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/religion/index.htm>.

*Special Rapporteur on the Commission on Human Rights on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health*, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/health/index.htm>.

*Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions*, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/executions/index.htm>.

*Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression*, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/opinion/index.htm>.

*Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment*, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/torture/rapporteur/index.htm>.

*Working Group on Arbitrary Detention*, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/detention/index.htm>.

*Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances*, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/disappear/index.htm>.

The following Position Paper was submitted by the Chinese Government to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in 1999.

U.N. Economic & Social Council, Sub-Committee on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Committee on Human Rights, *Position Paper of the Chinese Government on the Outlawing of the Falun Gong Organization*, U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1999/44 (Aug. 10, 1999).

## V. U.S. Congressional Materials

### A. Congressional Record

The following references are a selection of remarks found in the Congressional Record.

#### *106<sup>th</sup> Congress*

145 Cong. Rec. H12885 (daily ed. Nov. 18, 1999) (Sense of Congress that Chinese Government should Stop Persecution of Falun Gong Practitioners).

#### *107<sup>th</sup> Congress*

148 Cong. Rec. S9226 (daily ed. Sept. 25, 2002) (Falun Gong).

148 Cong. Rec. H5059 (daily ed. July 22, 2002) (Expressing the Sense of Congress that China should Cease Persecution of Falun Gong Practitioners).

#### *108<sup>th</sup> Congress*

150 Cong. Rec. H7994 (daily ed. Oct. 4, 2004) (Expressing Sense of Congress Regarding Oppression by China of Falun Gong in United States and China).

#### *109<sup>th</sup> Congress*

151 Cong. Rec. E1581 (daily ed. July 22, 2005) (Addressing the Grave Human Rights and Religious Freedom Abuses of the Chinese Government).

### B. Hearings

H.R. Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights & International Operations & Subcommittee on Oversight & Investigations of the Committee on International Relations, *Falun Gong and China's Continuing War on Human Rights*, 109<sup>th</sup> Cong. (July 21, 2005) (available at [http://www.internationalrelations.house.gov/sub\\_oversight.asp](http://www.internationalrelations.house.gov/sub_oversight.asp)).

H.R. Subcommittee on Oversight & Investigations of the Committee on International Relations, *Falun Gong: Organ Harvesting and China's Ongoing War on Human Rights*, 109<sup>th</sup> Cong. (Sept. 29, 2006) (available at [http://www.internationalrelations.house.gov/sub\\_oversight.asp](http://www.internationalrelations.house.gov/sub_oversight.asp)).

### C. House and Senate Resolutions

H.R. Con. Res. 188, 107th Cong. (2002) (Whereas Falun Gong is a peaceful and nonviolent form of personal belief and practice with millions of adherents in the [PRC] ...)

H.R. Res. 530, 108th Cong. (2004) (Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China launched a brutal campaign to eradicate Falun Gong from their country)

H.R. Res. 794, 109th Cong. (2006) (Whereas the Communist Government of China continues its extraordinarily brutal persecution of the peaceful spiritual movement of Falun Gong).

S.Res. 22, 107th Cong. (2001) (Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China has repressed unregistered religious congregations and spiritual movements, including Falun Gong...).

#### **VI. Congressional-Executive Commission on China**

The CECC was created by Congress in October 2000 to monitor human rights and the development of the rule of law in China. In addition to publishing annual reports, the CECC also publishes transcripts of its hearings and roundtables, issues papers on specific topics, and provides translations of selected PRC legal provisions. The CECC also maintains a public access Political Prisoner Database. All CECC publications are available on its website: <http://www.cecc.gov>.

Congressional-Executive Commission on China Annual Reports, 2002-2006.  
All of the annual reports of the CECC include some discussion of the Falun Gong, usually in the section on Freedom of Religion.

Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *China's National and Local Regulations on Religion: Recent Developments in Legislation and Implementation*, 109<sup>th</sup> Cong. (Nov. 20, 2006).

Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *China's New Regulations on Religious Affairs: A paradigm shift?*, 109th Cong. (Mar. 14, 2005).

Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *Religious Freedom in China*, 108th Cong. (Nov. 18, 2004).

Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *Roundtable on Religious Freedom in China*, 107<sup>th</sup> Cong. (Mar. 25, 2002).

Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *Unofficial Religion in China: Beyond the party's rules*, 109<sup>th</sup> Cong. (May 23, 2005).

Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *Will Religion Flourish under China's New Leadership?*, 108<sup>th</sup> Cong. (July 24, 2003).

### VII. Congressional Human Rights Caucus

Founded in 1983, the CHRC addresses human rights concerns in the U.S. Congress. The Caucus recently established a special Task Force on International Religious Freedom. Several briefings have focused on human rights in China. Testimony from Caucus briefings is available on the CHRC website: <http://lantos.house.gov>.

Congressional Human Rights Caucus, Task Force on International Religious Freedom, *Human Rights in China - The Situation of the Falun Gong*, 109<sup>th</sup> Cong. (July 20, 2006) (briefing testimony not available as of Nov. 15, 2006).

Congressional Human Rights Caucus, *The 15<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Crackdown: A Human Rights Update*, 108<sup>th</sup> Cong. (June 3, 2004) (includes testimony by Erping Zhang, spokesperson for Falun Gong).

Congressional Human Rights Caucus, *Human Rights in China: The PRC's anti-human rights tactics in the United States*, 107<sup>th</sup> Cong. (June 11, 2002) (includes testimony by two Falun Dafa practitioners and the former Mayor of Saratoga, CA, addressing local proclamations of support for Falun Gong).

### VIII. Congressional Research Service Reports

Lum, Thomas, *CRS Report for Congress: China and "Falun Gong"*, (August 3, 2001) (available at <http://digital.library.unt.edu/govdocs/crs/index.tkl>).

There have been several CRS Reports issued under this title and Order Code (RS20333). In addition to the Aug. 3, 2001 report, other reports include May 1, 2002; Nov. 1, 2002; Feb. 12, 2003; July 28, 2003; and Jan. 23, 2004.

Lum, Thomas, *CRS Report for Congress: China and Falun Gong*, (May 25, 2006) (available at <http://digital.library.unt.edu/govdocs/crs/index.tkl>).

Created under a different Order Code (RL33437) than the prior CRS Reports on Falun Gong.



### **IX. U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom**

The CIRF is an independent, bipartisan government agency created by the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 to monitor the status of freedom of thought, conscience, and religion or belief abroad. The annual reports address religious freedom in Countries of Particular Concern, as designated by the Dept. of State. The CIRF also publishes policy briefs and special reports on specific countries. All publications are available on the USCIRF website: <http://www.uscirf.gov>.

Annual Reports of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, 2000-2006.

All of the annual reports of the CIRF include some discussion of the Falun Gong crackdown in China.

*Hearings on Religious Persecution in China*, (March 16, 2000) (available at [http://www.uscirf.gov/events/hearings/2000/march/03162000\\_chinaIndex.html](http://www.uscirf.gov/events/hearings/2000/march/03162000_chinaIndex.html)).

The Panel 4 discussion includes testimony by Erping Zhang, Falun Gong spokesman.

*Policy Focus on China*, (Nov. 2005).

This policy brief was produced after the Commission visited China from Aug. 14-28, 2005. The section on unregistered religious practices includes some discussion of the Falun Gong.

### **X. U.S. Department of State Reports**

Country Reports and International Religious Freedom Reports are available on the Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor website: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl>.

Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 1999-2005.

The Country Reports on China include discussion of the current situation of the Falun Gong under several headings including arbitrary detention or arrest, disappearance, prison conditions, freedom of religion, and freedom of expression.

International Religious Freedom Reports, 1999-2006.

