

# From Wang Shiwei to Liu Xiaobo

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## 中國當代文字獄囚徒編年錄

Prisoners of Literary Inquisition  
 Under Communist rule in China

# 1947-2010

Written and Compiled by Yu Zhang

Translated by Stacy Mosher

張裕編撰

# **From Wang Shiwei to Liu Xiaobo**

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Under Communist rule in China  
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**Independent Chinese PEN Center**

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## Preface

### Sixty-four Years of Literary Inquisition Bridging Two Millennia

In Chinese dictionaries published since the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the definition of *Literary Inquisition* is restricted to “the rulers of olden times”; at the very least, it is a relic of the past, occurring no more recently than a century ago, mainly during the Ming and Qing dynasties. In the *Mandarin Dictionary* published by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan), *Literary Inquisition* is defined as occurring in the “era of absolute monarchy”, precluding its existence in the Republic era. A revised edition has amended the definition to read, “During the autocratic era, criminal cases arising from the written word”. This last definition is the common usage adopted by contemporary Chinese literature, and also for this book.

The etymology of the Chinese term for *Literary Inquisition* (*Wenzi Yu*) derives from a verse by the Qing dynasty poet Gong Zizhen, who in his poem “Ode to History” described literati who wrote only for enjoyment while carefully avoiding any word that might bring them punishment as living under *Literary Inquisition*. According to the above definition, however, the earliest record of literary inquisition goes back over 2,000 years to the Western Han dynasty. According to the *History of the Han* (*Hanshu*), Yang Yun, a grandson of the great historian Sima Qian, was demoted, and during a search of his home in 45 B.C., a draft letter he wrote to a friend, Sun Huizong, complaining about his situation was found. Although the letter praised the Emperor Xuanzong, the emperor regarded the letter as treasonous and ordered Yang Yun cut in half. Sun Huizong and a number of other acquaintances were also implicated and dismissed from office.

Su Shi (Su Dongpo), a statesman and scholar in Northern Song, is the most famous victim of literary inquisition. In 1079, during the reign of Emperor Shenzong, while Su Shi was transferred to be a prefect of Huzhou, imperial

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censors accused him of complaining in his letter of thanks to the emperor, and of malign and slanderous content in some of his poetry as well. He was arrested and imprisoned for nearly five months, facing execution, but thanks to the intervention of the Empress Dowager and current and former prime ministers, he was merely demoted and banished. Implicated with him were the celebrated literary scholar Sima Guang and more than 20 other officials of various ranks.

Literary inquisition became worse with each dynasty and era, and was especially prevalent during the Qing dynasty, when a few isolated words and phrases quoted out of context could bring a death sentence. The “case of Zhuang Tinglong’s *Ming History*,” occurring just before Emperor Kangxi came to power, implicated the largest number of people and was dealt with most harshly. The merchant Zhuang had commissioned the production of a *History of the Ming Dynasty*, which did not follow the official term of “puppet Ming” (Wei Ming) when referring the defeated inheritors of the previous Ming dynasty. More than two thousand people were implicated, including Zhuang’s father, who had printed the book in memory of his son. Seventy-two were executed (eighteen by dismemberment), and more than seven hundred were sent into exile. The so-called flourishing age of the Emperor Qianlong period had more than one hundred and thirty cases of literary inquisition in sixty-four years.

Since the Republic of China was established in 1912, restrictions on expression were relaxed, but literary inquisition still occurred on occasion. While the Beiyang Government in Beijing dominated northern China until 1928, the Fengtian warlord Zhang Zuolin imposed brutal despotism over his subjects for a four-year period in the 1920s that included the execution in broad daylight of independent newspapermen Shao Piaoping and Lin Baishui.

The national government in Nanjing imposed autocracy in the name of “political tutelage”, strengthening prohibitions on expression from 1927 onward, mainly through censorship of printed works. Although books were banned and texts excised, harsh punishment was rare; still, Chen Duxiu, the founding General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) who was imprisoned by the Kuomintang (KMT, Chinese Nationalist Party) in 1932, wrote in a satirical poem: “Thanks be to the magnanimity of the party-state, which bans books rather than burns them. Literary inquisition still thrives in the

Republic, alas!” Two cases of literary inquisition drew the greatest public approbation at this time: In Shanghai, the chief editor of *Rebirth Weekly*, Du Chongyuan (Tu Chung-yuan), spent more than a year in prison after an article drew severe protest from the Japanese government for “insulting the Emperor and damaging diplomatic relations”. In the second case, the editor-in-chief of *Jiangsheng Daily*, Liu Yusheng, revealed that General Gu Zhutong (Ku Chutong), the governor of Jiangsu Province, and other senior officials had auctioned off opium seized during drug raids, among other corrupt acts. In retaliation, Ku claimed that short stories published in one of the newspaper’s supplements “promoted communism” and “instigated class struggle”, and without going through the process of trial, Liu was summarily executed for “endangering the Republic”.

The harshness of the modern Communist regime has far exceeded that of all past despots, as the PRC’s founder Mao Zedong openly acknowledged: “What was Emperor Qin Shi Huang? He only buried 460 scholars, but we buried 46,000. During the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, didn’t we kill some counterrevolutionary intellectuals? I’ve discussed this with pro-democracy advocates: ‘You call us Qin Shi Huang as an insult, but we’ve surpassed Qin Shi Huang a hundred-fold.’ Some people curse us as dictators like Qin Shi Huang. We must categorically accept this as factually accurate. Unfortunately, you haven’t said enough and leave it to us to say the rest”.

In fact, the number of writers killed under CPC rule far exceeds 46,000, and the number imprisoned is incalculable. This volume collects 64 cases occurring from 1947 to 2010, with one emblematic case for each year, but these represent just the tip of the iceberg. The CPC has officially acknowledged that 550,000 people were labeled “Rightists” from 1957 to 1959, mostly through various types of literary inquisition, making the 130-plus cases of the Qianlong period pale in comparison. This volume describes the cases of 12 “Rightist” victims – Sun Mingxun, Feng Xuefeng, Lin Xiling, Ding Ling, Ai Qing, Lin Zhao, Wang Ruowang, Wang Zaoshi, Chen Fengxiao, Yuan Changying, Nie Gannu and Liu Binyan, obviously only a minute proportion. In the single case of the “anti-Party” novel *Liu Zhidan*, more than 10,000 people were persecuted, the most wide-ranging literary inquisition in Chinese history. In the case of Wang Shenyou’s love letter, Wang ripped up the letter before sending it, but he was

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forced to rewrite it and was then executed for his “unspoken criticism”. A multitude of such cases demonstrates that literary inquisition has reached its fullest flowering under CPC rule.

Marking its 50th anniversary in 2010, the Writers in Prison Committee (WiPC) of PEN International (previously International PEN) issued a list of 50 cases of writers imprisoned all over the world during the past 50 years. The Independent Chinese PEN Center (ICPC) responded by compiling 50 cases involving 58 Chinese writers. This volume has revised and supplemented the original list to provide the biographies of 71 victims in 64 cases.

This volume highlights the most representative cases involving the most influential people persecuted during various political movements and campaigns under CPC rule. For this reason, even though the Yan’an Rectification Movement occurred prior to the establishment of the PRC, it is the first large-scale literary inquisition known to have taken place in a CPC-ruled territory, and so its most famous victim, Wang Shiwei, has been selected as the first case in this volume. However, because other writers who came under criticism with Wang at the time, such as Xiao Jun, Ding Ling and Ai Qing, underwent literary inquisition during subsequent political movements, and the experiences and case details of other victims of the same period remain unclear, no other cases have as yet been identified during the period from when Wang was imprisoned in 1942 until his execution in 1947; for that reason, the year of Wang’s execution has been made the starting point of this volume, even though his case began five years earlier.

Some large-scale literary inquisitions, such as the case of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” and the Anti-Rightist Campaign, had a large number of victims, or their most prominent cases all occurred in a single year. Apart from the primary or most influential victims of these campaigns, some additional victims are allocated to years in which they first came under criticism or were arrested, tried, sent to labor reform, imprisoned, executed or released. The cases of Ah Long, Lu Ling, Geng Yong, Zhang Zhongxiao, Mei Zhi and Lü Yuan, all persecuted as “core members of the Hu Feng Clique”, are recorded in this way.

In addition, some political mass criticism campaigns targeting cultural works such as the film *The Life of Wu Xun* and Yu Pingbo’s research on *The*

*Dream of the Red Chamber* did not result in the actual writers, editors or publishers of these works being victimized; as a result, the individuals included here are others implicated in those cases, such as Sun Mingxun and Feng Xuefeng. In fact, however, few of those involved escaped the Cultural Revolution that followed a decade later.

In addition, the case of Shen Congwen is not one of literary inquisition in the narrow sense; he was not denounced or imprisoned by the authorities because of his writings, but rather was criticized just as the CPC was about to take power. In this respect, he can be considered a spiritual prisoner of literary inquisition, and is therefore included as a special case.

Since ancient times, victims of literary inquisition have always included idealists who have intentionally violated literary taboos, but there have also been many who have fallen victim by unintentionally offending the authorities. Using the pen name Du Deji, Lu Xun wrote in the essay “Barriers”: “I had always thought that literary disaster resulted from taunting the Qing rulers. Yet, in fact that was hardly so... Some were crude and rash, some were crazy, some were rustic pedants unconscious of taboos, some were of the ignorant masses genuinely concerned about the imperial royalty... who actually regarded His Majesty as their father and lovingly toadied to him like a pampered child. Why would he want such a servile person as his child? Therefore he must be put to death”. Lu Xun was satirically gloating over the suppression of Shen Congwen and other independent writers, but this is still an accurate summation. The famous victims of literary inquisition recorded in this volume include many who acted in good faith. At least ten were originally loyal and steadfast members of CPC and more than half were pro-Communist, many remaining so until their dying days. Wu Han is a classic example; the literary work for which he was persecuted was “written to order”. It is just such cases that expose the absurd, anti-intellectual and anti-civilized nature of literary inquisition. However, the biographical sketches included in this volume are to the greatest extent possible devoid of comment, and make no judgments or categorizations based on politics, morality or literary quality.

These brief biographies of the victims of literary inquisition have whenever possible been vetted by descendants, friends or family members, to whom the author and compiler here expresses special thanks. Some of the case data was

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collected and sorted out by Miss Li Jianhong, the coordinator of ICPC-WiPC, and I thank her and other ICPC colleagues who contributed revisions and suggestions.

*Yu Zhang*

## Chronology

- October 10, 1911 – The outbreak of the Wuchang Uprising serves as the catalyst to the Xinhai Revolution, leading to the collapse of the Qing Dynasty and the establishment of the Republic of China (ROC).
- January 1, 1912– The official establishment of the Republic of China is announced by Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen), inaugurated as the Provisional President of the Provisional Government in Nanjing (Nanking). It transitioned into the Beiyang (Peiyang) Government in Beijing (Peking) when Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-kai), the Premier of the Qing Government, was elected as second Provisional President to succeed Sun on March 10.
- May 4, 1919 – The start of the student demonstrations in Beijing, protesting the Beiyang Government’s weak response to the Treaty of Versailles that allowed Japan to occupy the eastern part of Shandong Province, leading to a nationalist, cultural and political movement known as the May Fourth Movement.
- July 1921 – The Communist Party of China (CPC) starts its first congress in Shanghai on July 23, electing Chen Duxiu (Chen Tu-hsiu) as its Secretary.
- January 1923 – The Kuomintang (KMT) holds its first congress in Guangzhou on January 20-30, adopting the policy of its leader Sun Yat-sen to establish the KMT–CPC Alliance (a.k.a the First United Front), supported by the Soviet Union, against the warlords in the north and their Beiyang Government.
- July 9 1926 – Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), NRA Commander-in-Chief, gives a speech to 100,000 soldiers in the opening ceremony marking the official commencement of the Northern Expedition against the Beiyang Government.
- April 12, 1927–The April 12 Incident, or Shanghai Massacre, initiates the KMT’s violent suppression of CPC organizations, ending the KMT–CPC Alliance and establishing Chiang Kai-shek’s leadership of the national

## *Chronology*

government. Nanjing is restored as the capital of the ROC on April 18, 1927, while Beijing is renamed Beiping.

- August 1, 1927 – The Nanchang Rebellion, in which a portion of the NRA led by the CPC counters the KMT’s purges, leads to the Second Civil War between the CPC and KMT over the following decade .
- June 4, 1928 – The Huanggutun Incident, resulting in the death of Generalissimo Zhang Zuolin (Chang Tso-lin) in an explosion in his train near Shenyang, ends the rule of the Beiyang Government and leaves the Nationalists as the sole legitimate government of the ROC.
- March 2, 1930 – The Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers (Left League or Zuolian) is formed in Shanghai under the nominal leadership of the non-partisan Lu Xun (Lu Hsun), but in fact under the direct orders of the CPC to articulate Communist theories on “art for politics’sake.”
- September 18, 1931 – The September 18 or Mukden/Manchurian Incident results in the Japanese occupation of Manchuria (northeastern China).
- January 28, 1932 – The January 28 or Shanghai Incident leads to a brief war against Japanese invasion ending on March 3.
- October 1934–October 1935 – The CPC’s Red Army embarks on its Long March from the south provinces of Jiangxi, Hunan and Hubei to the north of Shaanxi Province to evade the pursuit of the NRA.
- May 1936 – Feng Xuefeng (Feng Hsueh-feng), Lu Xun and Hu Feng develop the slogan “Mass Literature of the National Revolutionary War” as an alternative to the slogan “National Defense Literature” promoted by others including Zhou Yang (Chou Yang), Tian Han (Tien Han), Xia Yan (Hsia Yen) and Yang Hansheng (Yang Han-sheng), launching the intense “Two Slogans Debate” that reverberates for decades.
- November 22, 1936– The Chinese Literature and Arts Association is established in northern Shaanxi, with Ding Ling (Ting Ling) as the director of its Executive Committee, becoming the first organization of writers and artists in the CPC-ruled area.
- July 7, 1937 – The July Seven or Marco Polo Bridge Incident marks the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan, which lasts for eight years and leads to the formation of the Second United Front of the KMT-CPC.

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- March 27, 1938– The All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists is established in Wuhan as a result of the Second United Front.
- January 1941 – The Wannan or New Fourth Army Incident marks the outbreak of hostilities between CPC and KMT troops, seriously damaging the Second United Front.
- May 19, 1941 –Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), the Chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission, delivers a report entitled “Reform Our Study” at the Yan’an Conference of Senior Cadres, raising the curtain on the Yan’an Rectification Movement.
- June 1941 – Zhou Yang, deputy director of the Lu Xun Academy of Arts, publishes his long essay “An Informal Discussion on Literature and Life” in *Liberation Daily (Jiefang Ribao)*, triggering debates between Yan’an’s literary “Extollers of Brightness” led by Zhou, and “Exposers of Darkness” led by Ding Ling.
- February 1942 – Mao Zedong formally launches the Yan’an Rectification Movement with speeches on “Rectify the Party's Style of Work” and “Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing”.
- May 1942 – The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee convenes the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art, where Mao Zedong presents several talks explicitly negating the “Exposers”. Reshaped for publication in 1943 as “Talks at the Yan’an Forum of Literature and Art”, Mao’s remarks guide the CPC’s policy for rectifying and unifying the thoughts of writers and artists from then on.
- March 1943 – The Cultural Work Committee and Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee mobilizes writers and artists to “go down to fields, factories and barracks and become one with the masses”.
- August 15, 1945 – Japan declares its unconditional surrender in World War II, ending the Second Sino-Japanese War on September 9.
- July 1, 1947– Wang Shiwei is hacked to death by Jinsui public security officers, and his dismembered body is dumped into an abandoned well, making him the first victim of the CPC’s literary inquisition.

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- December 31, 1948 – Shen Congwen announces his retirement from writing, making him the prototype of writers avoiding the purges of the CPC on the eve of its rule.
- June 30 - July 28, 1949 – the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers (NCLAW) holds its founding sessions in Beijing to establish the National Federation of Literary and Art Workers (NFLAW) and the National Association of Literary Workers (NALW).
- September 21-30, 1949 – The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) hold its First Plenary Session in Beijing.
- October 1, 1949 –Mao Zedong announces the establishment of the People's Republic of China.
- March 1950–*People's Daily* publishes two critical articles accusing Ah Long of “resisting Marxist-Leninist Thought regarding the partisan nature of literature and art”, and making him the first victim of literary inquisition under the PRC.
- March 18, 1950 – The CPC Central Committee launches the Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries, arresting millions of suspects and executing nearly a million in three years.
- June 25, 1950 – The Korean War breaks out, with the PRC sending the Chinese People's Volunteer Army (PVA) to fight against the South Korean and UN forces over the next three years.
- June 30, 1950 – The Land Reform Law is issued, launching the Land Reform Movement based on violent class struggle, which claims more than a million of lives in three years.
- May 20, 1951 – *People's Daily* publishes an editorial entitled “Ought to Emphasize the Discussion on *The Life of Wu Xun*” (later revealed to have been penned by Mao Zedong). Political criticism of cultural works quickly develops into the “Ideological Reform Campaign on Intellectuals”.
- August 1951 – The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee's Eastern Bureau establishes the New Literature and Art Publishing House, which eventually comes to be regarded as a “base camp of the Hu Feng Clique”.

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- December 1, 1951 – The CPC Central Committee issues its “Three Antis Campaign” against corruption, waste and bureaucracy in state-owned and governmental organs but routinely targeting critics of the CPC leadership.
- July 1954 – Hu Feng delivers his “Report on the Practical Situation of Literature and Art since Liberation” (“300,000-word Report”) for transmission to the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee.
- August 18, 1954 – Gao Gang, a vice-chairman of the Central People’s Government and a politburo member of the CPC, kills himself after being purged at the Fourth Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee of the in the PRC’s first power struggle. The “Gao Gang-Rao Shushi Anti-Party Clique” subsequently becomes a pretext for more purges.
- September 15-28, 1954 – The First National People’s Congress (NPC) holds its first plenary session in Beijing.
- October 16, 1954–Mao Zedong sends a letter to other leaders recommending that launches a campaign against research on *Dream of the Red Chamber* and leads to the Campaign against Hu Shih’s Ideology.
- April 13, 1955 – *People’s Daily* publishes an article by Shu Wu criticizing the “anti-Party, anti-people” nature of Hu Feng’s literary thought.
- May 17, 1955 – Hu Feng and his wife Mei Zhi are arrested, followed by a large-scale campaign against the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” that develops into a nationwide Campaign to Eliminate Counter-revolutionaries.
- July and November 1955 – The Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture issue notices banning the publications of all writings and translations by Hu Feng and core members of the Hu Feng Clique.
- September and December 1955–Mao Zedong edits a collection of reports entitled “ Socialist Upsurge in China’s Countryside,” with his preface and editor’s notes, published in 1956 to promote the Agricultural Cooperative Movement.
- May 2, 1956 – At a Supreme State Conference, Mao Zedong formally declares his guiding principle for artistic and scholarly issues: “Let one hundred flowers bloom and one hundred schools of thought contend”.

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- May 1957– The CPC Central Committee launches its Rectification Campaign against bureaucratism, factionalism and subjectivism within the CPC and invites the public to assist with a “free airing of views”.
- June 8, 1957 – Publication of the *People’s Daily* editorial entitled “Why Is This?” (later revealed to have been penned by Mao himself) shifts the emphasis from the CPC to its critics, who become targets of the Anti-Rightist Campaign affecting more than three million intellectuals, students, cadres and members of pro-democratic parties.
- 1958 – The CPC Central Committee launches the Great Leap Forward campaign with a slogan “To Surpass Britain and Catch Up with America” in major industrial output within 15 years. The People’s Commune Movement results in a massive famine that kills tens of millions over the following three years.
- July 2 - August 16, 1959 – The CPC Politburo and Eighth Central Committee hold the Lushan Conference, purging Defense Minister Peng Dehuai and other critics of the Great Leap Forward and launching anationwide campaign against Right-deviation affecting more than three million CPC members in the next three years.
- September 24-27, 1962 –The Tenth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC in Beijing emphasizes virulent class struggle to deal with demands from victims of political purges for reassessment of their cases. Mao Zedong labels Li Jiantong’s novel *Liu Zhidan* as an “anti-Party novel”.
- 1963– The CPC Central Committee launches the “Four Cleans Campaign” as the rural version of the Socialist Education Movement, which becomes a campaign to “clean up politics, finances, organization and thought.”
- November 10, 1965–*Wenhui Bao* publishes “A Critique of the New Historical Play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*”, which serves as the prelude to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.
- May 7, 1966 – Mao Zedong writes his “May Seven Directive” to Lin Biao, promoting his idea for the PLA to serve as a great school in multiple capacities.

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- May 16, 1966 – The CPC Politburo holds an enlarged meeting to issue its “May 16 Notice,” effectively launching the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.
- May 25, 1968– The CPC Central Committee issues a notice with Mao’s instructions, launching a nationwide “Purification of the Class Ranks” in factories, mines, offices, cultural and educational institutions, claiming half a million lives among thirty million individuals purged over the course of a year.
- October 5, 1968 –*People’s Daily* publishes a full-page report on implementation of Mao’s May Seven Directive, demoting cadres to labor in the fields through the establishment of May Seven Cadre Schools.
- December 22, 1968–*People’s Daily* publishes a report in which Mao calls on “educated youth” to “go down to the countryside and receive re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants.”
- 1969-1970 – The One Strike-Three Antis Campaign targeting counterrevolutionaries, corruption, waste and opportunism results in the execution of more than a hundred thousand prisoners.
- June 27, 1970– The CPC Central Committee approves a plan to reopen colleges and universities, suspended since the launch of the Cultural Revolution, and to recruit students from among workers, peasants and soldiers.
- January 8, 1976 – Premier Zhou Enlai dies. Mao Zedong selects Politburo member, Vice-premier and Public Security Minister Hua Guofeng as acting premier and begins publicly criticizing Deng Xiaoping for his reformist economic policies and rectification measures.
- April 5, 1976 – Crowds throng Tiananmen Square to commemorate Zhou Enlai during the Qing Ming Festival. Police are sent in the following day to clear the square, resulting in mass protests, arrests and beatings in what later comes to be known as the April Fifth Movement.
- April 7, 1976 – The CPC Central Committee formally appoints Hua Guofeng as First Vice-Chairman of the CPC and Premier of the State Council, and passes a resolution removing Deng Xiaoping from all of his official postings.

## Chronology

- September 9, 1976 – Mao Zedong dies.
- October 6, 1976 – Hua Guofeng leads a coup d'état resulting in the arrest of the Gang of Four and Mao's nephew Mao Yuanxin. On the following day, a Politburo meeting elects Hua Guofeng Chairman of the Central Committee and of the Central Military Commission, ending the Cultural Revolution.
- July 1977 – The Third Plenum of the Tenth Central Committee of the CPC restores Deng Xiaoping to the posts of Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and of the Central Military Commission, Vice-premier of the State Council, and Chief of the General Staff of the PLA, paving the way for Deng to become China's supreme leader.
- April 5, 1978 – The CPC Central Committee authorizes the United Front Department and Ministry of Public Security's "Report Requesting Instructions on the Removal of All Rightist Labels", after which the rehabilitation of "wrongfully labeled Rightists" commences.
- November 14, 1978 – the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, with the authorization of the Politburo Standing Committee, declares the rehabilitation of the April Fifth Tiananmen Incident. Days later, big-character posters on a bus station wall at Xidan call for "science, democracy and rule of law", launching the Xidan Democracy Wall Movement.
- March 25, 1979 – Wei Jingsheng, editor of the independent magazine *Exploration (Tansuo)*, posts on the Xidan Democracy Wall his essay "Do We Want Democracy or a New Dictatorship?" , warning that Deng Xiaoping might degenerate into a dictator. Wei is arrested four days later.
- March 30, 1979 – Deng Xiaoping gives a speech proclaiming the "Four Cardinal Principles" precluding debate: upholding the socialist path, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, upholding the leadership of the CPC, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, providing official approval of the on-going crackdown of the Democracy Wall Movement.
- September 29, 1980 – The CPC Central Committee endorses the reexamination report on the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique by the

Ministry of Public Security, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the Supreme People's Court, acknowledges the injustice done and rehabilitates all members of the Clique.

- December 4, 1982 – The Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC adopts a revision of the PRC Constitution that includes Deng's "Four Cardinal Principles" in the Preamble.
- August 25, 1983 – CPC Central Committee launches the Strike Hard campaign against serious crimes, including some political cases.
- October 12, 1983 – Deng Xiaoping gives a speech launching a campaign against "spiritual pollution" that targets dissident writers.
- December 5, 1986 – Students at the China University of Science and Technology in Hefei, Anhui Province, protest school authorities' interference in student participation in district people's congress elections. Students in other cities begin voicing discontent on a variety of matters, giving rise to the "1986 Student Movement".
- December 30, 1986 – Deng Xiaoping calls for "representative figures of bourgeois liberalization", Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan and Wang Ruowang, to be expelled from the Party. CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang is removed from office as a nationwide campaign against "bourgeois liberalization" is launched in January 1987.
- April 15, 1989 – Former CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang dies, and university students in Beijing, Shanghai and other major cities stage mass protests "against corruption and for freedom" in his memory.
- May 20, 1989 – The authorities implement martial law in Beijing.
- June 3-4, 1989 – The government sends in PLA troops to forcefully remove protesters from Tiananmen Square. The number of people killed remains undisclosed to this day.
- March 14, 1997– The Fifth Session of the Eighth NPC approves the revision of the Criminal Law of PRC, effective from October 1, abolishing counterrevolutionary offences and replacing them with offences of endangering state security.
- October 27, 1997 – The PRC signs the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

## *Chronology*

- October 5, 1998 – The PRC signs the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It has not ratified the Covenant to date.
- 2001– The Independent Chinese PEN Center (ICPC) is founded by a group of Chinese writers abroad and in China. It is approved as a chapter of International PEN at the latter’s 67th Congress in November.
- March 27, 2001 – The PRC ratifies the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.
- October 2003– The ICPC holds its first Internet Congress of the Membership Assembly, approving its Charter and electing the Board of Directors, including president Liu Xiaobo.
- March 14, 2004 – The Second Session of the Tenth NPC approves an amendment to the PRC Constitution stating, “The State respects and preserves human rights.”
- December 10, 2008 – Charter 08, a manifesto calling for human rights and political reform initially signed by 303 intellectuals and activists, is published online on the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- December 23, 2009 – Liu Xiaobo, one of the main drafters of Charter 08, is tried on charges of “inciting subversion of state power”, and is sentenced to 11 years’ imprisonment two days later.
- October 8, 2010 – Liu Xiaobo wins the Nobel Peace Prize, awarded in his absence in Oslo on December 10 of the same year.

