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What's Zhongnanhai's Propose of “Singing Red”?

By *GAO Yu*



In 2008, after the Wenchuan Earthquake in Sichuan and the Beijing Olympics, Li Changchun, the Politburo member in charge of propaganda, and Liu Yunshan, Minister of Propaganda, as well as Liu Qi, Party Secretary of Beijing, wrote articles to praise the “state system” being able to organize big events. The Chinese Communist Party unhid attempted to promote the “Chinese Model” and “Chinese Way” to the world. During the global financial crisis in 2009, this propaganda reached the climax.

Another event also took place in 2008. A group of 303 prominent figures with different professional backgrounds cosigned the Charter 08. At 11pm on 8 December, the authorities criminally detained writer Liu Xiaobo, one of the major drafters of the charter, on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power” and raided his home. During the Third Session of the 17th Central Committee of Communist Party of China, Hu Jintao delivered the speech which emphasized that “anti-westernization and dedifferentiation are our Party's long-term tasks of political and ideological lines. The Party needs to keep strengthening its control of public opinion and propaganda. It needs to manage the media and the Internet well and create a good environment of public opinions for economic recovery and social harmony.” The speech was the continuation of what Hu Jintao said in his policy address entitled “Control Ideology, Learn from North Korea and Cuba” when he was elected as the Chairman of Central Military Committee during the Fourth Session of the 16th Central Committee of Communist Party of China on 19 September 2004.

In 2010, China superseded Japan to become the second largest economy in the world. However, the Chinese Communist regime struggled with the international community to block Liu Xiaobo from receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. Hundreds of dissidents were detained or put under “soft detention.” Their freedom of expression was blocked as their Internet service and cellphones were cut off. Prominent academics, including Mao Yushi, were blocked from traveling abroad for academic exchange for the reason of “endangering national security”. Dissident Liu Xianbin, who wrote five articles to criticize the “bean-curd buildings” (sub-standard buildings) in Wenchuan, was arrested for the fourth time and charged with “inciting subversion of state power.” Eventually, not a single person from Mainland China was allowed to attend the Nobel Peace Prize award ceremony in Oslo on 10 December.

The year of 2011 was the year when we saw the most acute social conflicts in China ever. The government laid down heavy sentence on Liu Xianbin, detained Ai Weiwei and imprisoned

dissidents Chen Xi, Chen Wei and Li Tie for what they said. Heavy sentences were laid down to frighten the society. The Sixth Session of the 17th Central Committee of Communist Party of China was held in October to pass resolution to develop “Party culture” to strengthen control of thoughts and publication.

The 18th Central Committee of Communist Party of China is to be convened this year. The occurrences of Wukan incident, Chongqing incident, and Chen Guangcheng incident burst out the unprecedented social and political crisis for “Chinese model” and “Chinese Way”. Premier Wen Jiabao warned the danger of recurrence of the “Cultural Revolution”. Chongqing's “Sing Red” campaign was in fact to praise Ma Zedong. The “Reform of Opening Up” started 34 years ago. What was changed was “Ma Zedong's Socialism”. However, another bigger wave of “Sing Red” is being pushed by Zhongnanhai.

This year is the 70th anniversary of Mao Zedong's “Speech at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art.” Zhongnanhai also has organized a seminar. Hu Jintao issued a directive stating that the Speech “is a classical literature of our Party's leadership in literary and art causes.” The Writers Publishing House organized 100 writers and paid them 1000 RMB each to copy-write the speech as a commemorative album. some people initiated an online counter-campaign to copy-write the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” as a response. Mao's Speech created the way to “brainwash” the whole Party and all people. In 1966 and 1967, Mao re-publish his speech twice and initiated the ten-year Cultural Revolution. The commemoration of the speech at Zhongnanhai is the third wave. In this era of globalization and internetization, it's hard evidence to show how the Chinese government wants to exercise ideological despotism.

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Translated by Patrick Poon

Tibet: After the Beijing Olympics

By Tsering Woesser

Remember in that year when the Beijing Olympics was held, the religious ceremony in the Tibetan area was canceled because someone hated to see monks and believers to get together. Many customs were canceled. For instance, at the lakeside in Qinghai, farmers were not allowed to burn mulberry leaves and workshop mountain gods. The traditional horse racing festival in Khams was not permitted, either. Looking at the sparse grassland, the agile and brave shepherds lamented: “The Olympics should be similar to our horse racing festival? But we can't have our horse racing festival.”

That year is not far away, as if it was yesterday. Everything then is still fresh in my memory. However, like what I wrote in my book “Tibet: 2008”: “There are many things that only a few people know. There are many truths that only a few people realize. Sources from Khams said that there were some massacres similar to battles in some remote areas.”

How could I possibly write down all the plights and sufferings of Tibet in a short passage? For instance, how many outstanding Tibetans have been brutally taken away from their homes, monasteries, or workplaces or other unknown places by government officers? We are unable to find out the exact number, unless we were those in power, police officers or prison guards.

