



PEN for Freedom

A Quarterly Journal of Literary Translations

No. 4

Independent Chinese PEN Center

Winter 2010

Special Issue for Celebrating Dr Liu Xiaobo awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2010

CONTENTS

1. [ICPC Statement on Dr. Liu Xiaobo Awarded to the Nobel Peace Prize](#)
2. [I Have No Enemies: My Final Statement](#)(self-defense) *By LIU Xiaobo*
3. [Shouldering and Other 4 Poems](#) (poetry) *By LIU Xiaobo*
4. [Lonely Vigil and Others](#) (poetry & essay) *By LIU Xia*
5. [The 25th of June 2009 -To Liu Xiaobo](#)(poetry) *By LI Li*
6. [On the Day that Liu Xiaobo Is Absent at the Nobel Prize Ceremony](#) (speech) *By Tienchi LIAO*
7. [In the Footsteps of Gandhi, Mandela, and Havel](#) (commentary) *By MA Jian*
8. [My Associations with Xiaobo](#) (memoir) *By Hu Ping*
9. [A Criticism on the Comments by Arnulf Kolstad and Tang Guoqiang against Liu Xiaobo](#) (commentary) *By Yu ZHANG*
10. [Brief Biography of Dr. Liu Xiaobo](#)

This issue is edited in cooperation with Sydney PEN Center

Editor-in-Chief: Biao CHEN

Executive Editors: Yu ZHANG, Bonny CASSIDY

*Editorial Board: Biao CHEN, Lian YANG, Jian MA, Tienchi MARTIN-LIAO,
Yu ZHANG, Carol DETTMANN, Bonny CASSIDY*

Issued by the Literature Exchange and Translation Committee, ICPC

Contact: luoyinghai@live.com.au, penfw@googlegroups.com, secretariat@chinesepen.org

ICPC Statement on Liu Xiaobo Awarded to the Nobel Peace Prize



Independent Chinese PEN Centre (ICPC) is extremely happy to have heard today that Dr. Liu Xiaobo, its Honorary President, is awarded to the Nobel Peace Prize for 2010, and expresses our heartfelt congratulations, and sincere thanks to all of those in China and overseas who have called, promoted and supported him for the prize and who have been concerned about his conviction and sentencing for his words.

Liu Xiaobo is a prominent writer, literary critic and human rights activist. Since 1980s, he has been engaged in promoting freedom to write, human rights and democracy in China. Over the last 20 years, he has always upheld his rational and peaceful stand to speak against the autocracy but for the civilians, and been committed to the campaigns to broaden freedom of expression in China and open up the spaces for the civil society and constitutional reform there, with no fear about imprisonment, surveillance, harassment and suppression. He has challenged the modern literary inquisition and so been imprisoned several times without regrets for his conviction for his words. In 1989, he was detained for one and half year for his support to the students-led peaceful protests though more sacrifices from the violent crackdown were avoided on TianAnMen Square in Beijing; in 1996, he was sentenced to three years Re-education Through Labour for his opposition to the China's military threat against Taiwan and calling for peaceful negotiations across the Taiwan Strait; In 2001, he was one of the co-founders of ICPC, the first association of independent writers with its basic aims at defending freedom of expression and being committed to the assistance for the writers convicted for their words under Communist Party's rule. He was elected ICPC president in 2003-2007 and its Board member until his arrest on 8 December 2008, the eve of 60th anniversary of Universal Declaration of Human Rights for his participation in launching Charter 08 advocating a peaceful campaign for constitutional democracy in China, and then given a heavy sentences of eleven years in prison the following year. Upholding freedom to confront autocracy, equality to challenge privilege, brotherhood to oppose hatred, and peace to resist violence, Liu Xiaobo has reached the state that "great love has no borders" and that "the benevolent has no enemies", and become a model for the people as well as the pride of PEN.

His persistent, indomitable non-violent struggle has won the recognition and support from various people in China to International PEN on behalf of tens of thousands of writers worldwide, including the president of PEN American Center Professor Appiah and other internationally renowned writers, former Czech President Vaclav Havel and other democratic/human rights activists and politicians, Nobel Peace Prize laureates the Dalai Lama,

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and others. As many as hundreds of those individuals nominated him for the Nobel Peace Prize. Therefore, awarding him today is not only the popular sentiments and everyone's will but also enhances the reputation and glory of Nobel Peace Prize. After Carl von Ossietzky, German pacifist writer, was awarded in 1936 to the prize for 1935, Liu Xiaobo has become the second laureate in prison while being awarded a Nobel Prize in its history of 110 years. ICPC is sharing the happiness and celebration with all of our colleagues of International PEN and others who have supported the nomination, and stand in solidarity together with Liu Xiaobo as always to promote the cause of liberalization and democratization in China.

At the same time, ICPC urges Chinese authorities to be aware of the trend of world civilization, not as what Hitler did after Carl von Ossietzky got the prize but rather the opposite, to immediately and unconditionally release Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo, release PEN members Yang Tongyan, Shi Tao, Du Daobin and all of those imprisoned due to the conviction for their words, and release all of the prisoners of conscience for their peaceful exercise of basic civil rights.

International PEN is the oldest human rights organization and international literary organization. The Independent Chinese PEN Center is among its 145 member centers and aims to protect writers' freedom of expression and freedom to write worldwide and advocates for the rights of writers and journalists who are imprisoned, threatened, persecuted or harassed in China particularly.

For more information, contact

Tienchi Liao, President, +49 176 5472 3721

or

Dr. Yu Zhang, Executive Secretary and WiPC Coordinator

Independent Chinese PEN Center (ICPC)

Tel: +46-8-50022792

Email: secretariat@chinesepen.org, wipc@comhem.se

Websites: <http://www.chinesepen.org> and <http://www.liuxiaobo.eu/>

I Have No Enemies: My Final Statement

By LIU Xiaobo

June 1989 was the major turning point in my 50 years on life's road. Before that, I was a member of the first group of students after restoration of the college entrance examination after the Cultural Revolution (1977); my career was a smooth ride, from undergraduate to grad student and through to PhD. After graduation I stayed on as a lecturer at Beijing Normal University. On the podium, I was a popular teacher, well received by students. I was also a public intellectual: in the 1980s I published articles and books that created an impact. I was frequently invited to speak in different places, and invited to go abroad to Europe and the US as a visiting scholar. What I required of myself was: to live with honesty, responsibility and dignity both as a person and in my writing.. Subsequently, because I had returned from the US to take part in the 1989 movement, I was imprisoned for "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement to crime", losing the platform I loved; I was never again allowed publish or speak in public in China. Simply for expressing divergent political views and taking part in a peaceful and democratic movement, a teacher lost his podium, a writer lost the right to publish, and a public intellectual lost the chance to speak publicly. This was a sad thing, both for myself as an individual, and, after three decades of reform and opening, for China.

Thinking about it, my most dramatic experiences after June Fourth have all been linked with the courts; the two opportunities I had to speak in public have been provided by trials held in the People's Intermediate Court in Beijing, one in January 1991 and one now. Although the charges on each occasion were different, they were in essence the same, both being crimes of expression.

Twenty years on, the innocent souls of June Fourth are yet to rest in peace, and I, who had been drawn into the path of dissidence by the passions of June Fourth, after leaving the Qincheng Prison in 1991 lost the right to speak openly in my own country, and could only do so through overseas media, and hence was monitored for many years; placed under surveillance (May 1995 – January 1996); educated through labour (October 1996 – October 1999s), and now once again am thrust into the dock by enemies in the regime. But I still want to tell the regime that deprives me of my freedom, I stand by the belief I expressed twenty years ago in my "June Second hunger strike declaration"— I have no enemies, and no hatred. None of the police who monitored, arrested and interrogated me, the prosecutors who prosecuted me, or the judges who sentence me, are my enemies. While I'm unable to accept your surveillance, arrest, prosecution or sentencing, I respect your professions and personalities. This includes Zhang Rongge and Pan Xueqing who act for the prosecution at present: I was aware of your respect and sincerity in your interrogation of me on 3 December.

For hatred is corrosive of a person's wisdom and conscience; the mentality of enmity can

poison a nation's spirit, instigate brutal life and death struggles, destroy a society's tolerance and humanity, and block a nation's progress to freedom and democracy. I hope therefore to be able to transcend my personal vicissitudes in understanding the development of the state and changes in society, to counter the hostility of the regime with the best of intentions, and defuse hate with love.

As we all know, reform and opening brought about development of the state and change in society. In my view, it began with abandoning "taking class struggle as the key link," which had been the ruling principle of the Mao era. We committed ourselves instead to economic development and social harmony. The process of abandoning the "philosophy of struggle" was one of gradually diluting the mentality of enmity, eliminating the psychology of hatred, and pressing out the "wolf's milk" in which our humanity had been steeped. It was this process that provided a relaxed environment for reform and opening at home and abroad, for the restoration of mutual love between people, and soft humane soil for the peaceful coexistence of different values and different interests. It provided the explosion of popular creativity and the rehabilitation of warm heartedness with incentives consistent with human nature. Externally abandoning "anti-imperialism and anti-revisionism", and internally abandoning "class struggle" may be called the basic premise of the continuance of China's reform and opening to this day. The market orientation of the economy; the cultural trend toward diversity; and the gradual change of order to the rule of law, all benefited from the dilution of this mentality. Even in the political field, where progress is slowest, dilution of the mentality of enmity also made political power ever more tolerant of diversity in society, the intensity persecution of dissidents has declined substantially, and characterization of the 1989 movement has changed from an "instigated rebellion" to a "political upheaval."

