

# CHINA TODAY UPDATES MAY 2009

## US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi to visit China

By *CHRISTOPHER BODEEN* Associated Press Writer

May 22, 2009, 1:59AM

BEIJING — China's leadership will play host next week to one of its fiercest human rights critics — Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi — in a visit that symbolizes the complex and deepening relations between the two countries.

Pelosi is coming at the invitation of her counterpart, the Communist Party politician who heads the largely powerless national legislature. After stopping in Shanghai, she will meet with President Hu Jintao and other leaders and speak at a major university.

Her visit itself is startling. Pelosi has long castigated China over human rights and argued Beijing should be denied trading rights and the Olympics. When Tibetans erupted in protests against Chinese rule last year, Pelosi visited their exiled spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. During a 1991 visit to Beijing, she unfurled a banner that read "To those who died for democracy in China" on Tiananmen Square, where the military had crushed pro-democracy protests two years before.

Chinese officials have privately reviled her and used the state media to rebuke her. When she was appointed to the powerful speaker's job in 2006, the Southern Weekend newspaper worried that "a Congress under Pelosi's leadership will not only concern itself with China's internal human rights situation but also China's overseas activities with neighboring countries and Africa."

But the visit reflects a willingness on both the Chinese and U.S. governments to put relations on a firmer footing as China's power and influence grow and Washington grapples with a faltering economy as well as wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Unlike the early years of previous presidencies, China has not become a political punching bag in President Barack Obama's first months. One of Pelosi's events will be a U.S. business forum on climate change — an issue Washington and Beijing have pledged cooperation.

"It's a good opportunity for the Chinese government to explain their policies on human rights and other issues to Pelosi face-to-face. The conversation itself carries some significance, even if we shouldn't expect much in the way of direct results," said Shi Yinong, professor of international relations at Renmin University in Beijing.

Pelosi's office had no immediate comment on her upcoming visit, which comes less than a week before the 20th anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Square movement. The National People's Congress, China's legislature, issued only a brief statement saying she was coming at the invitation of NPC leader Wu Bangguo. Privately, Chinese officials said that Pelosi herself first expressed interest in visiting China again.

Aside from human rights and climate change, the U.S. and Chinese governments are also coordinating in trying to shore up the global economy and discussing ways to check the nuclear programs in Iran and North Korea.

Also visiting China at the same time is U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman and fellow Democrat Sen. John Kerry. Following them will be Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner, who will try

to assuage Chinese concerns about the strength of the dollar and thus the value of China's vast holdings of U.S. Treasury notes.

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## **New raid on disabled-slaves in Anhui brick factories**

*AsiaNews - [www.asianews.it](http://www.asianews.it)*

**05/22/2009**

**CHINA**

They are mentally disabled forced by threats and beatings to work all day long without a wage. The head of the factory claims to have paid a couple of hundred Yuan for them. Parents groups report that child abduction continues throughout the nation, with little police interest.

Beijing (AsiaNews/Agencies) – Police have arrested 10 people in Jieshou, Anhui province accused of kidnapping mentally handicapped people and forcing them to work in brick kilns like slaves, without pay. According to state agency Xinhua, in April 32 “slaves” were released from two factories.

Police official Gao Jie explains that “[the factory owner] said he bought them at a price of hundreds of Yuan from a taxi driver in Shandong, who said he found the mentally handicapped roaming on street .... All of them are mentally handicapped people aged between 25 and 45. Few of them can tell where they are from”. Only a dozen were able to return home.

In 2007 over 1.000 “slaves” were discovered in the brick factories of Shanxi ad Henan, forced to work for a bowl of semolina and continuously beaten (photo from the time). The slave drivers prefer the mentally disabled, who are easy to kidnap after they have been made drunk and who are less likely to rebel or try to escape. At that time public opinion was outraged and for weeks after that thousands of police were sent to inspect all the factories in the area, with great results that led to severe sentences for the human traffickers. But parents of abducted children have told Radio Free Asia the children continue to disappear, with at least 200 cases in and around the area of Nanning. They complain that the police are unable to penetrate the human trafficking ring but on the other hand are highly efficient in impeding parent’s protests and their attempts to bring the issue to public attention. Police even arrive at placing the parents under surveillance.

In Dongguan parents groups denounce that an estimated 1,000 children have disappeared in the last few years, while official data indicates only 400.

Liao Tianqi, deputy editor of the magazine Observe China, says the trafficking of children is not only bent on supplying free manual labour, but also to an increased demand for children in China due to the one child policy.

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## **One-child violation penalty stiffened Migrant parents' fines will vary with income**

*South China Morning Post*

*Choi Chi-yuk*

*May 22, 2009*

Millions of mainland migrant workers will soon be entitled to free contraceptives, but the penalties for those having an extra child illegally will be based on what migrants earn in the cities, according to a revised family planning regulation released yesterday by the State Council.

The guideline that possibly grabbed the most attention was the one stating that fines levied on migrant workers who violated the one-child policy would be assessed based on the earnings standard of the place they lived in rather than their hometowns.

The Legislative Affairs Office of the State Council had issued a similar document last June that said migrants who gave birth to an extra child would be fined according to the standards imposed by either their hometowns or where they currently live. The new guideline eliminates any reference to the hometown standard, leaving the place of residence as the only applicable one.

The migrant population is widely regarded as the mainland's child-bearing guerillas. Most of them move from their hometowns, where they hold their household registrations, to more affluent urban locations, seeking better jobs and having more children than the policies allowed.

Basing the fine for breaking the family planning rule in the city where they are living in would result in a higher penalty and therefore serves as a better deterrent.

On the other hand, migrant workers who comply with the new rule would be entitled to a string of new benefits including free contraceptives from health agencies, the revised guidelines said.

Those who gave birth to their children at a relatively older age or spontaneously undergo sterilisation will be rewarded with several days' holiday by the local administration. They will also enjoy preferential treatment, such as materials with information about population and family planning laws and procreation health, and support in running their own businesses and receiving social relief.

The new guideline, due to take effect on October 1, was approved at the State Council's executive meeting in Beijing and endorsed by Premier Wen Jiabao on April 29.

But it was only published yesterday on the website of the central government, without any explanation for the delay.

According to the latest statistics released by the National Population and Family Planning Commission, the country's total migrant population has exceeded 150 million, more than 70 per cent of whom are of child-bearing age.

The mainland has been strictly enforcing the one-child policy since the late 1970s, compelling women who already have a child to undergo pregnancy tests and, if testing positive, have abortions.