Reports on China include discussion of the Falun Gong. Each report covers several topics including religious demography, status of

religious freedom, abuses of religious freedom, societal attitudes, and U.S. government policy.

### **XI. News and Media**

For news concerning the Falun Gong crackdown the following websites may be useful:

*Center for Studies on New Religions (CESNUR)*, <http://www.cesnur.org>.

Maintains an archive of Falun Gong news stories beginning in 1999. This archive covers the major wire sources, leading newspapers such as the New York Times, Washington Post, and the Wall Street Journal, and other worldwide print and electronic news sources.

*China View*, <http://www.chinaview.cn>.

English language Chinese news service provided by Xinhua News Agency, the state news agency of the People's Republic of China.

*Epoch Times*, <http://www.theepochtimes.com>.

An independent news company specializing in coverage of human rights in China, especially the Falun Gong crackdown.

*People's Daily Online*, <http://english.people.com.cn>.

The official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in China.

In 2001, Ian Johnson won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting in the *Wall Street Journal* on the crackdown against the Falun Gong. These stories can be found on the Pulitzer Prize website: <http://www.pulitzer.org/year/2001/international-reporting/works/index3.html>.

"A Deadly Exercise: Practicing Falun Gong Was a Right Ms. Chen Said, to Her Last Day," *Wall Street Journal*, April 20, 2000.

"Defiant Falun Dafa Members Converge on Tiananmen," *WSJ*, April 25, 2000.

"China Tells U.N. It Did No Wrong in Death of Falun Gong Member," *WSJ*, May 8, 2000.

"U.N. Panel Faults China for Policies Leading to Torture," *WSJ*, May 10, 2000.

“Brother Li Love: In China, the Survival of Falun Dafa Rests on Beepers and Faith,” *WSJ*, Aug. 25, 2000.

“Paper Chase: A Grieving Daughter Traces a Tortuous Path Seeking Justice in China,” *WSJ*, Oct. 2, 2000.

“Falun Dafa Members File Suit Over Crackdown Against Group,” *WSJ*, Oct. 9, 2000.

“U.N. Helps Sponsor China conference on ‘Evil Cults’,” *WSJ*, Nov. 22, 2000.

“A Blind Eye: China’s Rigid Policies on Religion Helped Falun Dafa for Years,” *WSJ*, Dec. 13, 2000.

“Death Trap: How One Chinese City Resorted to Atrocities to Control Falun Dafa,” *WSJ*, Dec. 26, 2000.

## **XII. Falun Gong Reports**

The following reports were issued by the Falun Gong Human Rights Working Group and are available on its website: <http://www.falunhr.org>.

*The Falun Gong Report 2002: An Appeal to All Good People of the World*, (March 2002).

*The Falun Gong Report 2003: Chinese Government’s State Terrorism against Women and Children*, (March 2003).

*The Falun Gong Report 2005: Stories of Conscience*, (2005).

A 472-page report was issued by the World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong in 2004.

*Investigation Reports on the Persecution of Falun Gong* (June 12, 2004) (available at <http://www.upholdjustice.org/English.2/WholeBook.pdf>).

## **XIII. Falun Gong Related Websites**

Barend ter Haar, *Falun Gong: Evaluation and Further References*, <http://website.leidenuniv.nl/~haarbjter/falun.htm>.

This website presents an introductory analysis of the Falun Gong movement in Chinese society and culture. Includes an extensive bibliography of print and online publications.

*Coalition to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong in China*,  
<http://cipfg.org>.

The Coalition was formed by the Falun Dafa Association and Clearwisdom.net to investigate the allegations of organ harvesting from detained Falun Gong practitioners.

*Committee for an International Special Tribunal on the Persecution of Falun Gong*, <http://www.specialtribunal.org>.

Working to establish an international tribunal to investigate and prosecute those responsible for the persecution of Falun Gong. Collects reports from IGOs, NGOs, and the U.S. government concerning the Falun Gong.