The dilution of the mentality of enmity made the political powers gradually accept the universality of human rights. In 1998, the Chinese government promised the world it would sign the two international human rights conventions of the UN, marking China's recognition of universal human rights standards; in 2004, the National People's Congress for the first time inscribed into the constitution that "the state respects and safeguards human rights", signalling that human rights had become one of the fundamental principles of the rule of law. In the meantime, the present regime also proposed "putting people first" and "creating a harmonious society", which signalled progress in the Party's concept of rule.

This macro-level progress was discernible as well in my own experiences since being arrested.

While I insist on my innocence, and hold the accusations against me to be unconstitutional, in the year and more since I lost my freedom, I've experienced two places of detention, four pre-trial police officers, three prosecutors and two judges. In their handling of the case, there has been no lack of respect, no time overruns and no forced confessions. Their calm and rational attitude has over and over again demonstrated goodwill. I was transferred on 23

June from the residential surveillance to Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau Detention Center No. 1, known as “Beikan.” I saw progress in surveillance in the six months I spent there.

I spent time in the old Beikan (Banbuqiao) in 1996, and compared with the Beikan of a decade ago, there has been great improvement in the hardware of facilities and software of management.

In particular, Beikan’s innovative humane management applies more flexible management of what the discipliners say and do, on the basis of respecting the rights and dignity of detainees. This management, embodied in the journals Warm Broadcast and Repentance, music played before meals and when waking up and going to sleep, gave detainees feelings of dignity and warmth, stimulating their consciousness of keeping order in their cells and countering the warders’ sense of themselves as lords of the jail. It not only provides detainees with a humanized living environment, but greatly improves the environment and mindset for their litigation. I had close contact with Liu Zhen, in charge of my cell. People feel warmed by his respect and care for detainees, reflected in the management of every detail, and permeating his every word and deed. Getting to know the sincere, honest, responsible, good-hearted Liu, really was a piece of good luck for me in Beikan.

Political beliefs are based on such convictions and personal experiences; I firmly believe that China’s political progress will never stop, and I’m full of optimistic expectations of freedom coming to China in the future, because no force can block the human desire for freedom. China will eventually become a country of the rule of law in which human rights are supreme. I’m also looking forward to such progress being reflected in the trial of this case, and look forward to the full court’s just verdict —one that can stand the test of history.

Ask me what has been my most fortunate experience of the past two decades, and I’d say it was gaining the selfless love of my wife, Liu Xia. She cannot be present in the courtroom today, but I still want to tell you, my sweetheart, that I’m confident that your love for me will be as always. Over the years, in my non-free life, our love has contained bitterness imposed by the external environment, but is boundless in afterthought. I am sentenced to a visible prison while you are waiting in an invisible one. Your love is sunlight that transcends prison walls and bars, stroking every inch of my skin, warming my every cell, letting me maintain my inner calm, magnanimous and bright, so that every minute in prison is full of meaning. But my love for you is full of guilt and regret, sometimes heavy enough hobble my steps. I am a hard stone in the wilderness, putting up with the pummeling of raging storms, and too cold for anyone to dare touch. But my love is hard, sharp, and can penetrate any obstacles. Even if I am crushed into powder, I will embrace you with the ashes.

Given your love, my sweetheart, I would face my forthcoming trial calmly, with no regrets about my choice and looking forward to tomorrow optimistically. I look forward to my

country being a land of free expression, where all citizens' speeches are treated the same; where, different values, ideas, beliefs, political views... both compete with each other and coexist peacefully; where, majority and minority opinions will be given equal guarantees, in particular, political views different from those in power will be fully respected and protected; where, all political views will be spread in the sunlight for the people to choose; all citizens will be able to express their political views without fear, and will never be politically persecuted for voicing dissent; I hope to be the last victim of China's endless literary inquisition, and that after this no one else will ever be jailed for their speech.

Freedom of expression is the basis of human rights, the source of humanity and the mother of truth. To block freedom of speech is to trample on human rights, to strangle humanity and to suppress the truth.

I do not feel guilty for following my constitutional right to freedom of expression, for fulfilling my social responsibility as a Chinese citizen. Even if accused of it, I would have no complaints. Thank you!

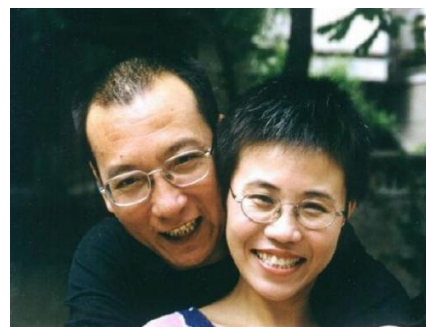
December 23, 2009

(Translated by Prof. David Kelly of the China Research Centre, University of Technology Sydney)

Shouldering and Other Poems

By LIU Xiaobo

Shouldering - To my wife in misery



You said to me:

"Everything can be shouldered"

You stubbornly let your eyes toward the sun
Until the blind was turned into a ball of flame
Which turned all of seawater into salt

Darling

Let me say to you across the darkness
Before you enter the grave
Do not forget to write me with your ashes
Do not forget to leave your address in the nether world

Bone shard would scratch your letter paper
You could not write a complete character
The broken pen tip would have hurt you
The sleepless night in burning
Would let you surprised for yourself

A stone that had shouldered the world
Would punch my back head in its hardness
White tablets made from my brains
Would poison our love
Then use the poisoned love
To poison ourselves

28 December 1996, my birthday

To A Seventeen-Year-Old - On Second Anniversary of June Fourth

Note: Disregarding the discouragement from your parents you jumped out from the small window of your home toilet; and you fell down while holding the banner at only seventeen

years old. But I am alive, thirty-six years old. While facing the soul of your death, surviving is a crime, and writing poetry for you is even a shame. The living must shut up to listen to what the grave tells. To write poetry for you is not what I am qualified for. Seventeen years of yours are beyond all of languages and artificial creations.

I am alive
With a sort of small reputation
I have neither courage nor qualification
To hold a bouquet of flowers and a poem
Toward the smile of a seventeen-year-old
Even though I know
The seventeen-year-old has no complaint

The age of seventeen-year-old tells me
That the life is simple and unadorned
Like the endless desert
That needs no tree nor water
Nor adorning flowers
But that can withstand the ravages from the sun

The seventeen-year-old fell down on the road
Which disappeared ever since
The seventeen-year-old resting in soil
Has been so serene as a book
The seventeen-year-old came into the world
Attaching nothing
Except for his age of spotless white

The seventeen-year-old stopped breathing
But miraculously did not despair
When the bullet shot through the mountain
When the spasm made the seawater mad
When all of the flowers had only
One sort of color
The seventeen-year-old did not despair
Could not despair
But you handed over the unfinished loves
To the gray-haired mother

The mother who had
Locked you at home
And who under the five-star red flag
Had cut off the noble blood
Of her family
Was waken up by your dying eyes
She has taken your will
To go over all the graves
Every time when she would fall
You would offer a breath of your soul in death
To support her
And see her off on her road

Beyond the age
Beyond the death
The seventeen-year-old
Has been everlasting

Beijing, late night of 1st June 1991

**Wait for Me with Dusts
- To my wife waiting all days**

You have got nothing to your name but to be
Waiting for me with dusts of our home
Layer by layer, they
Have been filled into every corner
You do not want to open the curtains
To let the sunlight disturb their peace

Handwritings on the bookshelf have been buried in the dust
The pattern of the carpet has fully adsorbed the dust
While writing to me you like
Having a few grains of dust adsorbed on the pen tip
To let my eyes feel some tingling

You sit still all day long
Unwilling to walk around
For fearing that your feet would trample the dusts into pain
You try hard to breathe smoothly
To create a story with silence
In these suffocating years
The dusts have offered the only loyalty

The dusts have immersed
Into your vision, your breath, and your time
In the depth of your soul
The grave has been built day after day
And piled up inch by inch
From the soles of the feet
To the chest, and to the throat

You know that the grave
Is your best destination
Where waiting for me
Will not be disturbed at all
You are in particular affection for the dusts
In darkness, in stillness, and in suffocations
You are waiting and waiting for me

You are waiting for me with dusts
While refusing the sunlight and airflow
To let the dusts bury you completely
To let yourself fall asleep in the dusts
Until I will come back
You will wake up
To wipe the dusts on your skin and in your soul.
Like a miracle of resurrection from the death.