More than 300 million more babies would have been born had the policy not been implemented, it has been reported. Some 90 million children have no brothers or sisters. The mainland's population - now

at 1.3 billion - would keep growing at a rate of 8 million to 10 million a year, pressing up to 1.5 billion to 1.6 billion, the most it can support, according to an article in the official Outlook Weekly.

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## **June 4 Mothers Mourn Children**

*South China Morning Post*

*Choi Chi-yuk*

*May 19, 2009*

Dozens of elderly parents in Beijing have gathered to mourn their children who were killed in the June 4 crackdown at Tiananmen Square, a local rights group says.

The meeting was held on Sunday at the Chaoyang district home of Zhang Xianling , who lost her 19-year-old son Wang Nan , according to a report released yesterday by the Hong Kong-based Information Centre for Human Rights and Democracy.

The centre said a couplet hanging in the sitting room where the service was held read: "Seeking truth is the basic right of Tiananmen mothers" and "Upholding justice is the hope in the deep darkness of the night".

Ms Zhang yesterday confirmed the ceremony had taken place and said that several days beforehand Ministry of State Security officers made her agree to several conditions.

"They wanted us to make sure no outsiders, particularly foreign journalists, took part in the mourning ceremony," she said. "Besides, they also warned us to stay inside. I agreed to their conditions and they said we could proceed with the gathering."

Up to 50 bereaved parents from 40 families attended the gathering, held once every five years. Most were in their 70s or 80s and some were wheelchair-bound. "We began observing silence and bowing in front of our children's photos at roughly 3pm," Ms Zhang said.

One absentee was Ding Zilin , founder of the Tiananmen Mothers organisation. "Ding Zilin was supposed to deliver a memorial speech, but police wouldn't let her leave home," Ms Zhang said.

She said all those present were incensed by the decision to prevent Ms Ding from mourning her son. She said Ms Ding's movements were being limited until the 20th anniversary had passed. Her phone rang unanswered several times yesterday.

Tan Shuqin , 70, who lost her daughter in the crackdown, made the memorial speech on behalf of all the parents. "Our courageous, intelligent, heroic and innocent sons and daughters, we have by no means forgotten you all although 20 years have passed," Ms Tan was quoted as saying by Ms Zhang.

"All Tiananmen mothers will resolve ourselves to [seeking justice] without hesitation and we do believe your grievances will be resolved some day. May you rest in peace, our beloved children."

Ms Zhang said the ceremony lasted slightly more than two hours before they parted ways at 5.10pm

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## EU May Press China to Turn Up Heat on Myanmar to Free Suu Kyi

By Jennifer M. Freedman

May 20 (Bloomberg) -- The European Union may ask China to pressure Myanmar's military junta to free opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi, who faces five more years in detention after being held for 13 of the past 19 years.

Suu Kyi, 63, went on trial two days ago, accused by the government of violating a house-arrest order for sheltering an American for two days. She was detained after her National League for Democracy won a landslide election victory in 1990, only to be denied power by the military in the country, formerly known as Burma.

The 27-nation EU, which outlaws weapons sales to Myanmar, curbs financing for its state-run companies and won't allow junta leaders to visit Europe, wants Asian powers such as China and India to pressure Myanmar's ruling generals to free Suu Kyi. EU officials may ask their Chinese counterparts including Prime Minister Wen Jiabao to use their influence with Myanmar's junta when they meet to discuss EU-China ties today in Prague.

"We have to reinforce the dialogue with Burma's neighbors," said Benita Ferrero-Waldner, the EU's external relations commissioner who will participate in the summit. "It should at least be always a discussion point with China, with India and with others." The EU agreed to "investigate more sanctions" against Myanmar, U.K. Foreign Secretary David Miliband said on May 18 after foreign ministers met in Brussels.

The annual EU-China meeting was originally set to take place last December but was canceled because French President Nicholas Sarkozy met the Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual leader. While relations between the EU and China have warmed since then, the reaction in the region to Suu Kyi's trial has been muted so far and the bloc's demands for the Chinese government to pressure Myanmar may fall on deaf ears.

'Reconciliation, Stability'

"Myanmar's issue should be decided by the people of Myanmar," Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Ma Zhaoxu told reporters in Beijing yesterday. "As a neighbor of Myanmar, we hope that relevant parties in Myanmar can realize reconciliation, stability and development through dialogue."

Opposition activists say the junta is looking for a legal pretext to keep Suu Kyi, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, in detention when her current house-arrest order expires in two weeks. They want China, India and the 10-member Association of South East Asian Nations, which includes Myanmar, to use their economic influence to pressure the junta.

Along with the Myanmar issue, the EU and China will also present their cases on a Copenhagen climate deal, though no changes are expected in either side's position. They will also sign partnership agreements on research and technology and a memorandum of understanding on a 10 million-euro (\$14 million) clean-energy facility for China.

High-Level Talks

At high-level talks in Brussels earlier this month, EU Trade Commissioner Catherine Ashton and Chinese Vice Premier Wang Qishan agreed that trade and investment will lead the way to economic

recovery. Trade volume between the two countries grew to more than 326 billion euros last year, according to the European Commission, the EU's executive arm, and the EU is the top destination for exports of Chinese goods such as shoes and textiles.

\* To contact the reporter on this story: Jennifer M. Freedman in Prague at [jfreedman@bloomberg.net](mailto:jfreedman@bloomberg.net).  
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## **Seeking Moral Leadership in China**

### **Chinese professionals are seeking moral grounding, and finding it in traditional values**

*Business Week*

*Insight*

*May 15, 2009, 9:21AM EST*

*By Nandani Lynton and Henri-Claude*

Chinese professionals in Shanghai and Beijing are concerned about the financial disaster that has spread from New York and London throughout the world. They read the Western press that blames both individual executive greed and false belief in the inherent self-control of the capitalist market system; they worry about their own real estate values dropping; they question Adam Smith's notion of the invisible hand of the market as Western governments nationalize private banks. And they shake their heads. The West has lost any moral high ground it has had, and some now are wondering whether China can save the world from collapse.

Although China cannot save the world economy, it may help reduce the extent of damage caused by the financial crisis. And China is certainly in a position to claim a larger voice in world organizations, seen for example in Zhou Xiaochuan, the central bank's governor, calling for a new world reserve currency. Respected professionals are using the crisis to demand new models of moral leadership.

