

# 从迫害法轮功文件看中共对美渗透

## Chinese Communist Regime's Infiltration of the United States –Evidence from Policy Documents on Persecution of Falun Gong

中共对美国的渗透甚至干涉内政从来就没有停止过。本报告主要收集一特定案例中共迫害法轮功的证据。和以往其他被中共迫害的团体不同的是，法轮功在中共开始迫害之前就已经在海外广传，所以中共从一开始就把迫害延伸到了美国等西方民主国家，法轮功也就成为西方国家抗击中共渗透最早也是最前线的团体。从这个特定案例中也可看到中共更广泛对外渗透的模式。The Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) infiltration and even interference in the internal affairs of the United States has never ceased. This report is a collection of evidence of the CCP's exporting the persecution of Falun Gong to the United States. Unlike other groups suppressed by the CCP, Falun Gong had been already widely spread outside China before the crackdown. From very early on, Beijing's persecution found its way into Western democracies such as the United States. As a result, Falun Gong became the earliest and the most front-line group that has been fighting against CCP infiltration into Western society. Evidence presented in this document also illustrates the pattern of the CCP's broadscale external infiltration.

### 一、方法

#### I. Methodology

主要证据来自中共内部文件。所有文件都注明来源，并尽量用各级中共或政府公开发布的文件或通知作为辅助证据。

The primary evidence comes from leaked internal CCP documents. All documents have their sources cited, and if possible, include supporting evidence from public documents or notices issued by the CCP or government bodies at all levels.

### 二、文件和政策

#### II. Documents and Policies

##### 1. 迫害法轮功延伸到美国为主的西方国家

##### 1. The persecution of Falun Gong extended to U.S.-led Western countries

###### a) 把法轮功和“西方反华势力”挂钩

###### a) Link Falun Gong to “Western anti-China forces”

下面这段引自 2015 年 12 月 25 日中央政治局委员、中央政法委书记、中央防范和处理邪教问题领导小组组长孟建柱在中央防范办全体干部会议上的讲话：

“从境外看，随着我国国力增强、国际地位上升，西方反华势力把“法轮功”等邪教组织作为诋

毁、攻击我们党的领导和社会主义制度的重要工具，千方百计纵容、支持“法轮功”等邪教组织同我较量。同“法轮功”等邪教组织的斗争，实际上是一场严肃的政治斗争，是同西方反华势力的政治较量，我们要清醒认识新形势下反邪教斗争的特殊重要性，从维护国家政治安全和社会大局稳定的高度，进一步增强忧患意识，责任意识，不断加强和改进反邪教工作，努力开创反邪教工作新局面。”

On December 25, 2015, Meng Jianzhu, a member of CCP Central Committee and secretary of the Central PLAC, Head of Leading Group for Prevention and Handling Xie Jiao-related Issues (Leading Group) of the CCPCC, gave a speech in the Central 610 officials meeting. The following quote is from his speech.<sup>1</sup>

“From an overseas perspective, as China’s national strength has increased and its international status has risen, Western anti-China forces have used “Falun Gong” and other xie jiao (*editor’s note: “xie jiao” is literally translated as ‘heterodox teachings’ and a label frequently used for any spiritual or religious group the CCP chooses to target with suppression*) organizations as an important tool for denigrating and attacking our Party’s leadership and the socialist system, and have done everything possible to connive and support the “Falun Gong” and other xie jiao organizations to challenge us. The struggle against “Falun Gong” and other xie jiao organizations is actually a serious political struggle. It is a political contest with the anti-China forces in the West. We must clearly understand the special importance of the anti-xie jiao struggle in the new situation, for the sake of safeguarding national political security and the overall social stability, and further increase awareness of the urgency and responsibility, continue to strengthen and improve anti-xie jiao work, and strive to create a new situation in anti-xie jiao work.”

*Editors Note: the ideas put forth in the first part of this quote, primarily that “Western anti-China forces have used ‘Falun Gong’” is part of a larger propaganda campaign inside China to convince Chinese people that Falun Gong is somehow supported by organizations such as the U.S.’s CIA. This is clearly false, but is in line with decades of CCP propaganda that labels any individual or group who criticizes the CCP as in league with “anti-China forces.”*

## b) 挤压法轮功活动空间（直接打压）

### b) Cripple Falun Gong’s abilities to conduct activities (direct suppression)

“要加强顶层设计，统筹好境内境外两条战线，把美国等“法轮功”活动严重的国家和地区作为主要战场，把李洪志、赵维山等邪教组织重要头目作为主要对象，把切断境内外勾联渠道作为主要问题，积极拓展和深化境外战场。要坚持一国一策、一教一策、一人一策，统筹运用各种手段，最大限度挤压邪教组织在境外活动空间。要充分發揮我们党的政治优势和制度优势，协调推动各有关部门共同做好情报信息、打击管控、教育转化工作。”（孟）

In the same speech, Meng Jianzhu also said: “We must strengthen the top-level design, coordinate the domestic and foreign fronts, and **treat the countries and regions with serious “Falun Gong” activities such as the United States as the main battlefield.** We must treat the key leaders of xie jiao (heterodox teachings) such as Li Hongzhi and Zhao Weishan as the main targets, and cut off the connection channels between inside and outside China as the main task, to actively expand and deepen

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<sup>1</sup> 中央政治局委员、中央政法委书记、中央防范和处理邪教问题领导小组组长孟建柱在中央防范办全体干部会议上的讲话 2015-12-25（简称“孟”） On December 25, 2015, Meng Jianzhu, member of CCP Central Committee, secretary of Central PLAC, Head of Leading Group for Prevention and Handling Xie Jiao-related Issues (Leading Group) of CCPCC, gave a speech in the all Central 610 officials meeting <https://www.adhrf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/20160124.pdf>

the overseas battlefield. We must insist on strategies of one country one policy, one xie jiao one policy, and one person one policy. We must use all means in an integrated manner to maximize the pressure on xie jiao organizations' overseas activity spaces. We must fully play our party's political and institutional advantages, and coordinate and urge all relevant departments to do a good job on intelligence information, crackdown control, and education transformation.”