Xiaobo on 9 April 1999

(Above translated by Yu Zhang)

Words a Cell Can't Hold

I had imagined being there beneath sunlight
with the procession of martyrs
using just the one thin bone
to uphold a true conviction
And yet, the heavenly void
will not plate the sacrificed in gold
A pack of wolves well-fed full of corpses
celebrate in the warm noon air
aflood with joy

Faraway place
I've exiled my life to
this place without sun
to flee the era of Christ's birth
I cannot face the blinding vision on the cross
From a wisp of smoke to a little heap of ash
I've drained the drink of the martyrs, sense spring's
about to break into the brocade-brilliance of myriad flowers

Deep in the night, empty road
I'm biking home
I stop at a cigarette stand
A car follows me, crashes over my bicycle
some enormous brutes seize me
I'm handcuffed eyes covered mouth gagged
thrown into a prison van heading nowhere

A blink, a trembling instant passes
to a flash of awareness: I'm still alive
On Central Television News
my name's changed to "arrested black hand"
though those nameless white bones of the dead
still stand in the forgetting
I lift up high up the self-invented lie
tell everyone how I've experienced death
so that "black hand" becomes a hero's medal of honor

Even if I know
death's a mysterious unknown
being alive, there's no way to experience death
and once dead
cannot experience death again
yet I'm still
hovering within death
a hovering in drowning
Countless nights behind iron-barred windows
and the graves beneath starlight
have exposed my nightmares

Besides a lie
I own nothing

--- from "Experiencing Death"

**Greed's Prisoner
- for the dispossessed wife**

a prisoner
presses into the crowd of your life
so cruel and full of greed
won't even let you
buy a bouquet of flowers for yourself
a piece of chocolate, a pretty dress
he doesn't give you
time, not a single minute
does he give you

the smoke in your cupped palm
he breathes in, breathes in, completely
even the ashes don't belong to you, his body
in the prison of the Communist Party
so that the spirit-cell you built
without a door without a window

without a thread of a crack
locks you in solitude to rot

he forces you to endure each night
in the carcass of denunciation
he controls your pen
makes you write endless letters
makes you desperate to find hope
your suffering's been trampled upon
his boredom's one pleasure

that bird of yours
is lost in the torturous palm-
lines of his hand
where each path
has betrayed you

this emptied-eyed all-ignorant dictatorship
has plundered your corpse
in one night white hair covers your crown
completing his legend, his myth
the moment he sees himself brimming with righteous deeds
you already possess nothing
but this prisoner
has deathly-seized the white space of your future

another sun comes
once more he issues an order
once more you must walk the road alone
without body without memory
using this hollowed life
to carry his heavy book-load
on the road to him
he is very good at exploiting
each chance to dispossess you
of your possibilities

beloved

my wife
in this dust-weary world of
so much depravity
why do you
choose me alone to endure

July 23, 1999

(Translated by Jeffrey Yang)

Lonely Vigil and Others

- To Xiaobo

By LIU Xia

The days repeat gloominess and melancholy
Monotonous landscape
Always lacks a little of clearness

A bowl has dropped on the ground
The fragmented voice
Sharply is stabbing
Into the time of separation

A cat has softly
Swept over the grass at night
Its glowing green eyes
Are soaked with lonely juice

Do not to capture
Those flashing fireflies
They are the ghosts of the night
Dancing beyond our life

I am a bitter fruit
In darkness
Sleeping in a dreamless page
Of this thick book
Not a permanent companion
On your journey

Remember the sunlight
Of that we have been deprived

August 1995



A Letter from Liu Xiaobo

- Read by Liu Xia

This is a letter to me from Liu Xiaobo in January 1997, one of a few left from the hundreds of his letters.

My Dear, The foremost and last dependence of our love is a firm religious sentiment, upon the mutual trust and a hope for the future that will never be given up. In other words, the first and final meaning of our lives comes from our love. In love, we will peacefully survive all the ordeals: while hesitating love gives us faith; while fearing love gives us courage; while depressing love give us pleasure; while irritating love gives us serenity; while boring love gives us passion; while disappointing love gives us hope. Love will make us live a spiritual life fully in warmness filled of feelings. Love will make us courageous and confident in upholding human justice to challenge the totalitarianism, and maintaining human dignity, honesty and freedom.

Your letter, your longing far away, gets me try hard to approach the perfection, from another dimension toward the ultimate existence. In full introspection, I will critically face the world and myself, carefully and firmly make a choice, and always maintain the basic goodwill trust in life.

We reject this society, not out of anger and hatred, but out of tolerance and love. We will never be approvers nor apologists of the existing order, and our forever love will reject it.

During Xiaobo's re-education through labour for 3 years from 8 October 1996 to 8 October 1999, I wrote him more than 300 letters and he wrote me 2-3 million words. After our home was raided several times, his writings generally disappeared.

This is our life.

Thank you for giving me this time, and sharing with me the days when Xiaobo has no freedom.

(Recorded on 16 September 2010 for an event of International PEN's Congress in Tokyo on 29 September.)

(Translated by Yu ZHANG)

A Statement of Thanks

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pity that both my husband Liu Xiaobo and I could not be present this evening to receive this award.

Twenty-six years ago, both of us were writing modern poetry. It is through our poetry that we became acquainted and eventually fell in love. Six years later, the unprecedented student democratic movement and massacre occurred in Beijing. Xiaobo dutifully stood his ground and, consequently, became widely known as one of the so-called June 4 “black hands.” His life then changed forever. He has been put into jail several times, and even when he is at home, he is still, for the most part, not a free man. As his wife, I have no other choice but to become a part of his unfortunate life.

Yet I am not a vassal of Liu Xiaobo. I am very fond of poetry and painting, but at the same time, I have not come to view Xiaobo as a political figure. In my eyes, he has always been and will always be an awkward and diligent poet. Even in prison, he has continued to write his poems. When the warden took away his paper and pen, he simply pulled his verse out of thin air. Over the past twenty years, Xiaobo and I have accumulated hundreds of such poems, which were born of the conversations between our souls. I would like to quote one here:

Before you enter the grave

Don't forget to write me with your ashes

Do not forget to leave your address in the nether world

Another Chinese poet, Liao Yiwu, has commented on Xiaobo's poem: “He carries the burden of those who died on June 4 in his love, in his hatred, and in his prayers. Such poems could have been written in the Nazis' concentration camps or by the Decembrists in Imperial Russia. Which brings to mind the famous sentence: ‘It is barbaric to write poetry after Auschwitz.’” Such statements are also characteristic of the situation in China after 1989.

I understand, however, that this award is not meant to encourage Liu Xiaobo the poet, but rather to encourage Liu Xiaobo the political commentator and initiator of Charter 08. I would like to remind everyone of the close connection between these two identities. I feel that Xiaobo is using his intensity and passion as a poet to push the democracy movement forward in China. He shouts passionately as a poet “no, no, no” to the dictators.

In private, he whispers gently to the dead souls of June 4, who, to this day, have not received justice, as well as to me and to all his dear friends: “yes, yes.”

Finally, I extend my deepest gratitude to the PEN American Center, the Independent Chinese PEN Center, and everyone in attendance at this event tonight.

—Liu Xia, April 17, 2009, at my not-free home in Beijing

(Read at the 2009 PEN/ Barbara Goldsmith Freedom to Write Award ceremony in New York on April 28)

(Translated By Tienchi Liao)

++++++

***LIU Xia**, the wife of Dr. Liu Xiaobo, is an artist and poet. She has been held incommunicado since 20 October 2010, 12 days after the announcement that Dr. Liu was awarded to the Nobel Peace Prize.*

The 25th of June 2009 -To Liu Xiaobo

Li Li



You were reportedly arrested two days ago while I was walking along the beach. This proves:
The dog days of 40-degree heat cannot be turned into a moon night of 20-degree breeze

Michael Jackson is dead. This diamond nightingale

Died of myocardial infarction. He must die, as the summer was fascinating him

Being dead is better in summer than in winter, because the flowers are yawping
Or, being arrested is better in spring than in autumn, because there is no fructification

We are under the same sky, but face different landscapes
Philosophy says: the problem is not a landscape, but how to face it

Some are resisting, against their own color, against
The iron-hard walls around him. Resistance, like butterflies resisting against pupae

Those paid by the State are compiling "The Most in China": the oldest
The greatest, the richest, the most correct, the most ... and they are bending their spines

A blackbird is singing, on an ordinary birch tree
Not relevant to "The Most", but to the myocardial infarction and the freedom to sing

++++++

LI Li is a poet, translator, and member of Independent Chinese PEN Centre and Swedish PEN. Poetry collections in Swedish: The Gaze within Water (Blick i vattnet, 1989); Weight of Time (Tidens tyngd, 1990); On the Run (Att fly, 1994); Return (Retur, 1995); You Are the Hermitage (En plats som är du, 1999) and The Source (Ursprunget, 2007).