Moral leadership from China? A place where foreign businesses complain of nontransparent systems, payment demands, nepotism, and other questionable practices? Where the government itself struggles in fighting corruption? Where only 40% of business schools offer courses on business ethics to MBA students—and many students dismiss such lessons, saying if they don't play the game they can't be in business?

\*\* The Return of Confucius

Yes, moral leadership from China. Some steps in this direction are familiar. In 2006 the Chinese government supported the largest world conference on Buddhism ever held, the World Buddhist Forum in Hangzhou. The conference concluded with the Putuoshan Declaration stating, "Everyone is responsible for world harmony, which begins in the mind." Confucius has been reinstated, as exemplified by the establishment of a global platform for disseminating Chinese language and culture named Confucius Institutes. Started in Korea in 2004, this network now includes 256 Confucius Institutes and 58 Confucius Classrooms in 81 countries worldwide.

Note that these are not called Mao Zedong Institutes, or Deng Xiaoping Institutes. The wide popularity of Confucian thought is exemplified by the proliferation of radio and television shows by academics and businessmen reinterpreting Confucian philosophy for modern life. A book on this subject, *Sentiments on the Analects of Confucius* by Yu Dan, led China's nonfiction best-seller list for months

in 2008, and television costume dramas illustrating moral leadership along Confucian lines draw high viewer loyalty.

Deeper conversation with Chinese entrepreneurs, corporate leaders, and academics indicate that the search for a Chinese moral compass is real and comes from the populace, not just from above. Interviews and surveys with young Chinese business people show the same. They seek meaning and guidance in a society that has been cut off from its traditional roots for a century, culminating of course in the Cultural Revolution. Many are reaching back to Buddhism and Confucius as well as writings of the Taoists and the legalists for orientation and a basis for developing integrity.

#### \*\* A Step Toward Real Global Standards

Here are some snapshots of what we see these days. A 45-year-old Shanghai MBA from a top-ranked Western business school, with experience working with successful entrepreneurs and who is the founder of his own investment firm, has over the last three years become so deeply Buddhist that he rises to meditate at 5 a.m. daily, eats little, works hard but gives away much of his income. "What do I actually need?" he asks. "Very little for myself." An older executive running a midsized company opens a business presentation with a slide on Taoism and states that China seems to have a religion of money but in fact must learn to rely on the Doctrine of the Mean or the balance exemplified by the symbol of the Yin and Yang. Discussing spirituality and leadership in Shanghai in March, MBA students clearly felt that the West has imposed its philosophies and ethical systems on the East for long enough and is now itself found wanting. What better model than Chinese tradition? Could it become a new ethical paradigm beyond the East?

Perhaps. It seems more likely, however, that we are seeing a step toward the development of real global standards. These are being encouraged by more inclusive global institutions such as the WTO, the G8/G20/G192, U.N. organizations, and people responding to the financial crisis by calling for better global governance, improved watchdog institutions, and a global currency.

On an industry level, some Western and Chinese business people feel there is a global set of base lines developing for business as they increasingly audit their suppliers and are in turn audited by their customers. Issues such as safety, product quality, intellectual property, health, and environment are treated similarly by companies operating in China, whether joint ventures, Chinese, or wholly foreign-owned.

On what basis can one implement global standards? Anyone who has worked in China knows it is possible to build strong relationships between managers and their employees, but difficult if not impossible to transfer that personal loyalty to a company. Similarly with ethics. Traditional Chinese views of integrity are based on a high standard of sincerity and trust between individuals who are friends; it does not apply to people beyond one's close circle of contacts. So how does one transfer the commitment of integrity to strangers? To strangers such as the babies fed contaminated milk? Or their parents? Or just the average consumer who wants a safe and reliable product at a fair price?

#### \*\* Trust as Capital

Today some Chinese businessmen with whom we speak suggest that compliance based on law alone is not enough. Unless the leaders of a company have morals and love, they will not be able to answer questions that companies must ask: "How should we act? How should we treat people?" If we treat people with honesty and sincerity, these businessmen argue, then we earn the public's respect and society's trust. This trust is capital for sustainable development. In other words, no moral credit, no trust, no cooperation, no business. It is a powerful argument. In his books on Buddhism, Yu Tijun, businessman and author, points out that companies must have integrity and heart in order to survive.

If your customers are sheep, you shear them, not skin them, he says. And likewise, all companies say they want to be like their employees' family, but they do not care for their needs as family members. Now, however, he begins to see positive change on these scores.

In China, we find that entrepreneurs who come to business schools are searching for quick fixes to escape the downturn; a paradigm shift is not their cup of tea. Still, at CEIBS we are initiating a process to enhance the development of integrity in Chinese business school education, through the organization of a two-day workshop on social responsibility, business ethics, and sustainable development in China. Perhaps in encouraging the development of critical thinking, in discussing how to deal with sticky situations, in encouraging more rigor and relevance in the research, we will be able to alleviate the difficulties in teaching ethics and promoting transparency and integrity while internalizing more responsibility. The challenge will be to develop approaches that will learn from the mistakes of Anglo-Saxon capitalism, and avoid the danger of market fundamentalism and the single pursuit of maximum profit taking precedence over the strengthening of competitiveness and sustainability.

In an environment where openness and transparency are not the pillars of transactional processes, it will be a strenuous challenge. This is where insight in and learning from the Chinese traditions and philosophers could propose an original path of potential relevance. Perhaps Eastern philosophies—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism—can serve as yeast to raise our awareness, develop and enrich our ways of assessing our present predicament, and offer vitamins to our imagination.

\* Nandani Lynton is the vice-president for corporate learning in Asia at Thunderbird School of Global Management. With more than two decades of international experience in the private and public sectors, Lynton focuses on developing effective leadership in global organizations. She has lived and worked in India, the U.S., and Germany. Since 1993, she has been in China, where she built and ran an organizational consulting firm before joining Thunderbird in 2004. Henri-Claude de Bettignies holds the EU Chair for Global Governance and Sino-European Business Relations at CEIBS and is Director of the Europe China Center for Leadership and Responsibility. He is also the AVIVA Chair Professor of Leadership and Responsibility at INSEAD. De Bettignies is engaged in the development of globally responsible leadership and in strengthening China-Europe interdependence through the production of knowledge, the development of relationships, and the building of networks likely, over time, to enhance mutual understanding. He is the author of numerous books and articles, based on his teaching and consulting in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the U.S. for more than 30 years.