河南省委防范和处理邪教问题领导小组 2017 年工作要点（简称“豫”）也有类似政策：“深入排查在国（境）外的我省籍邪教骨干分子，建立有效管控机制，加强规劝教育和隔洋喊话，列入黑名单，公开曝光其丑行，促其在国（境）外有所收敛，防范其参与滋扰高访。”

A leaked 2017 document from CCP's Henan Provincial Committee has similar instructions (referred to as 2017 Henan document in the later part of this report): “In-depth investigation of overseas key xie jiao members originally from our province, establish an effective management and control mechanism, strengthen the persuasive reeducation and cross-ocean calling, blacklist, publicly expose its ugliness, and thus restrain them outside China and prevent them from participating in high profile petitions.”

“紧紧盯住境外邪教核心骨干、总部基地及外国政要，精心组织谋略打击和离间分化。密切关注“法轮功”等邪教在境外活动动向，收集预警性、前瞻性、行动性情报信息，服务斗争大局。”（豫）

“Tightly focus on the overseas xie jiao core backbones, the headquarters bases (*editor's note: the 'headquarters' is referring to the Dragon Springs campus in upstate New York*) and foreign political figures, carefully organize strategies to strike and divide them. Pay close attention to the trend of overseas activities of "Falun Gong" and other xie jiao, collect early-warnings, forward-looking, action-oriented intelligence information, and thus serve the overall struggle situation.”<sup>2</sup>

### c) 破坏他国宗教信仰自由环境（包括经济上迫害）

### c) Sabotage the environment of religious freedom in other countries (including using economic pressure)

*Editor's Note: In 2017, some provincial government documents were leaked that emphasized overseas battles. What we now know includes the “Shaanxi Province's Implementation Plan for Overseas Battles against Xie Jiao” (referenced in the 2017 Shaanxi document mentioned earlier). Sub-national government bodies do not deal with foreign issues on their own, and therefore, the instructions articulated in these documents could only come from the central government.*

“要抓住西方国家对我需求上升的契机，推动有关国家取缔或限制“法轮功”邪教组织活动，力争打掉其长期活动据点和赞助商、合作商，使境外反邪教斗争越来越主动。”（孟）

In the 2015 Meng Jianzhu's speech mentioned earlier, he also said: “We must seize the opportunity of Western countries' rising demand for us and push the concerned countries to ban or restrict the activities of the “Falun Gong” xie jiao organization, and strive to eliminate their long-term operational bases, sponsors, and partners, and make overseas anti-xie jiao struggles more and more active.”

“坚持网上网下、境内境外反邪教斗争一体化，推动反邪教工作取得大进展。当前，反邪教工作

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<sup>2</sup> （河南）省委防范和处理邪教问题领导小组 2017 年工作要点 2017-03-31（简称“豫”）Key Points in the 2017 Work of Leading Group for Prevention and Handling of Xie Jiao-related Issues of CCP (Henan) Provincial Committee <https://www.adhrf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/henan-20170405.pdf>

中存在的薄弱环节，一是网上斗争，二是境外斗争。必须进一步转变理念，抓住这两个薄弱环节，加强重点攻关，积极推动网上网下、境内境外反邪教斗争一体化，坚决遏制邪教组织在网上和境外的嚣张气焰。”（孟）

“Persist on the integration of anti-xie jiao struggles on and off the Internet and within and outside China to promote the progress of anti-xie jiao work. At present, the weak parts of anti-xie jiao work are online struggle and overseas struggle. It is necessary to further change the strategy, tackle key problems in these two weak parts, actively promote the integration of anti-xie jiao struggles on and off the Internet, domestic and overseas, and resolutely suppress the arrogance of xie jiao organizations on the Internet and abroad.”

“充分用好涉外友城渠道，提高友城工作的质量，有效压缩“法轮功”在境外的活动空间。挖掘民间资源，培养与“法轮功”等邪教斗争的民间力量，发动在美西方国家有较大影响力的专家、学者、记者、侨领等爱国和友好人士发声，争取让境外媒体发出更多于我有利的声音。搞好出国（境）公职人员行前防邪教教育，发挥我省境外企业等经济实体在境外反邪教斗争的积极作用。”（豫）

The leaked 2017 Henan document mentioned earlier also reads: “We should make full use of foreign friendship cities (or sister cities) to improve the quality of our work in the friendship cities and effectively reduce the "Falun Gong" activities outside China. Developing nongovernmental resources, cultivating non-governmental forces in fighting xie jiao such as “Falun Gong,” and mobilizing China-friendly people such as experts, scholars, journalists, and overseas Chinese community leaders who have greater influence in the U.S. and Western countries to speak for us, and strive to make more foreign media to publish more reports favorable to us. Do a good job in the anti-xie jiao education to public service officials before their going abroad and actively use the leverage of overseas business entities such as those from our province in the anti-xie jiao struggle outside China.”

“要精心打好境外斗争攻坚战。按照《陕西省反邪教境外斗争攻坚实施方案》的要求。一方面要统筹用好涉外资源。要充分依托友城平台，有针对性地开展涉外友城工作项目；外事部门要利用接待外国政要来访时机，组织开展涉外宣传工作；商贸部门要发挥我市境外经济实体作用，打压“法轮功”等邪教经济、文化实体，从经济实力上削减其闹事能力。另一方面要做好境外排查和规劝工作。对我市在境外的邪教人员，按照“一人一策”有针对性地开展教育规劝、约束牵制和分化瓦解工作。”（咸）

The 2017 leaked Shaanxi document mentioned earlier says something similar: “It is necessary to meticulously fight the overseas struggles, in accordance with the requirements of the " Shaanxi Province's Implementation Plan for Overseas Battles against Xie Jiao ". On the one hand, we must make use of our foreign-related resources in a coordinated way. It is necessary to fully use the platform of the Friendship City to carry out targeted foreign-related friendship city projects; the foreign affairs departments should use the opportunity of foreign political leaders' visits to organize foreign-related propaganda work; the commercial and trade departments should **make use of our city's business entities outside China to suppress the business and cultural entities of "Falun Gong"** and other xie jiao, and to reduce their economic ability to make troubles. On the other hand, we must do a good job in overseas investigation and admonishing. For overseas xie jiao members originally from our province, we should carry our targeted reeducation, persuasion, restraint, and divide and conquer according to the "one person, one policy”.”