On the Day When Liu Xiaobo Is Absent at the Nobel Prize Ceremony

By Tienchi Martin-LIAO



Today is the day that Liu Xiaobo receives the Nobel Peace Prize. In its one hundred year history, this is the first time that the prize is awarded to a Chinese citizen. Yet the laureate, his family members, even close friends are incarcerated in their own country, and no one can come to receive the Award. Scottish PEN has produced a "Liu Xiaobo Chair," it has been sent over the ocean to reach Oslo. This empty chair, a reminder that its owner, – who should enjoy the highest international honor today, is absent from the ceremony, banquet and concert, which are devoted to him. The host country's king, the queen and the European royal families, foreign ambassadors and representatives, as well as invited guests from overseas, gather together in the bright hall, decorated with flowers, all and make a toast for him. But many of us having melancholic sensation are still melancholy and we ask, where is Liu Xiaobo and his beloved Liu Xia?

Let us overstep time and space and visit Liu Xia first. We are now in Number 9, Yuyuantan South Road, Haidian District, Beijing. From far a distance one can see the white building where the Lius live. The white police cars park in front of the house, several policemen parade around. The journalists from far and near are blocked some hundred meters away; no one could can step across into the forbidden zone. Thin, with a shaved head (or short-cropped hair), Liu Xia is sitting alone in the empty home.

.....

Rinse the ashtray the coffee table wiped

Take the glass cups

Boil two cups of Longjing or Oolong

Aside the table you sit

Looking at the cup in front of the empty seat

Stare at the cup, listen

Is there the move of key in the hole

... ..

The cup in the hand, you take a sip

Lifted the cup to the sun

*Cup and your fingers
Penetrated by the sun
Palm was stained by the transparent green*

*Delicate
A hint of panic is there too*

*The cup on the opposite site you know
Will be empty for a long time
It takes long
Till the man opens your door*

----Quote of Liu's poem "Sunshine and Cups - to my Little Finger who drinks tea every day"

Liu Xia may wait for a long time, may be another ten years.

Now we visit Xiaobo in Jinzhou prison in the small town of Nanshan in Liaoning Province. Entering the gate, we confront several buildings scattered in disorder. Surprisingly we see huge numbers painted on a great wall of an office building painted with huge numbers: 1984. A few months ago, Liu Xia, in accompany by the Stainless Steel Mouse Liu Di, Wang Jinbo, Mo Zhixu and Wang Zhongxia, came here for a visit. They were amazed at Orwell's rebirth in a Chinese prison. Snickering, they took pictures in front of the "1984" wall. Several officers rushed furiously out of the building and took them into custody. Separately they were interrogated for several hours.

We enter Xiaobo's cell now. He shares with other five other prisoners a 3 by 4 meters space. His head is bald, shaved like an ordinary criminal, wearing bloated cotton coat and trousers. Scarf, hat and gloves are a must in the cell, because the concrete floor is cold. The small window under the high ceiling is always open. In winter, the indoor temperature is higher than outdoors; it is a few degrees above zero. The odor of the open toilet bucket in the corner is neutralized by the cold air, but one cannot pretend that the daily waste of several men is not there. The smell not only fills the room, but penetrates through clothes, into the pores of the skin. This is the first winter that Xiaobo spends in a northern China's prison; he has to adjust himself to the circumstances. He does not know whether he will have frostbite. To sit and lying lie on the concrete floors all year round may cause deterioration of his neck and spine pain and lead to kidney problems. His stomach disease has given him a hard time since his imprisonment.

Xiaobo is excited sitting in his cell today, but he does not want to show it, otherwise his roommate cell-mate might become cynical and angry. Sitting there, his thoughts fly to Oslo. He has constant views and dreams about it. Who will be there at the ceremony, who will receive the prize for me? It could not be Liu Xia, as I haven't got any message from her for a while. My acceptance speech is long written in my mind, but who can read it out aloud for me?. Does the King wearing a majestic tuxedo, and the Queen her crown at the banquet? By toasts, will the distinguished guests think of the dead in Tiananmen Square and the Tiananmen mothers?

Sitting in the dungeon, Xiaobo does not know that the announcement of his award induced a tsunami in Zhongnanhai, and the rulers had severe concussions followed by delusions that they believe their enemies are all over the world, so the grip on the naughty writers and the guy who held the crab dinner party must be tightened, they should not go out of the country. Otherwise they could endanger the national security.

Liu Xiaobo's dinner on December 10, 2010 may look like this: boiled vegetables with sand, a few pieces of fat meat as a special treat from the authority. He might have an extra piece of steamed bread, and his rice bowl could also be refilled today. In short, it is a privileged and unforgettable meal because it is a meal that will leave the stomach truly filled. After all, he is the first Chinese ever who wins the Nobel Peace Prize.

December 10, 2010

++++++

Tienchi Martin-LIAO, writer, translator and long-time human right activist, is currently the president of Independent Chinese PEN Centre.

In the Footsteps of Gandhi, Mandela, and Havel

By MA Jian

Liu Xiaobo, the imprisoned Chinese writer and human-rights campaigner, will receive the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10. For the first time in history, however, neither the laureate nor any member of his immediate family will be present in Oslo to accept the award.

China's government has blocked Liu's wife, the acclaimed photographer Liu Xia, from participating by keeping her under virtual house arrest in Beijing. It has browbeaten other countries into boycotting the award ceremony.

Not surprisingly, Vladimir Putin's Russia was among the first to kowtow to China's diktat. More ominously, it looked for a while like the Norwegian Nobel committee itself might bow to Beijing, too. But in the end it decided to go ahead with the award. That is only fitting: an award for moral courage ought not to be compromised by those offering it.

When Liu learned that he had been awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize, his first reaction was telling: "This prize is given to the victims of the Tiananmen Square massacre."

That simple phrase neatly encapsulates Liu's peaceful 20-year-resistance to China's government, which began with a hunger strike in Tiananmen Square. Over the next two decades, he was imprisoned several times, and held under house arrest when not in prison. Despite this ongoing persecution, Liu continued to write and petition the government on behalf of the people of China. Like the greatest non-violent freedom fighters of modern times – Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, and Václav Havel – he sacrificed his own freedom to highlight his people's lack of it.

Today, many individuals and countries are demonstrating their support for the Nobel Peace Prize Committee's decision to award the prize to Liu. Indeed, Havel and a previous laureate, Desmond Tutu, were consistent advocates of awarding the prize to him. But, in addition to supporting Liu's achievements by making certain that they are represented at the ceremony in Oslo, world leaders need to come to grips with the Chinese government's reaction.

Although much of the world recognizes that it is in economic competition with China, it often fails to see that it is also in moral competition with China. The Communist Party of China used to rule a destitute power. But, having become much richer over the past three decades, China is now proposing to the world its own model of development – and, indeed, of civilization.

This model, which some have dubbed "The Beijing Consensus" is explicit: there are no



moral standards, only material ones. Human rights and freedom can be made to disappear not only from Web sites, but also from reality.

Though now better off than they have ever been in material terms, the Chinese people under the current regime are denied any real opportunity to retain and refine their own dignity beyond the quest for wealth and luxury goods. Liu's prize is a rebuke to the regime, because it rejects the dogma that nothing but the pursuit of economic interest matters.

China's rulers know that in a system in which justice is absent, Liu's efforts to speak to a higher moral calling requires only moral courage to be followed. The regime has tried to separate politics and economics, but Liu has shown that this is impossible. Any Chinese can become another Liu Xiaobo if they choose to see through the lies of the regime's "Materialism/Leninism."

But even here there is a paradox for the regime. For inevitably, the ordinary men and women who have built modern China will demand to live in a freedom commensurate to their material achievements.

So a civilized China is emerging, just as a civilized Eastern Europe once emerged, from the hearts and minds of prisoners of conscience, of people like Liu Xiaobo. Havel, who has inspired Liu as he has so many others who aspire to freedom, wrote a public letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao after Liu's latest imprisonment. In it, he said: "Mr. Liu's trial was the result of a political order for which you carry ultimate political responsibility."

Just as Czechoslovakia's communist government once imprisoned Havel for daring to dream of a civil society and a true constitution of liberty for his country, China's government has imprisoned Liu for attempting something similar, with his Charter 08 appeal, modeled on Czechoslovakia's Charter 77.

Havel eventually saw his ideas triumph in the Velvet Revolution of 1989. Liu Xiaobo is demonstrating anew the unstoppable power of the powerless. Awarding him the Nobel Peace Prize lifts the hopes of all of us who dream of a truly free and civilized China. And we might also dream that next December, the Nobel committee will at long last recognize Havel for an award whose meaning he truly personifies.

++++++

***MA Jian** is a Chinese dissident and novelist, Board Member of ICPC. He was awarded the Athens Prize for Literature in 2010 for his novel Beijing Coma.*

My Associations with Xiaobo

By HU Ping



1.