Many people silently disappeared. Just like the Yushu earthquake in 2009, more than 10,000 people died, but the official death toll was only 2698. It was a natural disaster. The government could even minimize the figure in such manner, not to mention the victims of political earthquakes.

Amid the fire of desperation and hope, Tibetans self-immolate one by one. Since the first one occurred in Ando Aba in February 2009, 40 Tibetans have self-immolated themselves (including 37 in Tibet and 3 in overseas) as of May 27, 2012. In only more than five months this year, 24 Tibetans have set themselves on fire.

Would the Tibetans be so unwise, controlled and neglect of lives and consider self-immolation as chips to blackmail? We should know, it's the dictator and the evil government which set the fire on the studying monks and ordinary citizens! Some Tibetans who self-immolated left their words, wrote or audio-recorded their will before their self-immolation which are gradually revealed. All these are the most precious evidence to clearly demonstrate why they set themselves on fire.

For example, the farmer who self-immolated in front of the township government on 1 December last year left four signed will as “the dignified” in which he wrote: “....How can we believe in a government which doesn't allow our religious beliefs?” “After thinking about the plight of the whole Tibet and the Karma Temple this year, I can continue to live and wait.”

For example, Sopa Rinpoche, who sacrificed himself in a remote county on January 8 this year, recorded his last words: “Like how the Buddha offered his body to feed the tigers, I myself and other fellow Tibetans sacrifice ourselves for the sake of truth and freedom.”

For example, two young people who self-immolated in a village on April this year, they also recorded their last words: “We self-immolated for the lack of basic human rights for the Tibetan people and the peace of the world. The pain that we, the Tibetans, enjoy no basic human rights, is bigger than the pain of our self-immolation.” Their voice was pure and had no fear.

There is a metaphor in Tibet: “The bone of the heart”. To the Tibetans nowadays, while the world is changing, the authoritarian regime is even stronger. Dignity is stepped on. But “the bone of the heart” will not be broken. The 40 self-immolated Tibetans and many other Tibetans who fight for freedom are like “the bone of the heart.”

May 29, 2012, Beijing

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Translated by Patrick Poon

Hidden Rules Never End

By DAI Qing

As never celebrating birthday in my childhood, I haven't thought about birthday in my whole life. Last year, a group of young friends unexpectedly offered their kindness to get me back the pleasure of life. And that caused some fuzz and attracted serious forbidding warning from the police. As I remembered, during the final battling discussion between the two parties, the group of young people made comprise on party scale, and the authority asked for a condition for permission, that "there must be an official to attend--she has so many old acquaintances of officials serving in the government, and just one to attend will be all right."

When the message came to me, I thought of my former classmates and playmates one by one in my mind, and told the young friends: "As for those officials who are currently on their positions and still have contacts with me, there are only two at the moment: policeman Xiao Ma who watched over me when I was in Hai Dian, and policeman Xiao Liu who has been watching over me after my moving to Shun Yi."

I started my social contacts as early as my entrance into primary school and after sixty-five years established a huge network with all sorts of glittering stars from political, financial and cultural circles. Nothing could stop the two words of my name. However, since the tanks drove onto the Chang'an Avenue, my name has become "officer-hinder plague": anybody, who has a governmental title no matter big or small, or shares benefits from governmental relations, would like to avoid getting close to it.

I became nothing at all in my own motherland, except an identity as "Beijing resident". In my memory, I once had to fill my identity in an application form. I made it as "unemployed" as the true fact is. The application form was thrown back by the police, saying: "How harsh to hear that. There are so many other identities. Just choose something else."

Something else? I could not work as a journalist. For writing books which is my cause for life and living, I have only sighs left after the past twenty-two years. Not because of nothing to write, just because in China all publications which can be sold in book stores should have formal ISBN numbers. However, these numbers are only held in the hands of governmental publishers who do nothing but make big fortunes. Nobody would like to risk losing his good job to publish a book by Dai Qing.

Risk? How big is the risk? Who could not enjoy protection from Clause 35, Chapter Two of the Constitution?

Several years ago, my translated book “The Wages of Guilt, Memories and Reflections to Japanese and German Wars” was accepted by Social Science Achieves Publishing House with arrangement of go-betweens. But how to name the translator? I insisted in my right as a translator. The go-between informed me that “the publishing house was very worried”. I asked them to present evidence for my name not allowed to appear in the book, either from Publishing Laws, Criminal Laws, and regulations or from phone notices? If no, I regarded it as the editor’s own decision. If so, my lawyer would go to see him.

My message was passed over. Printing started. New book was posted to me. Looking through the pages from book cover, book binding ridge and title page, finally the two words of my name “Dai Qing”, in tiny font, was found at the third page. A few days later, a book-review editor from Nan Fang Weekend sent me a copy of that book, commenting “this is an excellent book. Could you please write a review for it.” I asked the go-between to pass over my greetings to the publisher and urge him to attention that after my name appeared in the book, there happened no floods or earth quake at all, and the publisher himself had no infection to the plague either.