“加强对“法轮功”“全能神”境外骨干的打击工作。对原籍我镇现在境外“法轮功”“全能神”骨干，采取多种手段予以打击，形成震慑。一是情报先行。通过秘密力量贴靠境内外邪教组织骨干核

心人员，获取其内部组织架构、骨干成员组成情况；通过网络攻坚的方式获取境外邪教网站、境内外邪教人员邮箱等内幕性，深层次情报线索，二是打拉结合。对我镇境外重点“法轮功”“全能神”骨干采取分化瓦解和打击震慑两种手段相结合的方式，以亲情感化、政治喊话、教育规劝等手段，分化瓦解境外“法轮功”“全能神”骨干，同时借境内房产、退休金、医疗保险，存款等抓手，对境外“法轮功”“全能神”骨干开展打击震慑。”

A December 2018 document on the Luxi County (Pingxiang City) government homepage reads: “(We have to) strengthen the crackdown on the backbone of "Falun Gong" and "Almighty God Church". (We have to) take various measures to combat and deter the backbone members of the overseas "Falun Gong" and "Almighty God Church" who are originally from our town. The first is intelligence. By getting close to the core members of the xie jiao organizations at home and abroad through secret forces, (we will) obtain the information of their internal organizational structure and the composition of the key members; and obtain the insider information and in-depth intelligence clues of the overseas xie jiao websites and the mailboxes of the xie jiao members at home and abroad through cyber-attacks. The second is the strategy of carrot and stick. (We must) use the combination of differentiation and disintegration, as well as strike and deterrence against the overseas key members of "Falun Gong" and "Almighty God Church" originally from our town. (We use) emotional reforming, political calling, and educational persuasion to disintegrate overseas “Falun Gong” and “Almighty God Church” key members. At the same time, with the help of controlling their real estate, pensions, medical insurance, and bank accounts , etc, in China, we will strike and deter the backbone of the "Falun Gong" and "Almighty God Church" abroad.”<sup>3</sup>

#### d) 建立海外法轮功人员数据库

#### d) Establish databases of overseas Falun Gong practitioners

*Editor's Note: The requirement to establish databases of overseas Falun Gong practitioners appeared in multiple municipal government documents. Oftentimes the descriptions are: “Establish databases of overseas xie jiao (heterodox teachings) personnel based on the information obtained from the investigation of overseas xie jiao personnel.”<sup>4 5</sup>*

*The fact that similar or the same descriptions appeared in documents from multiple provinces indicates that they came from above the provincial level. The details of establishing databases of people outside China showed up in government documents at and below the county and prefecture level. Since the*

<sup>3</sup> Luxi County (Pingxiang City) government homepage: The implementing plan of Luxi County organized special action work to prevent and strike on Falun Gong. 萍乡市芦溪县政府网站。芦溪镇组织开展防范打击“法轮功”等邪教组织专项行动工作实施方案 <http://www.luxi.gov.cn/lxxzf/zwgk/ll/58006> (This article has been taken down. Screenshot of the page is saved here: [https://www.dropbox.com/s/myly6cmzu6v0alb/Luxi\\_AttackFG\\_Page\\_Dec2018.pdf?dl=0](https://www.dropbox.com/s/myly6cmzu6v0alb/Luxi_AttackFG_Page_Dec2018.pdf?dl=0))

<sup>4</sup> The 610 Office of CCP Heshan District Committee (Yiyang Municipality): The Key Points of Work in Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao-related Issues in 2016 中共益阳市赫山区委 610 办公室 2016 年防范和处理邪教工作要点 [https://www.dropbox.com/s/7uioovy3nekrklg/Yiyang\\_Heshan\\_610doc\\_2016.pdf?dl=0](https://www.dropbox.com/s/7uioovy3nekrklg/Yiyang_Heshan_610doc_2016.pdf?dl=0)  
四、坚持统筹兼顾，全面推进防范处理邪教各项工作  
建立反邪教工作数据库。结合防范和打击“法轮功”诬告滥诉专项工作，进一步摸清“法轮功”等邪教人员底数，完善“法轮功”邪教人员数据库；依托防范和打击其他邪教工作，建立其他邪教和具有邪教特征的非法组织人员数据库，根据境外邪教人员排查工作掌握的情况，建立邪教境外人员数据库，建立健全数据库日常维护、升级降级相关制度，确保不在册人员和反复人员及时纳入，转化人员及时降级，解脱人员及时调整，实现数据精准、实时更新。

<sup>5</sup> The Key Points of the Leading Group Work of Zhanjiang City, Guangdong Province, in 2016 广东省湛江市领导小组 2016 工作要点 <https://www.adhrf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/guangdong-20160422.pdf>

*governments at and below county and city level do not make such policies, especially concerning foreign policy, these directives could only come from the central government.*

中共香口乡委员会办公室 2015 年 31 号文件列出：“境外排查。主要任务有两点，一是全面系统地掌握本辖区在境外的“法轮功”人员的底数、人头，将其头像、护照、户籍、关系网都查清楚，并掌握其亲属、单位等相关情况，对持有出入境证件但目前仍在境内的邪教人员，摸清情况后报乡防范和处理邪教问题办公室，有乡派出所按照有关规定，做好收缴其出入境证件等相关工作。二是在掌握境内外人头的情况下，结合其在国内的关系，一人一策制定专门工作方案，逐级上报，经上级防范办批准后再开展下步工作。”

“As far as overseas investigation, the main task is twofold,” says the leaked No. 31 Document of CCP Xiangkou Township Committee Office in 2015 (Shiyang Sunxi, Hubei Province). “First, comprehensively and systematically collect the information of “Falun Gong” personnel who belong to this local government’s jurisdiction and are living overseas, including the headcount, their headshots, passports, information of household registration, familial relationship network. Obtain the information of their relatives and workplaces. For xie jiao (heterodox teachings) personnel that hold travel documents but still reside inside China, figure out their situation and report to the township’s Office of Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao Problems. Follow the township police station’s relevant provisions and do a good job to confiscate their travel related documents. Second, based on the information collected of the headcounts inside and outside China, as well as their domestic personal network, develop individually customized work plan, report to higher authorities level by level, and carry out the next steps after being approved by the upper-level Office of Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao Problems.”<sup>6</sup>