## Case No. 1 (1947): Wang Shiwei Dismembered on CPC Anniversary



*Wang Shiwei (Wang Shih-wei, born Wang Siwei, April 5, 1906 - July 1, 1947), a writer, translator and commentator, was executed in secret as a “counterrevolutionary Trotskyite spy” on the 26th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China.*

### **Early career: from fiction to translation**

Wang Shiwei was born in Guangzhou (Huangchuan County), Henan Province. His father, a successful candidate in the provincial imperial examination, taught at a private school. Wang’s mother died when he was four years old, and he was raised by his stepmother and elder sister.

After graduating from middle school in 1923, Wang was admitted to the Preparatory School for Further Study in Europe and America (now Henan University) in Kaifeng. Lack of funds obliged him to drop out the following year, and he became an assistant postal clerk in the Zhumadian Post Office.

In summer 1925, Wang was admitted to Peking University as a student of literature. There he became a classmate of Zhang Guangren (Hu Feng), who later shared his fate as victim of the literary inquisition. At the end of the year Wang published his first work, an epistolary novelette entitled *Rest (Xiuxi)*. He

continued publishing short stories and novelettes after joining CPC in January 1926.

Disappointed in his love for a fellow student and CPC member, and frustrated by financial hardship, Wang left Peking University and the CPC in summer 1927 and went south. He worked first as a clerk for the KMT Central Committee in Nanjing and then as a language teacher in a middle school in Shandong, while continuing to publish short stories.

While living in Shanghai in 1930, Wang married Liu Ying, a former classmate who had also been a member of the CPC branch at Peking University. He also renewed his acquaintance with another former classmate, Wang Fanxi (Wang Fan-hsi), who was joining CPC cofounder Chen Duxiu in organizing the CPC Left Opposition (Trotskyites).<sup>1</sup> Wang Shiwei helped Wang Fanxi translate “Lenin’s Last Testament” and two chapters of *The Autobiography of Leon Trotsky*, and published his first work of translation, Gerhart Hauptmann’s *The Heretic of Soana*. This launched his career as a translator, and while he and his wife continued teaching over the next six years, he translated classics of world literature by Daudet, Charles Kingsley, John Galsworthy, Eugene O’Neill and Thomas Hardy.

In summer 1936, Wang returned to his native Henan province to teach at the Provincial Girls’ English Secondary School in Kaifeng. He rejoined the CPC the following May.

In October 1937, Wang left his wife, son and daughter in Zhengzhou and went to the CPC base in Yan’an, where he became a translator at the Publication Bureau of CPC Central Committee, and then a research fellow at the Marx-Lenin Institute (later renamed as the Research Institute of the CPC Central Committee). There he spent the next four years translating works by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

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<sup>1</sup>One of the early leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leon Trotsky was expelled from the party in 1927 due to his opposition to Stalin. After being expelled from the Soviet Union in 1929, he organized the Fourth International in France in 1938 as a competitor to the Third International (The Communist International, abbreviated as Comintern). Trotsky was assassinated by Soviet agents in Mexico in 1940.

## “Taking command” in the Yan’an Rectification Movement

In May 1941, Mao Zedong, then the Chairman of CPC Central Military Commission, delivered a report entitled “Reform Our Study” at a conference of senior cadres in Yan’an. Mao’s criticism of the pervasive mentality and work-style of the CPC was a prelude to what would become the Yan’an Rectification Movement. Around the same time, some writers and young intellectuals in Yan’an had likewise been criticizing the “dark side” of Yan’an in their writings, forming an “exposure faction” led by luminaries such as Ding Ling, Xiao Jun and Ai Qing.

In February 1942, Mao Zedong delivered two more reports, formally launching the Rectification Movement with calls to “rectify study style by opposing subjectivism, rectify Party work-style by opposing sectarianism, and rectify writing style by opposing Party stereotypes”. This was accompanied by an upsurge in works by the writers, especially the “exposure faction”. In March, Wang Shiwei responded by publishing essays such as “Wild Lilies” (Ye Baihehua) in the literary column of the Party newspaper *Liberation Daily* (*Jiefang Ribao*) and the magazine *Grain Rain* (*Guyu*) edited by Ding Ling, Xiao Jun and Ai Qing. He also created a wall poster *Arrow and Target* (*Shi Yu Di*), where his commentaries became so influential that Mao made a special visit to the Research Institute to read the wall poster one night.

In these essays, Wang fondly recalled Li Fen, the CPC member at Peking University who had been his first love, executed by the KMT 14 years earlier:

*Singing and dancing is all very well... But in the present reality – please close your eyes and think: every minute sees a beloved comrade fall in a pool of blood – it seems incongruous with this atmosphere.*

He passed along the reproaches of some young people towards their superiors and even some “great personages”:

*There are really too few of those senior officers, section heads and directors who genuinely care about and cherish cadres.*

He added his own observations on the matter:

Case No. 1 (1947): Wang Shiwei

*It is because they recognized “repulsiveness and indifference” that they came to Yan’an to pursue “beauty and warmth”, only to see Yan’an’s “repulsiveness and indifference”. They “feel compelled” to draw attention to it, in hopes of reducing this “repulsiveness and indifference” to a minimum.*

*I am no egalitarian, but dividing clothing into three colors and food into five grades seems unnecessary and unreasonable. Especially in terms of clothing (I personally am in the so-called “cadre suit and small canteen” stratum, so this is not sour grapes), everything should be resolved according to the principle of what is reasonable and necessary.*

*The current revolutionary character that allies us with peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie has introduced their retrograde class strata into the bargain, bringing even more compromise and contamination.*

*The spiritual reform work carried out by artists is thus even more important, arduous and urgent. Boldly but appropriately exposing and cleansing filth and darkness is just as important as extolling the brightness, if not more so.*

Wang’s opposition to privilege garnered enormous support, but many senior officers were less favorably impressed. Mao said, “This is Wang Shiwei taking command, not Marxism taking command”.

At a Rectification Study Session of Senior Cadres in early April 1942, Mao summed up criticisms of Ding Ling and Wang Shiwei and concluded, “Ding Ling is a comrade, while Wang Shiwei is a Trotskyite”. This formed the political basis for a rapid upsurge in criticism of Wang Shiwei.

In a talk at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art in May 1942, Mao explicitly negated the humanistic views of the “exposure faction” as a problem of class standpoint, turning the literary battle between the factions of “Darkness” and “Brightness” into a politicized conflict between the differing itineraries of “the enemy and us”. During the Forum, Mao’s secretary, Hu Qiaomu, twice sought out Wang Shiwei and wrote a letter pointing out that “the error of ‘Wild Lilies’ is first of all a problem with the standpoint of the criticism... Chairman Mao hopes that you will make amends, first of all on this erroneous standpoint”.

Refusing to admit error, Wang was besieged with criticism from all sides and investigated for the “historical problem” of his past dealings with the Trotskyites among his Peking University friends. Li Weihuan, Fan Wenlan and

Zhou Yang, the CPC officials overseeing Yan'an's theoreticians and literati at that time, led a series of criticism and exposure meetings during which Ding Ling, Ai Qing and other leading figures of the "exposure faction" admitted their errors and turned against their erstwhile allies. Xiao Jun was one of the very few who bore up under severe censure to defend Wang Shiwei.

In late June 1942, Ding Ling, Zhou Yang and other leaders of the Yan'an branch of the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists expelled Wang Shiwei, and in October CPC Central Committee expelled him from the Party as a "counterrevolutionary Trotskyite spy, undercover KMT scout, secret agent, and member of a five-member anti-Party clique". Wang was imprisoned by the end of that year and formally arrested in the following April. In a subsequent reference to the Yan'an Rectification Movement at the Seventh Congress of CPC in 1945, Mao said, "He was commander-in-chief, and we were defeated. We admitted defeat and so carried out rectification".

A reexamination of Wang Shiwei's case in 1946 concluded that he was guilty of being a "counterrevolutionary Trotskyite spy", while dismissing the other allegations.

### **First victim of CPC's literary inquisition**

When the KMT army attacked Yan'an in March 1947, the CPC Central Committee's Social Department transferred Wang Shiwei to the detention center of the Jinsui Public Security Headquarters in Shanxi Province. The Social Department's leaders, Kang Sheng and Li Kenong, authorized Wang's covert execution while the neighborhood of the detention center was being bombed by the KMT air force in June. On July 1, 1947, the 26<sup>th</sup> anniversary of CPC's founding, Jinsui public security officers hacked Wang Shiwei to death and dumped his dismembered body into an abandoned well. At the age of 41, Wang became the first victim of CPC's literary inquisition.

The CPC leadership had qualms about killing people for their writings, and Mao Zedong angrily denied any responsibility for Wang's execution, which was not disclosed for a very long time. It was not until 1978 that Liu Ying, the wife Wang had left behind 41 years earlier, learned from a radio broadcast that her husband had been executed as a counterrevolutionary Trotskyite. Knowing

Wang well enough to see that he had been framed, Liu Ying began appealing for a review of his case.

On February 7, 1991, the Public Security Ministry issued a correction of the verdict that Wang Shiwei was a “counterrevolutionary Trotskyite”, declared his execution a wartime error and rehabilitated him. However, the CPC Central Committee did not rescind its decision of having expelled him from the Party.

A collection of Wang Shiwei’s writings was published by CPC-affiliated Shanghai Joint Publishing in December 1998.

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## **Case No. 2 (1948): Shen Congwen Retires His Pen on New Year's Eve**



*Shen Congwen (Shen Tseng-wen, born Shen Yuehuan, December 28, 1902 - May 10, 1988), a famous writer, commentator, editor, professor and literary scholar, gave up writing at the end of 1948 after coming under virulent attack by Guo Moruo and other Party hacks. He attempted suicide the following year, and although he lived for another 40 years, he never published fiction again.*

### **China's Alexandre Dumas**

Shen Congwen was born the fourth of nine children to a military family in Fenghuang County, in an ethnic minority area of western Hunan Province. His father's side of the family included members of the Miao ethnicity, and his mother was of the Tujia ethnicity. His mother taught him to read when he was less than four years old, and the following year he began attending a private school. In June 1918, at the age of 15, Shen graduated from upper primary school and joined a military regiment, helping with odd jobs and secretarial work that took him around western Hunan and eastern Sichuan.

In August 1923, Shen went to Beijing, and after failing the university entrance examination, he studied independently in the library and audited classes at Peking University. Becoming acquainted with other literary youth, he

developed an interest in the new vernacular literature. On December 22, 1924, Shen published his first essay under the pen name Xiu Yunyun in the supplement to *Morning Post* (*Chenbao*) edited by the renowned poet and essayist Xu Zhimo. He became a regular contributor to the supplement from then on.

Shen published his first short story, “Mr. Sanbei’s Family Precepts” (Sanbei Xiansheng De Jiashun), under the pen name Yunyun in February 1925. In the process of submitting an article to the *Public Literature and Art* (*Minzhong Wenyi*) supplement of *Capital Newspaper* (*Jing Bao*), Shen became acquainted with its editor Hu Yepin and his girlfriend, Ding Ling. Shen’s first poem was published in May, after which renowned intellectual Liang Qichao (Liang Chichao) recommended him for a position as librarian at the Hsiang San Children’s Home (Xiangshan Ciyou Yuan) in Beijing. He spent several months in on-the-job training at the Peking University Library before formally taking up the post, and continued to publish a large variety of writings in different publications and under various pen names. He resigned from the Children’s Home library in August 1926 and devoted himself full time to his writing, joining Hu Yepin, Yu Gengyu, Jiao Juyin and others in establishing the literary group The Unnecessariness (*Wuxu She*). In October, he joined Yu Gengyu in establishing a literary supplement to *World Daily* (*Shijie Ribao*) while continuing to publish at a prodigious rate.

In September 1927, Shen published a collection of short stories through the Crescent Moon (Xinyue) Book Store operated by Hu Shih, Xu Zhimo and others, and the following March he began serializing a satirical novel in the form of a fairy tale, *Alice’s Travels in China*, in the monthly journal *Crescent Moon*, also edited by Xu Zhimo. Becoming one of the journal’s regular contributors, Shen was labeled a member of the “Crescent Moon Faction” and excoriated by Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and other Leftist writers as one of the “bourgeois comprador literati”, even though he always maintained his independence and never took part in groups or factions with political leanings.

In January 1928, Shen left Beijing for Shanghai, where he eventually joined Hu Yepin and Ding Ling as an editor of *Red and Black* (*Hong Yu Hei*), a supplement to the KMT-sponsored *Central Daily News* (*Zhongyang Ribao*). After the supplement was closed down due to its Leftist tendencies, the three

began publishing *Red Black Monthly* and opened a book store of the same name, while also editing *Humanity (Renjian) Monthly*. All of these ventures ended within half a year due to financial difficulties.

At Hu Shih's invitation, Shen in July 1929 began teaching Chinese at China College, as well as a course on the history of the Chinese novel at Jinan University, while continuing to publish so prolifically that he was referred to as "China's Alexandre Dumas".

### **Clash with the League of Left-Wing Writers – The Beijing Clique versus the Shanghai Clique**

In early March 1930, the CPC combined several fractious Leftist literary groups into the Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers (Left League or Zhuolian), with Lu Xun as its nominal leader. In accordance with Stalin's judgment that "the centralist faction is our greatest enemy", the Left League aimed its harshest attacks at "comprador literati" such as Hu Shih, Luo Longji, Liang Shiqiu and other members of the Crescent Moon Faction, even though these individuals were already being suppressed by KMT for their criticism of its human rights abuses.

In May 1930, Hu Shih resigned as president of China College in order to alleviate government pressure on the school administration, and Shen Congwen resigned for the same reason in September. He was invited to Wuhan University to take up a teaching position at the College of Liberal Arts under Chen Xiyong (Chen Hsi-ying) on the recommendation of Hu Shih and Xu Zhimo. In November that year, he published his essay "On Guo Moruo" in which he stated:

*What we need to ask is whether he has used his pen, under the pretext of nominal fiction, to provide us with worthwhile vignettes of the era... Guo Moruo does not have the necessary skill... Let us place Guo Moruo's name above the status of hero, poet, provocateur or any other, with veneration and sympathy. In terms of fiction, he should abandon his status, because that's not where his talent lies.*

Guo Moruo, having taken refuge in Japan at the time, took Shen's criticism very much to heart, and two years later, in September 1932, he took revenge in his essay "Ten Years of Creativity":

*I recall that a major novelist in China declared that I lacked the qualifications of a novelist, because I wrote too plainly and without Mr. Lu Xun's finesse. I acknowledge the truth of this: if writing novels requires beating around the bush, I am no novelist. If fiction is considered an Arctic Circle only suitable for habitation by humble Eskimos, I respectfully decline to go there.*

Hu Yepin, who had joined the Left League, was arrested by KMT authorities in January 1931, and Shen Congwen returned to Shanghai during his winter break in a futile effort to rescue him. After Hu was executed on February 7, Shen escorted Ding Ling and her three-month-old infant back to her mother's home in Changde, Hunan Province. The 20-day round-trip caused Shen to miss the opening of the new semester at Wuhan University, so he resigned and stayed in Shanghai to devote his full attentions to writing. At the end of May, he followed Xu Zhimo's suggestion to look for work in Beijing, and then he became a lecturer in literature at Tsingtao University in Shandong Province in August while reaching the pinnacle of his creativity in his writings. Among his works of that period was a serialized non-fiction piece entitled *Poet and Novelist* (later renamed *Recollection of Hu Yepin*), and the short story *Guizhou Vignette* in Left League journal *Big Dipper (Beidou)*, edited by Ding Ling. On October 26, the Left League publication *Literary News (Wenyi Xinwen)* published an article entitled "Does He Have a Life? – A Prolific Author", which satirized Xu Zhimo's introduction of Shen Congwen to American journalist Agnes Smedley as China's "most prolific author".

Following student protests, the Education Ministry reorganized Tsingtao University as Shandong University in September 1932. Shen continued teaching there, while university president Yang Zhensheng (Yang Chen-sheng) resigned and went to Beijing to take charge of the Textbook Committee, which selected teaching materials for primary and middle schools. In October, Shen joined Lin Geng, Gao Zhi and Cheng Yirong in producing the monthly journal *Fiction* in Hangzhou, but the magazine folded after four issues. During that

same year, the first foreign translation of Shen's short stories, *Choix de nouvelles de Chen Tsong-wen*, was published in a French edition in Beijing.

During the winter school break in January 1933, Shen went to Suzhou to visit Zhang Zhaohe (Chang Chao-ho) and propose marriage to her, and Zhang accompanied him back to Qingdao, taking up employment at the university library. When the national government secretly detained Ding Ling and placed her under house arrest in Nanjing in May, Shen Congwen wrote a number of essays protesting her treatment.

Once the summer break began, Shen resigned from his teaching post and accepted Yang Zhensheng's invitation to join him in selecting textbooks in Beijing. Shen and Zhang married in September.

During that same year, Shen published his essay "Lu Xun's Battle", ending with a comparison of Lu Xun and Guo Moruo:

*Lu Xun did not win over the majority, nor did he particularly try to; this is his loveable quality and the virtue of Chinese-style conduct. Lu Xun may be the last example of this classic attitude. Young people such as Guo Moruo... raised under the new production relations, have deeply imbedded survival attitudes that make them greedy, enterprising, vying without a true measure of their own capacity, prone to empty bellowing, unabashed belligerence, rumor-mongering and all sorts of other behavior that was once disreputable but is now considered virtuous, resulting in "sophisticates" having nothing in common with the young. Mr. Lu Xun's strategies will probably never be seen in China again.*

On September 23, 1933, Shen Congwen and Yang Zhensheng began editing the literary supplement to *Ta Kung Pao (Da Gong Bao)*, and Shen subsequently took on the large share of editing duties. His essay "Literary Attitudes", published in that supplement, criticized "most of the writers" in both the Beijing and Shanghai camps as "cultural poseurs" and "mediocrities", but Shanghai writers still considered Shen biased in favor of Beijing, and this caused conflict between the Beijing and Shanghai factions.

In January 1934, Shen began publishing in serial form what was to become his representative work, the novel *Border Town (Bian Cheng)*, to be published in book form in October.

From 1930 until the War of Resistance against Japan broke out in 1937, Shen published more than 300 articles and more than 30 books, matching quantity with quality. His short story “Pai Tzu”(Baizi) was included, at Lu Xun’s recommendation, in *Living China: Modern Chinese Short Stories*, edited by American writer and journalist Edgar Snow in 1936.

### **Opposing commercialization and politicization of literature**

After Beijing fell to the Japanese on July 28, 1937, the Education Ministry issued a secret notice for university staff to withdraw from the city, and Shen Congwen ended up in Wuchang, where he resumed selecting educational texts with Yang Zhensheng at Wuhan University. In November, Peking, Tsinghua and Nankai universities consolidated into the National Changsha Provisional University, with Yang Zhensheng representing the Education Ministry on the university’s administrative affairs committee. Shen Congwen likewise moved to Changsha at the end of December, and early the following year returned to his old home in Yuanling in western Hunan. In March, the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists was established in Wuhan, and Shen was elected to its board of directors. In April, Shen accompanied the Provisional University to Kunming, where it was renamed National Southwest Associated University.

*Today Commentary (Jinri Pinglun)*, a weekly magazine edited by Southwest Associated University professor Qian Duansheng, published its first issue on New Year’s Day, 1939, and Shen Congwen became literary editor. The magazine’s fourth issue published his essay “The Rule or the Exception”, which targeted the tendencies of the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists to neglect the special qualities of literary creation:

*In my personal opinion, the various efforts to make the knowledge of “cultured people” more pervasive and to popularize propaganda about the war are of course worth taking seriously; but society’s real progress may still be best accomplished by the efforts of experts and writers with no special axe to grind. If the Chinese people want to live with their heads held high, some will have to lower their heads in hard effort; this attitude of silent exertion remains the exception, but I hope in the future it will become the rule.*

In contrast, he mentioned some writers who “as the opportunity presents itself, have become administrators, leaders, ministers or politicians”. This offended some Leftist writers who were carrying out propaganda work for the National Government as part of the KMT-CPC alliance against Japan. The CPC writer Ba Ren (Wang Renshu) published an article denouncing Shen as “even more virulent in his demands for plain talk than Irving Babbitt’s disciple Liang Shiqiu!”<sup>2</sup> Even more displeased was Guo Moruo, who upon his return to China had been presented by the CPC as the new leader of the leftist writers following the death of Lu Xun, and in 1938 had been put in charge of war propaganda in the national government’s military commission. From then on Guo repeatedly accused Shen of urging writers to maintain their distance from the war effort, and even of pushing for an end to the Anti-Japan War.

In August 1939, Shen accepted a position as associate professor of Chinese literature at Southwest Associated Normal College. In April 1940, Southwest Associated University professors Lin Tongji (Lin Tung-chi), Chen Quan (Chen Chuan), Lei Haizong (Lei Hai-tsung) and others founded *Warring States Intrigues* (*Zhan Guo Ce*) Semimonthly. Shen became literary editor and published eight essays in the magazine, as a result of which he came to be regarded as a member of the “Warring States Intrigues clique”. These independent professors and scholars discussed politics without participating in it, but because the group espoused the Voluntarism philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, and advocated hero worship, nationalism and “nationalistic literature”, it was quickly excoriated by the CPC-led Leftist literary camp as “advocating autocratic dictatorship”, “propagating fascism” and even “manufacturing a theoretical basis for treason”. Shen Congwen was

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<sup>2</sup>Translator’s note: Liang Shiqiu (Liang Shih-chiu, 1903-1987), a major literary figure and former chair of English Department at Peking University who left mainland China for Taiwan in 1949, had been a student of the prominent scholar and cultural critic Irving Babbitt at Harvard. Babbitt’s New Humanism influenced Liang to develop a preference for a restrained and universalist classicism over romanticism, which caused him to criticize China’s New Literature Movement and engage in a “literary battle” with Lu Xun in the 1920s. In his 1942 Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art, Mao accused Liang of “upholding bourgeois literature and art and opposing proletarian literature and art.”

an individualist who associated with mainstream members of the Warring States Intrigues clique while maintaining different views, as when he argued with Chen Quan in his essay “Reading ‘On Hero Worship,’” but the CPC still regarded him as “wallowing in the same mire”, and listed him among the ranks of the “reactionary literati”.

In May and August 1940, Shen published essays in *Central Daily News* and *Warring States Intrigues* that criticized the commercialization and politicization of literature:

*As society has progressed, literature has fallen into decline... One reason for the decline is that starting in 1926, the literature movement's influence moved from north to south, from the academy to the market, and became bound up with Shanghai's commercial capitalism, giving literary works a commercial character... Another reason is that after 1929, the commercialized New Vernacular Literature undertaking came to the attention of both the ruling and opposition parties, and became bound up with politics.*

*For that reason, on the surface it seems lively and vital and a cause for optimism. However, closer analysis reveals some degenerative tendencies; it is not as admirably courageous and innocent as the early May Fourth Movement. The reason is that the creative powers of writers must pander to both commercial and political strategizing. With objectives focused on commercial utility and political effect, degeneration is inevitable and unavoidable.*

Under group attack by the Leftist cultural camp, Shen continued to reiterate this viewpoint. In October 1942, he published another article, “The Remaking of the Literature Movement”, in which he stressed:

*The positive turn literature requires is entirely dependent on whether farsighted politicians or literary theorists, critics and writers with a sense of conscience will be able to take a relatively new attitude toward literature. This new attitude would strive to liberate it from the marketplace and officialdom and restore it as a branch of learning.*

In March 1943, Guo Moruo made a veiled attack on Shen in his article “The Mission of New Literature and Art: On the Fifth Anniversary of the Association of Writers and Artists”:

*Naturally, within this surging tidal wave, it is unavoidable that there should be some far from feeble countercurrents. We first heard calls to “have nothing to do with the Anti-Japanese War”, then we heard enlightened views on “opposing writers’ involvement in politics”, and then it was cries of “the impoverishment of arts and letters” – since the Anti-Japanese War, the clamorers have only produced pastoral poems and melodramas. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, all these calls have a preaching tone, and the people issuing them are all those who disdain the lifestyle of the common crowd.*

*... They do not hesitate to publicly attack others, not only through distortion, but even by outright slander!*

The Kai Ming Book Company in Guilin began publishing Shen’s works in 13 volumes in April 1943. In August that year, Shen became a full professor at Southwest Associated University, and in early 1945, he became editor of *New Hope (Xin Xiawang)*, a supplement to the *Observer (Guancha Bao)* in Kunming. On August 15, 1945, Japan declared its unconditional surrender. Shen’s output had declined during the Anti-Japanese War, but the publication of four volumes of essays and commentaries, the first volume of his novel *Long River (Chang He)* and a dozen short stories and novelettes still made him more productive than most Leftist writers, especially celebrities such as Ding Ling who had gone to Yan’an and other CPC-ruled areas.