My book, *Within the Palms of Tathagata Buddha, Zhang Dongsun and His Time*, was published in Hong Kong in 2010. One very successful agent would like to publish a Mainland edition of it. He knew that I used my mother’s pre-revolutionary name “Ke Rou” before to edit Zhang Dongsun’s *Essays of Academics and Thinking*. He asked me if we could use it again. I agreed. He made further request to change “sensitive words and paragraphs” in the book, and I gnashed my teeth to agree. But after months and years, the photocopy-version of this book was spread everywhere in university campuses, but nobody would like to publish this book in Mainland China even if in the name of “retired carder”.

What sensitivity! But what’s the foundation for that?

Luckily, Mainland China is now practicing “market economy with socialist characteristics”. The “entrust-to-print and self-responsible” publishing industry is rising to boom, which needs no ISBN or official reviews but requires money only to publish. Failing to having a birthday party for me, that group of young people raised money everywhere to print a book of “*Selected Works by Dai Qing*” as a birthday gift for me. Mr. Mao Yushi, who was listed as the top wanted traitor by a pro-Mao website, calligraphed the title of the book.

What police want to prevent and control are those taking to the streets and going up for petitions,

but writing and publishing books are a different story now, which needs to see what they are about. Over one thousand copies of “*Selected Works by Dai Qing*” were sent to the hands of readers including policemen. Those young friends made a special bookmark for the book as well. At the upper part there is a Han-dynasty storyteller figurine (very much alike Deng Xiaoping) holding high “In Commemoration of 1989 Violence Suppression” and the lower part sees a self-teasing couplet of mine. As of 70 years old, I should be expected to enjoy what Confucius says “at seventy, I can do what I intend freely but break no rules”, however I was late born 2500 years; the cultural atmosphere of “the People’s Republic”, with the effect of hidden rules, covered thoroughly over me. And thus the couplet goes like this: “still remaining a childish heart from time to time, but every day breaking rules existing here and there”. The streamer for the couplet reads like this: “hard to live the days at seventy”.

This reflects the real situation for freedom of speech in current China. In comparison with Suppressing Reactionaries (1952), Anti-Rightists (1957) and Cultural Revolution (1966), this is much better: authors can have their stomach filled, have places to shelter and cars to take, and with a click on the mouse articles can be sent around the globe via internet.

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Translated by CHEN Biao

Human Rights in China after the Olympics

By *SHA Yexin*

The Chinese government and its leadership used to say to the foreigners: "Chinese people mean what they say!"

Since ancient time, the Chinese people who have been forcefully represented by the Chinese government have been honest, virtuous, re-pledge, trustworthy, serious about keeping promise, and indeed "mean what they say. But this is not the case of today's Chinese government and its leadership, who have completely betrayed the tradition of Chinese integrity. They tell nothing but lie, and no word reliable. Only when they need making bigger lies or larger cheats, they may have or pretend to get previous commitments honored in a little extent, and then they will remain the same, or even worse.

For example, the Chinese government and its leadership, in or to strive for the host country of the Olympic Games in 2008, made some beautiful promises: to improve its human rights record, to expand the press freedom, etc. In the beginning for a certain period and appearance, it seemed to have some improvement and expansion. But after the Games ended, the Chinese government in defiance of international opinion, cannot wait but return to the same track, even brazenly and severely sentencing Liu Xiaobo, the former president of Independent Chinese PEN Centre, who is still in prison. This is by no means the only case. For four years since the Olympics, the air of democracy and liberty in China has been growing thin, and the human rights situation has been going from bad to worse. It has resulted in that an increasing number of Chinese writers, journalists, lawyers, professors and civilians have been often suppressed, or tracked, wiretapped, threatened, detained, tortured or "disappearing"... such as those including Hu Jia, Yu Jie, Li Zhuang, GaoYaojie, Chen Guangcheng ...

I am no exception, but also the one under a long-term surveillance by the authorities. My books cannot publish in mainland China, nor my plays performed there. My play script, *A Pleasure to Have met Mr. Tsai*, won twice the awards issued by the non-governmental theater group and academic institution, but both were subject to the illegal obstruction of the governmental authorities.

When Liu Xiaobo was sentenced to imprisonment, I wrote a poem:

*The state prisoner is sentenced to eleven years,
In China every day there is a rare injustice,*

*The prison is both within and without the walls,
The detention is either side of that or this.*

This situation still continues, and has not been fundamentally changed yet. Since China is a totalitarian state, the deterioration of human rights is the inevitable result of such an authoritarian regime.

It is very difficult to predict how it will be in future, but in February and March, the sudden outbreak of the new political dynamics has brought a little hope. People look forward to the change of human rights and the realization of democracy. But the struggle is still raging for its end is unknown. We can only wait and see!

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Translated by ZHANG Yu

From Stealthy to Bold: Change of Chinese Communist before and after the Olympics

By Yu Jie

The Beijing Olympics in 2008 was a turning point of the authoritarian Chinese Communist regime, just like the Berlin Olympics in 1936.