一份 2016 年中共益阳市赫山区委 610 办公室的文件也强调了境外人员数据库：“四、坚持统筹兼顾，全面推进防范处理邪教各项工作

16. 建立反邪教工作数据库。结合防范和打击“法轮功”诬告滥诉专项工作，进一步摸清“法轮功”等邪教人员底数，完善“法轮功”邪教人员数据库；依托防范和打击其他邪教工作，建立其他邪教和具有邪教特征的非法组织人员数据库，根据境外邪教人员排查工作掌握的情况，建立邪教境外人员数据库，建立健全数据库日常维护、升级降级相关制度，确保不在册人员和反复人员及时纳入，转化人员及时降级，解脱人员及时调整，实现数据精准、实时更新。”

A leaked 2016 document from the 610 Office of CCP Heshan District (Yiyang City) Committee states: “[Section] IV. Firmly adopt the approach of strategic coordination covering all aspects; push forward on every front the various tasks of preventing and handling xie jiao.”

“[Bullet point] 16. Establish an anti-xie jiao database. In conjunction with the special task of preventing and cracking down Falun Gong members from bringing to court false accusations and complaints that abuse the legal process, we need to further investigate the background information of xie jiao members such as Falun Gong members, which will be entered into our database of Falun Gong xie jiao members. By relying on our work in preventing and cracking down other evil xie jiao, we will build a database containing information on individuals belonging to other xie jiao or illegal organizations with indicative traits of xie jiao. Based on information collected by careful investigations conducted on overseas xie jiao members, we will build a database with information on overseas xie jiao members. We will put in place relevant mechanisms for routine maintenance of the different databases, and for

<sup>6</sup> The No. 31 Document of CCP Xiangkou Township Committee Office in 2015 (Shiyang Sunxi, Hubei Province) 中共香口乡委员会办公室 2015 年 31 号文件（湖北十堰陨西） <https://www.adhrrf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/xiangkou-20150703.pdf>

managing xie jiao members' "upgrade" or "downgrade"; xie jiao members who are not in the databases, when found, will be timely added into the databases, and individuals who restart practicing their religious beliefs will be added back to the databases; individuals who have been transformed will be downgraded; and individuals who have been relieved (individuals who have completed their transformation reeducation and are no longer our target) will have their status adjusted in a timely manner. These measures will ensure that our databases remain accurate and up to date at any time.”<sup>7</sup>

类似的描述出现在其它省份的文件中，说明是来自省以上：根据境外排查工作掌握的情况，建立邪教境外人员数据库。

A similar description appears in other provinces' internal documents. That means the order—“Establish overseas xie jiao members database according to the information collected from overseas.”<sup>8</sup>—must be from higher authority above provincial level.

*Editor's Note: Though the instruction details of establishing overseas database appears in internal documents at county/district or lower level, the policy can only come from the central CCP, as county/district or lower level CCP committees and governments don't make policies regarding other countries.*

中共香口乡委员会办公室文件也有更详细内容：“根据省委防范办“6.09”会议、市委防范办“6.26”会议和县委防范办“7.02”会议精神要求，按照全县统一安排部署，结合我乡工作实际，就全乡反邪教“两排一专”工作制定如下方案。

## 二、工作任务

(二) 关于境外排查工作。境外排查主要包括四个方面任务，一是乡直各单位以及全体乡村干部相互支持与配合，根据平时掌握的情况和线索，通过调查走访等各种方式，结合专案侦查等工作，对本地已经出境的（包括 1999 年以前出境的）“法轮功”等邪教人员的情况进行排查，全面、准确、系统地掌握其基本情况，包括姓名（中文姓名、外文姓名）、性别、照片、现在的国籍，所持有的证件类型（是身份证、护照、绿卡还是难民证，或者同时有哪几个证件）及证件信息（证件号码、证件的有效期、证件上面标明的出生日期、出境日期），在境外从事哪些活动，以及在境内的有关亲属、亲属的单位等方面要素。二是对持有出入境证件、目前没有出境的“法轮功”等邪教重点人，结合历年来摸底排查奖励的工作台帐，摸清其持有的出入境证件的有关情况，按照有关规定，对属于“法轮功”等邪教重点人员的，限期收缴、吊销其出入境证件。三是对已经出境的境外“法轮功”等邪教人员，逐人进行分析研判，结合其在国内的关系，一人一策制定专门工作方案，报中央防范办审批。在中央防范办对工作方案进行审批前，不能开展相关工作。四是对国内的重点人，按规定报列不准出境人员名单；对境外的重点人，按照有关规定，报列不准入境人员名单。”

A leaked 2015 document of CCP Xiangkou Committee Office has more detailed instruction:

“According to the "6/09" meeting of the Prevention Office (aka 610 Office) of Provincial Party Committee, the "6/26" meeting of the Prevention Office of the City Party Committee, and the "7/02" meeting of the County Prevention Office, in accordance with the unified arrangement of the county, combined with the actual work of our township, the township's anti-xie jiao strategy, "two investigations and one special work," is formulated as follows.”