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## **The Insider Who Tried to Stop Tiananmen The Late Premier Zhao Secretly Chronicled Dissent Among China's Leaders; Friends Smuggled Out His Tapes for a Book**

*The Wall Street Journal*

**ASIA NEWS \* MAY 15, 2009** By SKY CANAVES

HONG KONG -- A new memoir by the deceased former Communist Party chief ousted for refusing to help suppress 1989 pro-democracy protests offers a rare window into the power struggle that surrounded the bloody crackdown as its 20th anniversary nears.

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"Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhao Ziyang," to be officially released this month in the U.S. by Simon & Schuster, is based on 30 hours of tapes recorded by Mr. Zhao before his death in 2005 and smuggled out of China. Mr. Zhao recorded over existing music cassettes while living under heavy surveillance and distributed them among various friends for safekeeping. The tapes were only recently collected, transcribed and translated for publication in book form.

The book marks the first time a former top Chinese leader has spoken so openly about his experiences at the center of power. Although politically conservative when he promoted economic reforms in the mid-1980s, Mr. Zhao came to think toward the end of his life that major political reform was needed to sustain China's economic progress.  
[Prisoner of the State book jacket] Associated Press

While China's leaders never adopted that view, the book's account portrays Mr. Zhao, who was later put under house arrest until his death, as a key architect of the country's early economic reforms. Beijing hasn't publicly commented on the book, which The Wall Street Journal purchased in a Hong Kong bookstore.

Mr. Zhao was general secretary of the Communist Party when students and others held protests in April and May 1989 centered in Beijing's massive Tiananmen Square. In the book, Mr. Zhao discusses how he opposed the imposition of martial law, as well as the ultimate use of armed force to quell the largely nonviolent demonstrations on the night of June 3 and the morning of June 4, 1989.

"I told myself that no matter what, I refused to become the general secretary who mobilized the military to crack down on students," Mr. Zhao says in the book.

He said the decision to declare martial law was made at a small meeting on May 17 at the home of Deng Xiaoping, then China's paramount leader and chairman of the powerful Central Military Commission, and that Mr. Deng demanded no one know of the meeting. Mr. Zhao asserts there was no legitimate vote of the standing committee of the Politburo authorizing the use of military force.

In Mr. Zhao's portrayal of the behind-the-scenes dealings of the weeks before June 4, Li Peng, who was premier at the time, appears as Mr. Zhao's main detractor. Mr. Zhao accuses the premier of having "hidden ill intentions" to crush the student demonstrations through violence.

The timing of the book is likely to be a sore point for Beijing. China's government, which has defended its response to the protests, has never given a full accounting of the casualties from the crackdown, but hundreds of people are believed to have been killed. Authorities have moved to suppress commemoration of the anniversary, including the detention or harassment of activists in recent months, say overseas human-rights groups. Chinese officials couldn't be reached for comment.

In Hong Kong on Thursday, about 20 lawmakers stormed out of its legislature after the city's leader suggested the average person there had moved on since China's Tiananmen crackdown in 1989, Reuters reported.

"I very much hope and trust Hong Kong people can come to an objective assessment of June 4 and China's development," Hong Kong Chief Executive Donald Tsang said during a regular session. He later said he was sorry for any misunderstanding.

In the preface to the Zhao memoir, co-editor Adi Ignatius suggests Mr. Zhao, in recording the tapes, "perhaps was making his arguments for a future generation of leaders who may revisit his case and decide whether he should be rehabilitated in the memory of the Party, and of the nation."

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The memoir opens with Mr. Zhao's recollections of events leading up to June 4, which were recorded based on notes he took in 1992. Recalling the night of June 3, he said: "While sitting in the courtyard with my family, I heard intense gunfire. A tragedy to shock the world had not been averted, and was happening after all."

The book says other party leaders marginalized Mr. Zhao quickly in the weeks surrounding the crackdown, stripping him of power and placing him under house arrest, where he remained until his death in January 2005. Mr. Zhao, who was never charged with any crimes, described his fruitless efforts to be released by writing letters to the leadership.

The book also covers other events, such as China's post-1978 economic reforms, and the power struggles within the upper echelons of the leadership that presaged his own fall from grace. Well before students took over Tiananmen Square in 1989, Mr. Zhao was aware of a growing "Overthrow Zhao" campaign within the Party, the book says.

The book ends with Mr. Zhao's reflections on China's political future. "In fact, it is the Western parliamentary democratic system that has demonstrated the most vitality. It seems that this system is currently the best one available," Mr. Zhao said.

\* Write to Sky Canaves at [sky.canaves@wsj.com](mailto:sky.canaves@wsj.com)

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## **Zhao Ziyang alleges Li Peng 1989 scheming Late leader's explosive memoirs out**

*Chow Chung-yan*

*May 15, 2009 South China Morning Post*

A controversial editorial by the Chinese Communist Party mouthpiece, the People's Daily, that shaped the outcome of the 1989 student democratic movement was prepared by then premier Li Peng without the consent of paramount leader Deng Xiaoping.

This is revealed by the late Zhao Ziyang, then party general secretary, in his memoirs, Prisoner of the State, released yesterday.

Click here to find out more!

Two decades after his downfall and four years after his death, the reformist party leader has shattered the official silence cloaking the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown in explosive memoirs he recorded in secret while under house arrest.

According to Zhao, the decision to use the military against peaceful protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square could have been avoided but for the scheming of die-hard conservatives such as Mr Li, Beijing mayor Chen Xitong and vice-premier Yao Yilin, and Deng's paranoia about losing power.

The memoirs, based on about 30 hours of tape, were given to three confidants and smuggled out of China, and transcribed and compiled by trusted friends. The book, published in English by US publisher Simon & Schuster, went on sale in Hong Kong yesterday. The Chinese version will be available later this month.

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In the book, Zhao says "the scale of the demonstrations, the mess it turned into and why it happened when it did were all the results of the April 26 [People's Daily] editorial".

That editorial, in which the peaceful student protests against official corruption that began in April 1989 were labelled "anti-party, anti- socialist turmoil", stirred the protesters' emotions and made peaceful solutions increasingly impossible.

Zhao says the editorial was the result of manipulation of information by die-hard conservative leaders such as Mr Li and Mr Chen, who played on Deng's fear of instability and disdain for student movements to their advantage.

"Deng's discussion with Li Peng and others on April 25 was supposed to be an internal affair. However, Li Peng decided to disseminate the contents of Deng's remark ... and paraphrased their talk in the editorial that he had the People's Daily publish on April 26."

Zhao says Deng and his family were not happy with the way Mr Li had made Deng's remark public without his consent. The paramount leader later warned Mr Li "don't repeat what you did" and Mr Li said repeatedly: "I won't, I won't."