The ways authoritarian countries organize the Olympic Games are so similar. Before the Olympics, they would pretend to show a sincere and humble face to the international community – Nazis released many Jews and dissidents while Chinese Communists also gave promises to Western journalists that they would be free to their reporting. However, once the Olympics was over, they immediately changed their faces – Nazis quickly sent the Jews to the deadly concentration camps and initiated invasions and battles, while the Chinese Communists also quickly mafianized its violent campaigns on maintaining stability and even attacked foreign journalists.

From my own experience, this change was obvious and in great contrast. Before and during the Olympics, I was under tight surveillance. National security squad officers (*guobao*) met with me and told that I should not go to anywhere nearby the sites of the Games. They also said that I would need to ride on their cars if I wanted to go out from my home. On the other hand, they still maintained a certain degree of flexibility. Guests could visit my home. I could move freely in the neighbourhood where I lived. Many foreign journalists visited my home without any interference. I received interviews with more than 20 media in a small bookstore in the district where I lived. My telephone line at home and my internet connection were smooth. The national security squad officers who were responsible for watching me downstairs from my home didn't want to be seen by my neighbors. They hid themselves behind the bushes. Probably deep inside their heart, they felt that what they were doing didn't match with the “harmonious” atmosphere of the Olympics.

In 2010, when Liu Xiaobo won the Nobel Peace Prize, the Chinese Communist was very furious and they entirely didn't care about the problem of “saving face.” I was under house arrest for more than two months. I couldn't leave my home and was completely cut off from the outside world. My wife was also treated in the same way. All the telephone lines, cell phone and internet connection were cut off. The people who watched me simply placed a big table in front of my door and took turns to guard outside my home 24 hours per day. They were no longer afraid of letting my neighbors know about their identity and what they were doing. There were watchers and cameras downstairs from my home, making it a special “scenery” in the neighborhood. Then,

I was hooded, kidnapped, and tortured and beaten up to fall into coma.

In Spring 2011, the Jasmine Incident made the spring in China even colder than winter. More than 100 writers, lawyers and human rights activists were “disappeared”, among them some also experienced torture as I did. The human rights situation in China was a big step backward, even more serious than the situation after the June 4 crackdown in 1989. Since upholding the one-party rule was the most “core interest” of this authoritarian regime, they shot citizens to deaths again like what they did in June 4. To them, there was not much difference from killing people in Beijing and in Tibet and in Xinjiang. When the West was deeply in financial crisis, it didn't have time to condemn what the Chinese Communists did.

During the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 2012, Article 73 of the Criminal Procedure Law, which was known as a “Gestapo provision,” was passed by majority. From now on, secret police can arrest any people suspected of “endangering national security” and they would not need to inform their family and detain them in secret places. It is the kind of lawless privilege which the Stasi in East Germany would have also dreamed to enjoy. Therefore, like what I predicted a few years ago – Chinese Communist is now marching towards the Nazi era.

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Translated by Angela HU

Garbage Dump and Mafia

By *LIAO Yiwu*

In 2008, when Beijing Olympics unmasked, I did not expect at all that I would flee.

At that time, the Communist Party slaughtered in Tibet where thousands of monks died violent deaths. It was followed by Sichuan earthquake that wiped out nearly 200thousands of people. I happened to be renovating a new residence in the outer suburbs of Chengdu that I bought by spending the royalties of my first English book, *The Corpse Walker*. As the earth shaken up, my roof suddenly surfaced a few cracks.

As a victim of the earthquake, as well as a recorder of the era, I immediately rushed to the seriously damaged area to have interviews. Everywhere were the homeless relatives of the dead, and everywhere is the damnation: “the Olympics over the corpses”. However, by hosting the Olympics with accumulation of gold medals, China did make its market economy take off, attracting the attention of all mankind.

Then, they arrested my friend Liu Xiao, an initiator of Charter 08, and then sentenced him to 11 years in prison on Christmas Eve of the following year. Because of his suffering, Liu Xiaobo’s deeds were widely disseminated, and so he won the Nobel Peace Prize. Prisoner Liu Xiaobo said that this award was for the souls of June Fourth Victims, but I think that memory that has gradually wore from the massacre in 1989 to date, which Liu Xiaobo has gone through. On his back or at his feet, there laid the countless people living and dead.

I did not expect that I would flee. When Liu Xiaobo was announced to be awarded the prize, I was in Germany. I struggled 15 times for my right to visit abroad and finally reached the free world. But I declined the invitation from Oslo, and did not attend the award ceremony. I turned my head to go back home, for I had “used to” be not free. I was an underlying rat, always running around under police’s tracking and monitoring. In that world’s largest garbage dump, I could dig out the most incredible stories in the world. I overestimated my capacity to fit my homeland that I have deeply loved still, and so casted myself into the net.