On September 21, I read online the article “A Nobel Prize for a Chinese Dissident” by Vaclav Havel and other two in the New York Times, and immediately forwarded it to Liu Xia with a message: “Please tell Xiaobo about it as soon as possible.” Thereafter, I also participated in the signature of the letter to the Nobel Committee initiated by Su Xiaokang and Zhang Zuhua. In each of the following days, I paid close attention to the development of it. I forwarded Liu Xia every piece of good news I read. As I was thinking, these good news would bring joy and relief regardless of winning the prize or not. On September 27, as the media published a speech by Geir Lundestad, director of the Norwegian Nobel Institute, I suddenly had a premonition: this year’s Nobel Prize is Xiaobo’s .

My reasoning is very simple: as Geir Lundestad revealed, China’s deputy foreign minister Fu Ying said to him in June this year during her visit to Oslo that if the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Liu Xiaobo, it would damage the relationship between Norway and China. It is not a least surprise for the Chinese government to do so. It has always done like this. What’s interesting, the Norwegian didn’t have to expose it to the public as the Chinese government sent out pressure in private. But Geir Lundestad gave it out voluntarily. If at the end the Norwegian Nobel Committee did not award Liu Xiaobo the Peace Prize, the whole world would definitely blame the Committee for yielding to the pressure from the Chinese government. And obviously, the Norwegian Nobel Committee did not like the world to have such an impression about it. Therefore I came to a conclusion that the Norwegian Nobel Committee had already made its decision to award Liu Xiaobo the Prize.

I told Liu Xia of my judgment, and asked her to prepare for the upcoming flocks of reporters and make a statement. Although thinking my judgment was reasonable, Liu Xia still didn’t believe it. However, Liu Xia gradually got to believe it, possibly she got more and more people to tell her that Xiaobo would be awarded this time. But she could not “get into the mood”. It is true. For many years, we have lived in despair. As Liu Xia put it, “we just think of bad things happen, but never expect any good things”. We are used to disappointment, but keep on going in despair. I thought to myself that the state of “cultivating only and expecting nothing” is mostly attained through a long time of adverse situations.

In addition to inform Liu Xia, I also notified friends and media in New York that we would held celebrations on the afternoon of October 8. As time drew near, it was getting more and more clear. On the night of October 7, thinking there was no suspense, I went to bed as usual as I did not like to stay up late waiting for the announcement. Surprisingly, when I woke up, it was 4:54. I quickly got out of bed and turned on my computer for Twitters. At 5 am

Eastern Time, the Norwegian Nobel Committee announced Liu Xiaobo was awarded the Peace Prize. A surge of jubilation pervaded the Twitter. After having thorough browses, I went back to bed to have my final snooze comfortably.

2.

Xiaobo and I are old friends. We have twenty-one years of friendship.

Earlier in China (I left China for the United States in 1987), Xiaobo made his appearance as a literary dark horse. However we hadn't met yet over that time. I first met him in New York. It was in March 1989 when Xiaobo finished his lecturing in the University of Hawaii and moved to New York as a visiting scholar at Columbia University. As I remember, poet Bei Ling took him to my home. During his stay in New York, Xiaobo stayed at my home for quite a few days; he later left for homeland China from my home as well.

At that time, I served as Chairman of Union of Chinese Democracy Movement and editor-in-chief to China Spring magazine, because of which Xiaobo also entered the overseas pro-democracy movement. In fact, before coming to New York, Xiaobo already published a long article of his "Tragedy of Enlightenment – May-Fourth Movement Criticized" in China Spring magazine with a pseudonym as Dark Horse which people can easily tell it is Liu Xiaobo himself. During that period of time, lots of scholars, writers and the like visited the United States and New York. Many of them called me on the phone. They would either pay visits or meet somewhere to chat. Many people did not care about mixing with me, but carefully kept distance with democratic organizations and public democratic movements. However, Xiaobo was an exception. Xiaobo not only became a friend to me but got directly involved in our activities as well. He was not interested in organization operating, but very interested in the magazine itself. He once decided to join China Spring magazine. Of course I was happy. So Xiaobo took office, and came to work in the editorial department every day making calls for writers to contribute articles. But before the issue of the magazine he was working on, Xiaobo flew back to Beijing to join the Tiananmen movement.

Interestingly to mention, though Xiaobo worked for China Spring for two weeks, his position in China Spring had not been decided. This is because China Spring was the official publication of Union of Chinese Democracy Movement at that time, Xiaobo wanted to be the Chief Editor but it could not be decided by me alone. It needed the permission from the Committee of Union of Chinese Democracy Movement. Xiaobo once suggested to separate China Spring magazine from the Union, or issuing him a letter of appointment by the Union and got it notarized to avoid re-appointments with changes after elections of the Union. All these matters could not be settled in a while, and Xiaobo flew back to Beijing before they got sorted out.

On April 15, Hu Yaobang died. At first, Xiaobo's reaction was not strong. This should have something to do with his non-governmental stand-point. Subsequently, newspapers

published a large number of articles praising Hu Yaobang, but Xiaobo didn't share any similar ideas. He wrote three long articles---"Comments on the phenomenon of Hu Yaobang's Death", which confirmed the liberals like Hu Yaobang within the Party, but pointed out their limitations. In Xiaobo's opinion, Hu could do a lot of good things just because he had huge privileges. In terms of progressiveness, people of the Democratic Wall far surpassed the liberals within the Party like Hu Yaobang. Xiaobo also pointed out that as a politician, Hu was lack of courage and strategy. He called Hu a tragic hero. Xiaobo stressed that we must "abandon the reform model of searching for open-minded monarch, and try to follow a path to transform China from its system." He said: "If the mainland university students and those intellectuals who seek democracy can publicly support the liberals in the Party, and at the same time publicly support Wei Jingsheng and "China Spring", it will certainly accelerate the process of democratization in China. " In these series of articles, Xiaobo also clearly put forward the goals and procedures for democratization in China, and proposed to pay more attention to the methods and procedures of democracy.

On the one hand, with the critical vision as an intellectual, Xiaobo made sharp analysis and criticism to the blind praising the liberals in the Party and consequently the thoughts of expecting an open-minded monarch. On the other hand, with his political sensitivity, Xiaobo was aware of the possibility of the development of turning Hu mourning to democratic movement. On April 28, "Reform Suggestions" was made public by Xiaobo, Yu Dahai, Chen Jun, Jiang He, Bei Ling, Fang Zhiyuan, Li Shaomin, Wu Mouren, Cao Changqing and me in collaboration, putting forward five demands to the Communist Party government. On April 22, Xiaobo and us published "An Open Letter to the University Students in China", suggesting the students to consolidate the organizations established in the movement, publish their own magazines, strengthen the contacts with all walks of the society, and make efforts to achieve freedom in universities. This open letter and the Reform Suggestions were passed on to the students by our friends in Beijing, and put up in places including the Triangle Strip in Beijing University. At that time, very few people had telephones in China, and we made strenuous efforts to have a phone call with Fang Lizhi.

As the student movement in Beijing was raging like fires, Xiaobo was getting more and more uneasy. He brought forward his idea of going back to China to be involved in the movement. Someone had a fear that Xiaobo might be arrested upon his arrival in Beijing, as he had hot contacts with overseas "reactionary organizations". However, I disagreed. And neither did Xiaobo. As a result, we bought air ticket for Xiaobo to go back to China on April 26. Before leaving, Mr. Du Nianzhong, then editor-in-chief to Times Weekly and current editor-in-chief to Apple Daily Taiwan, drove to my home giving Xiaobo two sets of works by Gene Sharp, expert of Politics of Nonviolent Actions. After Xiaobo boarding on plane, we made a phone call to friends in Beijing in a hurry, asking them to find a car to pick up Xiaobo at the airport and inform us as soon as possible once Xiaobo was arrested.

3.

Xiaobo didn't stay in New York long, but he participated in lots of activities and made lots of friends. Here I have a couple of issues worth mentioning.

Xiaobo once proposed to have a "Liu Binyan Phenomenon" seminar. Before that he already published articles criticizing contemporary Chinese intellectuals including Liu Binyan. As Xiaobo thought, "the Second Loyalty" advocated by Liu Binyan was actually a kind of blind loyalty like that of Qu Yuan in the ancient times, and it must be treated a phenomenon to analyze and criticize specifically because Liu Binyan's thoughts were quite influential. When Liu Binyan heard it, he seemed unhappy and made a phone call to me to ask. However, Hu Yaoban passed away and the students movement broke out right after that, it ended up with nothing. As a matter of fact, Xiaobo showed very high respect to Liu Binyan's character, but just considered Binyan's thinking to be limited. When Xiaobo left New York for China, he specially asked me to pay regards to Binyan.

Upon the first meeting with Xiaobo, I got a feeling that he was not that arrogant and conceited as people imagined. What's more, while talking about the Western masters, he always felt powerless and frustrated. What is rare and valuable, he also showed high respects to the generation of Democratic Walls. Xiaobo had very sharp senses. According to his observations and experiences during his stay in the West for several months, he found that many scholars and writers from Mainland China felt they were neglected and therefore resentful, and eventually shifted from Pro-West into Anti-West. Xiaobo found himself too Chinese and unable to be really Westernized. Meanwhile, he also made lots of criticisms to the Western civilization; however, he still insisted the privilege of the West in basic values and system. This made him totally different from those who were later named as Neo-Liberals.