But ultimately, it was Deng who should be responsible for what happened, the book says.

"The crux of the issue was Deng Xiaoping himself ... if Deng refused to relax his position, then there was no way for me to change the attitude of the two hardliners, Li Peng and Yao Yilin," Zhao writes.

"Deng Xiaoping had always tended to prefer tough measures when dealing with student demonstrations because he believed that demonstrations undermine stability.

"Deng had always stood out among the party elders as the one who emphasised the means of dictatorship. He often reminded people about its usefulness. Every time he mentioned stability, he also emphasised dictatorship."

In the memoirs, Zhao calls for reversing the party's verdict on June 4 and the need for China to continue its political reform.

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## **The Movement That Is Changing China** **President of the 'Quit Party' center explains the global movement**

*By Joshua Philipp*  
*Epoch Times Staff May 13, 2009*

NEW YORK—With each passing day the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) grows closer to total collapse. As of May 12, more than 54 million Chinese people have withdrawn their membership from the central Party and its affiliated organizations.

Each day, close to 50,000 people withdraw—and that number is growing.

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The peaceful movement, known as “Tui Dang” or “Quit the Party,” was started by the Chinese people in 2004. It has been steadily spreading through China with the help of various volunteers both inside China and abroad.

Dr. David Gao is the president of the Global Service Center for Quitting the CCP (Service Center)—the network of volunteers who are leading the effort. He spoke with The Epoch Times about the situation during a phone interview.

When asked how the large number of withdrawals can be verified, Gao said that there are several ways. Most fundamentally, the Service Center keeps a record of every name, date, and statement they receive. Their Web site has a searchable daily listing that has documented the information of every withdrawal in the entire 4 1/2 years since the movement started.

The withdrawals come from the Chinese Communist Party, the Young Pioneers, of the Communist Youth League.

Also on the Web site of the Service Center—which is currently only in Chinese—there are millions of personal statements from those who quit. Their writings include “their stories, the process of how they realized the evil of the CCP, and the process of how they made the decision [to quit the Party,]” Gao said. “They are very vivid stories. You couldn’t make them up.”

Of the more than 54 million people who have quit, nearly one in every ten have left personal statements.

#### \*\* A Growing Movement

Gao said that the statements and withdrawals come from every corner of China, ranging from those who have been persecuted by the regime to regime officials, farmers, and religious believers.

Sometimes while visiting places such as Hong Kong and Thailand, people bring name lists to the Service Centers of every person in entire towns and workplaces who all want to quit the Party.

“Last year, at one time we received a list of over 2,000 people from a village in southern China. They were very angry because their land was taken by a communist officer, so all the farmers in the village quit [the Party],” Gao said.

People’s reasons for quitting the party often vary. According to Gao, “some people read the ‘Nine Commentaries’ and realize that the CCP is so evil. They’ve killed over 80 million Chinese, alter their history, and always lie to the Chinese people.”

“Some people, such as farmers and military personnel, have lost everything and have no job and no food because of the corruption of their local officials,” Gao said, adding that after such people quit the CCP, they often tell their friends and family to do the same.

According to Gao, the higher ranking officials of the CCP often quit the Party as they know the truth behind it system. “They understand that the Communist Party will collapse in the near future,” Gao said. “They announce to quit before that happens.”

Still, Gao said that religious belief is among the main reasons people quit the CCP.

#### \*\* A Culture of Belief

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Among the more high profile people who quit the party is Sun Yanjun, a professor of psychology and religion from the Capital Normal University in Beijing.

After defecting to the United States in January, he exposed to U.S. Congress and reporters why the CCP keeps tight control over religions. "If they want to control people's minds, they have to control religion," Yanjun told The Epoch Times, following a rally in New York on April 26.

According to Gao, the religious beliefs of the Chinese people still exist strongly, despite decades of suppression and persecution. Ideas such as good being rewarded and evil being punished, reincarnation, and good values are deeply ingrained in China's traditional culture. During the Cultural Revolution, belief in god and heaven were labeled "superstition" or "Mi Xin."

Gao said that China has a vast history, "only in the last 50 years since the CCP gained control did the thought control and widespread fighting and killing begin. They restrict free belief and free religion and they've damaged the traditional virtue standards of the Chinese people."

"Through each political movement they kill people and torture people, so a lot of people don't dare believe in gods or believe in heaven," Gao said.

Amid the atheist ideology taught by the CCP, many Chinese hide their beliefs. Gao said that when a volunteer speaks to such a person about quitting the CCP, "they think how the CCP killed so many people, damaged the society to such a degree, and how the CCP officials slander gods."

Due to the cultural belief in karmic retribution, many Chinese people believe the CCP "will repay what they have done and receive punishment from heaven," Gao said. "This is the main reason why people quit the CCP."

## \*\* Ensuring Safety

When asked how people can quit the Party without being persecuted, Gao explained that precautions are taken according to the situation.

"Many people who live in villages and towns quit using their real names and the Communist Party doesn't dare terrorize them," Gao said, adding that the regime is still trying to keep knowledge of the movement as quiet as possible. It is the people who work for the regime that need their identities concealed.

Gao said that with such people, they keep a record of their real names and submit an alias publicly. "It's very important to protect these kinds of people," he said. "Sometimes they insist on using their real name, so we hide their address and working unit. The communists are angry and try to do something but they don't know where or who they are."

In the case that someone is caught by the regime, the Service Center takes the initiative to expose the incident to foreign leaders, the media, and the relatives of the person in other countries. They also hold media conferences and rallies.

Although the CCP is usually unable to find the people who withdraw, "the CCP does arrest volunteers and people who announce to quit," Gao said.

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## **Secret Tiananmen Square memoirs of Zhao Ziyang to be published**

*Times Online*

*May 14, 2009 Jane Macartney in Beijing*

The memoirs of the Chinese Communist Party leader purged for favouring student protesters during the 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen Square have finally been released after being prepared with the utmost secrecy during years of house arrest.

The record made by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Communist Party from 1987 until his fall from power in 1989, are to be published this month as *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Zhao Ziyang*.

So sensitive is this document, the first memoir ever to be made public by such a senior Chinese party official, that even its existence had been kept a closely guarded secret. Speculation had been rife during his nearly 16 years of house arrest and after his death in 2005 as to whether the man with the most intimate knowledge of the events of June 3-4 1989, had provided his own account of those dramatic days.