Southwest Associated University was disbanded on May 4, 1946, and its three constituent universities returned to their original campuses. Shen Congwen moved to Beijing to teach at Peking University and part-time at Fu Jen Catholic University. Later that year he again joined forces with Yang Zhensheng as editor of the weekly literary supplement of *Social Welfare Tientsin (Yishi Bao)* in Tianjin. In an interview with *Social Welfare Tientsin*, Shen said:

*Culture Life Press has made an enormous contribution, but Ba Jin has been quietly supporting it and putting in a lot of hard effort. Mao Dun has been very reticent, not routinely flying off to Moscow like Guo Moruo.*

*Literature can help politics, but using politics to interfere with literature is appalling.*

Around that same time, Shen, Yang Zhensheng and Feng Zhi founded a weekly literary supplement to *Ta Kung Pao* in Tianjin, in which Shen published a lengthy essay entitled “Learning from Reality”, looking back on his literary experience over the past 20-odd years and touching on the second civil war between the KMT and CPC:

*Although our country has encountered all manner of hardship, the political climate and tendency arising from the pursuit of, reliance on and blind faith in practicality must bear the greatest responsibility for the present ominous situation, as well as for prolonging and enlarging it. It is obvious to everyone that continuing in this way cannot end well, yet there is no hope of any genuine turn for the better, and the resulting massive depletion of national strength will bring about the self-destruction of our people... In the present situation in which politics is placed above all else, the peddlers of ideology by armed force and the parasites of power all claim to be acting for the people, but in fact there is no love or sympathy for the people among either the ruling or opposition party.*

At the end of 1946, Shen Congwen became editor of the weekly literary supplement to *People Daily (Pingming Ribao)* in Beijing, and continued until it ceased publication, along with the supplement of *Social Welfare Tientsin*, in November 1948.

In the meantime, in January 1947, Guo Moruo published his essay “New Ode to the Nine Muses”, in which he took the opportunity to cast aspersions on earlier remarks by Shen Congwen:

*There is another “liberal” professor who I hear shakes his head at the very mention of me because of my “flying off to Moscow” last year. If I had the opportunity to fly, I certainly would do so, especially to Moscow... If it caused these professors to shake their heads right off, that would be best of all... I hear voices from the hothouse: “Learn from Reality”... Who could possibly deny it? Are the plants in that hothouse so pathetic? They also have their “standpoint”, so leave them to their solitary admiration, or to their longed-for admiration of*

*others. Anyone is free to earnestly learn groveling beneath a petticoat, or to earnestly learn masturbation beneath a quilt, depending on prevailing custom.*

That month, Shen Congwen published “The New Publishing Business and Writers”, giving the example of the Creation Society resisting dual attacks from “the literary organizations of hostile forces” and “the publishing world”. Guo Moruo then published his essay “Clumsy Crime”, in which he attacked Shen’s failure to mention the government oppression:

*The January 21 weekly supplement Books published Shen Congwen’s essay “The New Publishing Business and Writers”, which I respectfully read in detail. This essay is as fundamentally problematic as all others by Shen Congwen.*

*Passing himself off as a senior in literary circles and concocting facts to hide the truth is clearly a crime, and a clumsy one at that.*

*He goes beyond being a toady to becoming a flat-out conspirator.*

As the civil war entered its second year in the latter half of 1947, CPC troops began to take the offensive in all war zones, and the scale of warfare expanded. In October, Shen Congwen published his essay “A New Hope”, expressing deep anxiety over the consequences of the war and of the CPC-instigated student movement: “Cannon fire and cries for blood are intense on all sides these days, and vengeance for the dead has spread even to old women and girls. Everywhere there are marauding bands of street urchins, mischievous and harder to fend off than a drunkard”. He supported “calls for academic independence” – “this plan to preserve intellectual resources will become an increasingly explicit objective... and undoubtedly a development even more important than third-party politics”. In November, Shen joined Zhu Guangqian (Chu Kwang-Tsien) at the recently revived *Literature* magazine, where he published the novel “An Ordinary Legend” (*Chuanqi Bu Qi*), which turned out to be the last piece of his fictions.

## Retiring his pen on New Year's Eve – The suicide of a “pink writer”

In March 1948, some CPC writers in Hong Kong established *Popular Literature and Art Series (Dazhong Wenyi Congkan)*, which in accordance with Mao's “Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art” launched attacks against prominent independent writers in “KMT-ruled areas” and their works, and Shen Congwen became one of its targets. The magazine's first issue, devoted to “The New Direction in Literature and Art”, published Guo Moruo's “Denunciation of Reactionary Literature and Art”, which hauled out old and new grudges alike:

*So-called reactionary literature and art refers to works, trends and stands that are not conducive to the People's War of Liberation. It can be classified into two types: one type is feudalistic, while the other is compradoristic... It comes in all colors: red, yellow, blue, white and black. What is red? Here I only wish to talk about the pink, pale red. Making nudity in writing, even penning pornography words, Shen Congwen's Record of Picking Stars (Zhai Xing Lu) and Record of Watching Clouds<sup>3</sup>... Shen Congwen in particular has always made a point of living for the reactionaries. During the early years of the Anti-Japanese War, when all Chinese people were fighting for their lives against the Japanese invaders, he appealed for “having nothing to do with the Anti-Japanese War”; in the later years of the war, as writers consolidated their unity to fight for democracy, he yelled about “opposing writers participating in politics”; now people are “using revolutionary warfare to oppose counterrevolutionary warfare” as a phoenix sets itself on fire in order to be reborn from the flames, and he has once again put on the face of weeper and wailer, talking of “the self-destruction of our people” and demeaning our patriotic young students as “marauding bands of street urchins, mischievous and harder to fend off than a drunkard”...*

Guo's article also named two of Shen's friends – “blue Zhu Guangqian” and “black Xiao Qian” (Hsiao Chien), and stressed, “Our main target today is that

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<sup>3</sup> Stet. The actual title should be Record of Watching Rainbows.

batch of blue, black and pink ‘writers’. We must carry out a major and merciless counterattack against their literary strategies (including those masquerading as white or using yellow), literary theories and literary works”.

In September 1948, Shen Congwen published his essay “Where is China Headed”:

*Given the difficulty of ending this civil war, where is China headed? Toward destruction. For that reason, our hopes for “the future”, a “way out” or “crisis remedy” cannot lie in the present. Our hope is in tomorrow, in the genuine awakening of our youth... if the new youth have the courage and desire to transform our country’s reality from division and brokenness to unity and solidarity, and to transform public sentiment from virulent hatred to love and cooperation, and if they have the courage to regard the civil war as a setback for the entire nation, and the greatest disgrace to those responsible... Not only is it hard to end the civil war, but should it end, what we’ll have prepared for the next generation is, I fear, out-and-out “totalitarianism”!*

In late November 1948, CPC troops launched the Peiping-Tientsin campaigns (Pingjin Zhanyi) and put Beijing under siege. In early December, Chen Xueping (Chen Hsueh-ping), the acting Education Minister of the Nationalist Government who had once served as the Dean of Peking University, transported distinguished scholars to the south and offered to provide airline tickets for Shen’s entire family. However, on the advice of the underground CPC and pro-Communist students, Shen decided to remain in Beijing with his old friends Yang Zhensheng and Zhu Guangqian. On December 31, Shen inscribed the following words on scrolls presented as gifts to his friends:

***Retiring my pen on New Year’s Eve of the 37<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic!***

In early January 1949, the “Democracy Wall” set up on the Peking University campus posted the full text of Guo Moruo’s “Denunciation of Reactionary Literature and Art”. The lecture buildings were emblazoned with banners proclaiming “Down with Shen Congwen of the Crescent Moon Faction, Modern Criticism Faction and Third Road!” Shen was profoundly disturbed, and despaired over the prospect of an imminent squaring of political accounts.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) entered Beijing on January 31 and declared the city peacefully liberated.

In an interview with *New People (Xinmin Bao)* in February 1949, Shen commented on Guo Moruo's essay:

*I feel that Mr. Guo's words are sometimes swayed by emotion, but I believe his work is right and correct, and I'm full of admiration... Mr. Guo says I only write love stories. That isn't true; during the Anti-Japanese War I wrote many things, but some were suppressed by the censors, and I burned many of them.*

*The New People* subsequently published the interview as "Never Betray Freedom of Thought: An Interview with Mr. Shen Congwen", and urged him to "think things over carefully from the beginning".

In March 1949, Shen collapsed under mental stress and attempted suicide twice. Following medical treatment, he was transferred to a psychiatric hospital to convalesce.

## **Resurrection as an expert in material cultural**

On April 1, 1949, Shen published "Impressions from Reading 'Spring Excursion'", his first essay on material culture, under the pen name Shangguan Bi. After being discharged from the hospital that month, he began working on exhibits at the Peking University Museum and was no longer assigned classes to teach. When the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers (NCLAW) and the National Association of Literary Workers (NALW) held their founding sessions in June-July, Shen was not invited due to political considerations and his emotional frailty. Once his recovery had progressed, he was assigned work at the National Museum of China.

His work at the museum was interrupted by spells of thought reform and assignment to a "land reform work team" in Sichuan Province. In November 1951, *Guangming Daily* published "My Study", Shen's self-criticism and reconsideration of his past writings and political thinking, which he had submitted to Ding Ling in her capacity as vice-chairman of the NALW.

After being confirmed as an associate research fellow in 1952, Shen began publishing articles on material cultural. Around that time, Kai Ming Book

Company informed him that the manuscripts, proofs and other materials relating to his previously published works had been declared “outdated” and destroyed, while in Taiwan he was also banned as a “reactionary writer”.

By early 1956, Shen’s reputation had recovered enough for him to be elected a delegate to the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). He resumed his literary writing in April that year with the publication of a travel piece entitled “A Spring Outing at the Summer Palace”. He joined the Palace Museum as an advisor to the tapestry and embroidery group and then as research fellow in the exhibits department.

In October 1957, People’s Literature Publishing House issued *The Selected Fiction of Shen Congwen*, including *Border Town*, *Hsiao-Hsiao (Xiaoxiao)* and 20 other short stories and novelettes. Collections and monographs on material culture followed, and Shen attended the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers in 1960. In January 1962, he began publishing classical-style poetry describing “the new atmosphere of the new society” and expressing the “revolutionary mood”.

This positive turn ended, however, after Mao launched his Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. Shen Congwen came under attack as a “reactionary academic authority” and was relegated to cleaning toilets and plucking weeds; his home was repeatedly ransacked, and he was subjected to the criticism and denunciation and investigation by a “Special Case Team”. In June 1969, the authorities declared Shen “liberated as a case of contradiction among the people”. A few months later, Shen Congwen and his wife, Zhang Zhaohe, were separately sent to the Ministry of Culture’s “May Seventh Cadre School” in Xianning Prefecture, Hubei Province. Two years later, the couple was transferred to a school settlement of the Ministry of Culture in Danjiang. Nearing 70 and suffering from a heart condition, Shen was allowed to return to Beijing for medical treatment in February 1972.

In March 1978, Shen Congwen was assigned to the Institute of History at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and later he attended the Fourth National Congress of Literary and Art Workers. In October 1980, Shen and his wife traveled to the United States, where Shen gave lectures and the couple visited relatives, returning to Beijing the following February. Late 1981 brought another revival of Shen’s works with the publication of collections of

his essays and fiction relating to West Hunan. *The Collected Works of Shen Congwen* was published in 12 volumes starting in January 1982, and in June Shen was elected a committee member of the National Federation of Literary and Art Workers.

After a stroke left Shen partially paralyzed in April 1983, he continued to be elected *in absentia* to the Standing Committee of the CPPCC and as advisor to the Chinese Writers' Association (CWA). He was designated a ministerial-grade research fellow in June 1985. Shen died of heart failure in his Beijing home on May 10, 1988, at the age of 85.

In November 2003, Taiyuan Beiyue Literary Publishing House published *The Complete Works of Shen Congwen*, edited by Zhang Zhaohe in 32 volumes totaling more than 10 million characters. By the time of Shen's death, his works had been translated and published in more than 40 countries, and he had been nominated for a Nobel Prize in Literature.

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## Case No. 3 (1949): Xiao Jun Accused of Being Anti-Soviet



*Xiao Jun (Hsiao Chun, born Liu Honglin, July 3, 1907 - June 22, 1988), a renowned writer and editor, came under criticism in 1949 for earlier essays that were deemed “anti-Soviet, anti-Communism and Anti-People”. Demoted “to experience real life” in a coal mine and banned from publication, he remained on the “register of undesirables” for 31 years.*

### **A precarious living as an essayist**

Xiao Jun was born in what is now Danian Village on the outskirts of Linghai City, Liaoning Province. Married to an abusive carpenter, Xiao Jun’s mother killed herself when Xiao Jun was seven months old, leaving him to be raised by his grandmother and aunt.

In winter 1917, ten-year-old Xiao Jun rejoined his father, now a glazier in Changchun, Jilin Province, and began attending upper primary school. He was expelled from school in 1924 after a conflict with an abusive physical education teacher.

Changing his name several times, Xiao Jun first enlisted in Jilin’s 34<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Corps in 1925, then trained for the military police in Shenyang, Liaoning Province, and ended up in Harbin training for the artillery. While still in training, he published a short story entitled “Coward...” (Nuo...) under the

pen name Tuoyan Sanlang in *Sheng-ching Shih-pao* (*Shengjing Times*) in Shenyang in May 1929.

After being expelled from the military academy for a near-fatal assault on a physically abusive infantry captain in 1930, Xiao Jun found work as a warrant officer and probation official in the Northeast Army, and then as a martial arts instructor at the Northeast Military Police Training School.

Following the Mukden Incident in 1931, Xiao and a friend made an unsuccessful attempt to organize a volunteer army to resist Japanese, after which Xiao fled to Harbin and began earning a living in writing under the pen name Sanlang. In 1932, he was hired to edit the children's supplement of *International Association Newspaper* (*Guoji Xie Bao*), where he became acquainted with Luo Feng (Luo Fung), Shu Qun (Shu Chun) and other members of the CPC.

In summer 1932, Xiao Jun became acquainted with Zhang Naiying (Chang Nai-ying), who wrote under the pen name Xiao Hong (Hsiao Hung), and the two became romantically involved. Later that year, the two published a collection of their essays and short stories, *Arduous Journey* (*Bashe*), under the pen names Sanlang and Qiaoyin (Hsiao-yin).

### **Lu Xun's prolific disciple**

Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong went to Qingdao at Shu Jun's invitation in June 1934, and Xiao Jun became editor of the supplement to *Tsingtao Morning News* (*Qingdao Chenbao*). In November, he went to Shanghai with the manuscript of a freshly completed novel, and asked the famous writer Lu Xun for help getting it published. Lu became Xiao Jun's patron, editing and writing a foreword for his novel, which was published in July 1935 as *Village in August* under the pen name Tian Jun (Tien Chun). His novel, along with *Harvest*, a collection of short stories by Ye Zi (Yeh Tzu), and *The Field of Life and Death*, a novel by Xiao Hong, published around the same time, created a sensation in literary circles.

In February 1936, Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong joined Hu Feng, Nie Kan-nu (Nie Gannu) and others in establishing the literary magazine *Petrel* (*Haiyan*) with Lu Xun's support. When Lu Xun died in October that year, Xiao Jun

helped organize the funeral and was one of the pallbearers, as well as helping to edit commemorative materials.

Xiao Jun was especially prolific at this time, publishing seven volumes of fiction, essays and poetry in the space of two years.

After the War of Resistance against Japan broke out on July 7, 1937, Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong helped Hu Feng establish *July* magazine and then left Shanghai to continue publishing the magazine in Wuhan. While attending a talk by KMT Vice-president Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei) in December, Xiao Jun walked out hurling curses. He was subsequently arrested and was only released following negotiations on his behalf by Dong Biwu (Tung Pi-wu), a representative of the CPC in Wuhan. In January 1938, Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong and several of their *July* colleagues accepted an invitation to teach at the National Revolution University run by Shanxi warlord Yan Xishan (Yen Hsi-shan), and encountered Ding Ling, who led a Northwest Combat Zone Service Group for the CPC's Eighth Route Army. When the Japanese invaded in February, the pregnant Xiao Hong went with Ding Ling to Xi'an, while Xiao Jun followed the National Revolution University in its retreat to the northwest. Passing through Yan'an, Xiao Jun stopped long enough to meet Mao Zedong before continuing on to Xi'an, only to learn that Xiao Hong had left him for the writer Duanwu Hongliang (Tuan-mu Hung-liang).

At the end of April 1938, Xiao Jun went to Lanzhou to edit the literary supplement to *Gansu Republican Daily* (*Gansu Minguo Ribao*). After marrying Wang Defen that June, Xiao Jun settled in Chengdu, where he edited a supplement for *New People Daily* (*Xinmin Bao*). The Chengdu branch of the All China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists was established in January 1939, and Xiao Jun became a director and member of the editorial board of the association's periodical *Pen Array* (*Bizhen*) until moving to Chongqing in March 1940. During this time, he published two volumes of essays and a four-act play, *Happy Family* (*Xingfu Zhi Jia*).

### **Lonely struggle during the Yan'an Rectification**

In June 1940, Xiao Jun made a second trip to Yan'an with his wife and daughter, and became involved with the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region's

National Salvation Association of Cultural Circles (NSACC, Wenxie) and the Yan'an branch of the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists (AJAWA, Wenkang), both under Ding Ling's direction. Soon afterward, He joined Ding Ling, Shu Qun and others in establishing the Monthly Society of Literature. In early 1941, he began co-editing the Society's new periodical, *Literature and Art Monthly* (*Wenyi Yuebao*), and established the Lu Xun Research Association as its director-general and chief editor of the Lu Xun Research Series.

In May 1941, the CPC Central Committee prepared to launch its Yan'an Rectification Movement, while some writers openly criticized Yan'an's "dark side" in their essays. In June, Zhou Yang, the deputy director of the Lu Xun Academy of Arts, criticized these writers in his long essay "An Informal Discussion about Literature and Life" published in *Liberation Daily*. Five directors of Wenkang, Xiao Jun, Bai Lang, Shu Qun, Luo Feng and Ai Qing, were extremely unhappy with Zhou's imperious criticism, and Xiao Jun drafted a joint response to Zhou's essay, only to have it rejected by *Liberation Daily*. It was the latest of a number of disappointments Xiao Jun had experienced at Yan'an over the past year, and he wrote to Mao Zedong in July requesting a farewell meeting. Mao soon summoned him and encouraged him to stay. Xiao Jun maintained contact with Mao, and pushed for the convening of a literary forum to clarify the relationship between politics and art and to affirm the nonpartisan status of art and writers. His suggestion brought unexpected results, however.

In August 1941, following Mao's suggestion, Xiao Jun published in *Literature and Art Monthly* the essay that he and the four others had written. This triggered further debate between Yan'an's two literary factions, the "Extollers of Brightness" and "Exposers of Darkness". In November, Xiao helped co-found and co-edit, with Ding Ling, Shu Jun and Ai Qing, the Wenkang literary periodical *Grain Rain*.

In February 1942, Mao Zedong formally launched the Rectification Movement with speeches on "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing". The "Exposers" subsequently created an upsurge of articles on ongoing problems by Ding Ling, Ai Qing, Luo Feng, Wang

Shiwei and others. In April, Xiao Jun published the essay “On the ‘Love’ and ‘Tolerance’ of Comrades”, which Mao had read in advance and edited:

*In recent years, having had more contact with some revolutionary comrades, I feel that the tincture of “comradely love” has become increasingly diluted! Although I understand the reason, this does not stop me from mourning it.*

On May 2, 1942, CPC Central Propaganda Department convened the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art. Following Mao’s introductory remarks, Xiao Jun delivered a speech emphasizing the freedom and independence of writers:

*While in Guangzhou, Lu Xun was not under the direction of any party or organization; blossom, root and leaf were all one family; Confucians, Taoists and Buddhists were all one family; party members, non-party members and progressives were all one family; politics, military affairs and arts and letters were all one family. Within this family, all had equal generational status, and no one led anyone else... Our revolution needs essays like Mr. Lu Xun’s that smash the old world to smithereens and never sing anyone’s praises.*

Xiao Jun’s speech was then edited into an article published in *Liberation Daily*, and then in *Grain Rain*.

At the third and final meeting of the Yan’an Forum on May 23, Eighth Road Army commander Zhu De (Chu Teh) indirectly criticized Xiao Jun’s views, and Mao endorsed Zhu De’s remarks in his concluding report, attributing the dispute among different factions of thought to a conflict between political standpoints and between the “itineraries of the enemy and us”.

During the forum, Ding Ling, Ai Qing and other leaders of the “exposure faction” admitted error and changed directions, and after the meeting they directed oral and written denunciations at the main target, Wang Shiwei. Xiao Jun held fast to his views and expressed his dissatisfaction with the mass criticism of Wang. For that, he was denounced for “sympathizing with the Trotskyite Wang Shiwei”. He recorded this in a memorandum that he sent to Mao, but never received a reply.

*Grain Rain* and *Literature and Art Monthly* ceased publication in September 1942, and Xiao Jun was unable to continue publishing his Lu Xun Research

Series. At a conference commemorating the sixth anniversary of Lu Xun's death attended by more than 2,000 writers and artists in October, Xiao Jun gave a speech reiterating his view that writers must transcend political factions and "with one pen supervise two parties – the Kuomintang and the Communist Party", reading out the memorandum he had sent to Mao. This set off a six-hour debate between Xiao Jun and other writers, including Ding Ling, Zhou Yang and Ai Qing. Finally, Xiao stormed out, and although no further action was taken against him at the time, he remained under a cloud for the next 40 years.

In March 1943, the Cultural Work Committee and Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee mobilized writers and other arts workers to "go down to the farms, factories and barracks and become one with the masses" as part of the Rectification Movement. With all of its writers off in the countryside, Wenkang suspended its activities. Xiao Jun initially stayed on to continue his writing, but under increasing pressure, he left Yan'an and moved with his heavily pregnant wife and two-year-old daughter to a village in Yan'an County in early December. The following month, Xiao assisted in the birth of his second daughter Xiao Yun. In early March 1944, Mao sent Hu Qiaomu to persuade Xiao Jun to return to the city, where he was assigned to the Party School of CPC Central Committee for "rectification of work styles and cadre examination".

A year later, in March 1945, Xiao Jun was assigned to teach literature at the Lu Xun Academy of Arts. A week after Japan declared its unconditional surrender on August 15, Xiao completed the script for a grand Peking Opera entitled *King Wu Attacks King Zhou (Wuwang Fa Zhou)*. Not long afterward, Xiao and his family moved with the Academy to the northeast, arriving in Zhangjiakou by the end of the year. China's civil war kept them there for the time being, and Xiao edited the *Lu Xun Studies* supplement to *Jin-Cha-Ji Daily*, an official newspaper of the CPC Central Bureau of the Jin-Cha-Ji Border Region. In September 1946, at the invitation of Peng Zhen, a deputy secretary of the CPC Northeastern Bureau, Xiao went to Harbin to serve as director of the Lu Xun Institute of Arts and Literature at Northeast University. In March 1947, with the support of the Northeastern Bureau, he resigned from the Institute to establish the Lu Xun Cultural Publishing House as its publisher,

while also heading the research department of the Northeast Association of Literature and Arts. He published the first issue of *Culture Reported* (*Wenhua Bao*) weekly in May when Peng Zhen was transferred to the CPC Central Committee. Then Xiao began getting the cold shoulder. The following month, he was sent to take part in land reform, and his weekly was closed down. Xiao Jun did not return to the city until the following January, and *Culture Reported* resumed publication as a five-day daily.

### **Criticized and registered as an undesirable**

In May 1948, the Propaganda Department of the Northeastern Bureau established *Life Post* (*Shenghuo Bao*), which soon began publishing articles criticizing *Culture Reported*. In particular, *Life Post* attacked Xiao Jun's articles, editorials and poems as "venomous incitement of discord between the Chinese and Russian people", "maintaining an anti-people stance" and "actually opposing the Communist Party, the People's Liberation Army and the democratic government". Xiao and *Culture Reported* became increasingly isolated, and his daily was finally close down in October.

Xiao Jun followed the Northeastern Bureau's Culture Department to Shenyang at the end of the month. In April 1949, he was sent down to the Fushun Coalmine "to experience real life" and head the reference office of the Trade Union at the Fushun Mining Bureau. Later he became a consultant to the Fushun Peking Opera Troupe headed by his wife, Wang Defen, where he directed the rehearsal of his play *King Wu Attacks King Zhou*.

In 1949, the Northeastern Bureau's criticism of Xiao Jun was expanded and intensified by issuing two documents, the Northeast Association of Literature and Arts' "Conclusion on the Mistakes Made by Xiao Jun and His *Culture Reported*", and the Northeastern Bureau of CPC Central Committee's "Decision on Xiao Jun", accusing him of "using debate to slander the People's Government, disparage the Land Reform, oppose the people's War of Liberation and bring discord to the Sino-Russian friendship". On that basis, the Bureau decided "to cease its material support for Xiao Jun's literary activities" and "no longer to publish any works by Xiao Jun". It published a collection of articles by CPC hacks entitled *Criticism of Xiao Jun's ideology*, and launched a

region-wide three-month campaign “to criticize Xiao Jun’s reactionary thought and others like his”, thus implicating other writers and artists. Although not losing his life like Wang Shiwei, Xiao Jun was left out of the newly-established national literary associations and prevented from joining other prominent writers in the new Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference. He spent the next 30 years on the CPC’s register of undesirables.