<sup>7</sup> The 610 Office of CCP Heshan District Committee (Yiyang Municipality): The Key Points of Work in Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao-related Issues in 2016 中共益阳市赫山区委 610 办公室 2016 年防范和处理邪教工作要点 [https://www.dropbox.com/s/7uioovy3nekrklg/Yiyang\\_Heshan\\_610doc\\_2016.pdf?dl=0](https://www.dropbox.com/s/7uioovy3nekrklg/Yiyang_Heshan_610doc_2016.pdf?dl=0)

<sup>8</sup> The Key Points of the Leading Group Work of Zhanjiang City, Guangdong Province, in 2016 广东省湛江市领导小组 2016 年工作要点 <https://www.adhrf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/guangdong-20160422.pdf>

“[Section] 2. Investigation Tasks

(2) Regarding overseas investigations. The overseas investigation mainly includes four aspects of tasks. First, units in the township and all the village cadres should coordinate and support each other, according to the situation and clues that are usually gathered, through investigations and other means, combining with project investigation and other work, conduct the investigation on "Falun Gong" and other xie jiao members who are already in foreign countries (including those who left before 1999), and comprehensively, accurately and systematically grasp the basic information, including the name (Chinese name, foreign name), gender, photo, current nationality, type of documents held (whether it is ID card, passport, green card or refugee card, or several documents at the same time) and document information (document number, validity of the certificate, date of birth indicated on the certificate, date of departure), what overseas activities are engaged, as well as information and work units of their relatives in China. Second, for key members of xie jiao such as "Falun Gong" who hold entry and exit documents and have not left China at present, we should use detailed work record of past years to find out the relevant conditions of their entry and exit documents, and in accordance with relevant regulations, revoke their entry and exit documents. Third, the xie jiao members such as "Falun Gong" who have already left China will be analyzed and judged on a person-by-person basis. In combination with their domestic relations, formulate a special work plan of one-person one-policy and report to the Central Prevention Office (aka central 610 Office) for approval. Before the Central Prevention Office approves the work plan, one cannot carry out related work. Fourth, for key domestic personnel, put them on the list of not being allowed to leave the country according to the regulations; for key persons outside the country, list them as non-entry personnel according to the relevant regulations.”<sup>9</sup>

*Editor's Note: In 2002, hundreds of Falun Gong practitioners were barred from entering Iceland during a visit from then-CCP leader Jiang Zemin (After Icelandic citizens began protesting against the barring of practitioners from entering their country, Iceland's Ombudsman released a decision saying the Icelandic government broke the law.). What's noteworthy is that a significant number of names of Falun Gong practitioners on the blacklist used to bar them from entering Iceland were not points of contact or well-known activists. This suggests that those names were collected via offline means by the CCP and provided to the Icelandic customs office.*

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<sup>9</sup> CCP Xiangkou Committee Office document. Xiangkou Office 2015(#32) <https://www.adhrrf.org/xiangkou-20150703.html#!gallery-5-6> 中共香口乡委员会办公室文件 (香办发【2015】32号) 中共香口乡委员会办公室关于印发《香口乡反邪教“两排一专”工作实施方案》的通知

## 2. 针对法轮功学员创办的三大媒体的文件

### 3. Documents regarding the three media outlets founded by Falun Gong practitioners

#### a) 公安部组织九省市公安部署对总部设在美国的三大媒体的调查监控

#### a) The Ministry of Public Security (MPS) organized public security forces in nine provinces to conduct investigation and surveillance of the three U.S. based media outlets

公安部原来只负责国内，国外由国安部负责。但迫害法轮功开始后，这个规矩和分工被打破。2003年夏，公安部26局（反邪教局，即公安部的610办公室，现为公安部四局）组织6省市公安厅局对总部设在美国的新唐人电视台、大纪元时报和希望之声进行调查，2004年，允许对外的省市公安厅扩大到9个，启动海外潜伏特务和增加新外派人员。会议要点总结如下：

Originally the Ministry of Public Security (MPS) took responsibilities for domestic cases only, while the Ministry of State Security (MSS) was in charge of foreign ones. The campaign against Falun Gong ended such division of labor. In the summer of 2003, the then-26th Bureau of the MPS (Anti-Xie Jiao (heterodox teachings) Bureau, a.k.a. 610 Office of the MPS, currently the 4th Bureau of the MPS) set up a task force that included public security subordinates in six provincial governments to investigate the U.S.-based New Tang Dynasty Television, DaJiYuan newspaper, and the Sound of Hope Radio. In 2004, the task force was expanded to include nine provincial public security subordinates. At the same time, MPS activated dormant overseas intelligent officers and dispatched additional agents (to the U.S.). The main points of the operation are summarized below.<sup>10</sup>

1) 2003年公安部26局组织6省市公安立案对大纪元时报进行专案调查；

1) In 2003, the MPS's 26th Bureau organized six provinces to launch a special investigation of DaJiYuan newspaper.

2) 经过一年调查，决定将大纪元时报、新唐人电视台和希望之声三案合并为一个专案，仍由26局负责，扩大到九省市公安厅局：天津、北京、上海、广东、山东、江苏、陕西、湖南、安徽。并于2004年10月19-20日在深圳举办九省市公安厅局610主任会议；

2) After one year's investigation, the MPS decided to merge the three cases of DaJiYuan, the New Tang Dynasty TV, and the Sound of Hope Radio into one special case, still under the purview of the 26th Bureau, and expanded the task forces to include public security organs in nine provincial governments: Tianjin, Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong, Shandong, Jiangsu, Shaanxi, Hunan and Anhui. On October 19 and 20, 2004, a meeting of directors of 610 offices of public security bureaus in the nine provinces was held in Shenzhen.

3) 天津已经“调102”特勤渗透进香港大纪元。当时天津局有四名境外特勤可以使用。

3) Public Security Bureau (PSB) of Tianjin had already ordered special agent with codename “102” to infiltrate the Hong Kong branch of DaJiYuan. At that time, the Tianjin PSB had four overseas agents at

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<sup>10</sup> Report of MPS's 26th Bureau's Special Task Force Investigating Falun Gong's three Media Outlets, October 21, 2004 [Hao Fengjun File] 关于公安部二十六局部署开展对法轮功三大媒体开展专案侦察工作的情况报告 2004-10-21 【郝风军档案】

its disposal.

4) 收集情报目标是三大媒体的记者、专栏作家、撰稿人和境内关系人。

4) The targets of intelligence gathering were journalists, columnists, contributors, and contacts in China of the three media outlets.