After the Beijing Olympics, the Western societies have been scrambling and doing business in China due to their economic recession, and low-cost market and labor force in China. In China their can make the gray or pollution businesses that they cannot do in their own country due to the restrictions by law or public opinions. Thus, the wolf tail of the dictatorship has raised higher and

higher. Last year, at last, the potential mafia evolved into an open mafia. The legal cover was not to be made any longer while kidnapping, beating and disappearance were framed into the daily life of each dissident intellectual. Before Ai Weiwei, an internationally renowned artist, was missing when checking to leave China, I had also got a stern warning. Although I have a passport and visa, I was not allowed to publish my books, nor to visit abroad. Otherwise I would suddenly be missing, unaware to be dead or alive.

I felt shivered. Finally I left behind my beloved and properties, and fled alone at risk. Thank God, and thank for the aegis under many innocent people, I have been lucky to succeed, and published two books, *Testimonials* and *God Is Red*. I am introspectively sitting at this quiet desk while the fighting within the mafia has intensified in my motherland not too far away, where Wang Lijun was escaping while Bo Xilai was chasing. As a result, both have been captured by the leaders of mafia, more ruthless.

The National People's Congress ended in bursts of alarming smokes, and unanimously approved a most draconian law in its history in order to deal with the terrorists (including "cultural terrorists" like me). According to it, the police may arbitrarily arrest people without notifying the family in six months.

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Translated by ZHANG Yu

Great Retrogression of Law Ruling under the System of Stability Maintaining

By Ye Du

China has seen its economic development for more than 30 years. However, the shortage of political system is causing severe social injustice. General people barely benefit from the fast economic development, as most part of the wealth they created has been grabbed by vested interests. People are quickly divided into social classes, and the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing. Social conflicts are getting severer, while people's complaints are getting more. There are massive conflicts between the government officials and general people. In such crucial political environment with increasingly severe conflicts between officials and general people, Beijing formed its "stability maintaining" system to suppress civil rights by enhancing its centralized control, as "stability is above everything that needs to give way to maintaining stability". Maintaining stability is to set all people as imaginary enemy by monitoring, blocking and suppressing every single idea, speech, message or fact that could endanger its party monopoly.

After the Beijing Olympics, Beijing overwhelmingly enhanced and overused threatening and suppressing as major measures of stability maintaining. In October 2009, the guideline for Chinese peaceful transformation, Charter 08 was released. In October 2010, Liu Xiaobo won the Nobel Peace Prize. Great repercussions were evoked in China. Beijing started to use large amount of social resources and power to suppress civil society, and adopted political prosecution that is against human rights to make the people move backwards.

As the Chinese people haven't obtain freedom of expression including freedom of publication and freedom of news releasing, the Internet currently becomes the major battlefield to fight for freedom and express their needs for freedom. The advent of new media such as Twitter and Wei Bo constitutes great challenges to the totalitarian authority but provides the most important platform for the Chinese citizen movement. Therefore, the government has adopted the following approaches to monitor the Internet and restrict the spread of opinions: firstly, strengthening the notorious "Great Firewall" (GFW), the most major tool for Internet monitoring, to block all overseas remarks and opinions about human rights, freedom and democracy. Access to Facebook, YouTube and Twitter is forbidden in China; secondly, implementing the world's most stringent Internet control system and forcing the online media to make self-censorship so as to punish those who violate the control regulations, through the measures of penalty, interdiction, closure

and banning. Google's withdraw from China market in early 2010 is a typical example; thirdly, employing a great number of Internet police and Internet commentators (named by public as Fifty-Cents, as they get Fifty-Cent payment for each Internet comment) to monitor Internet and censor opinions, using "Internet Real Name System" to intimidate and prevent Internet users to express freely, and even arresting and imprison many Internet writers who express their opinions peacefully.

The situation became worst during the "Chinese Jasmine Revolution" in February 2011. Beijing was concerned about the proliferation of Jasmine Revolution in North Africa coming into China. Cruel prosecutions were adopted all over China, in which thousands of writers, journalists and lawyers were monitored, detained, kidnapped, disappeared or arrested. It was the most massive prosecution for Chinese intellectuals. The whole China went into Red Terror. People who were prosecuted have been through the dirty tricks that were the used on intellectuals to the largest scale since the Culture Revolution in 1976, including beating, not able to sleep, brain washing and threatening that are both physically and mentally torturing. I personally had been tortured for continuous days by non-stop interviews without sleeping, forcing me to admit that my articles were ways of "crime".

In this stability maintaining system that suppresses human freedom and dismisses different opinions, Chinese rule of law became increasingly weaker. In March 2012, the National People's Congress passed the Amendment of Criminal Proceedings Law, in which the clause of close arrest and long term extrajudicial detention has comprehensively expanded the power scope that the police could abuse. It was uncovered trample and deprivation of personal rights and liberty. It was a sign of China's retrogression of law ruling and deterioration of human rights. It is foreseeable that an era with more terror and blood is coming.