### **Failure to establish an independent living**

After the Korean War broke out in February 1950, Wang Defen was transferred with their children to Beijing. Although denied a transfer, Xiao Jun joined his family in January 1951 and began working on a novel at home. Suffering financial hardship, he wrote to Beijing mayor Peng Zhen, and was given a job in August 1952 carrying out archeological research in the Cultural Relics Group of the Culture and Education Committee of the Beijing municipal government. Following an appeal to Mao in 1954, he was granted permission to publish two novels. In August, he resigned from his archeological work to earn a living by writing. In September, he republished his earlier novel *Village in August* after failing to keep the foreword written by Lu Xun, and in November he published his first post-Yan’an novel, *Mine in May*.

In May 1955, the CPC Central Committee launched a large-scale criticism and purge of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique”. While Xiao Jun was not among the prominent writers who turned on Hu Feng, his marginalized status spared him persecution in the purge. Nevertheless, his new novel was subjected to reams of criticism in the press and was finally banned in September that year.

In June 1957, an expanded version of Xiao Jun’s 1937 novel *The Third Generation* was published in two volumes as *The Past Era*. Soon after that, the Central Committee changed its “rectification to help the Party” into a “struggle to beat back an assault by bourgeois Rightists”, and the Chinese Writers’ Association began attacking the “Ding Ling, Feng Xuefeng Rightist Anti-Party Clique” for things they had written during the Yan’an Rectification Movement 15 years earlier. *Literary Gazette (Wenxue Bao)* in January 1958 launched a *Re-criticism* column with an editorial note by Mao that grouped Xiao Jun,

Wang Shiwei, Ding Ling, Ai Qing, Luo Feng and others together as “incorrigible anti-Party elements”. The specific piece that Xiao Jun was criticized for was his 1942 essay “On the ‘Love’ and ‘Tolerance’ of Comrades”, which Mao himself had approved and edited at the time. Lacking a work unit, Xiao Jun once again escaped being sent to labor reform like Ding Ling and the others, but he lost the right to have his works published.

After four years studying Chinese acupuncture and bone-setting, Xiao Jun abandoned writing for medicine in 1959, and wrote to Peng Zhen in hopes of obtaining a practitioner’s license once he passed certification. However, the authorities worried that his change of professions would spark undesirable comments, and in October Xiao Jun was assigned a job as researcher in the Chinese Opera Research Institute of the municipal Cultural Bureau. His own writings – a historical novel, *Wu Yue’s Spring and Autumn Historical Narrative* (*Wu Yue Chun Qiu Shihua*), and a revision of his Peking Opera – were rejected.

Following the launch of the Cultural Revolution in May 1966, Xiao Jun came under criticism as an “old-style anti-Party element” and a “1930s revisionist”. He was repeatedly beaten, detained and sent to Reform through Labor, and was not allowed to return home until early 1972. In July 1974, the investigation against him ended, and his pre-Cultural Revolution status was restored. By then, however, Xiao was 67 years old, and he went into retirement under the supervision of his local neighborhood committee.

### **Weeds grow again after the Cultural Revolution**

With the death of Mao and the arrest of the Gang of Four in 1976, Xiao’s situation improved. Literary and historical publications began to solicit articles from him, and in October 1978, he joined Jiang Chunfang and Lou Shiyi in establishing the Weeds Poetry Society, which published *Weeds Poetry Collection*. In April 1979, the Beijing Municipal Committee of the CPC’s Propaganda Department provided Xiao Jun with a job as a writer for the Beijing Municipal Writers’ Association. As the year progressed, he became active in the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers, the Chinese Writers’ Association and the Beijing Municipal People’s Political Consultative Conference.

Xiao Jun was formally rehabilitated in April 1980, and his membership in official cultural associations and congresses was renewed and upgraded. Several volumes of his works appeared in print throughout the early 1980s.

On June 22, 1988, Xiao Jun died of cancer at the age of 81.

Xiao Jun's memoir *Man and Human World (Ren Yu Renjian)* was published in June 2006, and two years later, his complete works were published in 30 volumes totaling 9 million characters.

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## **Case No. 4 (1950): Ah Long**

### **Suppressed for Distortion of Marxism**



*Ah Long (born Chen Shoumei, November 1907 - February 15, 1967), a literary theorist, came under criticism in People's Daily in 1950 for "distorting and counterfeiting Marxism-Leninism". Labeled a core member of the "Hu Feng Counter-revolutionary Clique" in 1955, he was imprisoned until his death 12 years later.*

#### **A self-educated soldier-writer**

Born to an impoverished family on the outskirts of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, Ah Long dropped out of school at an early age to support his family, while continuing to learn on his own.

At the age of 18, Ah Long became an apprentice in a silk shop, but when the shop closed down two years later, he turned toward politics and literature. He joined the KMT in 1927, serving as a committee member in the district headquarters and then as secretary for the county party committee, while also beginning to publish classical landscape poetry in Hangzhou newspapers. He was admitted to the Shanghai Industrial Training School in 1929.

The Japanese invasion of Shanghai on January 28, 1931, led Ah Long to renounce the pen for the sword. Following his graduation in 1933, he entered the Whampoa Military Academy. In that same year, he made contact with the

underground Communist Party and began supplying them with intelligence. He continued writing in the meantime, publishing a free-style poem under the pen name “SM” in the Shanghai magazine *Literature*. After graduating from the military academy in 1936, he was deployed to the capital, Nanjing, as a second lieutenant and platoon leader in the 88th Division.

After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937, Ah Long’s 88th Division was sent to Shanghai to prepare for war against Japanese invasion, and he took part in the famous Battle of Songhu on August 13. Discharged after being wounded twice in more than 70 days of fighting, he wrote of his experience in feature articles published in Hu Feng’s *July Magazine*. After Hu Feng published the articles in his July Book Series as *The First Blow* under the pen name Yi Men, Ah Long became known as one of the main writers of the “July Faction”.

In 1939, Ah Long went to Yan’an to attend the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, and a few months later, he was allowed to go to Xi’an for treatment of his injuries. There he completed a 300,000-character documentary novel, *Nanjing*, which won the award for “best novel since Anti-Japan War” of All China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists. In 1941, CPC sent Ah Long to Chongqing, where he became a major as staff officer at the Military and Political Commission of the national government. He was then admitted to the Army University, and after graduation stayed on as a colonel instructor in military tactics, while continuing to provide intelligence to CPC. The KMT discovered Ah Long’s activities in spring 1947 and ordered his arrest, so he fled to Hangzhou and then to Shanghai, while continuing his intelligence activities. Throughout these years, Ah Long contributed regularly to Hu Feng’s *Hope (Xiwang)* magazine, became editor of a literary magazine in Chengdu and published two poetry collections.

In June 1949, Ah Long was invited to Beijing for the First National Congress of Literary and Art Workers, and the next spring to Tianjin to join the Tianjin Municipal Federation of Literary and Art Workers, leading its Creative Group while also heading the editorial department of the Tianjin Municipal Association of Literary Workers.

## **Prologue to the first literary inquisition**

In March 1950, *People's Daily* published a critical essay by Chen Yong entitled "On the Relationship between Art and Politics – A Critique of Ah Long's 'On Tendentiousness,'" and another by Shi Du and Jiang Tianzuo entitled "Opposing the Distortion and Counterfeiting of Marxism-Leninism", which accused Ah Long of "resisting Marxist-Leninist Thought regarding the partisan nature of literature and art". This made Ah Long the first writer to come under political criticism following the establishment of the People's Republic of China. During this time, Zhou Yang, the deputy director of the Central Propaganda Department responsible for overseeing writers and artists, labeled Ah Long a member of a "petty bourgeois writers' clique". This launched the purge of the "Hu Feng Clique", the first literary inquisition in PRC.

Although Ah Long continued to publish a large number of works on literary theory, as well as three collection of poetry, he was not invited to the second National Congress of Literary and Art Workers held in Beijing in September 1953.

## **Mao's verdict of three crimes**

When Hu Feng wrote his "300,000-word Report" in the first half of 1954, Ah Long contributed opinions based on his personal experience. After Hu Feng and his wife were arrested in May 1955, the letters published in the newspaper as "evidence" of Hu's crimes included a letter that Ah Long had written to Hu Feng in July 1946, while working as a colonel instructor at the KMT's Army University. Ah Long's participation in the KMT and service in the KMT Army was seen as the means through which Hu Feng colluded with the KMT.

In an "editorial comment" appended to the materials published in *People's Daily* on May 24, 1955, Mao wrote:

*Their basic contingent, whether as agents of the Imperialist Kuomintang or as Trotskyites, reactionary military officers or traitors to the Communist Party, was established as a counterrevolutionary clique with these persons as its core*

*members and concealed within the revolutionary camp, an underground independent kingdom.*

Ah Long was arrested on May 28 as a “secret agent”, “reactionary military officer” and “core member of the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique”.

A third collection of materials relating to the “Hu Feng Clique” published in *People’s Daily* on June 10 included letters Ah Long wrote to Hu Feng in 1946 and 1949. Mao’s editorial comment asserted:

*Hu Feng and many core members of the Hu Feng Clique have long been loyal running dogs of imperialism and of Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang. They maintained close contact with imperialist and KMT agents and long pretended to be revolutionaries, hiding among progressive people while engaging in their counterrevolutionary dealings.*

Although the public security organs handling this case soon received proof from the head of the CPC’s intelligence organ, Zhang Zhiyi, and even from Premier Zhou Enlai, that Ah Long had in fact been carrying out intelligence for the CPC and had supplied information through Hu Feng, no one dared refute the “criminal evidence” that Mao had published. As a result, Ah Long languished in prison, and his books were among the writings of “core members of the Hu Feng Clique” that the authorities banned from publication on July 11, 1955.

### **Refusal to submit under pressure**

Weakened by illness and on hunger strike, Ah Long on June 23, 1965, wrote an appeal in which he angrily pointed out:

*In a fundamental sense, the case of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” is artificial, fabricated and trumped up! The published “material” is not only essentially false, but is also a random hodgepodge that confuses right and wrong in a truly appalling fashion... This method creates a false impression and illusion; that is to say: it misrepresents and persecutes the target, while duping and deceiving the Party, the masses and all of the Chinese people!... Falsehood has a short life. A party that lies to its people suffers*

*moral collapse... It will someday bear the historical consequences of what it has wrought; it cannot possibly escape this fate... I can be crushed, but I will never submit.*

On February 8, 1966, the Tianjin Municipal Intermediate People's Court sentenced Ah Long to 12 years' imprisonment for the crime of counter-revolution.

On March 15, 1967, Ah Long succumbed to osteomyelitis and his grief and indignation, and died in a prison hospital at the age of 59.

Reexamination of the case of the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique eventually led to all members of the "clique" being rehabilitated on September 29, 1980. On November 6, the Tianjin Municipal Intermediary People's Court vacated Ah Long's conviction, and on December 23, the Organization Department of the Tianjin Municipal Committee of the CPC formally rehabilitated Ah Long and restored his reputation. A memorial ceremony for Ah Long was carried out by the Tianjin CPC Propaganda Department and the Tianjin Writers' Association on June 23, 1982.

Some of Ah Long's works were subsequently republished, including the poetry collection *Untitled*, the essay collections *Man, Poetry, Reality (Man, Shi, Xianshi)* and *Weeping Willow Lane (Chui liuxiang Wenji)*, *The Collected Poems and Essays of Ah Long (Along Shiwenji)*, and the novel *Sacrifice (Nanjing Xueji)*.

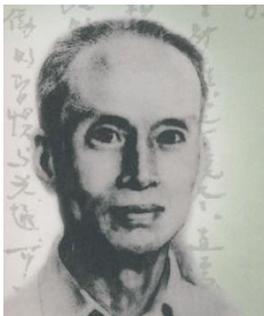
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## Case No. 5 (1951): Sun Mingxun Swept Up in Criticism of a Movie



*Sun Mingxun (Sun Ming-Hsun, December 30, 1905 - January 20, 1961), a follower of the famous educational theorist and reformer Tao Xingzhi, was purged when official criticism of a movie, The Life of Wu Xun, brought Tao's ideas into disrepute. Sun died from the effects of his maltreatment ten years later.*

### **Among the first male teacher at kindergarten**

Sun Mingxun was born to a peasant family in Pingbei County, Guizhou Province. Upon graduating from middle school at the age of 18, he was admitted to Guiyang Normal School, where he took part in the “Guizhou Youth Revolutionary Alliance” opposing Guizhou Governor Zhou Xicheng (Chou Hsi-cheng). In 1927, Sun joined classmate Dai Zi'an (Tai Jze-an) and others traveling on foot to Wuhan and then taking a boat to Shanghai. At the end of that year, he signed up to study at the Experimental Rural Normal School (subsequently renamed the Hsiao-chuang School) run by the famous champion of progressive education, Tao Xingzhi (Tao Heng-Chih).

In summer 1929, Sun helped establish Hsiao-chuang Kindergarten, becoming one of China's first male kindergarten teachers. At the end of the year, he became editor of the newly established weekly *Rural Teacher*

(*Xiangcun Jiaoshi*), which published Sun's first essay, "What Kind of Person is a Kindergarten Teacher?" After Tao Xingzhi helped Nanjing workers go on strike and oppose the anchoring of Japanese warships in early 1930, the KMT authorities closed down the Hsiao-chuang School for "colluding with the Communists" and "obstructionist practices", and Sun Mingxun and 30-odd other teachers and students were arrested. Supporters secured Sun's release in August, and Tao Xingzhi sent him to teach at the Hsin'an Primary School in Huai'an.

In 1931, Sun Mingxun became a teacher at the Shanghai Tatung Kindergarten established by the China Mutual-Aid Association, and he joined the League of Left-Wing Education Workers. The following year he published his first treatise, *Kindergarten Education (Normal Education)*. After helping establish Xin'an Kindergarten in Huai'an in 1933, Sun returned to Shanghai in 1934, and established and led China's first kindergarten for the children of workers, the Laborers Children's Corps, in the British Concession in Shanghai. He subsequently published *The Living Bodhisattva of the Ancient Temple (Gumiao Huo Pusa)*, *Experience in Rural Kindergarten Education (Xiangcun Youzhi Jiaoyu Jingyantun)* and *The Laborers Children's Corps (Laogong Youer Tuan)*, and with his old classmate Dai Zi'an published several other works on kindergarten and primary education.

In autumn 1935, the national government became unhappy with the Laborers Children's Corps fostering a large number of children of CPC members, and the British Concession authorities ordered its closure. Sun Mingxun was invited to become the head of the Preschool Teachers Class at the Guangxi Universal National Primary Education Institute in Nanning and joined the CPC there. A year later, he resigned from the institute after disagreements with its director. He returned to Shanghai to establish the magazines *Juvenile Knowledge (Shaonian Zhishi)* and *China Children (Zhongguo Shaonian)*. In December 1936, after his roommate was arrested, Sun fled to Xi'an, and proceeded from there to Yan'an in the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region controlled by the CPC. There he became a teacher at Lu Xun Normal School (later renamed Yan'an Normal School), headed by Xu Teli (Hsu Teh-li), once a teacher of Mao Zedong.

In April 1937, Sun Mingxun returned to Shanghai to work as an editor at the Life Education Society. In July, Japan launched its invasion of China and captured Shanghai in November. Sun moved with the Life Education Society to Wuhan and then to Chongqing. In the first half of 1939, he helped Tao Xingzhi establish the Yucai (Yu Tsai) School in Chongqing, and joined Lu Weite in editing and publishing *Textbook for Anti-Japanese War and Nationbuilding (Kangzhan Jianguo Duben)* in 1940.

After the January 1941 Wannan Incident exacerbated tensions between the CPC and KMT, Sun went to teach at the Lanzhou Girls' Normal School on Tao Xingzhi's recommendation. In February 1942, he established and headed the Jiayu Guan branch of the School for Children of Yumen Oil Field Workers. He was obliged to resign in April 1943, however, when his CPC membership was exposed, and he returned to the Yucai School in Chongqing.

In spring 1944, the CPC's Southern Bureau sent Sun back to his home village in Guizhou, where he organized local progressive youth in establishing the "Vitality Association" and became principal of the county middle school. Evading arrest by local KMT authorities, he returned to Chongqing in spring 1945 and edited *Anti-Japan War Education (Kangzhan Jiaoyu)* magazine for the local branch of the Life Education Society.

In January 1946, Tao Xingzhi established Society University, and Sun became a teacher in its Education Department. In April, most of the specialized sections of the Yucai School moved to Shanghai, and Sun became a leader of the general section and primary school that continued to operate as a branch in Chongqing. Tao Xingzhi died in July. The Ministry of Education forced the Yucai School to close down in December 1947, but its Chongqing Branch continued underground. Sun became the Chongqing branch head the following July, and published *Education Viewed through Xingzhi's Poetry* in the same year.

When PLA troops occupied Chongqing in November 1949, the Yucai School was allowed to operate openly again. Sun was appointed the school's principal and CPC branch secretary, and the following January he was elected as a delegate to the First Chongqing Municipal People's Congress. In July that year, Sun was appointed to the Culture and Education Committee of the newly

established Southwest Military and Political Commission under the Central People's Government.

### **The purging of Tao Xingzhi's followers**

On May 20, 1951, *People's Daily* published an editorial entitled "We Should Pay Attention to Discussion of the movie *The Life of Wu Xun*" (later revealed to have been penned by Mao himself) relating to a recent film about a famous proponent of universal free education. The editorial touched off a nationwide mass political criticism of literary works that eventually developed into the "Intellectual Thought Reform Campaign". On June 4, *People's Daily* published an Education Ministry directive:

*The so-called "Wu Xun spirit" has had a profound and widespread influence among education workers. This influence has obscured the revolutionary standpoint and viewpoint to become a serious ideological impediment to the people's educational undertaking. For this reason, it is essential that all education administrative organs and schools at all levels engage in in-depth discussions of The Life of Wu Xun and works relating to Wu Xun, and must carry out a scientific and systematic discussion and criticism of the so-called "Wu Xun spirit".*

From then on, followers and admirers of Wu Xun in China's cultural and education circles came under attack. Since Tao Xingzhi had been a great promoter of Wu Xun's progressive ideas, his own followers became direct targets of this purge. Having published an essay expounding on Tao's admiration for the "Wu Xun spirit", Sun Mingxun became a particular focus of criticism.

On June 12, 1951, *New China Daily (Xinhua Ribao)*, the official newspaper of the Southwest Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, launched a major criticism campaign throughout the region. Chongqing propaganda and education officials put Sun Mingxun into isolation for investigation and mobilized students of the Yucai School to expose and criticize "the serious ideological poison of Wu Xun Spirit among Yucai teachers and students". Later that year, the Yucai School was reorganized, with Sun Mingxun forced to resign as principal and criticized by name in *New China Daily* on October 11:

*In his essay “Wu Xun and Tao Xingzhi”, Sun Mingxun, the former principal of Yucai Middle School in Chongqing, particularly expounds on why Tao Xingzhi so extravagantly praised Wu Xun. This essay does not make the connection to his ideological practice, but is just an empty discussion with an inadequately serious attitude.*

On November 28, 1951, *New China Daily* published a lead story on “the influence of ‘Wu Xun Spirit’ on the Yucai Middle School in Chongqing and on the thinking of former principal Sun Mingxun”. *People’s Education* accused Sun of “representing the right wing in China’s current education reforms, and representing the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie’s reformism in the struggle for leadership of the people’s educational undertaking”. With the launch of the nationwide “Three Antis Campaign” against “corruption, waste and bureaucratism” at the end of 1951, a work team stationed at Yucai Middle School accused Su Mingxun of corrupt dealings and mobilized students to criticize and humiliate him.

Late at night on March 6, 1952, Sun Mingxun slit his own throat in a failed suicide attempt. The Chongqing Municipal Committee of CPC designated Sun a “suicidal traitor to the Party” and announced in *New China Daily* that he had been stripping of his Party membership and employment. Once the “Three Antis Campaign” ended in October 1952, however, Sun was exonerated and assigned work, first as an editor and screener of educational publications, and then as a lecturer on children’s literature at Southwest Normal College. In 1956, he was confirmed as an associate professor, and under the pen name Tuo Lin published his edited collection of *Sichuan Children’s Songs* through China Juveniles’ and Children’s Publishing House.

### **Dying alone as a Rightist**

In May 1957, the CPC Central Committee launched its “Rectification Campaign” against “bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism” in the Party. Responding to the Party’s call to “assist the rectification” by “free airing of views”, Sun Mingxun raised sharp criticisms during a rally at his college, and summed up his comments in an essay published in *New China Daily* on May 21:

*The educational legacy of educator Tao Xingzhi, who was good enough to represent a model of the era, seems to have been completely cast aside, and cannot even be mentioned. Is this in compliance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism?*

A month later, the Central Committee launched a political battle of “Counterattack Against Bourgeois Rightists”, commonly known as the Anti-Rightist Campaign. Quickly labeled a Rightist, Sun Mingxun was dismissed from his lecturing position and sent to the reference room to accept “Reform through Labor” (*laogai*) under the supervision of the masses. His wife, Kuang Zhongling, a teacher at the Primary School Affiliated with Southwest Normal College, was also labeled a Rightist because of her refusing to divorce Sun, and was sent to the countryside for *laogai*.

On the night of January 20, 1961, Sun succumbed to the bitter cold and died alone in his home in Chongqing at the age of 55.

Sun’s Rightist status was rectified in January 1979, and in 1981 he was fully rehabilitated and had his Party membership and political reputation restored.

Sun Mingxun’s *Selected Essays on Education*, edited by Kuang Zhongling, was published by Chongqing Publishing House in 1984.

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## Case No. 6 (1952): Lu Ling Betrayed in an Open Letter



*Lu Ling (born Xu Sixing, January 23, 1923 - February 12, 1994), a novelist and playwright, was betrayed by an old friend, Shu Wu, who published an open letter in Literary Gazette in 1952 accusing Lu of belonging to the “Hu Feng Clique”. Lu was arrested three years later and continued to suffer persecution for the following 25 years.*

### **The most important novelist of the “July Faction”**

Lu Ling was born in Suzhou, and lost his father to suicide at the age of two. His mother remarried a KMT civil servant, and the family moved to Nanjing. By the time Lu was admitted to a middle school in 1935, he had read many Chinese and foreign literary works.

After the War of Resistance against Japan broke out on July 7, 1937, the family returned to his stepfather’s native Hanchuan, Hubei Province, stopping over in Wuhan on the way. Lu published his first work, the essay “On the Ancient City Wall”, in the Wuhan magazine *Bullet Flower (Danhua)*.

That winter, the family fled once again to Chongqing, where Lu continued with middle school, transferring to the county town of Hechuan the following summer. He published essays, poetry and fiction in *Bullet Flower* and other

publications under the pen names Liu Feng and Xu Feng, while also serving as editor of the *Sentinel* (*Shaobing*) literary supplement to Hechuan County's *Loud Daily* (*Dasheng Ribao*). When the writings in *Sentinel* offended local officials, Lu was expelled from his school at the end of 1938 as a "Leftist" and returned to Chongqing to live with his mother and stepfather. Early the following year, on the recommendation of the headmaster of his middle school, he joined the propaganda team of the Three People's Principles Youth League.

In April 1939, Lu submitted an article to Hu Feng, the editor of *July Monthly*. His short story "After Withdrawal from the 'Fort'" (Yaosai Tuichu Yihou) was published in May 1940, and he began using the pen name Lu Ling. In July, on Hu Feng's recommendation, Lu became a teaching assistant in literature at the Yucai School run by Tao Xingzhi. Later that year, his stepfather got him a job as a clerk at the Research Institute of Mining and Metallurgy of the national government's Economics Ministry in Chongqing. While working there he published the short story "Blessing of Youth" (Qingchun De Zhufu) and other works reflecting the lives of the miners.

In early 1942, through the recommendation of his friend Shu Wu, Lu Ling became alibrary assistant at the KMT's Central Political Academy, and in April, he finished his masterpiece, the novelette *Hungry Guo Su-e*, which Hu Feng subsequently published in his July New Series of books.

Lu Ling's stepfather got him a job as a clerk at the Fuel Management Committee of the Economics Ministry in 1943, and in August 1944, he married Yu Mingying, a radio-operator at the radio station of the KMT's Central News Agency.

In 1945, Lu Ling published the first volume of *The Rich Man's Children* (*Caizhu Di Ernimen*), the longest novel at the time, which established him as the most important novelist of the "July Faction".

Following China's victory in the Anti-Japan War, Lu Ling and his wife returned to Nanjing, where he continued working for the Fuel Management Committee. During half a year lecturing in fiction writing at Central University in 1948, he reached the height of his creative powers, publishing several volumes of short stories, the second volume of *The Rich Man's Children*, the novel *The Burning Wastel* (*Raoshao De Huangdi*), his first play, *Skylark* (*Yunque*) and other works, gaining him renown as the most prolific and

successful of the July Faction writers. However, CPC critics did not approve of his achievement and regarded Hu Feng's literary theories and Lu Ling's works as going against the spirit of Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art". They fiercely criticized Hu and Lu in their Hong Kong publication *Popular Literature and Art Series*, and Lu Ling wrote some articles in response.