The most exciting section of the book seen by *The Times* is Mr Zhao's account of a May 17 meeting of the Politburo Standing Committee at the home of the late leader Deng Xiaoping that was also attended by several other party elders. Mr Zhao describes how he was overruled and how, without even a vote by the most powerful body in the country, it was decided to impose martial law.

He said: "At that moment, I was extremely upset. I told myself that no matter what, I refused to become the General Secretary who mobilised the military to crack down on the students."

He submitted his resignation. He made a dramatic public appearance in the early hours of May 19 when – flanked by his aide Wen Jiabao, now premier - he visited the students in the square and, with tears in his eyes, tried to persuade them once again to withdraw. It was to no avail.

He writes: "On the night of June 3rd, while sitting in the courtyard with my family, I heard intense gunfire. A tragedy to shock the world had not been averted, and was happening after all."

The publication of the memoir comes just weeks before the 20th anniversary of the night when troops, backed by tanks, battled their way into Beijing to end weeks of demonstrations by students demanding greater democracy and an end to corruption. Hundreds were killed.

Mr Zhao's top aide, Bao Tong, jailed for seven years after the protests, told *The Times* this morning that he learnt of the existence of the memoirs only after Mr Zhao's death. "I knew he wanted to write something. I knew he would want to leave some record of his work but it was extremely difficult for him to do this because he knew that he was under constant surveillance."

Mr Bao said there was no doubt as to the authenticity of the memoirs. "This is an extremely valuable historical document both for China and for the West."

Mr Zhao left the memoirs on some 30 tapes that he recorded around the year 2000. Mr Bao said it had been impossible for the disgraced party chief to make the recordings before 1999, but after that date he had found a way to bypass those watching and listening to him. The recordings include

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conversations in which he answers questions as well as sections that are apparently dictated from a now-vanished written document. The tapes took Mr Zhao about two years to make and he then found a way to pass them to several trusted friends. The materials were hidden and gathered together after his death, but much of the process remains a secret.

Mr Bao insisted that Mr Zhao's family had been unaware of the memoirs – a deliberate act by the former politician to protect them. "If the authorities want to pursue someone for political or legal responsibility for these memoirs, then I will bear everything."

The memoirs were translated and edited by Mr Bao's son and daughter-in-law – Bao Pu and Renee Chiang – along with the well-known American journalist Adi Ignatius, formerly deputy managing editor of Time magazine and himself a China expert. Mr Ignatius told The Times: "It was remarkable to deal with this powerful memoir left behind by someone we all thought had been silenced after Tiananmen. Zhao did this all secretly, but he knew what he was doing: getting the final word on what really happened 20 years ago."

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## **'Peace of mind is power'**

*The China Post, Taiwan*

*Monday, May 11, 2009*

*The China Post news staff*

TAIPEI, Taiwan -- Taipei marked the birthday of the Buddha and Mother's Day yesterday with Buddhist leaders calling for a "peace of mind" of all people to generate power for Taiwan's sustained development.

President Ma Ying-jeou attended a rally at the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Museum, where he expounded on the power peace of mind would generate, a teaching by the late Most Reverend Sheng Yen of Dharma Drum Mountain.

Thousands of Sheng Yen's followers took part in the morning meeting, organized by the Dharma Drum Mountain foundation to mark the 2,565th birthday anniversary of Gautama Siddhartha The Enlightened One and Mother's Day.

Ma quoted Master Sheng Yen as teaching peace of mind is the power.

"Over the past year," President Ma told the rally-goers, "the government has done what it could to help the people achieve a peace of mind."

The power was generated, Ma declared. "Our factories have received more orders and the rank of those on leave without pay has shrunk," he said.

"As a matter of fact, the teaching is the best cure for the economic woes brought by the world financial crisis," President Ma went on. "We in the government have made the people achieve a peace of mind by lessening the impact of the crisis, diversifying Taiwan's markets, covering all deposits with government insurance, increasing domestic demand, creating more new jobs and issuing consumers' vouchers," he pointed out.

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In particular, Ma said, consumers' vouchers made the people's mind at peace. "So much so that people are demanding the issuance of vouchers on a regular basis, on three occasions a year, to boost domestic demand," he added.

The three occasions are the Chinese New Year, Dragon Boat and Mid-Autumn Festivals.

It is religion and education that make the people cultivate virtue, Ma went on. "With virtue exerting its influence," he said, "nobody will be pessimistic. The people will have a peace of mind."

Sheng Yen's successor, Master Kuo Tung, presided over the meeting, where he explained its theme: "Peace of mind leads to peace and you are the power."

Master Hsing Yun of Fukuanshan (Mount Buddha's Glory) called another rally in the Presidential Plaza in the heart of Taipei to mark the occasion in the afternoon.

The meeting was featured by the "bathing of the Buddha," a traditional rite to celebrate the birthday of the founder of Buddhism.

Hundreds of monks queued up to sprinkle water over a Buddha image, while Buddhist followers pledged to repay the love of mothers.

In the evening, the Tzu Chi Foundation held a rally at the Liberty Plaza to observe Mother's Day, the birthday of the Buddha, and Tzu Chi Day.

Tzu Chi was founded by Cheng Yen, a nun, who is one of Taiwan's most influential Buddhist leaders.

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## **Four Chinese nationals named in Time 100**

*By Qi Xiao (chinadaily.com.cn)*

*Updated: 2009-05-08 18:30China Daily Online*

Four Chinese nationals made it into Time Magazine's 2009 "100 Most Influential People in the World", including Chinese Vice-President Xi Jinping, Vice Premier Wang Qishan, Alibaba.com founder Jack Ma, and pianist Lang Lang.

Among the others named are US President Barack Obama and his wife Michelle Obama, US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, the co-founders of Twitter, Jack Dorsey, Biz Stone and Evan Williams, and the world-famous golfer Tiger Woods.

Running one of the world's biggest B2B online marketplaces, the soft-spoken Jack Ma "did so well that in 2006, eBay shut down its own site in China," the magazine writes.

If Jack Ma influences the world through his business instinct and acute vision, Lang Lang, who has been playing the piano since he was around 2 years old, is influencing others through his humane sensitivity and prodigal talents.

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"You hear him play, and he never ceases to touch your heart," according to Time. It also calls him "the new phenomenon".

"The Time 100 is not a list of the most powerful people in the world, it's not a list of the smartest people in the world, it's a list of the most influential people in the world," says Executive Editor Rick Stengel.

"They're scientists, they're thinkers, they're philosophers, they're leaders, they're icons, they're artists, they're visionaries."