文件来源是郝凤军。郝凤军原为天津市公安局 610 办公室警员，负责监控天津局外派特工送回的情报。2005 年，郝凤军逃离中国到澳洲，随身携带部分天津公安局 610 办公室的文件。这些文件被称为【郝凤军档案】。郝凤军的故事曾被广泛报道。

The source of this document is Mr. Hao Fengjun. Hao, formerly a police officer in the 610 Office of the Tianjin PSB, was responsible for monitoring information sent back by the Tianjin PSB's expatriate agents. In 2005, Hao defected from China and arrived in Australia, carrying with him some documents that belonged to the 610 Office of the Tianjin PSB. These documents were known as the “Hao Fengjun Files.” Hao's story was widely reported.<sup>11</sup>

## b) 刘京讲话

### b) Liu Jing's Speech

2005 年 6 月 30 日，中共高层会议，刘京（当时是中共中央委员、公安部副部长、中央 610 办公室主任）报告有一整段谈到三大媒体，内容如下。

On June 30, 2005, at a high-level CCP meeting, Liu Jing (then a member of the CCP Central Committee, Vice Minister of the MPS, and the Director of the Central 610 Office) gave a talk. A whole paragraph of his speech was focused on the three Chinese language media outlets founded by Falun Gong practitioners. The contents are as follows.<sup>12</sup>

特别值得一提的是，“法轮功”经过整合，形成了“大纪元时报”，每周的发行量和我们的光明日报规模几乎相同，全部免费赠送，叫派发。它在 40 多个国家有记者站。“新唐人电视台”租用 4 颗卫星公司向全球播发节目，在华人华语节目中，这个电视台的覆盖面是相当大的。他租用卫星公司的转发器通常是高于通用商业价格的 2 倍。连卫星公司都反映说这个“新唐人电视台”真有钱。一般租一个转发器 50 到 100 万美元不等。他们开口就是 200 万美元的租金。欧洲卫星公司准备取消同“新唐人电视台”的关系，美国 40 多位议员联合施加压力，美军方出面找欧洲卫星公司的老板，明确表示，如果取消同“新唐人电视台”的合同，美军方将取消同欧洲卫星公司的 4000 万美元的合同，施加压力。还有一个“希望之星广播电台”（注，原文如此，应为希望之声，这可以是刘京的口误，也可能是记录者的错误），大家记得在六四中有一个“自由之声广播电台”，那就是短短的几天，就没有了。而“希望之星广播电台”功率相当大，总部和发射机构就设在台湾。此外，还有“博大出版社”，还有以“明慧网”牵头的“法轮功”200 多个网站。这样就形成了“大纪元时报”、“新唐人电视台”、“希望之星广播电台”、“明慧网”为主要格局的指挥、煽动、宣传的网络。如果仅仅从宣传机器的数量和规模来看，它已经超过了——一个一般组织的规模，某种意义上讲，它是一个政府宣传的架构。这个宣传机器成为境内外各种敌对势力联络指挥的平台。情况表明“法轮功”已成为聚集境外反华反共势力的领头闹事的核心。它已经成为政治上的反对派，成为境外敌对势力的核心。

<sup>11</sup> “Second defector backs spy claims,” CNN, June 8, 2005

<https://edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/asiapcf/06/07/australia.china.diplomat/>

<sup>12</sup> 刘京 2005 年 6 月 30 日在中共高层会议上“关于反邪教问题”的讲话（根据录音整理，未经本人审阅）

Especially worth noting is that, after consolidation, the DaJiYuan newspaper, almost matches our Guangming Daily in terms of weekly circulation. It is distributed for free. This paper has journalist stations in over 40 countries. “New Tang Dynasty TV” (NTDTV) rented four satellites broadcasting around the globe. Its coverage is very extensive among Chinese TV networks. The transmitters they rent from satellite companies are normally more than doubling the price of commercial use. Even the satellite companies say that this NTDTV is deep-pocketed. Normally renting of one transmitter costs US\$500,000 to US\$ 1 million, but they offer to pay US\$ 2 million to start with. When Eutelsat tried to terminate their relationship with NTDTV, more than 40 U.S. congresspersons applied pressure, and a representative from the U.S. military applied pressure directly to the owner of Eutelsat. The representative made it clear that if the contract with NTDTV were cancelled, the U.S. military would cancel its contracts with Eutelsat worth over US\$ 40 million. Then there is the “Sound of Hope Radio Station.” We all remember that there was a “Sound of Freedom Radio Station” around June 4<sup>th</sup> [1989], which only existed for a few days. But “Sound of Hope” is of high capacity, and their headquarters and broadcasting towers are located in Taiwan. Additionally, there is a Broadpress Inc., plus over 200 websites coordinated by Minghui.org. These form their commanding, instigating and propaganda spreading network system, which is configured primarily around the DaJiYuan newspaper, NTDTV, Sound of Hope Radio Station, and Minghui.org. Simply from the perspective of propaganda quantity and scale, this system exceeds the size of a regular organization. In some sense, it is equivalent to the configuration of a government’s propaganda system. This propaganda system has served as a platform, directing and coordinating various overseas and enemy forces. These facts have indicated that “Falun Gong” has become the core, trouble-making center of overseas anti-China and anti-CCP forces. It has become the political opposing faction, and it has become the core of overseas enemy forces.

*Editor’s Note: the monetary details of the Eutelsat contract are largely false, and most likely used to bolster the false narrative that Falun Gong as ‘anti-China forces’ behind it. The assertion that the U.S. military did pressure Eutelsat to keep NTDTV is largely true, but done so on moral grounds: if the satellite company was going to bow to pressure from the CCP to break its contract with NTDTV – one of the few Chinese-language news channels free from communist influence—then the U.S. military would retaliate in kind by pulling its contract.*

*Editor’s Note: Liu Jing gave this speech at a very small meeting. The CCP could easily find out who leaked the speech if the document was made public. Though the document of that speech has never been published, and it has no 3<sup>rd</sup> party verification, the following leaked or publicly available documents from the CCP’s local level government substantiate the content of Liu Jing’s speech.*

### **c) 各种地方文件将三大媒体列为重点打击对象**

#### **c) Various local government documents listed the three media outlets as a key target of crackdown**

1) 中共咸阳市委 610 办公室主任在题为“以习近平总书记重要批示精神为强大动力扎扎实实做好反邪教各项工作”的文章（讲话）中表示，“对于教育规劝效果不理想的顽固分子，以及境外“法轮功”组织、媒体、“神韵艺术团”、外围闹事机构的头目骨干等，列入黑名单公开曝光，制定工作方案实施精准打击。”（简称“咸”）