### **Literary works subjected to political criticism**

After PLA troops occupied Nanjing in April 1949, Lu Ling was appointed head of the Creative Group at the Literature and Art Department of the Nanjing Military Control Commission. Later that year, he published *Long Live the People*, a play depicting workers' struggle to defend their factory, and completed *The Female Worker Zhao Meiying*. In early 1950, he was transferred to Beijing to head the creative group of the Chinese Youth Art Theatre, but was soon demoted to a deputy. In spite of repeated revisions, *Long Live the People* was not approved for performance, and *The Female Worker Zhao Meiying* was criticized in *Literary Gazette* in May. In 1951, Lu Ling published *Heroic Mother, Our Motherland is Advancing* and other plays, but none were approved for performance. He also published two collections of short stories.

Lu Ling was transferred to a position as scriptwriter for the China Dramatists' Association in 1952, but his earlier works continued to come under heavy criticism such as "brazenly touting capitalists" and "realism distorting reality". In September, *Literary Gazette* published an attack by Shu Wu, his old colleague and a famous writer of the July Faction, under the title "An Open Letter to Lu Ling", accusing him of belonging to "a small artistic faction led by Hu Feng", which "in its basic line runs counter to the Party-led proletarian artistic line – the Mao Zedong artistic orientation".

In December that year, Lu Ling volunteered to experience real life in the Korean War. After returning to China in July 1953, he attended the second National Congress of Literary and Art Workers in Beijing and was elected a director of the Chinese Writers' Association (CWA, formerly the NALW-National Association of Literary Workers). He went on to publish "Campaign on the Lowlands" (Wadishang De 'Zhanyi') and other short stories reflecting

the life of soldiers in the People's Volunteer Army (PVA), followed in 1954 by a series of essays entitled *Random Notes from the Panmunjom Front*. "Campaign on the Lowlands" was warmly received by readers but drew a hailstorm of criticism from CPC hacks and official media, who objected to Lu Ling's depiction of the love story of a soldier in violation of military discipline and labeled his work "individualistic", "paternalistic" and "pessimistic".

When Hu Feng drafted his "300,000-word Report" in early 1954, Lu Ling offered opinions based on his own experience. In November that year, dissatisfied with the way some critics "used political conclusions and political judgments in place of creative discussion", Lu Ling wrote his own 40,000-word rebuttal, "Why Is There This Kind of Criticism?", stating:

*My critics are full of "Leftist" fervor; in any phrase or adjective in my works, they detect crimes that are "bourgeois" or even "against the motherland". The danger of such criticism is very clear: it destroys the vitality of literary creation. In the face of such criticism, literary works are forced to abandon their rich life imagery and the diversity of their literary language and content. Literary characters are unable to speak and think in accordance with their personalities and specific feelings, but are forced to say what everyone else is saying and what is being said in the newspapers.*

### **Core member of the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique**

After *Literary Gazette* published this essay as "negative material", Lu Ling was arrested as a "core member of the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique" on June 19, 1955, and his works were included in the subsequent ban on all writings by the clique's core members.

Lu Ling had a tough personality, and not only refused to plead guilty, but also argued vehemently with his interrogators. This brought him extended spells in solitary confinement. After being diagnosed with schizophrenia, he was released on medical parole on January 2, 1964. He continued venting his grievances in dozens of petition letters until being taken into custody again in November 1966. He was formally sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary crimes" in 1973. Upon his release in 1975, he was assigned a job sweeping streets.

Following the rehabilitation of the Hu Feng Clique in late 1980, Lu Ling was appointed editor at the China Drama Press and regained his membership in the Chinese Dramatists' Association and Chinese Writers' Association. In 1981, the short stories and essays Lu had published before his arrest were collected and published in a volume entitled *First Snow (Chu Xue)*. He attended the fourth congress of CWA at the end of 1984 and was elected a director. In 1985, Lu Ling revised and published a novel he had just finished at the time of his arrest, *War for Peace*, and the following year he published his earlier works in *Selected Plays of Lu Ling* and *Selected Fiction of Lu Ling*.

While being treated for mental illness during his medical parole, Lu Ling had been subjected to electrotherapy, severely injuring his brain. While he eventually regained his ability to write, the outlook and talent of his early years was lost. During the last ten years of his life, he wrote some five million characters, including several novels, but nothing worth publishing.

On February 12, 1994, Lu Ling died of a cerebral hemorrhage at the age of 71. Anhui Literature and Art Publishing House came out with *The Collected Works of Lu Ling* in four volumes, edited by Lin Mang, in June 1995.

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## Case No. 7 (1953): Geng Yong In Trouble for Discussing Ah Q



*Geng Yong (born Zheng Bingzhong, March 18, 1921 - January 18, 2008), an essayist, editor and literary critic, was criticized in 1953 as a member of “Hu Feng Clique” for his book on the research of Lu Xun’s works, imprisoned two years later and persecuted for the next 25 years.*

### **From Zheng Zhong to Geng Yong**

Geng Yong was born in Sumatra, Indonesia, but soon afterward, his family relocated to their ancestral home in Zhangzhou, Fujian Province. At the age of 14, he began publishing verse and prose under the pen name Zheng Zhong, and he continued to publish under a variety of pen names while studying journalism at Double-Ten Middle School in Xiamen.

In 1937, Geng’s father took him to Shanghai for the university entrance exam, but these plans were aborted with the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan on July 7. Geng instead entered the Wartime Work Training Class at the Shanghai National Salvation Association of Literary and Art Circles. In 1938, Geng went back to Zhangzhou and began working as an editor for various publications, ending up in 1941 at the *Battlefield (Zhanchang)* supplement of *Youth Post (Qingnian Bao)*, launched by Jiang Jinguo (Chiang

Ching-kuo),<sup>4</sup> at that time administrative supervisor and public security chief for the fourth region of Jiangxi Province. Soon afterward, Geng was imprisoned on suspicion of Communist sympathies. After his father secured his release, he went to Yong'an County in central Fujian to become the supplement editor for *Tacheng Pao* (*Dacheng Bao*).

Geng Yong went to Chongqing in 1943 to serve as an editor of *New China* (*Xin Zhonghua*) Magazine published by the Chung Hwa Book Company (Zhonghua Book Company), soon afterwards joining Chen Benxiao and others to organize the Torrent Literary Society (Chongliu Wenyi She) and publish the literary magazine *Torrent*. It was at this time that he began using the pen name Geng Yong. Geng began contributing to Hu Feng's *Hope* Magazine in 1945, and although only superficially acquainted with Hu, he soon came to be considered a member of the "Hu Feng Faction".

With China's victory over the Anti-Japan War, Geng Yong became a research student at the Hsuan-huai Institute of Economics. He relocated with the Institute to Shanghai the following year, and graduated in 1947. That same year he joined Jia Zhifang (Chia Chih-fang) and other writers of the "July Faction" in publishing *Poetry and Essay Series* (*Shi Yu Zawen Congkan*), but its first volume, *The Merit of Crimes* (*Fuizui De Gonglao*), was immediately banned by the Nationalist Government.

In August 1947, Geng Yong went with his parents to Taiwan and became a research fellow at the research institute of the Hua Nan Commercial Bank, as well as an editor of *Kung Lun Pao* (*Gonglun Bao*), established two months later. In 1949, he published his first book, a collection of essays entitled *Lifting Tripod* (*Kang Ding Ji*), in Taiwan.

### **Leaving Taiwan disgruntled with autocracy**

On May 27, 1949, PLA troops occupied Shanghai. Increasingly dissatisfied with life under KMT's autocratic rule, Geng Yong was attracted by the mainland's "new society". In June, he left Taiwan with his wife, Wang Hao, and their one-year-old son, staying in Hong Kong until the war in the south

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<sup>4</sup> TN: Son of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

ended and then returning to Shanghai. In the next three months, he published more articles than in all the time he had been in Chongqing and Shanghai. In October 1949, PLA troops occupied Guangzhou, and Geng Yong and his family moved there at the beginning of November. He started out teaching at a middle school and then became deputy editor of the newly-established *New Commercial Evening News (Xin Shang Wanbao)*.

When rail links were restored between Guangzhou and Shanghai, Geng returned to Shanghai in August 1950 to serve as chief editor of *Prospects (Zhanwang) Weekly*, while also teaching at the Shanghai People's Art Theater and at the Chinese Department of Aurora University.

On May 20, 1951, *People's Daily* published its editorial on the film *The Life of Wu Xun*, the first step in the CPC Central Committee's wide-ranging "Intellectual Thought Reform Movement" and "Rectification of Literature and Art", intended to unify thinking under Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and eliminate the influence of other intellectual trends. The editorial's criticism of "some Communist Party members who claim to have learned Marxism" put particular pressure on cultural leaders such as Xia Yan, the head of the Propaganda Department at the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the CPC and of the Municipal Cultural Bureau. Shanghai's propaganda organs responded with a series of articles on the "correct principals for criticism" in *Liberation Daily (Jiefang Ribao)*, *Wenhui Bao* and other Party publications, emphasizing that this was a "problem of ideological knowledge" shared by all, and that no one should be called to account for it. Geng Yong objected to this attempt at self-exoneration in an essay he published on June 4 in the literary supplement to *Wenhui Bao* edited by Mei Lin, head of the Chinese Department of Aurora University. His essay, "On Honesty and Responsibility", specifically targeted Xia Yan: "The responsible comrades' earnest recommendation not only influenced others through their error, but also resulted to some extent in the hindrance of proper criticism". Soon after that, the Shanghai Cultural Bureau ordered the suspension of the *Wenhui Bao* literary supplement, and on June 25 issued a notice "convening a symposium of all editors of the city's literary publications" and inviting the author of the article to "report on his motivations for writing and his current views". However, Liu Xuewei, head of the Literature and Art Section of the Propaganda Department of the CPC

Central Committee's Eastern Bureau, felt the notice was "badly worded" and called off the symposium.

In August 1951, three privately-run publishing houses were merged into one state-owned publisher called New Literature and Art Publishing House, and Liu Xuewei became publisher and chief editor. Soon after that, Aurora University professor Wang Yuanhua became chief editor and deputy publisher, while bringing over his Aurora colleagues Mei Lin and Geng Yong. The July Faction poets Luo Luo and Luo Fei and literary rising star Zhang Zhongyao also joined the stellar assembly. At the age of 30, Geng Yong was now established, and he published a play, a monograph and an essay collection with other publishers over the next two years.

### **The banning of *Research on The Story of Ah Q***

In March 1953, Geng Yong published a monograph entitled *Research on The Story of Ah Q*, which arose out of his feelings upon reading Feng Xuefeng's essay "On *The Story of Ah Q*". Feng had been a close friend of Lu Xun and was considered one of Lu's "main disciples" and an expert on Lu Xun's writings. By the time Feng published his essay in *People's Literature* in November 1951, he was publisher and chief editor of People's Literature Publishing House, and he had abandoned realism for CPC's mainstream class analysis method. This irritated Geng Yong, himself a scholar of Lu Xun and *The Story of Ah Q*, and he responded with his 60,000-word monograph, which he sent in manuscript form to some literary friends, including Hu Feng, another Lu Xun "disciple", for their views. After a few revisions, including the editing out of excessively pointed language aimed at Feng Xuefeng, the book was published by the Soil Society (Nitu She), associated with Hu Feng.

By then, Zhou Yang, the deputy chief of the CPC's Central Propaganda Department who was responsible for the literature and art community, had launched a nationwide campaign against "Hu Feng Literary Thought", and members of the "Hu Feng Faction" such as Ah Long in Tianjin and Lu Ling in Beijing had already come under criticism. Shanghai's "anti-Hu Feng faction" quickly joined in the debate, and when *Literature Monthly* published two

critical essays attacking the “erroneous arguments” of Geng Yong’s book, Shanghai’s bookstores suddenly stopped selling it.

From then on, Geng Yong found it difficult to get any of his articles published, and only managed to submit articles to *New People Evening News* (*Xinmin Wanbao*) under pen names unknown to readers in 1954.

It was around the same time that Hu Feng began drafting his “300,000-word Report” to rebut the criticism and accusations aimed at him and his writer friends. His letters requesting the views of Geng Yong and others later became “evidence of counterrevolutionary activity”.

### **Round-up at the “Hu Feng Clique base camp”**

When *People’s Daily* in April and May 1955 published a critical article by former “Hu Feng Faction” member Shu Wu, along with private correspondence between Hu Feng and Shu Wu, Geng Yong’s superiors urged him to likewise offer up letters that he had received from Hu Feng and others, but he ignored them and did not take part in related meetings. Two days later, Geng Yong and his wife, Wang Hao, were arrested, and their home was searched. New Literature and Art Publishing House was described as the “base camp of the Hu Feng Clique”, and Liu Xuewei, Wang Yuanhua, Mei Lin, Luo Luo, Luo Fei and Zhang Zhongxiao, as well as Peng Boshan, the CPC Shanghai propaganda chief who supported them, were all rounded up. Geng Yong’s writings were included in the ban issued in July and November by the CPC Central Propaganda Department and the State Council’s Ministry of Culture against works by “core members of the Hu Feng clique”.

Geng Yong was ascertained without a trail to be a core member of the clique, and remained in prison until March 1966. Wang Hao was released after two years’ imprisonment. After sending Mao Zedong a letter complaining of the injustice against herself and her husband, Wang was labeled a Rightist. Despairing at her humiliation, she drowned herself in the Huangpu River at the age of 29, leaving behind three young children.

Following his release from prison, Geng Yong was sent to Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House for reform under supervision. Soon after the Cultural Revolution was launched that autumn, he was denounced and

imprisoned as an “active counterrevolutionary”. In 1969, he was sent to the Fengxian County “May Seventh Cadre School” for labor reform. Upon his release in 1975, he returned to Shanghai and worked as an auto mechanic and janitor.

After the death of Mao Zedong and the arrest of the Gang of Four, Geng Yong was reinstated at Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House in 1977, and in 1979 became a senior editor for a new magazine, *Lexicographical Studies*. Following official rehabilitation of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” in September 1980, Geng Yong joined the Chinese Writers’ Association in 1982, and he was subsequently elected to the National Committee of the CPPCC and to the Board of the Shanghai Municipal Writers’ Association and the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Federation of Literary and Art Circles.

From 1985 onward, Geng Yong served as an adjunct professor in the Humanities Department of Shanghai University of Science and Technology, and resumed his publication with several volumes of essays, literary criticism and memoirs.

Geng Yong died in Shanghai on January 18, 2008, at the age of 87.

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## Case No. 8 (1954): Feng Xuefeng Trapped in Red Chamber Nightmare



*Feng Xuefeng (Feng Hsueh-feng, born Feng Fuchun, June 2, 1903 - January 31, 1976), a poet, translator, editor, writer, political activist and literary theorist, came under criticism when the authorities began purging Hu Shih's academic ideology in 1954. He was dismissed from his job as chief editor of Literary Gazette and later labeled a key member of the "Ding Ling, Feng Xuefeng Rightist Anti-Party Clique". His persecution continued until his death nearly 20 years later.*

### **Lakeside Poet diligent in translation**

Feng Xuefeng was born to a peasant family in Yiwu County, Zhejiang Province. After graduating from a county primary school in 1918, he was admitted to a provincial secondary school for training as a teacher. It was then that he took the name Feng Xuefeng.

In 1921, Feng was expelled from the school for taking part in student protests against the educational inspectorate system. In autumn that year, he was admitted to the Zhejiang Provincial No. 1 Normal School and began writing free verse poetry, while also joining the newly established literary group Dawn Society (Chengguang She). In April 1922, Feng joined Ying Xiuren (Ying Hsiu-jen), Pan Mohua (Pan Mo-hua) and Wang Jingzhi (Wang Ching-chih) in establishing the Lakeside Poets' Society (Huban Shi She) and

publishing a poetry collection entitled *Lakeside*. Another volume, *Spring Song Collection*, was published the following year, but Feng could not support himself through these publications, and he was obliged to discontinue his studies. In spring 1925, Feng arrived in Beijing and audited lectures by Lu Xun and others at Peking University, while also teaching himself Japanese. The following year he began translating Japanese literary works for *Wilderness (Mangyuan)* semi-monthly, edited by Lu Xun.

Feng joined the CPC in June 1927, and in winter that year he became acquainted with Hu Yepin and his wife, Ding Ling. When the Beijing authorities put out a warrant for his arrest in early 1928, Feng left Beijing for Shanghai, where he continued working as a translator. That April he returned to his native Yiwu County to teach at a middle school, and met He Aiyu, his future wife. When the political situation deteriorated, he resigned half a year later and returned to Shanghai, where he became acquainted with Lu Xun while inquiring about translating Soviet Russian literary theory. From then on, the two maintained a close relationship. Feng helped edit the Scientific Art Commentary Series, which began publication in June the following year, as well as *Sprout (Mengya) Monthly*, which published its first issue in January 1930.

In March 1929, Feng married He Aiyu, and while boarding with the famous writer Mao Dun, they became neighbors with Lu Xun. In the next few years, Feng published a dozen translations of works by Japanese, Russian, German and Hungarian writers.

### **A war of words causes antagonism**

Around this time, the CPC Central Committee tasked Feng with recruiting Lu Xun, who was under attack by some Communist writers, to join the CPC-led united front. The Chinese Alliance of Freedom Movements and the Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers were formed in spring 1930, ostensibly under the leadership of the non-partisan Lu Xun, but in fact under the direct orders of the CPC. In February 1931, Feng became de facto leader of the Left League as the CPC group secretary, and in that way was able to motivate Lu Xun to participate more enthusiastically in League activities. In April, Feng helped

establish and edit the League's underground publication *Outpost (Qianshao)*, which soon changed its name to *Literature Guide*. In September, he helped Ding Ling establish the League's openly published monthly *Big Dipper (Beidou)*.

When Japanese troops attacked Shanghai on January 28, 1932, Feng, Lu Xun and 40 others jointly published the "Shanghai Writers' Proclamation to the World" protesting the occupation. Feng also helped launch the Chinese Authors' Anti-Japan Association and was elected to its executive committee, as well as serving as secretary of the Cultural Work Committee of the CPC's Central Propaganda Department. In November that year, the Left League publication *Literature Monthly*, edited by Zhou Yang, a member of the Cultural Work Committee, published a long poem entitled "Confession of a Traitor", which Feng criticized internally and Lu Xun more publicly in his famous essay "Hurling Insults and Threats Is No Way to Fight". Zhou Yang and his cohorts were offended and replied in kind, sparking long-term antipathy between Zhou and Lu Xun.

After the CPC Central Committee moved from Shanghai to the Central Soviet Area in Jiangxi in January 1933 and established its Central Bureau in Shanghai, Feng Xuefeng became a cadre in the Propaganda Department, and in May he was transferred to Jiangsu Province to serve as head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC provincial Committee. After his identity became exposed, he was transferred in December to the Central Soviet Area and became academic dean in the Party School of the CPC Central Committee in Ruijin, Jiangxi Province. Zhou Yang had taken over as CPC secretary of the Left League following Ding Ling's arrest in May, and once Feng Xuefeng left for Jiangsu, the chilly relations between Zhou and Lu Xun became rancorous.

In January 1934, Feng attended the fifth plenum of the Sixth Central Committee of the CPC as a nonvoting delegate, and in the same month, he was elected an alternate member of the central executive committee of the Chinese Soviet Government, while being promoted to deputy director of the Party School in May. Besieged by National Government troops in October, the CPC Central Committee abandoned the Central Soviet Area and embarked on the Long March. Feng Xuefeng became deputy head of the local work team to the Ninth Corps of the Red Army, and early the following year was transferred to

serve as political instructor for senior cadres in the Central Military Commission.

In October 1935, the Central Red Army arrived in northern Shaanxi, and the following month the Party School of the CPC Central Committee was resurrected in Wayaobao, Anding County, with Feng serving as an instructor and class head teacher.

In April 1936, the Central Committee sent Feng Xufeng back to Shanghai to serve as deputy director of the CPC's Shanghai office. Feng first paid his respects to Lu Xun, and while staying at Lu's home he heard the opinions of Lu and his "disciple" Hu Feng regarding the "National Defense Literature" slogan proposed by Zhou Yang and others, and on the sudden disbandment of the League of Left-wing Writers two months before. Together they came up with an alternative slogan of "Mass Literature of the National Revolutionary War". After Hu Feng proposed this new slogan in his essay "What Do the Masses Demand of Literature?", published in June in *The Journal of Literature* (*Wenxue Congbao*), Zhou Yang and his cohorts suspected him of an ulterior motive and fired back with attacks on Hu and other writers close to Lu Xun, instigating the intense "Two Slogans debate". Feng took up his pen on behalf of Lu Xun, who was ill at the time, writing several essays denouncing the Trotskyites (who were seeking cooperating with Lu Xun) and also attacking the "Four Fellows", Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Tian Han and Yang Hansheng, who were presenting themselves as the sole representatives of orthodoxy.

Amazingly, this war of words continued for decades.

### **Temporarily parting ways with the CPC**

Lu Xun died in October 1936, and Feng Xuefeng took charge of the funeral as the CPC Central Committee's special emissary.

Following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937, Feng accompanied a CPC delegation to Nanjing to negotiate with the national government over cooperating in the War of Resistance against Japan. Considering the Central Committee's compromises a capitulation, Feng applied to Shanghai office head Pan Hannian for extended leave to write a novel based on the Long March, returning to his native Yiwu County at the end of that year.

It was not until winter 1939 that he resumed relations with the CPC as a member of the Cultural Work Committee of the CPC Central Committee's Southeastern Bureau. In 1940, he published an essay collection entitled *On Lu Xun and Other Matters*.

A month after the January 1941 "Wannan Incident" caused an irreversible breakdown in relations between CPC and KMT, Feng was arrested in his Yiwu home as a "suspected CPC criminal", and he was sent to the Shangrao Concentration Camp. A classmate from Zhejiang Normal School and others secured Feng's release on medical parole in November 1942.

### **Writer's Studio publishes parables**

In June 1943, Feng was transferred to the wartime capital, Chongqing, and became a writer for the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists. At the end of the year he moved to the Writers Bookstore owned by his old friend Yao Pengzi (Yao Peng-tzu), and at the same time published a collection of poems he had written in prison under the title *Songs of Truth (Zhenshi Zhi Ge)*. In the next two years, he published two collections of essays.

Feng returned to Shanghai in February 1946 and was assigned a position as editor of Times Press, an organ of the Soviet Union's TASS Agency in Shanghai, while continuing to live at the Writers Bookstore until June 1949. During this period, he also edited and published Gorky's novel *Summer*, along with collections of essays, literary criticism, parables and poetry.

After PLA troops occupied Shanghai on May 27, 1949, Feng went to Beijing to help prepare for the first National Congress of Literary and Art Workers. When the congress convened in July, Feng was elected to the standing committees of both the National Federation of Literary and Art Workers (NFLAW) and the National Association of Literary Workers (NALW). More political appointments followed at the local and national level, and Feng also became director and chief editor of the newly-established Lu Xun Works Publishing House in Shanghai.

Feng was transferred to Beijing in March 1951 to set up People's Literature Publishing House and serve as its director and chief editor as well as the deputy head of the CPC Leadership Group at the NALW. In January 1952, he took

over from Ding Ling as editor of *Literary Gazette* semi-monthly and as CPC secretary at the NALW, while continue to publish his own works. In September 1953, the second national congresses of the NFLAW and NALW were held, during which the organizations were renamed the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles (CFLAC) and Chinese Writers' Association (CWA). Feng was elected to the national committees of both, and as a vice-chairman of the CWA.

### **Victimized for “Research on *Dream of the Red Chamber*”**

In September 1954, Feng Xuefeng attended the first National People's Congress as an elected deputy from Zhejiang Province. That same month, Shandong University's *Literature, History and Philosophy* magazine published an article by two of the university's graduates, Li Xifan and Lan Ling, discussing scholar Yu Pingbo's *Brief Comments on Dream of the Red Chamber and Other Matters*, which had been published six months earlier. Mao Zedong noticed this essay and ordered it reprinted in *Literary Gazette*, with Feng Xuefeng's editorial note treating it as an ordinary reprint of scholarly criticism. *Guangming Daily* published another essay by the same authors criticizing Yu Pingbo on October 10. On October 16, Mao wrote a letter to other leaders in CPC Central Committee and leaders of the propaganda and cultural departments, including Feng Xuefeng, recommending and praising both articles: “This is the first real shot at the erroneous viewpoints of this so-called authority on *Dream of the Red Chamber* in 30 years”. He noted: “This struggle against the Hu Shih Faction's bourgeois idealism that has been poisoning youth in the classical literature domain for more than 30 years can be further developed”, and emphasized: “There's been a puzzling incidence of irate articles condoning Yu Pingbo's idealism and obstructing ‘little people.’”

On October 23, 1954, *People's Daily* published an essay under the byline of the deputy head of its Literature and Art Section, Zhong Luo: “We Should Pay Attention to Criticism of Erroneous Viewpoints in Research on *Dream of the Red Chamber*”. The following day, *People's Daily* published an essay by Li and Lan entitled “What Road Are We Taking? – Another Critique of Yu Pingbo's Errors Regarding *Dream of the Red Chamber* Research”, and on October 28 the newspaper published “Questioning the Editors of *Literary*

*Gazette*” under the byline of the paper’s Literature and Art Section head, Yuan Shuipai, but edited by Mao, and targeting Feng Xuefeng for “a bourgeois aristocratic attitude”.

This was the first time that a CPC newspaper had publicly criticized one of its national literature and art publications, and it served as a precedent for using academic debates to launch political campaigns. Zhou Yang, who apart from his propaganda role also held leading positions in both of CFLAC and the CWA, quickly arranged for an enlarged joint meeting of the presidiums of both organizations three days later. Following Mao’s lead, criticism of Yu Pingbo’s *Research on The Dream of the Red Chamber* centered on the “bourgeois idealism” of the “Hu Shih Faction”, while also criticizing *Literary Gazette*’s capitulation to the bourgeoisie and squelching of the “little people”, along with its past work problems. Feng Xuefeng carried out self-examination and self-criticism during the meetings.