For that trip abroad, Xiaobo's first stop was Norway. For unknown reasons, he soon ended it up in conflicts with Ms Bonnie McDougall, his host at Oslo University, and broke up in discord. Soon after that, Xiaobo wrote an article making harsh criticisms to many Western sinologists, especially mentioning the abnormal relationship between "Native Excellent Horses"(Chinese cultural celebrities) and "Foreign Horse Connoisseur"(Western Sinologists): on the one hand "Foreign Horse Connoisseur" had a strong desire to monopolize, and on the other hand lots of "Native Excellent Horses" were attached themselves to "Foreign Horse Connoisseur" and obtained opportunities going abroad and gaining international fames through ingratiating "Foreign Horse Connoisseur". Regardless how correct this criticism is, I would like to use it here to explain something else. At present, as the Chinese government wants to discredit Liu Xiaobo, they try their best to describe him as flattering the Westerners so as to raise up his own status. However, from the issues and articles mentioned above, obviously Xiaobo is not such a person.

4.

On April 27, Xiaobo arrived in Beijing safely. Immediately he threw himself into the students movement, and quickly got into the core of it. As discussed and agreed before, he kept contacts with us by calling to Chen Jun. Each time when the agreed contact time came, we would gather at Chen Jun's, listen to Xiaobo telling us the latest development, and exchange ideas about the situation and the direction and strategies of the democratic movement. Sometimes we released some important information to media for publication.

Up to late May, the situation in China was getting increasingly tense, and the contact between Xiaobo and us broke down. On June 2, from the media we knew that Xiaobo, Zhou Tuo, Gao Xin and Hou Dejian from Taiwan made a rally of hunger strike at Tiananmen Square. Right on that day, Chen Jun tried to get Xiaobo by phone call, and made an interview with him. We translated the interview into English and released it to the English media to publish. Two days later, June 4th Massacre happened. Another days after, on June 6th, Xiaobo was arrested. On June 24th, Beijing Daily published a long article in the name of Wang Zhao with the title as "Capture Liu Xiaobo's Black Hands". In that article, the author laid lots of charges against Xiaobo, including mentioning several times about Xiaobo's association with us, the Reform Suggestions and the Open Letter to the Students we released in collaboration. The author proclaimed that Xiaobo went back to China on a mission by the Union of China Democratic Movement. The article also mentioned about the interview made on June 2nd, saying that Liu Xiaobo declared that "armed forces must be organized in the people". In the article, the author wrote like this: "if kind-hearted people may have doubts about their organizing reactionary riots, please have a listen to this part of their dialogues".

We were all anxious upon reading that article. Many of us were worried that Xiaobo would be sentenced to death by the government. We quickly issued a statement, saying Xiaobo was by no means a member of Union of Chinese Democracy Movement and his returning to China was not dispatched by the Union. We stressed that Xiaobo had upheld rational nonviolent resistance throughout the time, and that as for the interview on June 2nd, he said originally about "organizing strength" among the people, however we put "strength" into "forces" for English translation. It should be someone's mistranslation from English back to Chinese putting it into "armed forces". We put Xiaobo's head picture on the cover page of that issue of "China Spring", making an urgent appeal to all walks of life to pay attention to his destiny. Xiaobo's arrest also brought attentions to the international society. In July that year, celebrities from the Norwegian intellectual circle made a proposal to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee to "award Liu Xiaobo the Nobel Peace Prize".

Then in September, in an interview with the State television, Xiaobo said he didn't see people killed in Tiananmen Square. In January 1991, the government announced that Liu Xiaobo committed the crime of "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement", but because of the "major meritorious services" (referring to Xiaobo's involvement in negotiations with the troops and organizing the students to withdraw on the night of June 3rd)

and “real penitence performance” (referring to repentance letters written in prison), he was free from criminal penalty. We all felt greatly relieved. However, there were still some people feel disappointed at Xiaobo, because they previously considered Xiaobo as “the most courageous intellectual” in the great 1989 democratic movement. But I didn’t see anyone who publicly condemned him. Later he wrote a book “Confessions of A Doomsday Survivor” and the article “We were Knocked down by our Own ‘Justice’”, which however had aroused lots of criticism from people.

(This is the first half of the writing by HU Ping, which was published in Beijing Spring magazine for its November Edition, 2010; Translated from the Chinese by CHEN Biao)

+++++++

HU Ping is a member of ICPC, former chairman of the Chinese Alliance For Democracy, chief editor to China Spring and now Beijing Spring.

A Criticism on the Comments by Arnulf Kolstad and Tang Guoqiang against Liu Xiaobo



By Yu ZHANG

On October 8 this year, the Norwegian Nobel Committee announced that Dr. Liu Xiaobo, a prominent Chinese writer, has been awarded "for his long and non-violent struggle for fundamental human rights in China". Although most of the democracies and media over the world as well as many Chinese people have been praising this choice, Chinese regime, its supporters and a few of other individuals have been denouncing the Prize and making personal attacks at Dr. Liu. In Norway, the strong denouncements have been published by Arnulf Kolstad, a professor in psychology at NTNU and guest researcher at The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Tang Guoqiang, the Chinese Ambassador to Norway, among others.

On October 16, I wrote a letter to Prof. Kolstad for his comments on Nobel Peace Prize to Liu Xiaobo as "a big mistake", as quoted below.

Xinhua Net published a report based on an interview with you at http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-10/13/c_13555559.htm and its Chinese version which has now been spread on the Chinese media over the world.

"Liu Xiaobo has, as far as I know, never contributed in any conflict-reducing activity or take part in peace-related activities," Professor Arnulf Kolstad of Norwegian University of Science and Technology told Xinhua.

If they are really your comments, then I have to say that you have made a big mistake yourself by having so flippantly commented on someone of whom you appeared to have got too little knowledge...Anyone who has ever learned a little of Dr. Liu's life could never miss a well-known fact of his particular contribution in a typical conflict-reducing activity and participation in peace-related activities as early as in 1989 when at least tens or even thousands of lives were saved.... This fact was even realized by the China's court in 1991 that, while convicting him on the alleged offence of "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement", exempted him from criminal punishment for his "major meritorious action" to have avoid the possibly bleeding confrontation on the TAM Square in Beijing...I hope that you may realize your mistake and will make a correction to it. Can you do it?

I have not yet got any reply from Prof. Kolstad but read a report by the Voice of Germany's (Deutsche Welle) Chinese service that had made a telephone interview with him on the following day. He confirmed that he had given an interview to Xinhua. It is apparent that Prof. Kolstad made his comments against Dr. Liu based on his unsounded knowledge,

needing a correction to the public.

I do not blame Prof. Kolstad much for his lack of sound knowledge of Dr. Liu Xiaobo since it is the Chinese regime that has censored the relevant information and that has intentionally distorted the facts by telling lies in its propaganda campaigns against Dr. Liu Xiaobo and other dissidents over the past decades. Tang Guoqiang's article, *Who Is Liu Xiaobo?* (*Hvem er Liu Xiaobo ?*) published in *Dabladet* on November 10, is just a typical of such propaganda at its very low level.

In his article, Tang accused Dr. Liu, "he even said that China should be split into 18 pieces, openly supporting 'Taiwan independence' and 'Tibet independence'", and "was detained twice in 1995 and 1999 for disturbing public order", but giving no fact nor even a single sentence quoted from Liu's words. In fact, Dr. Liu was taken by the police into custody in May 1995 for launching a petition campaign on the eve of sixth anniversary of June 4th massacre, calling on the government to reassess the event and to restore the political reform. He was held incommunicado under residential surveillance in the suburbs of Beijing for 9 months. He was released in February 1996 but arrested again on 8 October for an October Tenth Declaration, co-authored by him and another prominent dissident Wang Xizhe. For Taiwan issue, the Declaration stated, "In order to avoid the scourge of a civil war, and for a peaceful and democratic reunification of our homeland, we solemnly call on the authorities in Beijing and Taipei to start political negotiation immediately." For Tibet issue, it concluded, "we propose that Communist Party of China should acknowledge that their early declared ... policy to respect the right of all ethnicities to self-determination is real to be implemented. And on this ground, it should carry out dialogue and negotiation with Dalai Lama." For these words and others, obviously within the criteria for the Peace Prize defined in Alfred Nobel's will as "for fraternity between nations", Dr. Liu was forced by the police to serve three years of Reeducation-Through-Labour.

Not only Tang's article had made false allegation on Dr. Liu's "supporting 'Taiwan independence' and 'Tibet independence'", but also fabricated the lies against Dr. Liu, such as alleging Charter 08, "The charter attempts to push forward the Western political system in China under the pretense of constitutional amendment and preaches the thought of 'violent revolution' and 'regime change'." Anyone who ever read the Charter 08 or even just the Beijing court's Verdict that convicted Dr. Liu for his involvement in drafting the Charter should be clearly aware that his case has got nothing relevant to "violent revolution". The Verdict convicted Dr. Liu on the offence of "inciting subversion of the State power" and sentenced him to 11 years imprisonment just based on 219 Chinese characters of 7 sentences with the quoted titles of 6 articles and Charter 08. There are only two short sentences, or more precisely two minor parts of the sentences, quoted from the Charter by the Verdict as "one-party monopolization of ruling privileges should be abolished..." and "...to establish China's federal republic under the structure of democracy and constitutionalism."