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Translated by Angela HU

Human Rights in Post-Olympic China

By *TENG Biao*

“Same World, Same Dream” was the slogan of Beijing Olympics. But public intellectuals demanded to add “Same Human Rights” to the slogan because everyone on this planet shares the “Same Dream”, which shouldn't be any others but should be the universal human rights entitled to everyone as enshrined in the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” and PRC Constitution. Hu Jia and I wrote an article entitled “The Truth of China before the Olympics” in which we cited real cases and data to demonstrate China's human rights situation. In the areas of freedom of expression, freedom of faith, right to vote, property right, torture and death penalty, the human rights record before the Olympics was nothing good to report. Kind-hearted people were hoping that the government would grab the rare opportunity to help China to take a big step forward towards the rule of law, democracy and an open society.

The Chinese government didn't keep its promise to the international community when it made for bidding to host the Olympics. We shouldn't feel too surprised about that. The Beijing Olympics was only an event. It wasn't a milestone. Its influence on China's political and social transformation shouldn't be over-estimated. Some scholars believed that “Beijing embrace classical fascism.” But I don't think it is necessary the case. It's not that the government didn't do anything to change but it is in fact unable to do so. From some incidents, we can really see some fascist traces in politics – collusion between officials and gangsters, collusion between officials and bandits, thriving development of secret police, gangsterization of law enforcement agencies, rampant occurrences of torture, gunshots to crack down on civil resistance, propaganda of inciting ethnicism and nationalism, etc. However, there is not a big for the whole Chinese society to move toward fascism.

The patterns of international politics and economics and human rights mechanisms are of course important factors on the one hand, but the factors inside China are more significant. The civil society is gradually flourishing in difficult environment. The *weiquan* (rights defense) movement based on grassroots and individual rights is fervently developing. Although government crackdowns have never been loosen, the power struggle between officials and civilians is changing in the direction beneficial to the rule of law. The stubborn camp and the reactionary camp inside the government can no longer suffocate the society-wide and all-rounded *weiquan* movement. The rapid development of the Internet makes it technologically more and more difficult to control transmission of information. The opening up of information and more convenient form of communication again pushes another step forward on raising awareness of

democracy and human rights and the organizing capacity of *weiquan* movement. It's the global trend towards the development of republic. Currently, we still can't see a strong force which can make the post-Olympic China to regress to classical authoritarianism.

However, the democratic force is also not strong enough to develop as fast as to the degree of the Seoul Olympics in 1988. The reactionary camp of the Communists and the stubborn camp who enjoy vested interests would not withdraw from the historical stage. Standing next to them are the ambitious nationalist and ethicist ferocious camp. An Olympic Game cannot change the judicial system, media system and the nature of a regime. For the democratic development of China, the most fundamental requirement should be continuous formation of civil rights awareness, continuous fervent pursuit for freedom and continuous enhancement of social movements. During this process, the underprivileged, rights defenders and pioneers will definitely need to bear all the difficulties.

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Translated by Patrick Poon

The Paradoxical Freedom in a Divided Country

By LIU Di

This year is 2012 when four years has passed since Beijing Olympics in 2008. Before it hosted the Olympics, the Chinese government pledged to improve its human rights record, including the expansion of the press freedom and the protection of the freedom of expression and other basic human rights granted in International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and in China's Constitution.

During the past four years, the Chinese authorities have never stopped suppressing the freedom of expression. In December 2008, Liu Xiaobo, the former president of the Independent Chinese PEN Centre (ICPC) and an initiator of Charter 08, was arrested, and a year later sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. After Liu was announced to be awarded to the Nobel Peace Prize in October 2010 his wife Liu Xia has been held under house arrest and lost her contact with the outside world ever since. During these four years, Yu Jie, a former vice-president of ICPC was kidnapped and beaten to coma for his publishing a book *China's Best Actor: Wen Jiabao*; The dissidents Liu Xianbin, Chen Wei, Chen Xi and Zhu Yufu were severely sentenced; thousands of intellectuals, artists, lawyers, rights activists and ordinary netizens, including Ran Yunfei, Ai Weiwei, Teng Biao, etc, were detained, beaten and tortured for the Jasmine events. I have been also summoned, house-arrested and warned in a number of times for my publishing the articles and statements on Internet. In December 2009, when the hearing of Liu Xiaobo's trial started, I was house-arrested in a hotel for several days by the Domestic Security Police (Guobao) for my trying to attend his trial. On 8 October 2010, it was announced that Liu Xiaobo was awarded to the Nobel Peace Prize, and I was held under house arrest at home since that evening. For a few days around 10 December when the awarding ceremony took place in Oslo, I was taken to a hotel for house arrest once more. On 8 May 2011, I was summoned for a 24-hour criminal interrogation on my statement on Internet.