The eighth joint meeting concluded on December 8, and publication of some of the more important speeches in *People’s Daily* and *Literary Gazette* set off a one-sided criticism campaign throughout China. In addition, Lu Dingyi, head of the CPC’s Central Propaganda Department, convened several enlarged meetings, and Kang Zhuo, Party secretary of the CWA, also held rallies to expose and criticize *Literary Gazette* and Feng Xuefeng, as well as deputy editor Chen Qixia and former chief editor Ding Ling.

On November 4, 1954, *People’s Daily* published Feng Xuefeng’s “A Self-Criticism of My Errors at *Literary Gazette*”, which followed Mao’s tone by admitting, “This is a standpoint error, the error of opposing Marxism-Leninism, and it cannot be condoned”. After reading this article, Mao wrote the comment, “Use this sentence as the theme for criticizing Feng Xuefeng”. The last joint enlarged meeting of the presidiums of the CFLAC and the CWA on December 8 passed a “Resolution Regarding the *Literary Gazette*” that involved reorganizing the *Gazette*’s editorial committee and dismissing Feng as chief editor, but allowing him to remain on the seven-person editorial committee because of his good attitude in admitting his error. On December 31, Mao sent a batch of Feng’s poems and fables to the others in the CPC leadership and to his secretaries, indicating why he did not let Feng Xuefeng off lightly.

## The Ding Ling and Feng Xuefeng Rightist Anti-Party Clique

The launch of a nationwide campaign to criticize and purge the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” in May 1955 led the CPC Leadership Group of the CWA to investigate Ding Ling, Feng Xuefeng and others who had been on friendly terms with Hu Feng during the 1930s. The “Two Slogans Debate” came to the fore again, and Feng made a self-criticism on this matter. It was well known that Feng had long ago fallen out with Hu Feng, and Hu’s 1954 “300,000-word Report” had particularly targeted problems at *Literary Gazette*, with especially harsh criticism of Feng Xuefeng. For this reason, the authorities gave Feng a pass on this particular campaign, and he did not suffer the same accusations of anti-Party activity as Ding Ling, whom Hu Feng had praised not long before.

In 1956, Feng Xuefeng continued overseeing the editing and publication of *The Complete Works of Lu Xun*, while also publishing several volumes of his own essays and fables.

In March 1957, Feng attended the CPC’s National Propaganda Work Meeting, during which Mao gave a speech touching on the need to launch a Party-wide “Rectification Campaign” against bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism. When the CPC Central Committee followed up with an appeal for people outside of the Party to “freely air their views” and “help PCP rectify its incorrect work-styles”, Feng Xuefeng was appointed head of the rectification leadership committee for People’s Literature Publishing House, and energetically mobilized criticism of the CPC, including himself. A little more than a month later, the Central Committee transformed the “Rectification Campaign” into an “Anti-Rightist Struggle”, and the CWA’s CPC Leadership Group quickly launched a counterattack against Ding Ling and others who had been clamoring for their cases to be reexamined.

A report from the CPC Leadership Group’s enlarged meeting in early August was soon published on the front page of *People’s Daily* as “Major Progress in the Anti-Rightist Struggle in Cultural Circles – A Breakthrough in the Ding Ling-Chen Qixia Anti-Party Clique”. The report “exposed and criticized” Feng Xuefeng for supporting members of the clique, for “turning his back on the Party by conspiring to publish a ‘coterie periodical’ with literary

criticism as its main content” and for “carrying out a preliminary self-criticism in which he admitted to serious individualism and anti-Party sentiment and admitted that his literary thought was in conflict with the literary thought of the Party and Comrade Mao Zedong”. Ordered to “join the fight”, People’s Literature Publishing House immediately held a meeting of all staff to announce that Feng had been dismissed as head of the rectification committee. The old matters of his relationship with Hu Feng in the 1930s and his role in the “Two Slogans debate” were resurrected, and he was determined to have “colluded with Hu Feng, hoodwinked Lu Xun, attacked Zhou Yang and Xia Yan, and split the Left-wing cultural community”.

On August 27, 1957, *People’s Daily* published a follow-up to its report on the Writers’ Association meeting entitled “Ding-Chen Clique Participant and Hu Feng Fellow Traveler Feng Xuefeng is an Anti-Party Element in the Cultural Community”, which fully exposed and criticized Feng’s past and recent words and deeds:

*At a time when bourgeois Rightists were launching a major assault against the Party, Feng Xuefeng conspired with Ding Ling and Chen Qixia to overturn the verdict the Party had reached in 1955 regarding the Ding-Chen Anti-Party Clique.*

*After the Anti-Rightist Struggle began, Feng Xuefeng confused public opinion by saying, “People’s Literature Publishing House only has Rightist discussion and Rightist activities, but no Rightist elements”. Although he subsequently admitted there were Rightist elements, he still intended to protect the Rightists...*

*When Feng Xuefeng arrived in Shanghai from northern Shaanxi in 1936, he did not trust the local Shanghai Party organization and pulled in Hu Feng, who was opposing the Party at the time.*

*Feng Xuefeng shares Hu Feng’s thoughts on many basic issues relating to literature and arts, so on several occasions when the Party and revolutionary writers raised criticism regarding Hu Feng’s reactionary literary thought, Feng Xuefeng adopted an opposing or reticent attitude.*

*His essays and treatises are notable for their reactionary and gloomy thinking.*

Many of Feng Xuefeng's works were specifically cited for criticism, and he was labeled a member of a "Ding Ling, Feng Xuefeng Rightist Anti-Party Clique" and "classified as a core Rightist element".

In April 1958, Feng was expelled from the CPC and dismissed from all of his positions. Demoted from a first class to a fourth class literary worker, he was assigned a job first as an editor in the May Fourth Literature Group of the Modern Literature Department of People's Literature Publishing House, and then in the publishing house's translator-editor section, where the other "Rightists" had been sent.

Feng Xuefeng's edited volume of *The Selected Works of Yu Dafu* was published in 1959, but his subsequent collections of Yu Dafu's essays and short stories of the new vernacular literature were not published. His Rightist label was removed in 1961, but he was admonished for continuing to write his novel on the Long March, and he finally burned his first draft of hundreds of thousands of words.

He attended the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1962 as a nonvoting member and then applied for creative leave to write a novel about the Taiping Rebellion entitled *Little Paradise*. In autumn 1965, he took part in the "Four Cleans Campaign" in Anyang, Henan Province, under the pseudonym Feng Chengzhi. When the Cultural Revolution was launched in May 1966, Feng was sent to his work unit's jail as an "ox demon and snake spirit" and forced to write a confession of his misdeeds. He was sent down to the Ministry of Culture's May Seventh Cadre School in Xianning, Hubei Province, for labor reform in 1969. Upon returning to Beijing in 1972, he was assigned a job editing Lu Xun's works.

On January 31, 1976, Feng Xuefeng died of complications of pneumonia at the age of 73.

In April 1979, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee authorized People's Literature Publishing House's "Amended Resolution Regarding Feng Xuefeng's Rightist Problems" and restored his Party membership and political reputation. A new memorial service was carried out for him on November 17.

From 1981 to 1985, People's Literature Publishing House came out with *Xuefeng's Collected Works* in four volumes totaling two million characters.

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## Case No. 9 (1955): Hu Feng Imprisoned for a Petition



*Hu Feng (born Zhang Zhen, November 2, 1902 - June 8, 1985), a prominent art and literary critic, commentator, editor, translator and poet, was imprisoned in 1955 after the authorities named him leader of a “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” on the basis of a “300,000-word Report”. He spent 24 years in prison and six more years under the cloud of injustice until his death.*

### **Acquainted with Wang Shiwei at Peking University**

Hu Feng was born to a peasant family in Qichun County, Hubei Province. Poverty delayed his formal schooling until the age of 11, and his mother died soon after that. At the age of 17, Hu Feng began attending public school in the county seat, but he dropped out due to his dissatisfaction with the school’s antiquated teaching methods. He was admitted to middle school in Wuchang and then in Nanjing, and joined the Chinese Communist Youth League in 1924. By then he had publishing an essay on improving Hubei’s education system in a supplement to Beijing’s *Morning Post*, followed by a short story, “Two Representatives of Union Branch”, in a supplement to *The Republican Daily News (Minguo Ribao)* in Shanghai.

Hu Feng studied literature at Peking University in 1925 (with Wang Shiwei, who would later become a fellow victim of the literary inquisition) and then Western literature at Tsinghua University in 1926, but discontinued his studies to take part in the Northern Expedition campaign as secretary-general and standing member of the Qichun county committee of the KMT. The year 1927 saw him moving between teaching and various propaganda and publishing posts within the KMT and ending up in Nanchang as deputy editor of a supplement to the official *Republic Daily*.

### **The Left Coalition of Writers and the Great Slogan Debate**

In autumn 1928, Hu Feng left Nanchang for Shanghai to prepare his study in Japan, and he published a number of short stories and poems during the following year. He then went to Japan to study Japanese at his own expense in September 1929. In spring 1931, he became a semi-state funded student at the English Department of Keio University, and then involved himself in a number of cultural and political groups such as the Arts Research Society of the Japanese Proletarian Culture League, the Japanese Communist Party, the Tokyo Branch of the China League of Left-Wing Writers (Left League or Zuolian) and the “Emergent Culture Research Society” (*Xinxing Wenhua Yanjiuhui*) organized by other Chinese students. He published his first translation of a Soviet novel, Marietta Shaginyan’s *Mass Mend: Yankees in Petrograd*, in Shanghai in 1932.

In May 1933, Hu Feng was expelled from Japan for attending the activities of Japan’s Leftist movement, including a memorial for the death of Kobayashi Takiji in prison. Back in Shanghai, he joined the Left League as propaganda head and then administrative secretary, and editing the mimeographed publication *Literary Life* (*Wenxue Shenghuo*), leading to a close relationship with Lu Xun. He also served as a translator of Japanese for *Classified Current Affairs* (*Shishi Leikan*), a magazine under the KMT’s Sun Yat-Sen Institute for the Advancement of Culture and Education.

In autumn 1934, Hu Feng resigned from his positions at both the Institute and Left League after Left League CPC group secretary Zhou Yang and others accused him of being a “traitor.” Turning full-time to writing, he used the pen

name Hu Feng for the first time for his essay “On Lin Yu-tang”, published in *Literature Magazine*. At the end of the year, he married Mei Zhi.

In 1935, Hu Feng edited a covertly published series of books, *Sawdust Series (Muxue Wencong)*, including novels and Soviet literary and arts theory. In May of that year, he published an article on the question “What Are ‘Prototype’ and ‘Style’?”, which was soon criticized by Zhou Yang, starting their first debate on artistic theory.

In February 1936, he joined Nie Gannu, Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong and others, supported by Lu Xun, in establishing the literary magazine *Petrel (Haiyan)*. In June, he published an essay “What Do the Masses Demand of Literature?” in *Journal of Literature*, promoting the slogan of “Mass Literature of the National Revolutionary War”, which he had formulated together with Lu Xun as well as Feng Xuefeng, an emissary of the CPC Central Committee in Yan’an. He again came under criticism by Zhou Yang, who with others had earlier proposed the slogan of “National Defense Literature”, leading to the “Two Slogans debate”. In the same year, He also published a collection of translated Korean and Japanese short stories and two collections of criticism.

### **The July School and the Mainstream Faction**

Lu Xun died in October 1936, and in 1937, Hu Feng collected his posthumous writings in the Work and Study Series of books, while also publishing his own first poetry collection, *Wild Flowers and Arrows (Yehua Yu Jian)*. After the War of Resistance against Japan broke out on July 7, Hu Feng founded and edited the magazine *July*, which experienced interruptions due to the Japanese occupations on Shanghai and Wuhan, where he took refuge one after another. The magazine finally closed down in Chongqing in July 1941, but Hu went on to edit and publish the July Poetry Series and the July Essay Series, fostering what came to be known as the “July school” of modern literature.

In March 1938, the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists was established in Wuhan, and Hu Feng was elected the association’s executive director and deputy head of its research department. This was followed by a short stint as editor of the Sunday arts page of the CPC’s *New*

*China Daily (Xinhua Ribao)*, along with publication of another volume of criticism. In December, Hu Feng took his wife and son to Chongqing to serve as visiting professor at Fudan University (which had also temporarily moved there from Shanghai). With the birth of his daughter in early 1939, Hu Feng took on extra work as a translator of Japanese for the international publicity section of the KMT's propaganda department.

A new debate with CPC "mainstream" writers arose in 1940 when Hu Feng published his theoretical monograph *On the Question of National Form*, and he followed up the following year with a volume of essays covering both sides of the debate. In October 1940, the third bureau of Political Department at the national government's Military Commission was reorganized into a Cultural Work Committee, and Zhou Enlai, at that time the deputy head of the department as well as secretary of the Southern Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, arranged for Hu Feng to serve as a full-time committee member.

In June 1941, Zhou Enlai arranged for Hu Feng and his family to move to Hong Kong, but they relocated to Guilin the following March after Hong Kong came under Japanese occupation. It was in Guilin that Hu Feng began editing the July Poetry Series. He also published a collection of commentaries, *National Warfare and the Artistic Nature*, and a second collection of poetry, *Songs for the Motherland*, along with a collection of translations, *Humanity and Literature*.

In May 1942, CPC leader Mao Zedong published his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum of Literature and Art" (hereafter "Talks"), which immediately became the CPC's guiding policy for rectifying and unifying the ideology of Leftist writers and artists.

Hu Feng returned to Chongqing in March 1943 to prepare for publication of *Hope Magazine*. Zhou Enlai provided the magazine with CPC funding, but Hu maintained an independent line of literary theory and expressed alternative views on the application of the "Talks", leading the CPC leadership and its mainstream writers to consider him one of the most problematic of the Left-wing literati.

In the first issue of *Hope* in January 1945, Hu Feng published Shu Wu's long philosophical essay "On Subjectivity", which the CPC saw as openly

confronting the spirit of the “Talks”. This launched a multi-year debate between the Leftist mainstream and July School of writers.

In February 1946, Hu Feng returned with his family to Shanghai, where he continued running Hope Society (Xiwang She), producing periodicals and book series and publishing collections of his criticism as well as a translation of the novelette *Cotton* by the Japanese Communist Taniguchi Zentarō.

Hu Feng and other members of the July School came under attack by *Popular Literature and Art Series*, founded by mainstream CPC writers in Hong Kong in 1948. Hu Feng delivered a comprehensive rebuttal in his monograph *On the Realist Road*.

### **Time Has Begun**

At the end of 1948, the CPC Central Committee invited Hu Feng and some other pro-Communist notables in Shanghai to the “Liberated Areas” in northern China, and Hu took part in preparations for the NCLAW in the newly liberated capital at the end of March 1949. In July, he was elected to the national committee of NFLAW and to the standing committee of the subsequently established NALW, and he attended the national committee meeting of the CPPCC. However, his plan to publish an epic poem entitled “Time Has Begun” in the *People’s Arts* supplement of *People’s Daily* was curtailed after the first installment on November 20, and his publication of the other portions in alternative venues quickly brought him under criticism.

Within the space of one week in March 1950, *People’s Daily* published two articles criticizing another key theorist of the July School, Ah Long, who also came under censure in the Ministry of Culture. Zhou Yang, now deputy director of the Central Propaganda Department, asserted that Ah Long was part of a “petty bourgeois writers’ faction”. This was the prelude to the purge of the “Hu Feng Clique”.

Hu Feng went on to publish a collection of criticism, *For Tomorrow* (1950), two essay collections, the epic poem “For Korea, For Humanity”, and a collection of reportage, *With the New People* (1952).

In early 1952, an internally circulated edition of *Literary Gazette* published a series of letters from readers demanding further criticism of Hu Feng’s

literary thought. This was followed in September by Shu Wu's "Open Letter to Lu Ling", in which Shu turned against his old ally, and the editor's note of which accused Lu Ling of belonging to a "literary faction led by Hu Feng", "the fundamental line of which runs counter to the proletarian literary line led by the Party – Mao Zedong's literary and artistic orientation". Zhou Yang took this assertion a step further in December during a forum for writers and artists to "help" Hu Feng recognize his problems: "Hu Feng's literary theory follows an anti-Party line".

*Literary Gazette* continued to publish criticism of Hu Feng in 1953, including "Hu Feng's Anti-Marxist Literary Thought" by Lin Mohan, a deputy head of the CPC Central Propaganda Department's Literature and Art Section. *People's Daily* reprinted Lin's article with an "editorial note". Hu Feng wrote to Premier Zhou Enlai voicing his objections, and Zhou arranged for him to join the editorial committee of *People's Literature* (*Renmin Wenxue*).

In August 1953, Hu Feng and his family moved to Beijing, and he and Lu Ling continued taking part in the second NCLAW and other national cultural associations. However, Ah Long and other writers of the July School who had attended the first Congress were not invited this time.

### **From the "300,000-word Report" to the "Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique"**

In the first half of 1954, Lu Ling's novels and essays came under renewed attack in national publications and by Zhou Yang in meetings, and Hu Feng, Lu Ling, Ah Long and others prepared a counter-attack in the form of a "Report on the Practical Situation of Art and Literature Since Liberation" (hereafter the "300,000-word Report"). This report rebutted the various criticisms and accusations against them and other writers in recent years, declared their stands on some aspects of literary theory, pointed out problems with the arts authorities and their work, and offered some suggestions. Other July School writers also made written submissions. In July that year, Hu Feng delivered his "300,000-word Report" to the State Council's Culture and Education Committee to pass on to the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee, after

which he attended his first meeting as a deputy to the first National People's Congress in September.

In January 1955, the Central Committee endorsed a nationwide propaganda campaign criticizing Hu Feng's ideology. *People's Daily* followed up with an article by Shu Wu on "The Anti-Party, Anti-People Essence of Hu Feng's Literary Thought", with extracts of correspondence between Shu Wu and Hu Feng in the 1940s and an editorial note subsequently attributed to Mao. Early in the morning of May 17, the Public Security Bureau searched Hu Feng's home and took Hu and his wife, Mei Zhi, into custody. Formal arrest followed the following day, after which *People's Daily* published batches of letters seized from the homes of Hu and his friends. A nationwide investigation of the "Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique" was launched with the arrest of many "Hu Feng Elements". In July and November that year, the Central Propaganda Department and Ministry of Culture banned the publication of "works and translations by Hu Feng and core members of the Hu Feng Clique".

The Hu Feng case was the first nationwide literary inquisition undertaken by the CPC since taking power, and the largest of such campaigns in China's history. An official reexamination of the case in 1980 found that more than 2,100 people were investigated, 92 arrested, 62 placed in isolation and 73 suspended from their duties. The actual number of people implicated greatly exceeds these official figures, and in the Anti-Rightist Campaign that followed, people who criticized the authorities' handling of the case were labeled Rightists and even counterrevolutionaries. The devastating effects of this case led to the disappearance of independent writers' circles for the next 20 years.

Although public security officials tried their hardest to find evidence, nothing in the recent or past activities of Hu Feng and the others suggested counterrevolutionary crimes; rather, an abundance of counterevidence demonstrated their contributions to the Communist "revolution". Since the authorities had already published the "proof of crime" and verdict, however, no one dared refute it, and Hu Feng remained in prison without his case being brought to a close.

On December 26, 1965, more than ten years after his arrest, Hu Feng was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment as "ringleader of a counterrevolutionary clique". Given his age and frailty, he was released to serve the remainder of his

sentence outside of prison. The authorities forced him to return to Sichuan with Mei Zhi, and the couple was sent to the Miaoxi Labor Reform Tea Farm in Lushan County.

By then the Cultural Revolution had begun, and in November 1967, Sichuan's Provincial Revolutionary Committee had Hu Feng sent back to prison. Although he had completed his 14-year sentence, Hu was sentenced to a life term in January 1970 for the counterrevolutionary crime of "writing a reactionary poem on Chairman Mao's portrait". He suffered mental collapse and attempted suicide several times.

In January 1973, 60-year-old Mei Zhi was sent to the Sichuan No. 3 Prison in Dazhu County to look after her physically and mentally devastated 70-year-old husband. Under her care, Hu Feng's condition gradually stabilized.

### **Loose ends**

With the death of Mao Zedong and the ending of Cultural Revolution, the Sichuan Provincial Public Security Bureau released Hu Feng in January 1979 and settled him in Chengdu. The fourth NCLAW convened in September that year, but Hu Feng was barred from attending because he was not yet rehabilitated. He suffered another mental collapse and in March 1980 obtained permission to receive treatment in Beijing. Having partially recovered, he began petitioning for his 1965 conviction to be overturned. On September 29, 1980, the CPC Central Committee endorsed the reexamination report on the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique by the Ministry of Public Security, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the Supreme People's Court and acknowledged the injustice done, rehabilitating all members of the "clique". This allowed the Beijing Intermediate Court to vacate Hu Feng's 1965 conviction, but the Central Committee retained a negative conclusion relating to Hu Feng's literary thought, "sectarian activities" and past political problems.

In November 1980, Hu Feng published his first essay in 26 years in *Wenhui Monthly*, "Greetings to Friends and Readers". A year later, he was appointed to the standing committees of the CPPCC and the CFLAC and as an adviser to the CWA, the National Academy of Arts and other bodies. He went on to publish three volumes of his collected commentaries, and had just written an essay

entitled “Why I Write” for the Paris Book Fair and the Swiss newspaper *24 heures* when he fell seriously ill on March 14, 1985. He died of cancer on June 8 at the age of 83.

Hu Feng went to his grave with the Central Committee’s residual allegations hanging over his head, and for that reason, his family rejected any attempt by the authorities to eulogize him. Finally, in November 1985, the CPC Central Committee Secretariat approved withdrawal of the allegations of “historical problems”. Although a few issues remained unresolved, the compromise allowed a memorial service to be held for Hu Feng the following January.

On June 18, 1988, CPC Central Committee’s General Office formally revoked all remaining allegations and restored Hu Feng’s good name.

In 1999, Hubei People’s Publishing House produced *The Complete Works of Hu Feng* in ten volumes totaling 5.5 million characters.

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## **Case No. 10 (1956): Zhang Zhongxiao Convicted in an Editorial Note**



*Zhang Zhongxiao (1930 - 1966 or 1967), an editor and literary theorist, was accused by Mao of being “susceptible to counterrevolution” and was subsequently arrested as a “core member of the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique”. Zhang was released on medical parole in 1956, but spent the last ten years of his short life in poverty and illness.*

### **A New Literary Talent**

Zhang Zhongxiao was the eldest of eight children born to a land-owning family on the outskirts of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province. His father, Zhang Shaoxian, a postal clerk of modest means, undertook to educate Zhongxiao himself. Zhang Zhongxiao was finally sent to school at the age of 12, but he was obliged to drop out after less than two years due to the family’s straightened finances.

Zhang peddled cigarettes, candy and other items to supplement the family income, while studying on his own and composing verse and prose. In 1946, an uncle working as an official in Chongqing helped him gain admittance to the city’s Xianghui College, where he studied agriculture. The following year, Zhang transferred to Chongqing University majoring in language. Stricken by tuberculosis, he was obliged to return home in May 1948, and while recuperating he continued his self-study and writing. He strongly endorsed the

literary thoughts of Lu Xun and Hu Feng, and regarded them as his spiritual teachers.

In March 1950, Zhang Zhongxiao wrote a letter to *Literary Gazette* complaining about a critical article the magazine had published regarding Hu Feng's long poem *Requiem*. The magazine's editor put Zhang in touch with Hu Feng and his wife, and they continued to correspond. Zhang expressed his vexations with life and his discontent with the social environment and literary trends, never guessing that five years later this would implicate him in the "Hu Feng case". On Hu Feng's recommendation, Zhang submitted an article to *Literary World (Wenxue Jie)*, the official weekly of the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Writers' Association, and he became acquainted with Mei Lin, the magazine's editor and a professor of Chinese at Aurora University. Zhang's essay "A Brief Discussion of Our Literary Criticism", criticizing *Literary Gazette*, was published in May 1951 under the pen name Luo Shi. This display of rising talent led one of the *Literary Gazette's* editors, Chen Qixia, to personally respond to Zhang's remarks.

When debate over the film *The Life of Wu Xun* put pressure on Shanghai's cultural leaders in 1951, Zhang Zhongxiao wrote two essays in *Literary World* insisting that criticism should focus on the film's director, Sun Yu. His incisive writing style attracted notice and drew him into a debate with Xiao Dai, the deputy secretary-general of the Shanghai Federation of Literary and Art Workers, but his rebuttal in *Literary World* was suppressed. Combined with the Shanghai Cultural Bureau's interference in the publication of Geng Yong's essays on the subject, this caused even more discontent among members of the "Hu Feng Faction", who were critical of the film and its official supporters.

In August that year, the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee's Eastern Bureau established New Literature and Art Publishing House, and Zhang Zhongxiao was among the stellar talents recruited by the new chief editor, Liu Xuewei, formerly head of the Propaganda Department's Literature and Arts Office. The publishing house eventually came to be regarded as a "base camp of the Hu Feng Clique".