First published in 1999 as a result of a debate among several academics, the Time 100 has become an annual event since 2004.

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## **'Enormous changes' in thirty years Scholars at Harvard conference assess the People's Republic on its 60th anniversary**

*Harvard University Gazette Online, USA*

*Friday 8 May 2009*

*By Amy Lavoie*

*FAS Communications*

In Chinese culture, the 60th birthday is an auspicious event. At that age, it is said that a person is at ease.

As the People's Republic of China prepares to celebrate its 60th anniversary in October 2009, scholars gathered at Harvard University to ask: At 60, is the People's Republic of China finally at ease?

"There have been changes in Chinese society that would have seemed inconceivable 30 years ago," said William C. Kirby, who organized the conference. Kirby is the T.M. Chang Professor of China Studies in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and Spangler Family Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School. "There have been enormous changes to society, to the economy, to the standard of living, and to personal mobility. Yet at the same time, there are still certain levels of continuity in the political structure; after all, it's still a one-party state under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party."

More than 30 scholars from across the University and around the world gave presentations on "Politics," "Culture, Belief and Practice," "Social Transformation," and "Wealth and Well-Being" at the Center for Government and International Studies May 1-3. The Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard sponsored the conference.

In his opening remarks, Kirby, also the director of the Fairbank Center, explained that the conference was concerned with assessing the health and longevity of the People's Republic of China as a living system.

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According to Kirby, China's recent history can be divided into the first 30 years, under the rule of Mao Zedong, and the second 30 years, during which Chinese diplomatic relations opened to the West and the country experienced sustained economic growth. The differences between these two chronological periods and China's recent transformation were addressed in many of the presentations.

"You have enormous discontinuities between a first 30 years of Maoist revolution, a Stalinist political system, and comparative international isolation," said Kirby. "This was followed by something that could not have been easily predicted — economic growth in such a large population, such a large country, the likes of which the world has never seen and could not have anticipated."

With scholars from the United States and China, as well as Canada, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Europe, the conference offered a broad international perspective on where China has been and where it might be going.

At the conference, Elizabeth Perry, Henry Rosovsky Professor of Government, spoke of the numerous predictions of the Chinese government's imminent demise in the past 20 years, and the reasons the government has persisted. She explained that the government has grown increasingly adept at dealing with leadership changes and public protests.

"The regime has not only weathered potentially destabilizing leadership changes, but it has also, at the same time, presided over the fastest sustained economic transition in world history," said Perry.

In a session titled "Health, Environment and Social Change in China," Michael McElroy, Gilbert Butler Professor of Environmental Studies, presented on possibilities for wind-generated electricity. In 2006, China pulled ahead of the United States to become the largest national emitter of harmful gases into the atmosphere. China's growth, McElroy explained, demands energy, and China is facing international pressure to reduce its carbon dioxide emissions. "China and the U.S. face a common problem, with potentially common solutions," McElroy said.

Addressing "Communities of Faith and Ethnicity," Henrietta Harrison, professor of history, spoke about globalization and shifting attitudes toward religion in China. Harrison explained that 1960s Chinese anti-Catholic propaganda cast religion as a tool of "slave society" that impedes progress.

"Global religions are by definition transnational," said Harrison. "And that's always been a problem for nation-states, because nations wish to make the nation the primary focus of loyalty."

Harrison went on to explain that the growth of transnational religions, such as Catholicism or Christianity, is part of China's increasing globalization.

"Global religions are part of the making of the modern world," she said. "Their transnational nature is part of their appeal. Membership in a transnational religion is both an aspect of modernity and an aspect of globalization."

On Sunday, the final day of the conference, a panel of historians discussed possible future directions for the People's Republic in comparison to successful dynasties throughout China's history.

"This is the history, not just of a country, it's the history of a fifth of mankind, a fifth of the world's population," said Kirby. "It's the history of the longest continuous civilization on earth, one that was without question the greatest and wealthiest civilization on earth in the 18th century, and may be poised to resume that position in the 21st."

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## **Is China a rich or poor country?**

*By Chris Hogg*

*BBC News, ShanghaiBBC News*

*last updated at 17:04 GMT, Wednesday, 6 May 2009 18:04 UK*

The year 2009 could turn out to be a good one for China.

Recent economic data prompted some analysts to suggest it might already have reached the bottom of the current economic cycle. Many are expecting a recovery in the second half of the year.

If China's economy starts to recover earlier than those in other countries, it could challenge the assumptions we make about the world economic order.

Chinese companies, which are more cash rich than big corporations in some other countries, and with financial support from the government, have been scouring the globe for resources for some time now.

The global economic turmoil has offered them new opportunities to pick up under-valued assets elsewhere.

And yet this is a country that still receives hundreds of millions of dollars in aid from Western countries.

How should it be treated by the rest of the world then, as a "rich" country or a "poor" country, as one that needs to be helped or one whose economic strength we should fear?

\*\* Huge contrasts

From the top of Shanghai's tallest building, the World Financial Centre, tourists - most of them Chinese - gaze down on the city below them.

Rapid development in the past few years has created a skyline to rival that of Hong Kong's, New York's or Tokyo's.

Viewed from this height, Shanghai seems to be a rich, sophisticated, modern metropolis - and to a certain extent it is.

But at the foot of the tower it's a different story. You notice the pollution and the noise, the dirt and the traffic congestion.

Close up, Chinese cities are not always so pleasant. This country is in a hurry to remake itself, and laws to control construction and development are sometimes not well enforced here.

Watching this rapid change, it's hard to judge how far this country has come.

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Andy Tsieh, who describes himself as an "independent" economist, argues that China is no longer a poor country.

"In terms of trade, China is the largest trading nation in the world today," he points out.

"In terms of gross domestic product (GDP), China is likely to surpass Japan as the number two world economy either this year or next year."

But he accepts that China's size complicates matters, making it harder to judge how to deal fairly with the Chinese.

"China's not a normal country - it's a huge empire. It's like the first world, the second world and the third world co-exist together inside China.

"China is many things at the same time."

\*\* Endemic poverty

In big cities like Shanghai, first world China and third world China don't just co-exist, they collide.

At the foot of the World Financial Centre a woman kneels on the pavement begging, a hat in front of her, her forehead on the floor. She's ignored by most of the passers-by in their business suits.

Officials in China agonise over how to deal with poorer "out-of-towners" who come to cities like this looking for work, or just a better life. They cannot afford to help everyone.