Based on the false fabrication of “the thought of ‘violent revolution’” even against the notations in the Verdict, Tang’s article introduced the Schenck’s case in the United States as an example of the “clear and present danger test” “in their judicial practice on identified criminal behavior on the words”, to justify the conviction of Dr. Liu Xiaobo. Opposite to Tang’s argument, however, the Verdict has failed even to hint that there was any of “clear and present danger” ever possibly caused by Dr. Liu’s words. Even worse aspect of Tang’s arguments is that he ignored the fact that Schenck’s case was judged over nine decades ago in 1919 for his words against the draft (compulsory enrollment of people to the military service) during First World War, while Dr. Liu is jailed for his words promoting democracy and constitutionalism during the peace time, even so-called “best time” claimed by Chinese regime. More importantly, Tang has failed to note that the demands to protect freedom of expression has been much more enhanced over the world including the United States, since over six decades ago in 1948 when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted. In 1969, five decades after the judgment of Schenck’s case, “clear and present danger test” was overturned by the United States Supreme Court in its rule of Brandenburg’s case and a new term as “imminent lawless action” was adopted to protect free speech and free press in even broader limits, including the tolerance to the words advocating violence or law violation as long as they are not directed nor likely to incite or produce a “imminent lawless action”. The Court reversed Brandenburg's conviction, holding that government cannot constitutionally punish abstract advocacy of force or law violation. In 1973, the Court further clarified the precise meaning of “imminent” in Hess’s case by ruling that his speech did not meet the imminence requirement because it "amounted to nothing more than advocacy of illegal action at some indefinite future time." Over the past four decades, "imminent lawless action test" has never been seriously challenged and so continues to be applied in free speech cases in the United States. Therefore, it is obviously absurd that Tang’s article has reached a final conclusion as follows, “To judge Liu Xiaobo's case even by the above-mentioned American criteria, the verdict on him by the Chinese judicial authorities is beyond question.” No matter whether or not intentionally he has ignored the invalidity of Schenck’s case over past four decades, Tang’s conclusion is worthless let along his fabrication of Dr. Liu’s words or Charter 08 advocating “the thought of ‘violent revolution’”. What a shame for a Chinese Ambassador in such a low level to attack at a Nobel Peace Prize laureate in his own country!

++++++

***Yu Zhang**, a Chinese citizen residing in Sweden, the Executive Secretary of Independent Chinese PEN Centre (ICPC) and the Coordinator of its Writers in Prison Committee (WiPC), was working with Dr. Liu Xiaobo who served as ICPC President in 2003-2007 and continued as its Board Member until his arrest in 2008.*

Brief Biography of Dr. Liu Xiaobo

Dr. LIU Xiaobo (born on 28 December 1955), a renowned Chinese writer and human rights activist based in Beijing, is the Honorary President of the Independent Chinese PEN Centre and served as its President from 2003 to 2007. He had been a lecture at the Department of Chinese Literature, Beijing Normal University before his imprisonment in 1989.



On 8 December 2008, Dr. Liu was taken into custody once more by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau for his role in launching Charter 08, and then held under residential surveillance at an unknown location in Beijing until he was formally arrested. On 25 December 2009, he was sentenced by the Beijing Municipal First Intermediate People's Court to 11 years imprisonment and 2 years deprivation of political rights on "inciting subversion of state power". On 11 February 2010, his appeal was rejected by the Beijing Municipal High People's Court. Since 26 May 2010, he has been held in Jinzhou Prison.

On 8 October 2010, Dr. Liu was awarded Nobel Peace Prize for 2010.

Early life and work

LIU Xiaobo was born in Changchun, Jilin Province, on 28 December 1955. After middle school, he was sent to the countryside for farming until he became a worker at a construction company in Changchun City. In 1977, he was admitted to the Department of Chinese literature at Jilin University, and created with 6 schoolmates a poetry group, The Innocent Hearts (Chi Zi Xin). In 1982, he graduated with B.A. in literature and then admitted as a research student at the Department of Chinese Literature at Beijing Normal University. In 1984, He received M.A. in literature and became a teacher at the same Department. In the same year, he married TAO Li and his son LIU Tao was born next year. In 1986, started his doctoral study program and published his literary critiques at various magazines. He became well known as a "dark horse" for his radical opinions and sharp comments on the official doctrines and establishments to shock both of the literary and ideological circles, thus termed as Liu Xiaobo Shock or Liu Xiaobo Phenomenon. In 1987, his first book, Criticism of the Choice: Dialogues with Li Zehou, was published and soon became a bestseller non-fiction for his profound capacities in philosophy and aesthetics as a doctorate to comprehensively criticise the Chinese tradition of Confucianism and frankly challenge the Prof. Li Zehou, a

rising ideological star with the most influence on young intellectuals in China at the time.

In June 1988, he received Ph.D. in literature, with his doctoral thesis, *Aesthetic and Human Freedom*, which passed the examination unanimously and published as his second book making a new shock.

In the same year, he became a lecture at the same Department, and soon went on studying abroad as a visiting scholar at several universities beyond China, including the University of Oslo, the University of Hawaii, and Columbia University in New York City until he returned home for the student movement broke out in Beijing in 1989. This year saw also the publication of his third book, *The Fog of Metaphysics*, a comprehensive review on Western philosophies, and soon the banning of all of his works.

Human rights activism

On 27 April 1989, Dr. Liu Xiaobo returned home in Beijing and immediately took part in the popular movement to support the student protests. When bloodshed was likely near to happen for the students persistently occupying the Tiananmen (TAM) Square to challenge the government and army enforcing the martial law, he initiated a four-man 3-day hunger strike on 2 June, later referred as Tiananmen Four Gentlemen Hunger Strike, to earn the trust from the students, and published a joint statement, June 2 Hunger Strike Declaration. He called on both the government and the students to abandon the ideology of class struggle and to adopt a new kind of political culture for dialogue and compromise. Although it was too late to prevent the massacre from occurring beyond the TAM Square starting from the night of 3 June, he and his colleagues succeeded to negotiate with both of the student leaders and the army commander to let the several thousand students withdraw peacefully and completely from the Square, thus avoiding a possible bloodshed in much larger scale. On 6 June, Dr. Liu was arrested for his alleged role in the movement, and 3 months later expelled from his university. The governmental media issued numerous publications to condemn him as a “mad dog” and “black hand” to have incited and manipulated the student movement to overthrow the government and socialist. All of his publications were banned, including his fourth book in press, *Going Naked Toward God*. In Taiwan However, his first and third books were republished with some additions as *Criticism of the Choice: Dialogues with Leading Thinker LI Zehou* (1989), and *Mysteries of Thought and Dreams of Mankind* (2 volumes, 1990).

In January 1991, 19 months since his arrest, Dr. Liu Xiaobo was convicted on the offence of "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement" but he was exempt from criminal punishment for his “major meritorious action” to have avoid the possibly bleeding

confrontation on the TAM Square. After his release, he was divorced and eventually his ex-wife and son immigrated to USA. He resumed his writing, mostly on human rights and political issues though he has not been allowed to publish in China mainland. In 1992, he published in Taiwan his first book after his imprisonment, *The Monologues of a Domsday's Survivor*, a controversial memoir with his confessions and political criticism on the popular movement in 1989.

In January 1993, Dr. Liu was invited to visit Australia and USA for the interviews in a documentary film, *Gate of Heavenly Peace*. Although many of his friends suggested him to take refuge abroad, he returned China in May of the same year and continued his freelance writing.

On 18 May 1995, the police took Dr. Liu into custody for launching a petition campaign on the eve of the sixth anniversary of June 4th massacre, calling on the government to reassess the event and to initiate political reform. He was held under residential surveillance in the suburbs of Beijing for 9 months. He was released in February 1996 but arrested again on 8 October for an October Tenth Declaration, co-authored by him and another prominent dissident Wang Xizhe, mainly on Taiwan issue that advocated the peaceful unification to oppose Chinese Communist Party's forceful treats toward the island. He was ordered to serve three years of reeducation-through-labour on "disturbing public order" for that statement. In the same year, he married Liu Xia.

After his release on 7 October 1999, Dr. Liu Xiaobo resumed his freelance writing again. In 2000, he published 3 different books in three different Chinese territories, in Taiwan *A Nation That Lies to Conscience*, a 400-paged political criticism; in Hong Kong *Selection of Poems by Liu Xiaobo and Liu Xia*, a 450-paged collection of the poems as correspondences between him and his wife during his imprisonment; and in Mainland *The Beauty Offers Me Drug: Literary Dialogues between Wang Shuo and Lao Xia*, a 250-paged collection of literary critiques co-authored a popular young writer and by him under his unknown penname of Lao Xiao. In the same year, Dr. Liu participated in founding the Independent Chinese PEN Centre (ICPC) and was elected to its Board of Directors as well as its President in November 2003, re-elected two years later. In 2007, he did not seek for the re-election of the president but hold his position of the board member until detained by the police. In 2005, he published in USA two more books, *Future of Free China Exists in Civil Society*, and *Single-Blade Poisonous Sword: Criticism of Chinese Nationalism*.