At the end of 1951, Zhang Zhongxiao was invited to Shanghai, where he participated in the "rectification of literature and arts" and in his spare time wrote treatises on literary criticism. In July 1952, Zhang published an essay

commemorating the 60th anniversary of the birth of Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovsky in *Literary Monthly*. The article was quickly translated and published in the Soviet magazine *Literature* along with a review. On the heels of these triumphs, *Literary Gazette* in September published the “Open Letter to Lu Ling” by the renowned writer Shu Wu, triggering a campaign of suppression against Hu Feng and writers such as Zhang who were considered members of Hu’s faction.

### **Mao Zedong diagnoses “counterrevolutionary susceptibility”**

When Hu Feng wrote his “300,000 Word Memorial” in early 1954, Zhang Zhongxiao was among the writers Hu contacted for comments before submitting his treatise to the Culture and Education Committee of Government Administration Council in July. In May 1955, Hu Feng, Zhang Zhongxiao and other “Hu Feng elements” were arrested, and searches of their homes unearthed large quantities of personal correspondence, some of which the authorities selected for publication in the newspapers for criticism and as evidence of political “crimes”. Nine of Zhang Zhongxiao’s letters were included in the third batch of Hu Feng’s correspondence published in *People’s Daily* on June 10, 1955, among them three letters that were singled out for criticism by Mao in an “editorial note”. Mao quoted parts of Zhang’s letters objecting to “vulgar patriotism”:

*Regarding the current situation, I personally detect an extremely serious phenomenon, which is the “retro” tendency of current public opinion. At the very least, there is a conscious or unconscious accommodation of old things, a covert promotion of “Oriental spiritual culture”; professors are assiduously “commending the culture and civilization of our country’s history”, forgetting that they will turn into mummies. Of course, all this will vanish like foam in the great torrent of the people, but it is a serious fact at present, and how much effective strength has been lost under the cover of abstract workers, peasants and soldiers and vulgar patriotism?... The propaganda displays are of course even more appalling... making butchery seem laughable! (February 14, 1951)*

Another portion negated the CPC’s “regular organizational activities”:

*I have always been exceedingly suspicious of so-called “regular organizational activities”, which require “an average intelligence score”<sup>5</sup> for training methods perhaps on a par with Hitler’s. It goes without saying that one is left in a mindless daze after this training. (February 18, 1951)*

Zhang elsewhere objected to the ongoing “Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries”:

*You have not written anything, but I sense that in this environment, even silence can result in annihilation. Of course, I know that the reason you do not write is a tactical decision arising from your appraisal of the hostile situation. I know that China is in utter turmoil, and those feudal types are engaged in a frenzy of killing. The scale is enormous, almost unprecedented, and the incidents that have occurred are also unprecedented. The struggle has become more profound. (May 25, 1951)*

He negated Mao’s “Talks at the Yan’an Forum of Literature and Art”:

*This book might have been useful at Yan’an, but I feel it is useless at present. In the present situation, it can be deadly; no wonder gangsters and low-lives raise it as their totem! (August 22, 1951)*

He negated the social order before and after “liberation”:

*In the last two years, my mood has changed drastically; I hate almost everyone... I loathe this social order. (July 20, 1950)*

On this basis, Mao’s editorial note finally emphasized:

*And then there is this Zhang Zhongxiao; his counterrevolutionary awareness is very sharp. There is a vast difference between his class-consciousness and political intuition and that of many in our revolutionary ranks, including some Communist Party members... If it is said that the Hu Feng Clique can contribute anything positive, it is that this hair-raising struggle will greatly enhance our political consciousness and political*

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<sup>5</sup> TN: This phrase, *sixiang de pingjun fensu*, was quoting from Lu Xun’s “Random Thoughts No. 43,” on what Lu Xun requires of China’s arts community.

*sensitivity so that we can resolutely suppress all counterrevolutionaries and greatly consolidate our revolutionary dictatorship, allowing us to carry the revolution to completion and achieve our objective of building a great socialist nation.*

At the time of his arrest, Zhang Zhongxiao was only 25 years old, with few published works and little social influence, but the intensity of his language and Hu Feng's apparent trust in him led Mao to the conclusion that Zhang had "counterrevolutionary susceptibility" and that he "opposes the literary and artistic orientation determined by the CPC and is extremely antagonistic to Comrade Mao Zedong's 'Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art.'" Mao designated Zhang a "core member of the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique" or even a "young marshal", requiring special investigation and interrogation.

In 1956, Zhang Zhongxiao suffered a relapse of tuberculosis, coughing large amounts of blood. Given that no evidence of "counterrevolutionary crime" could be found in his personal correspondence, he was released on medical parole and allowed to return to his old home in Shaoxing under the care of his father. While recuperating, he continued to read and write, producing three manuscripts totaling 300,000 words. He managed to have three articles published in the supplement to *Zhejiang Daily* under a pen name, but upon receipt of a fourth article, the newspaper discovered his true identity and rejected the essay, noting, "You have no qualification or right to publish articles".

### **Death by unknown causes**

With the help of his old editor at New Literature and Art Publishing House, Wang Yuanhua, Zhang was finally given a job in the transportation and preservation department of Shanghai's Xinhua Book Shop in 1966. The Cultural Revolution broke out soon afterward, however, and by late 1966 or early 1967, Zhang was dead at the age of 37.

Zhang Zhongxiao was rehabilitated with the rest of the "Hu Feng Clique" in 1980, and in 1996, his posthumous writings were compiled by Lu Xin in a

volume entitled *Jottings from Dreamless Mansion* (*Wumenglou Suibi*), published by Shanghai Far East Publishers.

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## Case No. 11 (1957): Lin Xiling Handpicked as an Ultra-Rightist



*Lin Xiling (born Cheng Haiguo, October 25, 1935 - September 19, 2009), a prominent student Rightist, writer and social activist, was expelled from her university in 1957 as an “ultra-Rightist” and then sentenced to 15 years’ imprisonment.*

### **Making a point with a pen name**

Lin Xiling was born in Shanghai, where her father, Cheng Yipin, originally from the northeast, ran an Esperanto Institute. After the Japanese occupied Shanghai in 1937, the family went to Wenling, Zhejiang Province, the native place of Lin’s mother, Lin Jingzhi, where Cheng Yiping found work in the tax bureau. Abandoning his family in 1948, Cheng eventually ended up in Taiwan. In 1949, Lin Xiling, at the age of 14, was admitted to the senior high of Wenling Middle School, and that autumn joined the PLA as a scrivener to the Art Troupe of the 25<sup>th</sup> Army. Under recommendation by the army, she was admitted to Renmin University of China in Beijing to study law as a “cadre student”<sup>6</sup> in 1953.

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<sup>6</sup>Starting in 1953, Party or government cadres and staff were sometimes sent to study at vocational or tertiary institutions as a means for the CPC to foster its cadres. There were two types: salaried and unsalaried; the former were

After the authorities launched their campaign to criticize Hu Feng's literary theory in early 1955, Lin submitted an article to *Literary Gazette* that criticized Hu Feng but also the academic standpoints of Lin Mohan, the head of the Propaganda Department's Literature and Art Section, as well as Li Xifan and Lan Ling, whom Mao had endorsed the year before for their criticism of Yu Pingbo, an expert on *Dream of the Red Chamber*. The *Literary Gazette* edited out Lin's references to the three men and published the article under the title "On the Worldview and Writings of Balzac and Tolstoy", so Lin indicated the original focus of her article by using a pen name drawn from their three names (Lin, Xi, Ling).

In 1956, *Literary Gazette* invited Lin Xiling to take part in discussing a monograph by the editors of the Soviet publication *The Communist* entitled "The Types of Literary Creation". Lin's discussion paper, "On the Problems of Types and Party Character in Literary Works", aroused the antipathy of a pro-Soviet official at her university. He published a pseudonymous article in *China Youth Daily (Zhongguo Qingnian Bao)* entitled "A Running Sore on the Innermost Soul: Young Writer Lin Xiling", accompanied by a grotesque caricature. Lin responded by writing "A Young Citizen's Accusation", through which she received the support of university president Wu Yuzhang and the central committee secretary of the Communist Youth League, Hu Yaobang. *China Youth Daily* carried out public self-criticism in the name of its editorial board, and published a letter to the editor entitled "Criticism Should Be Constructive and Factually Based". This made Lin Xiling well known, and not long afterward, she became a special correspondent for *China Youth Daily*, publishing a number of muckraking and satirical articles there and in *People's Daily*.

### **Overnight sensation of the Rectification Campaign**

When the CPC launched its Rectification Campaign in May 1957, Lin Xiling was about to graduate and get married, so she did not intend to become actively involved. However, when invited to speak at a Peking University

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recommended for study by their departments, and the latter applied for admission on their own and were approved or selected by the next higher departmental level.

debate that she attended as an observer, she expressed her views on the handling of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique”:

*Is Hu Feng a counterrevolutionary? This question has not yet been settled, and drawing such a conclusion at this time is rather premature. I have written articles criticizing Hu Feng, but thinking back on them now I find them puerile and I am ashamed of them. It now appears that the grounds for labeling him a counterrevolutionary are preposterous... Hu Feng's written opinions are correct... He opposes Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art"... Chairman Mao's words are not infallible, so why can they not be disputed?... Hu Feng opposes sectarianism, and there is sectarianism in the Party; Hu Feng offended the leaders of the literary and artistic circles, Zhou Yang and He Qifang, and that is why he's been purged... It is said that their communications were confidential; whose aren't? Describing the private friendship between them as cliquish discourages people from speaking truthfully among themselves; it's no wonder that some say the Communist Party refuses to acknowledge human relationships! According to the law, only the intention to overthrow the regime can be considered counterrevolutionary, and Hu Feng clearly has no such intention... Two years have passed with no public announcement on Hu Feng's case. It looks to me as if the Communist Party is in a quandary, unwilling to either back down or acknowledge error... Genuine socialism should be very democratic, but what we have here is not democratic. I feel this socialism should be called a socialism generated from feudal fundamentals; it is an aberrant socialism, and we need to fight for genuine socialism! At present, the Communist Party is seriously bureaucratic, subjective and sectarian. We must not feel that it's enough for the Communist Party to make some concessions to the people through rectification and reformism. [Boos and some applause]*

*I know many people are willing to listen to me, but some fear my words; I must continue. I've carried out research, and I find that all ruling classes in history have one thing in common: their democracy is limited. The Communist Party's democracy is also limited. Standing together with the people in the great tempest of revolution, but then after victory suppressing the people and employing a policy of keeping the people in ignorance, this is the stupidest method. Now they're suppressing the news – for example, when there's such*

*foment at Peking University, why don't the newspapers report on it? [Scattered applause]*

*The masses aren't dolts. If we really want to solve problems, we have to rely on the mass movement that history creates... If all universities unite, the blood of the Hungarian people won't have been spilled in vain: the little democracy we've won today is inseparable from them! [Booing]*

*I'm not afraid; if you don't welcome me, I'll push off. Having taken the risk to come here, I don't care if I end up in jail. [Yells of "No incitement!"]*

*I hear they want to seal the people's lips. That's the most foolish thing to do.*

From then until mid-June, Lin Xiling took part in five speeches and debates at Peking and Renmin universities, and went further on the theoretical and practical issues of democracy, rule of law and socialism. She also revealed that she had read secret reports of Khrushchev's exposure of Stalin, which she had accessed through her fiancé, Cao Zhixiong, a secretary to Hu Yaobang:

*The current social system is a transitional system; not only China, but even the Soviet Union has not yet established genuine socialism. China's socialism still has feudal characteristics...*

*Internal contradictions among the people, and contradictions between the leaders and the led, are contradictions between the rulers and the ruled... The democracy carried out by the People's Congress is wide-eyed nonsense, and the democratic parties are window-dressing.*

*The immense bureaucratic apparatus is a hotbed of bureaucratism. For that reason, rectification should be revolution, with reform carried out on the system.*

Such views were shocking at the time.

### **The Central Committee Identifies "Student Rightist Leaders"**

The CPC Central Committee was shaken, and its leaders, Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, all criticized Lin Xiling by name as a "student Rightist leader and ultra-rightist".

With the publication in *People's Daily* of an editorial entitled “Why is This?” on June 8, 1957 (later acknowledged to have been written by Mao), the Central Committee turned the “Rectification Campaign” into an “Anti-Rightist Struggle” in which more than 3 million intellectuals, students, cadres and members of democratic parties were ultimately labeled Rightists. More than 500 of 6,000-plus teachers and students at Renmin University were so labeled. On June 21, *People's Daily* criticized the Rightist problems of Lin Xiling and Peking University student Tan Tianrong, and “Rightists” throughout China were besieged. In November, Mao issued a memo on how they were to be handled: “Expel them from studying but keep them at their schools for supervised labor as negative examples”. However, Public Security Minister Luo Ruiqing had Lin Xiling secretly arrested on July 21, and in August 1959 she was sent to Beijing's Caolanzi Prison under a 15-year sentence for “counterrevolutionary crimes”.

The Lin Xiling case implicated many innocent people. Lin's fiancé, Cao Zhixiong, was labeled a Rightist, expelled from the CPC, dismissed from his job and sent down for manual labor. Lin's mother lost her job and was sent with the rest of the family to labor at a farm in Ningxia. Lin subsequently estimated that in Beijing alone more than 170 people were labeled Rightists because of her.

### **The only unrehabilitated student rightist**

In 1969, Lin was transferred to the Jiangtang labor farm in Jinhua, Zhejiang Province, to serve out her sentence. After receiving a foreign guest in 1973, Mao Zedong suddenly asked Wu De, the Secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the CPC, about Lin Xiling, and upon learning that she had been imprisoned, he ordered that she must be immediately released and settled in employment. Lin was released in May, two months before the end of her sentence, and was given a job at the Jinhua Wuyi Agricultural Machinery Factory. She married a factory colleague, Lou Hongzhong, at the end of that year.

Lin went to Beijing in 1975 to petition for an appeal, but police detained her and sent her back to Jinhua. In 1978, the Central Committee issued a document

that rehabilitated the vast majority of more than half a million Rightists recognized officially. Based on a conclusion of “anti-Rightist necessity” by Deng Xiaoping, the head of the Central Committee’s Anti-Rightist Office in 1957, 100-odd people were not rehabilitated, and Lin Xiling was the only student Rightist among them.

Lin Xiling went to Beijing to petition for rehabilitation in 1979, but after reexamining her case, the CPC Committee at Renmin University refused to retract her Rightist label. Lin attended the fourth National Congress of Literary and Art Workers from October to November, after which she was transferred to Renmin University Press as an editor under special contract. However, the authorities soon forced her to leave Beijing. The reissuing of her university diploma for 1957 allowed her to be assigned a job at Jinhua’s Federation of Literary and Art Circles.

On May 13, 1980, the Beijing Higher People’s Court issued a judgment on appeal that reaffirmed Lin Xiling’s original conviction as a counter-revolutionary. That same year, Lin Xiling sent a memorial to Deng Xiaoping:

*Given that former Rightists have been divided into two types, and I have been classified among those who cannot be rehabilitated, I am compelled to solemnly declare: since the government holds that my designation as a Rightist was not improper, there is no need to rehabilitate me, and I might as well go back to wearing my Rightist hat, because the Central Committee document points out that the reason for removing the Rightist hat is that Rightists have undergone more than 20 years of thought reform and education, and are now thoroughly reformed and can be rehabilitated. Whether or not those who have been rehabilitated have actually been thoroughly reformed and educated into Leftists, I cannot say. Nevertheless, I must earnestly declare that I have not been reformed at all, and that in the last 23 years, I have never bowed my head to the Leftist bureaucrats who have forced the hats of “Rightist” and “counterrevolutionary” on my head, nor have I repented... Not only have the views I publicly expressed in 1957 not changed, but they have even developed further, and I am therefore an incorrigible “major Rightist” who can never be reformed or educated.*

Lin Xiling and her husband divorced in 1983, and after repeatedly being refused permission to visit her family overseas, Lin angrily submitted “My Emphatic Appeal: A Letter to the Central Leadership of the Party and Government”. At the end of June, she obtained permission to visit her mother and son, who had emigrated to Hong Kong years before. Arriving in Hong Kong in early July, she also had a chance to meet her father, who made the trip there from Taiwan. In October, she was invited to Paris as a research fellow in the Modern China Research Center of the École des hautes études en sciences sociales. She settled in France and became a French citizen in 1993.

During a family visit to Taiwan in 1985, Lin voiced support for oppositionists fighting for democracy. She criticized Taiwan under KMT rule as “having many of the same faults” as mainland China.

*The Selected Works of Lin Xiling* was published in Hong Kong in 1985. In 1988, Lin became editor of the Paris-based *Openness (Kaifang)* Magazine. Following the June 4th Massacre in Beijing in 1989, Lin took part in the inaugural meeting of the Federation for a Democratic China in Paris. She became an advisor to France’s Association for the Promotion of the Peaceful Unification of China in 2000, and in May attended the inauguration of Chen Shui-bian as the President of ROC in Taiwan. Lin returned to China for sightseeing in winter 2003, and delivered an academic report on “The Commonalities and Differences between Eastern and Western Culture Regarding the Relations between Heaven and Earth” at the Institute for the History of Natural Sciences at the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

In 2007, Lin Xiling was invited to speak as China’s last living unrehabilitated Rightist at seminars marking the 50th anniversary of the Anti-Rightist Movement in New York, Los Angeles and other cities: “My feeling now is who should be rehabilitating whom? What qualifies them to rehabilitate me?”

Lin Xiling died in Paris in 2009 at the age of 74.

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## **Case No. 12 (1958): Ding Ling**

### **Exiled to the Great Northern Wilderness**



*Ding Ling (Ting Ling, born Jiang Wei, October 12, 1904-March 4, 1986), a famous writer and social activist, was purged as part of the “Ding Ling-Chen Qixia anti-Party clique” and then labeled a Rightist for essays she had written back in 1942 during the Yan’an Rectification Movement, and exiled in 1958 to the Great Northern Wilderness for Reform through Labor. She continued to suffer persecution for the following 20 years.*

### **Gaining fame for *Sophie’s Diary***

Ding Ling was born in a village in Hunan’s Anfu County. After Ding’s scholar father, Jiang Baoqian, died when she was four, her mother, Yu Manzhen, returned to her parents’ home and became a teacher and primary school principal to pay for Ding’s schooling, sparking her interest in literature and women’s rights. While studying at Hunan Provincial No. 2 Girls’ Normal Preparatory School in Taoyuan in 1919, Ding joined a student movement related to the May Fourth Movement, and the following year, as a student of the Zhounan Women’s School in Changsha, she dropped out with several other students in protest over the firing of radical teachers. With Yang Kaihui (who later married Mao Zedong), she became a pioneer in Hunan’s coeducation movement as one of the first female students admitted to Yueyun Middle

School. In early 1922, Ding Ling went to Shanghai to attend the Civilian Girls' School established by CPC founder Chen Duxiu, and the following year she was admitted as a student of Chinese Department at Shanghai University. She began auditing classes at Peking University in 1924, and the following year she met and married Hu Yepin, the editor of the supplement to *Capital Newspaper*.

Ding Ling began writing in 1927, and published her first short story, "Meng Ke", in *Fiction Monthly (Xiaoshuo Yuebao)* at the end of that year. She met the young poet Feng Xuefeng around the same time. In February 1928, she published the work that made her famous, the novelette *Miss Sophie's Diary*, and moved with Hu Yeping to Shanghai. The following month she went to Hangzhou, where Feng Xuefeng lived, to write some more, and after returning to Shanghai in July, she published her first full-length novel, *In the Darkness*, in October.

In early 1929, Ding Ling joined Hu Yeping and Shen Congwen in founding the literary monthlies *Red and Black* and *Humanity*, followed by publication of her novel *Diary of a Suicide* in May. In 1930, she published a short story collection *A Woman* (in collaboration with Hu Yeping), joined the League of Left-Wing Writers (Left League) and gave birth to a son, Hu Xiaopin (also known as Jiang Zulin).

Hu Yepin, who had joined the CPC, was arrested in January 1931 by the KMT authorities, and the following month he was executed.

Ding Ling moved forward, joining Lu Xun and Feng Xuefeng (by then secretary of the Left League) to found and edit the League's underground magazine *Outpost* in April 1931. The following month she published the short story collection *One Person's Birth* (which included a posthumous work by Hu Yepin). She became chief editor of the openly published League magazine *Big Dipper* in September, while continuing to publish volumes of her own work. In March 1932, she joined CPC along with Tian Han and several other intellectuals, and became CPC group secretary of the Left League in July.

In May 1933, CPC member Feng Da, with whom Ding had been living, was arrested, and Ding herself was escorted to Nanjing and placed under house arrest. Soon after that, Ding's friends published her short story collection *Night Meeting*, her novelette *Mother* and *The Selected Works of Ding Ling* out of protest and sympathy.

## **From literary lady to warrior**

In April 1936, Lu Xun helped Ding Ling make contact with Feng Xuefeng, now a CPC Central Committee emissary who had just arrived in Shanghai from northern Shaanxi, and in June Ding managed to escape house arrest and flee to Shanghai, where she met Hu Feng before returning to Nanjing ten days later. In September, she arrived in Shanghai again to ask Feng Xuefeng to send her to northern Shaanxi, where the CPC Central Committee was located. In November, she published the short story collection *Unexpected*, and in that same month arrived in Bao'an County, Shaanxi Province, where CPC leaders Zhang Wentian (Chang Wen-tien), Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Bo Gu attended a welcoming reception for her. CPC leaders supported her idea of establishing and heading the Chinese Literature and Arts Association, and granted her request to visit the army on the frontline. Mao's poem "To Comrade Ding Ling" praised her as "yesterday's literary lady and today's warrior".

In March 1937, Ding was appointed deputy director of the Central Security Unit's political department of the Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army, and in August, as head of the Northwest Combat Zone Service Unit that she had helped establish for 18th Group Army. The following year, she published a play and several volumes of short stories and essays, and began studying at the Marxism-Leninism School in Yan'an. In 1939, she was elected vice-chair of the newly established Yan'an Branch of the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists (*Wenkang*), and of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region National Salvation Association of Cultural Circles (*Wenxie*) in January 1940. In September that year, the Organization Department of CPC Central Committee investigated the period of Ding Ling's house arrest in 1933, and one month later ruled that she had not "surrendered" to the KMT at that time.

### **Examined for being a leader of the "exposure faction"**

Ding Ling became a chief editor of the literary column of the *Liberation Daily*, a CPC newspaper newly established in May 1941, just as Mao Zedong

began setting the stage for a Rectification Movement targeting problems of ideology and work style in the CPC. Ding published the feminist story “My Time in Xia Village” in June, and in November her short story “At the Hospital”, which revealed the difficulties Yan’an presented to many young intellectuals, especially women, was published in *Wenkang*’s new literary magazine *Grain Rain*, which Ding edited along with Xiao Jun, Shu Qun and Ai Qing.

Mao formally launched the Rectification Movement in February 1942, and soon after that, Ding Ling published the essay “Feelings on International Working Women’s Day”, which targeted gender inequality in Yan’an. Some high-ranking military officers felt that she was berating them as “rubes” and began criticizing Ding as head of the “exposure faction”, but suspended their attacks when Mao stated, “Ding Ling is a comrade”. Ding subsequently carried out self-criticism and turned against some of her exposure faction comrades such as Wang Shiwei, and the literary column of *Liberation Daily* was terminated.

In March 1943, the Cultural Work Committee and Organization Department of CPC Central Committee sent writers and other cultural workers to the villages, factories and military barracks to “become one with the masses”, putting an end to *Wenkang* activities. Ding Ling and her newlywed husband, Chen Ming, were sent to the Party School of the CPC Central Committee for “rectification study” and examination of their personal histories. Ding again came under suspicion of having “surrendered” during her house arrest years earlier and was put under isolation for investigation.

In March 1944, Hu Feng published Ding Ling’s short story collection *My Time in Xia Village*, and a month later Ding was transferred to *Wenxie* as a writer without administrative duties. Chen Ming eventually joined her there.

### **Return to be favored**

In July 1945, Ding Ling was elected chairperson of *Wenkang*. After the War of Resistance against Japan ended in August, Ding Ling organized a Yan’an Cultural Communications Unit to go to the northeast, but the group was forced to stop at Zhangjiakou in the CPC-controlled Jin-Cha-Ji Border Region when

civil war broke out. In May 1946, Ding became an executive director and publication head of the Zhangjiakou Branch of the All-China Association of Writers and Artists, as well as a deputy editor of *Jin-Cha-Ji Daily*, and then became the chief editor of *Great Wall*, the literary magazine of the Northern Federation of Literary and Art Circles established in July. She joined a work team carrying out the land reform in Huailai County, Hebei Province, the experience of which was reflected in her subsequent novel, *The Sun Shines over the Sanggan River*, completed in the following year. She also published an essay collection, *Scenes of North Shaanxi*.

In June 1948, Ding Ling joined the CPC-organized Chinese Women's Delegation to northeast China, and then in November flew to Budapest, Hungary, for the second congress of the International Democratic Women's League. After returning to China, Ding joined Chen Ming at the Lu Xun Academy of Arts in Shenyang in January 1949, but in April was off again to Prague for the Congress for World Peace, making a side trip to the Soviet Union before returning to China in May.

Following the CPC's "peaceful liberation" of Beijing on January 31, 1949, Ding Ling was invited in June to take part in preparations for the first National Congress of Literary and Art Workers. When the congress convened in July, Ding was elected to the standing committees of the NFLAW and as a vice-chair of the NALW; in September she became chief editor of *Literary Gazette*, the official publication of NFLAW, and delegate to the CPPCC. Soon after the founding of PRC on October 1, Ding was appointed to the Cultural and Education Commission of the Government Administration Council, and then to China's delegation to the USSR to celebrate the 32<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the October Revolution.