1) In a 2017 article (speech) titled “Follow General Secretary Xi Jinping's important instructions and do a solid job of anti-xie jiao (heterodox teachings) work” (referred to as 2017 Shaanxi document in later part of this report), the director of the 610 Office of the CCP’s Xianyang (in Shaanxi province)

Municipal Committee said: “For the diehards who are difficult to be reeducated and persuaded, as well as overseas ‘Falun Gong’ organizations, media, ‘Shen Yun Performing Arts,’ and the leaders of peripheral trouble-making organizations, etc., (we) should blacklist them for public exposure, and formulate work plans to implement precise strikes.”<sup>13</sup>

2) 辽宁某地 610 办公室 2018 年文件：以“大纪元”、“新唐人电视台”等“法轮功”反宣网站为重点，深挖网络政治谣言源头，严厉打击境内“爆料人”。

2) A 2018 document from a 610 Office in Liaoning province reads: “Focus on “the DaJiYuan newspaper,” “the New Tang Dynasty TV” and other “Falun Gong” propaganda websites to dig deeper into the sources of online political rumors and crack down on domestic “informants.””<sup>14</sup>

3) 这个文件的真实性可由中共基层公开发表的文件证明。在四川省平昌县政府网站上发表的兰草镇防范打击“法轮功”专项行动方案中由类似的描述：围绕“明慧网”“明慧期刊”“大纪元”“新唐人电视台”上的涉平昌信息，及时建立专案，深挖网络政治谣言和有害信息源头，严厉打击“爆料人”“区域性编辑”“写手”“信息员”等骨干分子。

3) On the government website of Pingchang County, Sichuan Province, there is a section on Lanchao Township’s special operation plan to prevent and combat “Falun Gong.” The plan contains a similar description: “Based on Pingchang County related information from the “Minghui website (minghui.org),” “Minghui Journal,” “the DaJiJuan,” and “the New Tang Dynasty TV,” [we should] timely launch special investigations, dig deeper into the sources of political rumors and harmful information on the Internet, and crack down on “tipsters,” “regional editors,” “writers,” “informants” and other key backbone individuals.”<sup>15</sup>

#### d) 在美国大学进行的研究

#### d) Research at a university in the U.S.

西安交通大学新闻与新媒体学教授吴锋在美国密苏里大学新闻学院访学期间研究了美国“反华媒体”现状，包括把美国之音列为反华媒体，其中还重点考察了大纪元时报等法轮功媒体。关于法轮功媒体，文章有关段落：““法轮功”的媒体可分为会员媒体和非会员媒体两类……泛众媒体面向非会员，主要定位于反共反华舆论宣传，如《大纪元时报》、新唐人电视台等，意在谋求融入常人社会并产生影响和取得合法地位，构建全球公共关系系统，进而在全球范围内争取同情者和新的追随者。与其他类型的境外反华媒体相比，“法轮功”背景的系列媒体长于宣传包装，更善于市场化运作，在短短 10 余年间获得了较大发展，成为欧美华人聚集区内覆盖面较广、影响力较大的反华媒体，也是目前境外综合实力最强的反华媒体。”

During his visit to the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri in Columbia, Wu Feng, a

<sup>13</sup> 领导干部网 “以习近平总书记重要批示精神为强大动力扎扎实实做好反邪教各项工作” 咸阳市委副秘书长、防范办主任 李忠祥 Taking the spirit of the important instructions of General Secretary Xi Jinping as a powerful driving force to do a good job in anti-xie jiao work" by Li Zhongxiang, Director of 610 Office, Xianyang City.  
[http://www.ldgb.com.cn/admin/pub\\_newsshow.asp?id=29085718&chid=100210](http://www.ldgb.com.cn/admin/pub_newsshow.asp?id=29085718&chid=100210) (简称“咸”)

archived: [https://web.archive.org/web/20181223103706/http://www.ldgb.com.cn/admin/pub\\_newsshow.asp?id=29085718&chid=100210](https://web.archive.org/web/20181223103706/http://www.ldgb.com.cn/admin/pub_newsshow.asp?id=29085718&chid=100210)

<sup>14</sup> 寒冬 辽宁某地 610 办公室 2018 年文件 Bitter Winter: A 2018 document of a 610 office in Liaoning Province, <https://zh.bitterwinter.org/the-authorities-suppressing-religious-groups-again/>

<sup>15</sup> 四川省平昌县政府网站 Government website of Pingchang County, Sichuan Province, <http://egov.scpc.gov.cn/t.aspx?i=20181122180732-108204-00-000> (This page has been taken down. Its screenshot can be found here [https://www.dropbox.com/s/iwk5hb0eeh7x2jd/Pingchang\\_AttackFG\\_2018.pdf?dl=0](https://www.dropbox.com/s/iwk5hb0eeh7x2jd/Pingchang_AttackFG_2018.pdf?dl=0))

professor of journalism at Xi'an Jiaotong University, conducted a study on the current state of “anti-China media” in the United States. Wu listed the Voice of America as an anti-China media outlet, and focused on Falun Gong affiliated media outlets such as the DaJiYuan newspaper. Regarding Falun Gong affiliated media outlets, the article states, “ ‘Falun Gong’ media can be put into two categories: membership media and non-membership media. .... Public facing media are for non-members and are mainly focused on anti-communist and anti-China propaganda, such as DaJiYuan and New Tang Dynasty TV. They seek to integrate into ordinary society, gain influence and legitimacy, build a global public relations system, and win sympathizers and new followers worldwide. Compared with other types of overseas anti-China media, the army of ‘Falun Gong’ media outlets is better at packaging and more adept at market-oriented operation. Within just over 10 years, they have grown to become not only an influential anti-China media outlet with extensive coverage in the ethnic Chinese communities in Europe and the United States, but also the most powerful anti-China media outside China.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> 情报杂志 2017,36(3):36-41,54. 境外反华媒体的最新态势、运作模式及应对策略 吴锋,李耀飞 Wu Feng & Li Yaofei, “Overseas Anti-China Media’s Latest Development and Operation Model, and Strategy to Counter Them”, Intelligence Magazine, 2017,36(3):36-41,54.