Li Wei, an economist from Standard Chartered Bank in Shanghai, says that even though the country is getting richer, there are hundreds of millions who really struggle to get by.

The burden of caring for them is sometimes ignored by economists or politicians from overseas, when they ask China to pay more to support bodies such as the International Monetary Fund.

"If you live in the west or the centre of China, then you don't really see why the global community is demanding so much from us," he says.

"To them this may not even be a question. Their mind is on how to make a living every day, not how to help the world."

There are other reasons, too, why China might not be able to contribute more on the world stage, according to Prof Shen Dingli from Shanghai's Fudan University.

He argues that, even as the country has gained more wealth, it has lost a lot in other ways.

"We have amassed a huge amount of money, but we've caused a huge amount of ecological damage," he says.

"We have not had balanced, sustainable development, so I would conclude that China is still a poor country environmentally, ecologically and philosophically."

\*\* Challenge and opportunity

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The World Bank groups China among lower to middle income countries like Bolivia, India and Syria.

At the moment though, China's economy is in much better shape than those of many Western countries which fear China's biggest corporations are now in a stronger position than ever before to take control of valuable assets, like mines, or other strategic assets, because the companies that own them are desperate for cash.

Chinese President Hu Jintao said recently that "challenge and opportunity always come together".

As we in the West fall more into debt, and our economies become weaker than they were before, questions about whether China is a behemoth that should be tamed, or a developing country that still needs our help, become less abstract and more pressing.

Judging what's fair, though, is almost impossible, depending as it does on what side of the negotiating table you're sitting on.

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## **Parents of children killed in China earthquake of May 12 arrested**

*The Times*

*May 4, 2009*

*Jane Macartney in Hong Kong*

The parents of children killed in last May's earthquake in China have been routinely detained and harassed when attempting to investigate suspicions of shoddy building standards, according to a new report from Amnesty International.

Many of the parents who lost their only child, crushed to death when more than 7,000 classrooms collapsed in the 7.9 magnitude tremor on May 12, have abandoned hope of redress. Last month a 33-year-old Communist Party official in Beichuan county, which was razed by the earthquake, hanged himself out of grief for the loss of his eight-year-old son.

Other parents have struggled to be heard and to find out whether the schools that crumbled were constructed with sub-standard materials or by authorities that cut costs to skim off funds for their own benefit.

The Amnesty report says that some parents and relatives have been detained for as long as 21 days for trying to seek answers from officials about why their children died. Some have been held repeatedly and the youngest relative was only 8 years old.

Officials have provided a variety of accounts, some saying that schools appeared to have been built with shoddy materials and others saying that the only reason for their collapse was the might of the earthquake. This has failed to satisfy parents who saw other buildings left standing while schoolrooms were flattened.

The report says: "Many of these parents' lives were devastated when they lost their children in the Sichuan earthquake. It's completely understandable that they would want to know why their children died and who was responsible. For the Chinese authorities to react by locking up parents, whose only crime was to demand some answers, is beyond belief."

The report issues an appeal: "The Government of China must stop harassing earthquake survivors,"

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and allow lawyers and civil society to hold those responsible to account.”

China has yet to reveal how many children were among the 69,227 killed and nearly 18,000 missing in the earthquake. It has said that it will publicise a list of the dead and missing by 2010 to show respect to the victims

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## **China's Web Is Watching**

*Radio Free Asia*

*6 May 2009*

Citizens frustrated by official corruption have a new weapon on their side: the Web.

HONG KONG—Chinese farmers in the southern island province of Hainan have called for an official investigation after they spotted a photograph on the Internet of a tomb for a local official who is still alive.

Residents of Ruyou village near the provincial capital of Haikou were surprised to see the tomb of Wang Anchun in a photograph posted online as part of a campaign to protect burial grounds from nearby road construction works.

According to Wang's epitaph, he was born in 1935 and was a former township chief and deputy director of the Chengmai county agricultural bureau.

Some online—and offline—research ensued before the villagers were sure of it: Wang Anchun is retired but still definitely alive, although his tomb was built in 1999.

Shocked Chinese netizens lashed out at Wang as a corrupt official with feudal pretensions. Still others defended him in the online debate, saying he was preoccupied with being buried next to his late wife.

Wang Jinxiang, who manages the popular watchdog Web site "China Monitor Web," hit out at Wang's use of public land for a personal tomb.

"As a member of the civil service, he shouldn't be involved in this kind of thing," Wang Jinxiang said.

"If lots of people do the same, that will cost us a lot of land," he said.

\*\* Precious resource

Land is becoming a fiercely contested resource for China's rural communities, who face forced evictions and loss of farmland to property development schemes that yield scant compensation and make huge profits for local officials.

Beijing-based legal expert Liu Xiaoyuan said the case merited further attention.

"I hope the relevant government office will investigate the tomb of Wang Anchun," Liu said.

The case also highlights how ordinary Chinese people who have been stymied at every turn are

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increasingly turning to the Internet to gain moral and social support for their grievances.

In a separate case in the eastern province of Shandong, farmers posted an open letter on the Internet, offering a reward of five million yuan (U.S. \$733,000) to anyone who could help them recover public money embezzled by the Party secretary of Dongnan village, Changle county.

"To whoever is capable of retrieving the embezzled collective funds of 50 million yuan, we will pay five million yuan as a reward," said the letter, which detailed a nine-year campaign to bring the loss of the money to the attention of government offices at county, provincial and national level.

Years of petitioning administrative and judicial departments by more than 1,000 villagers had yielded no results, they said.

"A decade later, all our efforts have been in vain," said Liu Peiyi, one of the representatives of the villagers of Dongnan.

"So we have to call for the help of the media using this unusual method. We hope it will get the attention of our national leaders," said Liu, whose campaign has been picked up by official media, including the state-run Xinhua news agency.

\*\* Internet watchdog

The Dongnan case has prompted official letters from the highest levels of government, including China's National People's Congress and Ministry of Public Security, calling for an official investigation.

But the funds are still missing, Liu Peiyi said.

Meanwhile, Beijing-based legal expert Liu Xiaoyuan said he still had some hope that the Internet could be used effectively to put pressure on the government.

"Chinese cyberspace is now very active," he said.

"It has the potential to expose many social maladies due to the anonymity of personal posts."

\* Original reporting in Mandarin by Yan Xiu and An Pei. Mandarin service director: Jennifer Chou. Translated by Chen Ping. Written for the Web in English by Luisetta Mudie. Edited by Sarah Jackson-Han.

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