*Falun Dafa Clearwisdom.net*, <http://clearwisdom.net>.

The official website for Falun Dafa in English. Updated daily with articles on practice, articles by Li Hongzhi, the persecution in China, and Falun Dafa news.

*Falun Dafa Information Center*, <http://faluninfo.net>.

Collects news and information from around the world on the persecution and Falun Gong activities.

*Falun Gong Human Rights Working Group*, <http://www.falunhr.org>.

Reports on human rights violations of Falun Gong practitioners and collects the relevant sections of the various U.N. Commission on Human Rights reports issued from 2000-2006.

*Global Mission to Rescue Persecuted Falun Gong Practitioners*,  
<http://www.globalrescue.net/gmr/index.html>.

Maintains a Persecution Database searchable by keyword, name, province, gender, and date.

*Justice for Falun Gong*, <http://www.flgjustice.org/index.php>.

Maintains a Legal Action webpage listing Falun Gong lawsuits filed around the world. Each entry includes a summary and links to available legal documents.

*World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong*,  
<http://www.zhuichaguoji.org>.

Collects and compiles reports on the persecution of the Falun Gong. These reports are arranged according to the Chinese province in which the action took place and by subject. Also includes reports of persecution taking place outside China.

#### **XIV. Selected Chinese Laws, Regulations, and Documents**

Those persons interested in performing in-depth research involving Chinese primary and secondary legal resources should consult the treatise:

Luo, Wei, *Chinese Law & Legal Research*. Buffalo: William S. Hein & Co. 2005.

English translations of the following laws, regulations, and documents are available on the Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC) website (<http://www.cecc.gov>) and/or the Religion and Law Research Consortium (RLRC) website (<http://religlaw.org>).

Constitution of the People's Republic of China, art. 36 (freedom of religious belief) (CECC and RLRC).

Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China, art. 300 (under the section addressing Crimes of Disturbing Public Order) (CECC).

Document No. 19 – The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question during Our Country's Socialist Period (March 31, 1982) (RLRC).

Document No. 6 – Circular Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the State Council on Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion (Feb. 5, 1991) (RLRC).

Decree No. 144 of the State Council of the PRC – Provisions on the Administration of Religious Activities of Aliens within the Territory of the People's Republic of China (Jan. 31, 1994) (CECC).

Decree No. 145 of the State Council of the PRC – Regulation Governing Venues for Religious Activities (Jan. 31, 1994) (CECC and RLRC).

Registration Procedures for Venues for Religious Activities (May 1, 1994) (CECC and RLRC).

Method for the Annual Inspection of Places of Religious Activity (July 29, 1996) (CECC and RLRC).

Freedom of Religious Belief in China (October 1997) (White Paper issued by the Information Office of the State Council of the PRC) (RLRC).

Legislative Resolution on Banning Heretic Cults (Oct. 30, 1999) (CECC).

Rules for the Implementation of the Provisions on the Administration of Religious Activities of Aliens within the Territory of the People's Republic of China (Sept. 2000) (CECC and RLRC).

Measures on the Examination, Approval, and Registration of Venues for Religious Activity (April 21, 2005) (RLRC).

Decree No. 426 of the State Council of the PRC – Regulations on Religious Affairs (March 1, 2005) (English translation available in the *Chinese Journal of International Law* (2006), Vol.5, No. 2, 475-485).

The following issues of the journal *Chinese Law & Government* include translations of Chinese laws, regulations, and government documents concerning religious freedom, cult activities, and the Falun Gong crackdown.

Ming Xia & Shiping Hua, eds., *The Battle Between the Chinese Government and the Falun Gong*, 32(5) *Chinese Law & Government* (1999).

Xiqiu (Bob) Fu, ed., *Religion and Public Security in China*, 36(2) *Chinese Law and Government* (2003).

Xiqiu (Bob) Fu, ed., *Religious Freedom and Rule of the Law*, 36(3) *Chinese Law and Government* (2003).