### 三、说明

本文涉及到的一些名词和缩写

中央政法委：全名是中共中央政法委员会，Political and Legal Affairs Committee of CCP Central Committee, PLAC,

中央防范和处理邪教问题领导小组：the Leading Group for Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao-related Issues of CCP Central Committee, Leading Group. 原名中央处理法轮功问题领导小组 the Leading Group for Handling Falun Gong Issues，是江泽民于 1999 年 6 月 10 日专为迫害法轮功成立的指挥中心，后改为现名。该领导小组下设办公室，处理日常工作，该办公室全名为中央防范和处理邪教问题领导小组办公室，也因其成立时间叫中央 610 办公室，有时也简称为防范办。2018 年 3 月中共党和政府机构改革后将中央防范和处理邪教问题领导小组及其办公室职责划归中央政法委员会、公安部。中共各级党委都设政法委、防范和处理邪教问题领导小组和 610 办公室。

### III. Explanations of terms and abbreviations mentioned in this article

Central Political and Legal Affairs Committee (PLAC) (中央政法委). The full name is Political and Legal Affairs Committee of CCP Central Committee.

The Central Leading Group for Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao-related Issues (or the Leading Group) (中央防范和处理邪教问题领导小组). The full name is the Leading Group for Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao-related issues of CCP Central Committee. Formerly known as the Leading Group for Handling Falun Gong Issues (中央处理法轮功问题领导小组), it is an extralegal agency established by former head of CCP Jiang Zemin on June 10, 1999, for the sole purpose of persecuting Falun Gong. The Leading Group has an office to handle its day-to-day work, the full name of which is the Office of the Central Leading Group for Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao (heterodox teachings) Issues, a.k.a. **the Central 610 Office**, which was named after the date of its establishment, and sometimes simplified as the Office of Prevention. In March 2018, after the reform of the CCP's party and government institutions, the Leading Group for Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao-related Issues of CCP Central Committee, including its office and responsibilities, was transferred to the Central Political and Legal Affairs Committee and the Ministry of Public Security(MPS).<sup>17</sup> CCP committees at all levels set up corresponding political and legal affairs committees, leading groups on preventing and dealing xie jiao (heterodox teachings) issues, and 610 offices.

中央处理法轮功问题领导小组，大约在 2002 年前后改名为中央防范和处理邪教问题领导小组。2018 年中共党政机构改革，该领导小组的功能转交给中共中央政法委。这个转交很容易完成，因为本来中央政法委书记就兼任领导小组组长。中央 610 办公室的任务转交给公安部完成。中央 610 办公室的主任原来都由一名公安部副部长担任，因为执行主要是公安部完成。公安部迫害法轮功和其它宗教的主要是一局和 26 局。一局是国保局（国内安全保卫局 Domestic Security Bureau，注意不要和国安部 State Security 搞混了），2018 年机构改革之后改名为

<sup>17</sup> 中共中央印发《深化党和国家机构改革方案》”The CCP Central Committee Publishes and Distributes Plan to Further Reform the Structure of the Party and Government Institutions,” PRC Central Government, March 21, 2018. [http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2018-03/21/content\\_5276191.htm#1](http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2018-03/21/content_5276191.htm#1)

政治安全保卫局, Political Security Bureau, 注意, 该局在 2000 年以前就叫政治保卫局, 现在多了「安全」两个字。这个的唯一功能就是政治和宗教迫害, 类似第三帝国的安全警察 (Sicherheitspolizei 或 Gestapo)。另外大约在 2000 年, 公安部成立了一个新的局, 26 局, 就是公安部内部的 610 办公室, 对外叫反邪教局, 除了第一任局长张越, 以后的都由一局局长兼任, 最近被调查审判的孙力军和傅政华都是兼一局局长、26 局局长和中央 610 办公室主任或副主任, 可见中央 610 办公室的大部分工作在 2018 年机构改革之前就已经基本由公安部担任了。机构改革后, 公安部内部进行了调整, 原 26 局改为四局。原中央 610 的任务应该由公安部四局具体操作。但没有这方面的文件证实。具体抓人等执行还是由一局实施。

Around 2002, the Central Leading Group for Handling the Falun Gong Issue was renamed to the Central Leading Group for Preventing and Handling Xie Jiao-related Issues.

In the 2018 reform of the CCP's party and government institutions, the function of this leading group was transferred to the CCP's Central Political and Legal Affairs Committee. The transfer was easily accomplished because originally, the secretary of the Central PLAC was also the head of the Leading Group. The tasks of the Central 610 Office were transferred to the MPS. The Central 610 Office was headed by a Vice Minister of Public Security, because the implementation was mainly undertaken by the MPS. The MPS's chief organs in charge of persecution of Falun Gong were the 1st Bureau and the 26th Bureau. The 1st Bureau, or Domestic Security Bureau (国保局, not to be confused with the Ministry of State Security), was renamed to Political Security Protection Bureau after the reform in 2018. (*Editor's Note: this bureau was called Political Protection Bureau before 2000; now the word "security" is inserted in the title. The sole function of this bureau is political and religious persecution, similar to the Third Reich's security police Sicherheitspolizei or Gestapo*).

Around 2000, the MPS established a new bureau, the 26th Bureau, which is the 610 Office inside the MPS. Externally it is called the Anti-Xie Jiao (heterodox teachings) Bureau. Except for the first director, Zhang Yue (张越), the subsequent ones were doubled by the directors of the 1st Bureau. Both Sun Lijun (孙力军) and Fu Zhenghua (傅政华), who were recently investigated and sentenced, once tripled as the director of 1st Bureau, the director of the 26th Bureau, and the director or deputy director of the Central 610 Office at the same time. This indicates that most of the Central 610 Office's functions had been moved to the MPS even before the reform in 2018. After the institutional reform, the MPS underwent an internal restructuring, which replaced the former 26th Bureau with the 4th Bureau. The tasks of the former Central 610 Office should have been transferred to the 4th Bureau accordingly, although there is no document confirming this. Arrests and other daily operations are still carried out by the 1st Bureau.