However, these are just one side of the situation. Another side is that, as the users of Chinese Twitter has been increased and its domestic version Weibo has been launched, it has become more and more difficult to control the expressions on Chinese Internet, which have become more and more influential, thus having formed a public platform of opinions as a matter of fact. The following examples can confirm this view:

1) In February last year (2011), when the Jasmine Revolutions broke out in some Arabic countries, a joke on Chinese Twitter calling for the Jasmine Rallies made Chinese authorities reacting as if facing some formidable enemies, thus sending large numbers of police officers and dogs to block the downtown areas in many major cities and arrested a large number of netizens. This has fully

reflected the panics and impotentness of Chinese authorities while facing the online expression.

2) It took only two days for the recent Wang Lijun incident to be revealed from the Weibo users' rumor that there had been some abnormal movement outside the U.S. Consulate General in Chengdu, to the Xinhua News Agency's news, "Wang Lijun, a vice mayor of Chongqing City, had entered the U.S. Consulate General in Chengdu, and left after staying there for a day. The case is under investigation." This incident has sufficiently shown that the Chinese authorities felt too difficult to conceal the facts and control the expressions on Internet.

3) Recently the National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) are holding their sessions including the approval of the amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code which contains "residential surveillance over a suspect at an assigned residence on suspicion of endangering national security and other crimes may not notify the family." This amendment has faced a strong opposition and criticism from the netizens on Weibo. The netizens have also launched a campaign lobbying the deputies of NPC to vote against the amendment. Some deputies have said that they will do so. It indicates that the Internet has made some political influence upon the NPC and CPPCC which have been referred to as the "rubber stamp" and "political vase", respectively.

Chinese authorities have no intention to improve the human rights and expand freedom of expression, but also unable to fully control the expressions on Internet. They do not understand the Internet, are either unwilling or cannot afford to shut down it for consideration of economic interests or group interests. There are two completely different kinds of China for the observers looking up at the Chinese government and those down to concern the Chinese society. This is the paradoxical situation of freedom of expression in a divided country.

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Translated by ZHANG Yu

Shit-like Freedom

By Murong Xuecun

If you are a writer and planning to write a novel about the modern life in China, you have to avoid the following years: 1959-1962 for the Great Famine, 1966-1976 for the Great Cultural Revolution, and 1989 for Tiananmen Massacre; otherwise your book would be like very hard to be published. If you are an editor or journalist, you have to bear in your mind what can be reported, what needs to be reported with caution, and what is absolutely not allowed to be reported; otherwise you would be possibly removed from your position or even sacked. Every day the Propaganda Department at all levels would pass down various prohibition orders, notifying you which words cannot be mentioned and which words have to be shielded. For the past decades, these prohibition orders have been accumulated at all levels of government and never dismissed, which are huge enough to form a new range of Himalaya Mountains. Our government spokesman, sitting at the top of the mountains, has declared many times: Chinese people enjoy extensive freedom of speech. However, the good and honest people at the foot of the mountains may comprehend like this: we enjoy real freedom for those incidents which are allowed to be reported, we enjoy cautious freedom for those incidents which need to be reported with caution, and we enjoy not-to-know freedom for those incidents which are not allowed to be reported.

In 1931, Lu Xun was asked by *High School Students* magazine: if a high school student is standing before you, what would you like to say to him? Lu Xun asked in reply: I have to ask you first, do we have freedom of speech? If no, please excuse me for speaking nothing; if you really want me to say something, I would like to say that the first step is to fight for freedom of speech. Eighty-one years passed after that, and Lu Xun passed away decades before. His works have been taken away from textbooks, but the task he handed over to coming generations remains unaccomplished. Generations of Chinese people fell down on this thorn-covered narrow road. However, when we look back, we find we haven't travelled far away; when we open our mouths to speak, we are still fighting for the right to speak itself.

If reading the official reports only, you are more likely to take China as a country with extensive freedom of speech. As you can see, China's Constitution stipulates freedom of speech and writing, China's cultural policy has been "letting hundreds of schools of thoughts to contend, and letting hundreds of flowers to blossom" all the time, and there has never been a law or regulation proclaiming to limit freedom of speech. However, with a few investigations you will discover that Constitution can never defeat solutions and policies can never defeat banning orders. Each

allowance of free expressions is always followed by brutal cleansings for different thoughts. The outspoken people were intimidated, arrested or even lost their lives. This regime has always advocated “one party, one leader, and one doctrine”, and therefore free expression and thoughts are the natural enemy to it. Ever since 1949, even as early as the years in Yan’an, this regime has never stopped its controls and suppressions to scholars and thinkers. And it came to its peak during the Cultural Revolution which successfully created the darkest era in the history of China: people could neither speak anything nor speak nothing. Every person had to recite quotations by Mao Zedong and showed boundless loyalty to him. More than thirty years later, things have changed greatly: Chinese people can finally be free to say nothing though they are not free to say anything.