Dr. Liu's human rights work has received international recognition. In 2004, *Reporters Without Borders* awarded him the *Foundation de France Prize* as a defender of press freedom.

He received the Hong Kong's Annual Human Rights Press Awards for his articles published there in 2004, 2005 and 2006.

Current Imprisonment

Dr. Liu Xiaobo participated in drafting and signed, along with more than three hundred Chinese citizens, Charter 08, a manifesto released on the 60th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (December 10, 2008), written in the style of the Czechoslovak Charter 77 calling for greater freedom of expression, human rights, rule of law and constitutional democracy. The Charter has collected over 10,000 signatures from Chinese of various walks of life.

Arrest and detention

At about 11:00 p.m. on 8 December 2008, police from the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau arrived at Liu Xiaobo's home in Beijing, showed him a search warrant and a decision on interrogation through forced appearance, took him away almost at once, and then searched his home in presence of his wife Liu Xia, confiscating three computers and other materials. Since then, he had been held incommunicado without charge at an unknown location in Beijing until he was formally arrested on 23 June 2009.

On 15 December 2008, Liu's wife Liu Xia and her attorney Mo Shaoping approached the police for Liu's whereabouts and the reasons to hold him, but they were only told that the decision to hold him had been ordered from the top, but denied of any other information.

On 1 January 2009, the police orally notified Liu Xia that Liu Xiaobo had been held under "residential surveillance", but did not show her any written notice nor told her of any reason and his whereabouts, while she was arranged to meet her husband at a so-called "middle place".

On 20 March 2009, when they were allowed to meet for the second time, Liu Xiaobo told Lia Xia that he had been held in solitary confinement in a small windowless room of a few square meters, worse than the general conditions in a detention center or prison.

On 24 June 2009, Liu Xia received a formal notice that Liu was formally arrested for "suspicion of inciting subversion of state power" and so transferred to No. 1 Detention Center of Beijing City on June 23.

In August, September and November, 2009, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau

extended thrice the time limit with the approval of the Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate to hold Liu Xiaobo for the reason that its investigation could not be concluded within the previous time limit.

On 1 December 2009, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau officially completed the investigation of the case against Liu Xiaobo, transferred the case files to the Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate, and submitted the "Prosecution Recommendations" on suspicion of "inciting subversion of state power", alleging that "Liu Xiaobo together with others drafted "Charter 08", clamoring to overthrow the socialist system, as a major crime". However, Liu's lawyer did not until 9 December receive the "Prosecution Recommendations" with 20 files of relevant evidentiary documents, more than 100 pages each.

On 10 December 2009, the First Branch of Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate filed the public Indictment to the Beijing Municipal First Intermediate People's Court in the Criminal Indictment No. 247 (2009) of Beijing First Branch Procuratorate that charged the defendant Liu Xiaobo on "offence of inciting subversion of state power".

Trials

On 23 December 2009, the Beijing Municipal First Intermediate People's Court started the trial to hear the case of Liu Xiaobo on suspicion of "inciting subversion of state power", presided over by the Judge Jia lianchun. The First Branch of Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate assigned Prosecutor Zhang Rongge and Deputy Prosecutor Pan Xuechu to sustain the prosecution while the defendant Liu Xiaobo and his defense counsels Ding Xikui and Shang Baojun came to the trial and participated in the process. About 20 persons were allowed to attend the hearing, including Liu's brother and brother-in-law, but his wife Liu Xia was denied being present as she had been forced as a prosecution witness. Many people arrived outside the court and requested to attend it, including a dozen of the diplomats from the embassies of United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand Sweden (then EU presidency), United Kingdom, Germany and other European countries and many overseas journalists in Beijing. The hearing last more than two hours. Liu Xiaobo and his counsels made defence of not guilty plea (read his counsels' defense statement), but Liu was only allowed to speak for 15 minutes. He had prepared two drafts, "My Self-defense" and "I have No Enemies: My Last Statement" but was interrupted by the presiding judge not to read them over due to the time limit.

On 25 December 2009, the Beijing Municipal First Intermediate People's Court finalized its trial by reading its Verdict: "1 · The defendant Liu Xiaobo is guilty for the crime of inciting subversion of state power, and sentenced to eleven years imprisonment and two years

deprivation of political rights. (The sentence is counted from the day of executing the sentence, setting off against the sentence in detention on a day for day basis, that is, serving from June 23, 2009 to June 21, 2020.) 2 · All of the materials handed in this case that Liu Xiaobo used to commit the crime shall be confiscated.” (quoted from the unofficial translation of the Verdict). A few day later, Dr. Liu decided to appeal against the verdict.

On 28 January 2010, Liu Xiaobo's counsels submitted the Defense Appeal Statement that concluded: "Liu Xiaobo is innocent, and any verdict that finds Liu Xiaobo guilty cannot withstand the trial of history!"

On 11 February 2010, the Beijing Municipal High People’s Court opened its trial to read its Final Ruling: "dismissing Liu Xiaobo’s appeal and upholding the conviction."

On 26 May 2010, Dr. Liu Xiaobo was transferred from No. 1 Detention Center of Beijing City to Jinzhou Prison, Liaoning Province, to serve his sentence.

Awards and Honors

- Human Rights Watch Hellman-Hammett Grant (1990, 1996)
- Democracy Education Fund (USA) Prize for Outstanding Democracy Activists (2003)
- Reporters Without Borders - Fondation de France Prize for defender of press freedom (2004)
- Hong Kong Human Rights Press Awards (2004, 2005, 2006)
- Asia-Pacific Human Rights Foundation (Australia) Courage of Conscience Award (2007)
- People in Need (Czech) Homo Homini Award (2009)
- PEN/Barbara Goldsmith Freedom to Write Award (2009)
- Independent Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars (USA) Free Spirit Award (2009)
- Human Rights Watch Alison Des Forges Award for Extraordinary Activism (2010)
- German PEN Hermann Kesten Award (2010)
- Nobel Peace Prize (2010)
- Honorary member of German, American, Portuguese, Czech and Sydney PEN Centers

Books

- 1) **Criticism of the Choice: Dialogues with LI Zehou** ·Shanghai People’s Publishing House, Shanghai, 202 p (1987)
- 2) **Criticism of the Choice: Dialogues with Leading Thinker LI Zehou** · Strom & Stress Publishing Company, Taiwan, (1989)

- 3) **Aesthetics and Human Freedom** , Beijing Normal University Press, Beijing, 200 p (1988)
- 4) **Going Naked Toward God**, Time Literature and Art Publishing House, Changchun (1989)
- 5) **The Fog of Metaphysics**, Shanghai People's Publishing House, Shanghai, 465 p (1989)
- 6) **Mysteries of Thought and Dreams of Mankind**, 2 volumes, Strom & Stress Publishing Company, Taiwan, 242 p & 312 p (1990)
- 7) **China's Contemporary Politics and Chinese Intellectuals**, Tangshan Publishing **Criticism on Contemporary Chinese Intellectuals** (Japanese Translation), Tokuma Bookstore, Tokyo (1992)
- 8) **The Monologues of a Doomsday's Survivor**, China Times Publishing Company, Taiwan, 252 p (1992)
- 9) **A Nation That Lies to Conscience**, Jie-jou Publishing Company, Taiwan, 400 p (2000)
- 10) **Future of Free China Exists in Civil Society**, Laogai Foundation, Washington DC , 478 p (2005)
- 11) **Single-Blade Poisonous Sword: Criticism of Chinese Nationalism**, Broad Press Inc, Sunnyvale, 336 p (2005)
- 12) **Falling of A Great Power**, Editeur Asian Culture, Taipei, 395 p (2009)
- 13) **From TianAnMen Incident to Charter 08** (in Japanese), Fujiwara Bookstore, Tokyo **Selection of Poems by Liu Xiaobo and Liu Xia**, Xiafei'er International Press, Hong Kong, 446 p (2000)
- 14) **Literary Dialogues between Wang Shuo and Lao Xia (*)**, Changjiang Literary Press, Wuhan, 250 p (2000)

* Lao Xiao is a penname used by Liu Xiaobo for publishing his work in Mainland China as he has been prohibited to do so since 1989

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 September and October, 2009, ICPC held its Fourth Internet Congress of the Membership Assembly to have elected 5 Board members and 2 alternates to fill it vacancies, including the President Tienchi MARTIN-LIAO (Germany) and 2 Vice-presidents Patrick POON (Hong Kong) and QI Jiazhen (Australia). The past president Dr. LIU Xiaobo, who has been imprisoned since December 8, 2008, was elected Honorary President.