Free world has a variety of excitement while not-free world has its own variety of surprising non-freedoms. If we make a deep investigation into the circumstance of expression in China, we can see a extremely complicated situation. Each city, each publishing house and even each editor has its own standard. The same writing can be published in Guangzhou, but could be prohibited in Shenzhen and published in Beijing after revisions. The same book can be published in the hands of editor A but could be considered as dangerous objects to editor B. All media and publishing houses are governmental institutions whose employees enjoy ranks, benefits and welfares provided by the government but have to succumb to government controls. These controls include both beforehand reviews and brutal afterwards repays. “Not to kill them but keep them live in fears” is the first strategy for Propaganda Departments to control the media. Under massive pressure, each media employee plays a voluntary role as “censorship officer” and makes sure that each article passing over his hands is harmless, non-reactionary, non-pornographic, non-dark and decadent, and non-negative influence. Otherwise he has to bear extremely serious consequences. Some retired old cadres voluntarily join this great censoring cause. Once they find any forbidden words in a book, they would pick up a phone and report to the government. They never feel ashamed for their behaviors but fill their hearts with righteousness, thinking they are defending their country and own families.

Over the past ten years or so, the situation of free expression in China was apparently improved. If it has to be contributed to the government, it should be contributed to the powerlessness of the government. After entering into the era of Internet, the Chinese government has gotten to learn new technologies and new approaches with the times. It has set up a reservoir of sensitive vocabulary, adopted the most advanced firewall technology, employed numerous anonymous people to defend itself, blocked Facebook, Google, Twitter and countless overseas websites, and purged websites in the name of anti-phonography and anti-rumor, including the recent forced closures of the commenting function of the most influential Chinese Twitters, Weibo, at Sina and QQ. These approaches are forceful and fearful, however facing even more forceful internet

technology; the regime seems powerless to catch up. It is just like an old and worn-out mower. Each time after cutting off one leaf, several new leaves will come out. Between the gaps of science and technology and controlling approaches, people finally hear some free expressions and some of the real facts which haven't blocked in time. The incidents of shuttle-train, Wu Kan Village, Chen Guangcheng and many more surged huge waves on the internet before the forbidden orders were made. More and more people joined in and expressed their opinions and exposed truth and facts in blogs and Weibo. It proves a saying by an ancient Chinese wise man: blocked words, like floods, will eventually rush to collapse dams one day.

It's really hard to imagine how clever the Chinese people are in finding ways to speak. Over the Internet, people call Fa Lun Gong "wheels", the year of 1989 as "the year before 1990", June 4th as "May 35th", and tanks as "tractors". Vice Mayor Wang Lijun, who aroused a massive political incident, was called by netizens as "Wang Lijuan Matron". Speakers present the sayings clearly, readers and audience understand clearly as well, and reviewers pretend not to understand at all. And in this way a harmonious society is established.

On April 22, 2011 Fang Hong, a Chong Qing resident, wrote a joke on the Internet. It says that Bo Xilai discharged one lump of feces and asked Wang Lijun to eat, but Wang Lijun took it to the Procuratorate and asked it to eat, however the Procuratorate took it to the Court and asked it to eat, and finally the court took it to Li Zhuang, a lawyer, and asked him to eat, but Li Zhuang refused: those who released it should eat it. Two days after that, Fang Hong was arrested by Chong Qing police and sentenced to one year of forced labor. Though Bo Xilai already left Chong Qing, Fang Hong is still missing. However, the "one-lump-of-feces case" is still meaningful and symbolic, just as a typical Chinese fable tells people: you have both the freedom to discharge feces and the freedom to eat feces, but you don't have the freedom to comment on feces as you like.

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Translated by CHEN Biao

A Brief of Independent Chinese PEN Centre

Independent Chinese PEN Center (ICPC) is a nongovernmental, nonprofit and nonpartisan organization beyond borders based on free association of those who write, edit, translate, research and publish literature work in Chinese and dedicated to freedom of expression for the workers in Chinese language and literature, including writers, journalists, translators, scholars and publishers over the world. ICPC is a member organization of International PEN, the global association of writers dedicated to freedom of expression and the defence of writers suffering governmental repression. Through the worldwide PEN network and its own membership base in China and abroad, ICPC is able to mobilize international attention to the plight of writers and editors within China attempting to write and publish with a spirit of independence and integrity, regardless of their political views, ideological standpoint or religious beliefs.

ICPC was founded in 2001 by a group of Chinese writers in exile and in China, including its founding President LIU Binyan, a prominent author, journalist and activist who passed away in exile in USA on Dec. 5 2005, Vice-president and author ZHENG Yi, Executive Director and poet BEI Ling and Freedom to Write Committee Coordinator and poet MENG Lang, all of whom have been in exile in USA. In November of same year, ICPC was approved as a chapter of the International PEN at its annual congress in London. Since then, ICPC has made vigorous efforts to promote and defend the freedom of writing and publication and the free flow of information in China, and been deeply concerned about the state of civil society and open discourse there.

In October, 2011, ICPC held its Fifth Internet Congress of the Membership Assembly to have elected 5 Board members and 2 alternates to fill its vacancies, and the President Tienchi MARTIN-LIAO (Germany). The past president Dr. LIU Xiaobo, who has been imprisoned since December 8, 2008, has been its Honorary President since October 2009, and he got Nobel Peace Prize in 2010.