In spring 1950, Ding was appointed NALW's Executive Vice-chair, in July head of its CPC Leadership Group, and in December the director of the Central Literature Institute 1950. In the following spring, she became head of the Literature and Art Section of CPC Central Propaganda Department. Several collections of her writings were published around the same period.

In February 1952, Ding Ling visited the Soviet Union as a representative of NFLAW and NALW to mark the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of the Russian writer Gogol. Soon after that, her novel *The Sun Shines over the Sanggan River*

won the second award of USSR's Stalin Prize for Literature, with prize money of 50,000 Ruble, which she donated to the Children's Welfare Section of the All-China Federation of Women. In April, she became deputy editor of *People's Literature*.

During these years, Ding Ling had been able to publish only a few essays, and in order to concentrate on her writing again, she resigned from most of her administrative positions except for the vice-chair of CWA and a member of CPC Group at CWA by the end of 1953.

In September 1954, she attended the first National People's Congress as an elected deputy of Shandong Province. That same year saw publication of collections of her essays and short fiction.

### **A major Rightist in cultural circles**

When the Chinese authorities launched their campaign against the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique in May 1955, Ding Ling took time out from writing her novel *In the Depths of Winter* to distance herself from Hu Feng with the essay "Where is the Enemy", which was published in *People's Daily* five days after Hu and his wife were arrested. Ding was nevertheless implicated in the Hu Feng case when the authorities found favorable references to her in Hu Feng's diaries.

At the end of June 1955, the CWA's CPC Leadership Group, headed by Central Propaganda Department chief Zhou Yang, began public criticism of Ding Ling and others, and a subsequent report on the "anti-Party activities" of Ding Ling, Chen Qixia and others enjoined "Comrade Ding Ling to submit an in-depth written self-criticism to the Party and consider how she should be disciplined, based on her acknowledgement of her errors. The period of time she spent in Nanjing will also be investigated and a conclusion drawn".

On May 1, 1957, *People's Daily* devoted its entire arts section to CPC Central Committee's April 27 "Directive Regarding the Campaign to Rectify Work Styles". At a CWA rectification rally on May 17, CPC group secretary Shao Quanlin declared on the basis of his predecessor Zhou Yang's instructions that "the struggle against Ding and Chen in 1955 was too extreme and the case should be revisited... the label of anti-Party clique should be removed from

Ding and Chen... This problem should be resolved during rectification”. During the “free airing of views”, the CPC’s handling of the “Ding-Chen anti-Party clique” and even the “Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique” became a major target of criticism in the literature and arts community. In June 1957, the CWA CPC Group held three enlarged meetings to discuss how to rectify the wrongful handling of the Ding-Chen Anti-Party Clique. Before anything could be done, however, the CPC Central Committee changed the “Rectification Campaign” into an “Anti-Rightist Struggle”, and Ding, Chen and others were transformed into “collaborators with the Rightists’ savage attacks”. After *People’s Daily* reported on “major progress in the Anti-Rightist Struggle in cultural circles”, the CWA CPC Group held another round of enlarged meetings that extended the ambit of attack to include Ding Ling’s husband, Chen Ming, and her old friends and colleagues Feng Xuefeng, Li Youran, Ai Qing, Luo Feng and Bei Lang as members of a “Ding Ling-Feng Xuefeng-Chen Qixia Rightist Anti-Party Clique”. Even members of the Central Investigation Group who disagreed with how the case was being handled were labeled members of an “Anti-Party Clique”. Ding Ling became the putative ringleader of a massive Rightist clique in the cultural community, with nearly 100 people implicated. Dozens of others were labeled “Rightists”, mostly for sympathized with the “Ding-Chen Clique”.

### **Sent to the Great Northern Wilderness for Reform through Labor**

In January 1958, under orders from Mao Zedong, *Literary Gazette* launched a “Re-criticize” column that published an editorial note (revised by Mao) exposing and criticizing Ding Ling’s essays “Feelings on International Working Women’s Day” and “In the Hospital” as well as works that Wang Shiwei, Xiao Jun, Luo Feng and Ai Qing had published during the Yan’an Rectification Movement 15 years earlier, referring to them all as “poisonous weeds”.<sup>7</sup> In May that year, Ding Ling was expelled from the CPC and removed

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<sup>7</sup>“Poisonous weeds” was the label CCP applied to writings with “bad” political content, as opposed to “fragrant flowers” during the “Let a hundred flowers bloom” campaign. The term was first used by Mao in 1957 during an expanded meeting of

from her official positions. Soon after that, she was sent to join Chen Ming in the Great Northern Wilderness of Heilongjiang Province, where both underwent labor reform at the Tangyuan Farm of the Hejiang Wasteland Reclamation Bureau.

In July 1960, Ding Ling was called back to Beijing to take part in the third National Congress of Literary and Art Workers, but she was not reelected to the board of CWA.

When the Cultural Revolution began in 1966, Ding Ling was publicly criticized, beaten and abused. Ding and Chen were convicted of counter-revolutionary crimes in April 1970 and were sent to solitary confinement in Qincheng Prison in Beijing. After being labeled a “traitor”, Ding was “treated leniently” and released in May 1975, and she and Chen Ming were “settled” in Changzhi, Shanxi Province.

### **Complete rehabilitation**

In July 1978, Ding Ling had her “Rightist” label removed, and the following January she was allowed to return to Beijing, where she resumed her participation in the CPPCC and NCLAW, and as a vice-chair of the CWA. She published the short story “Du Wanxiang”, and her novel *The Sun Shines over the Sanggan River* was reissued. Ding’s CPC membership and wages were restored in January 1980. In August 1981, Ding Ling and Chen Ming were invited by the Chinese American writer Hualing Nieh Engle to take part in the International Writing Program at University of Iowa. Leaving the US at the end of that year, they stopped over in Hong Kong before returning to Beijing in January 1982. Ding Ling attended the 12<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CPC as a nonvoting deputy in September 1982. In August 1984, the CPC Central Committee Organization Department issued a notice thoroughly rehabilitating Ding Ling and restoring her good name, soon after which she was elected to the standing committee and cultural group of the CPPCC and again as a vice-chair of the CWA. She became founding chief editor of the literary magazine *China*

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the Supreme State Conference in his speech “Regarding the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People.”

in January 1985, visited Australia as part of a delegation of Chinese writers in May.

Ding Ling died of natural causes on March 4, 1986, at the age of 83.

In 2001, Hebei People's Publishing House issued the *Complete Works of Ding Ling* in 12 volumes totaling more than 4.3 million characters. Her works have been translated into more than 20 languages. She was a vice-chair of the China PEN Center of PEN International.

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## Case No. 13 (1959): Ai Qing

### Banished with His Family to the Borderland



*Ai Qing (Ai Ching, born Jiang Zhenghan, style name Haicheng, March 27, 1910 - May 5, 1996), a famous poet and editor, was forced into exile in 1959 and banished with his family to the Xinjiang borderland after being named a member of the “Ding Ling- Feng Xuefeng Rightist Anti-Party Clique”.*

#### **Famous for the poem “Dayanhe”**

Ai Qing was born to a landlord family in Jinhua County, Zhejiang Province. He began attending a provincial middle school at the age of 15, and after graduating in 1928, he was admitted to the national West Lake Academy of Arts in Hangzhou. The following spring, he went to France for a work-study program at a small arts and crafts center in Paris. In his spare time, he taught himself drawing and French, as well as reading philosophical and literary works. He also began participating in Leftist and anti-imperialist activities.

Ai Qing returned to Shanghai in 1932, and soon afterwards joined the League of Left-wing Artists. With Jiang Feng (Chiang Feng) and other young artists, he organized the Springfield Institute of Fine Arts, and in July, he published his first poem, “The Meeting”, in *Big Dipper*, the official journal of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, edited by Ding Ling. Soon after that, Ai Qing and other members of the Springfield Institute were arrested, and Ai Qing was sentenced to six years’ imprisonment for “disseminating doctrine

incompatible with the Three People's Principles" and "endangering the Republic".

While in prison, Ai Qing wrote the poem "Dayanhe – My Wet Nurse", and he published it in May 1934, using the name Ai Ching for the first time, in *Spring Light (Chunguang)*, where it garnered widespread acclaim.

Ai Qing was released from prison on bail in October 1935 and returned to his home in Jinhua, where he married a bride chosen for him by his parents, Zhang Zhuru. After a short stint teaching Chinese language and literature at a county girls' school, Ai Qing moved to Shanghai with his wife. Publication of "Dayanhe" and other poems in a single volume in late 1936 brought him praise from prominent writers such as Mao Dun and Hu Feng, and propelled him to fame. As the War of Resistance against Japan broke out in July 1937, Ai Qing moved to Hangzhou to teach literature and fine art at the Huilan Girls' Middle School.

### **From the July School to the exposure faction**

After Hu Feng established *July* magazine in September 1937, Ai Qing became a regular contributor and soon relocated to Wuhan to help Hu Feng edit the magazine, eventually becoming known as a representative poet of the July School of literature.

As the Japanese forces approached Wuhan, *July* suspended publication in July 1938, and Ai Qing and his wife moved south to Guilin, where Ai joined Dai Wangshu (Tai Wang-shu) in editing the poetry journal *Pinnacle (Dingdian)* and later edited supplements for *Guangxi Daily* and *National Salvation Daily*. Leaving his wife for a 17-year-old college student, Wei Ying, Ai moved to Xinning County, Hunan Province, to teach Chinese literature at the newly established Hengshan Rural Normal School. The couple then moved to Chongqing, where Ai Qing rejoined Hu Feng at *July* and became head of the Literature department at the Yucai School founded by the reformist educator Tao Xingzhi.

With the publication of four collections of poetry from 1939 to 1941, Ai Qing became a leading figure in China's realism school of poetry.

When the KMT-CPC alliance was shattered in the Wannan Incident on January 6, 1941, CPC encouraged famous writers to leave Chongqing for Yan'an or Hong Kong. Ai Qing's preference was to go to Hong Kong, but the pregnant Wei Ying insisted on first going to Yan'an. Arriving there at the end of March, the couple was given a welcoming dinner by CPC Secretary General Zhang Wentian and Propaganda Department head Kai Feng. At his own request, Ai Qing was given a position at the Yan'an Branch of the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists (*Wenkang*), where Ding Ling was in charge of daily operations.

In May 1941, CPC Central Committee began calling for rectification of the Party and some writers publicly criticized the "dark side" of life in Yan'an. In mid-June the deputy director of the Lu Xun Academy of Arts, Zhou Yang, published a long essay entitled "An Informal Discussion on Literature and Art" in *Liberation Daily* to counter the criticism. Resentful of Zhou Yang's overbearing tone, *Wenkang* members Xiao Jun, Bai Lang, Shu Qun, Luo Feng and Ai Qing signed their names to a response drafted by Xiao Jun. This launched a debate between two camps in Yan'an devoted to "extolling the brightness" and "exposing the darkness", and drew the attention of Central Military Commission Chairman Mao Zedong, who quickly engaged in dialog with the writers. Ai Qing and others were encouraged by Mao's response, never suspecting that they would eventually be rounded up in a Literary Inquisition. In November, Ai Qing was elected to the congress of the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region, and after hearing Mao's speech at the congress opening session, he wrote a poem eulogizing Chairman Mao. Around the same time, Ai helped establish the literary magazine *Grain Rain*, rotating as editor along with Ding Ling, Shu Qun and Xiao Jun. He also founded and edited *Poetry Magazine*.

The Rectification Movement was formally launched in February 1941, and members of the "exposure faction" soon reached the high point of their creative production. When Ding Ling's "Feelings on International Working Women's Day" and other articles on the evils of the times encountered criticism, Ai Qing wrote an essay entitled "Understand and Respect Writers" for the *Liberation Daily* literary column edited by Ding Ling:

*The writer is not a lark or a sing-song girl devoted to entertaining others...  
The person who wants the writer to make a ringworm look like a blossom or*

*turn a pustule into a flower bud will never distinguish himself – for if he lacks even the courage to see his own ugliness, how can he change?*

*Writers ask for no privilege but to write freely. One of the reasons they uphold democratic politics with their lives is that democratic politics can safeguard the independent spirit of their artistic creation. For only when artistic creation is granted a spirit of freedom and independence can it play the role of promoting social reform.*

*Respecting the writer requires first understanding his works. The writer does not hope to be respected for anything but his work. Inappropriate praise, like undue criticism, is tantamount to mockery, and even more insulting.*

The following month, at Mao's suggestion, Ai Qing published an essay revised by Mao on "several current problems in literature and art", which indicated a change of heart:

*In an era in which arduous struggle is carried out for shared objectives, literature and art should (and sometimes even must) serve politics... Standpoint and attitude unite the writer with the political orientation of his era.*

*China's writers and artists should now take a stand, naturally for a national united front against Japan. Saying "there is also darkness in the border region" is an exaggeration.*

In May, Ai Qing took part in the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art and stopped publishing *Poetry Magazine*. At a criticism rally against Wang Shiwei in June, he delivered a long speech entitled "It Is Impermissible to Distort Reality" in which he referred to Wang as "our ideological enemy" and "our political enemy":

*Wang Shiwei's essays are full of gloom; when I read them, it's like entering the temple of a local god. The style of Wang Shiwei's essays is tawdry... He depicts Yan'an as all darkness; he contrasts politicians with artists and veteran cadres with new cadres, sowing discord between them. This is a reactionary standpoint and a sinister method. Such a "person" is in fact unworthy to be called a "person" much less to be addressed as "comrade"!*

After this, Ai Qing was transferred to the Party School of the CPC Central Committee for study and rectification, and he became assistant leader of the folk dance troupe. He energetically threw himself into the popularization and politicization of literature and art, and went to the countryside to observe and learn from rural life and folk culture, publishing odes such as “Wildfire” and “Windsong”. In March 1943, he led the folk dance troupe to entertain the 359<sup>th</sup> Brigade of the Eighth Route Army at Nanniwan, where he became acquainted with brigade commander Wang Zhen. In January 1945, the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region held an assembly for outstanding workers, during which Ai Qing was assessed as a “first class model worker” and approved for CPC membership. Ai Qing published five volumes of poetry from 1943 to 1945.

### **Literary rectification**

Following China’s victory in the War of Resistance against Japan, Ai Qing was sent to lead the North China Literature and Art Work Team in Zhangjiakou in August 1945. He was appointed deputy director of the Literature and Art Institute of North China United University, and when the university was merged with Northern University in 1948, Ai Qing became deputy director of the Third Department (Literature and Art) of the resulting North China University. In the meantime, his theoretical work *Literature that Explains the New People’s Principles* was published in Hong Kong.

After Beijing was “peacefully liberated” on January 31, 1949, Ai Qing represented the Beijing Military Control Committee in taking over the management of the Beijing Art Academy (a predecessor to the present China Central Academy of Fine Arts). He took part in preparations for the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers, and when the congress was held in July, he was elected to the national committee of the NFLAW and of the subsequently established China Association of Fine Arts Workers. In September, he attended the first Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference and was elected an alternate member of its national committee. In October, Ai Qing became deputy chief editor of the newly established magazine *People’s Literature*. In summer 1950, he joined a Central Committee

Propaganda Work Delegation on a four-month trip to the Soviet Union. In the meantime, he published several volumes of poems and essays.

On May 20, 1951, *People's Daily* published an editorial by Mao about the film *The Life of Wu Xun*, which launched the first nationwide campaign of artistic and ideological criticism since the founding of PRC. Ai Qing responded with an essay in *People's Literature* on “the slavish ideology of Wu Xun”, but short stories the magazine had published earlier, and films that had been adapted from them, also came under harsh criticism. In September, the Central Propaganda Department launched a “rectification study campaign” in the arts community, which included reorganizing literary magazines and taking action against their editors. In February 1952, the editorial department of *People's Literature* published a self-criticism that named Ai Qing as the person who “should bear the main responsibility”, and Ding Ling replaced him as deputy chief editor. Ai Qing continued to take part in the various national congresses in 1953, and was also elected to the board of the CWA. He joined a Chinese cultural delegation on a world tour in 1954, and published four more volumes of poetry from 1955 to 1957.

In May 1955, the CPC Central Committee launched a large-scale criticism and purge of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique”, which gradually implicated friends and relatives and led many writers and artists to publicly cut all ties with Hu Feng. Ai Qing in June published a poem entitled “Completely Obliterate All Intriguers”, which also helped him avoid being implicated in the “Ding Ling-Chen Qixia Anti-Party Clique” that subsequently came under attack.

Ai Qing divorced Wei Ying that same year, and soon afterwards began a love affair with a 23-year-old dancer named Gao Ying. When Gao's husband refused to grant her a divorce, she was sentenced to half a year of forced labor for “bigamy”, and Ai Qing was put on probation within the CPC. The couple finally married in March 1956 when Gao obtained a divorce.

## Labeled a Rightist for old and new offenses

At a Supreme State Conference on May 2, 1956, Mao Zedong formally declared his guiding principle for artistic and academic issues: “Let one hundred flowers bloom and one hundred schools of thought contend”:

*Now that spring is here, let one hundred kinds of flowers bloom, not just a few... Back in the Warring States period two thousand years ago, many schools of thought contended freely with each other. That is what we need now.*

Ai Qing published a poetry collection entitled *Spring* a month later, and over the next two months he published four allegorical prose poems: “The Bird-painting Hunter”, “The Idol Speaks”, “The Gardener’s Dream” and “Cicada Song”. The following year he joined the editorial boards of *Poetry Magazine* and *Harvest*.

On May 1, 1957, *People’s Daily* announced the launch of a Party-wide “Rectification Campaign”, and Ai Qing’s son Ai Weiwei was born on May 18, just after the CWA held its “rectification” mobilization rally. When the Rectification Campaign quickly turned into an “Anti-Rightist Struggle”, the CWA CPC Group held 24 meetings, during which it expanded the “Ding Ling-Chen Qixia Anti-Party Clique” into a “Ding Ling-Feng Xuefeng-Chen Qixia Rightist Anti-Party Clique”. Ai Qing was named a confederate of Ding Ling and purged for recent writings as well as those he had published back during the Rectification Movement in 1942, and other friends from the days at *Wenkang*, Li Youran, Luo Feng, Bai Lang and Ding Ling’s husband, Chen Ming, were implicated as well. On September 4, *People’s Daily* criticized Ai Qing’s “Rightist” words and deeds:

*Ai Qing has been running around between the Ding Ling, Chen Qixia, Jiang Feng and Wu Zuguang Anti-Party Clique and the Rightist Clique and disseminating anti-Party speech and news about them, protesting the “injustice” against Ding Ling... Ai Qing is very sympathetic to Chen Qixia and is outraged by the Party’s criticism of him... Ai Qing is also an “old friend” of Li Youran in the anti-Party camp, and they often get together to jeer at the Party leadership. Ai Qing is even closer to Jiang Feng. After the Party criticized Jiang Feng, Ai Qing went around saying that the Party “wanted to beat Jiang Feng to death*

*with a political club”... Ai Qing and Wu Zuguang hold nothing back from each other. In Wu Zuguang’s presence, he has vilified the Party as gloomy and horrible, saying, “There is no democracy within the Party”, “There is no warmth within the Party”, “It’s better if you’re not a Party member” and “The Party is ruthless and only persecutes others”. He told Wu Zuguang, “I’m sorry I joined the Party; since joining it, I’ve had no freedom”... Ai Qing has even made absurd remarks at Party meetings, such as, “It’s hard to do what’s right in the Party”, “One faction persecutes, and another faction is victimized”... Ai Qing also has major ethical problems; he is a habitual philanderer and is morally corrupt.*

After this, Ai Qing’s poetical works were denounced in major publications:

*Ai Qing is a poet, but last July and August he suddenly began writing allegories... satirizing positive new things.*

*“The Gardener’s Dream” and so on are manifestos that distinctively express Ai Qing’s malicious sneering at the “Let one hundred flowers bloom” principle. Ai Qing first satirizes the gardener who “grows hundreds of roses” in his courtyard: “From his courtyard emerged a monotonous buzzing”... His thinking and emotions reveal his dissatisfaction with the guiding force of socialism and realism, and conflict with the literary and artistic worker-peasant-soldier orientation that Chairman Mao has proposed. He feels that even though roses “monopolize favor”, “they are in fact lonely”. Ai Qing is dissatisfied with our new social system (symbolized by the roses). He feels it is “too monotonous”, “too narrow”. His greatest enthusiasm is for all kinds of flowers. He praises their “slightness”, “the beauty of their character” and their “unbending spirit”...He enthusiastically promotes things that embody bourgeois thinking in attacking the socialist system.*

*He has always led resistance against the Party’s leadership of literary and artistic work. He cuttingly says, “Now there are some people who, unable to create, concoct theory, and if they can’t manage theory either, they go into government. The result is that the government manages theory, and theory manages creativity. One layer of management over another finally manages creation to death”.*

### *Case No. 13 (1959): Ai Qing*

On January 9, 1958, CPC Central Committee endorsed and transmitted “The Report by the CPC Committee of Chinese Writers’ Association Criticizing the Ding Ling-Chen Qixia Anti-Party Clique”, and approved Ai Qing’s expulsion from the Party and removal from all of his positions in national associations, congresses and publications. Under orders from Mao, *Literary Gazette* published an editorial note revised by Mao exposing and criticizing as “poisonous weeds” works by Ai Qing, Wang Shiwei, Ding Ling, Xiao Jun and Luo Feng during the Yan’an Rectification Movement 15 years earlier.

In April 1958, Ai Qing and his family were banished to the Great Northern Wilderness, where Ai reencountered Wang Zhen, the Brigade commander at Nanniwan and now head the Minster of the Agricultural Reclamation. Wang provided Ai Qing with a position as deputy director of a tree farm in Baoqing County, Heilongjiang Province, making him the only one of 1,500 Rightists to hold an official position in the Great Northern Wilderness.

### **Settling in the Xinjiang *Bingtuan***

In October 1959, the Ministry of Agricultural Reclamation transferred Ai Qing out of the Great Northern Wilderness, and in November, the family went to Urumqi. The following August, Ai Qing was settled in a reclamation area under the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps of PLA (*Bingtuan*). That year, he wrote *The Story of Su Changfu*, a piece of literary reportage published by Xinjiang Youth Publishing House under a different pen name. Ai Qing’s Rightist label was removed at the end of the year, and he continued publishing poems under various pen names up until the Cultural Revolution.

When the Cultural Revolution entered its “rebel faction” phase of factional violence in early 1967, Ai Qing came under attack as a “major Rightist” who had been protected by “capitalist roaders”. The entire family was sent to live in a shack on the fringes of the desert to reclaim land under labor reform. After famous foreign visitors such as Edgar Snow repeatedly asked about him, Ai Qing was finally declared “liberated” in November 1972, and was settled in Shihezi under improved living conditions.

Nearly blind, Ai Qing was allowed to return to Beijing for health reasons in May 1975.

### **Song of Return**

On April 30, 1978, Ai Qing published the poem “Red Flag” in *Wenhui Bao*, and after that, his works were published in newspapers and magazines throughout China. He was rehabilitated in March 1979, and his Party membership, political reputation and employment status were restored. He once again became active in national associations and congresses, and joined delegations on overseas tours. When PEN International’s China PEN Center was established in April 1980, Ai Qing was elected to its board of directors, and in May he published his first volume of poetry since his rehabilitation, *Song of Return*. National and international literary awards followed, with French president François Mitterrand awarding Ai Qing the title of Commander of the Order of Arts and Letters, and 15 collections of his old and new works were published over the next five years.

When the death of Hu Yaobang, former General Secretary of the CPC, prompted memorial activities that developed into the Democracy Movement in 1989, Ai Qing and another elderly writer, Ba Jin, were among more than 1,000 intellectuals who signed the “May 16 Statement” pointing out that “the Party and Government have not shown wisdom in confronting the student movement”, and “repressing the student movement cannot possibly come to a good end”. The statement appealed to intellectuals to “stride boldly forward and promote the course of democracy”. The following day, 79-year-old Ai Qing arrived at Tiananmen Square in a wheelchair to visit hunger-striking students. After the violent June 4<sup>th</sup> crackdown, Ai Qing was elected president of the Chinese Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau and Overseas Chinese Literary Society in August 1989.

In August 1991, Hebei’s Huashan Literary Publishing House issued *The Complete Works of Ai Qing* in five volumes totaling 3 million characters, the first complete works of a living author published in China. His works have been translated into a dozen languages.

On May 5, 1996, Ai Qing died in Beijing Hospital at the age of 86.

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## Case No. 14 (1960): Lin Zhao Alone to the Execution Site



*Lin Zhao (born Peng Lingzhao, December 16, 1931 - April 29, 1968), a university student, editor and writer, was sent to labor reform as a “student Rightist” and then arrested in 1960 as an “active counterrevolutionary” on the basis of poems she published in an underground magazine. After eight years of torture in prison, she was executed.*

### **Cutting family ties for the “Cradle of Revolution”**

Lin Zhao was born in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province. Her parents, Peng Guoyan and Xu Xianmin, were both prominent KMT officials in Suzhou. Lin Zhao began studying in middle school in 1946 and by the age of 16 was publishing articles under the pen names Lin Zhao and Ouyang Ying in a youth literary monthly, *Newborn (Chusheng)*. After transferring to a church-run girls’ middle school in 1947, she joined the Suzhou Literary Society and continued to publish articles in the literary supplement to *Dah Jiang Nan Pao (Dajiangnan Bao)*.

Lin Zhao graduated from middle school just as the CPC took power in 1949. Ignoring her parents’ advice to take the university entrance exams, she left home for the CPC’s “cradle of revolution”, Sunan College of Journalism, shortly thereafter joining what came to be known as the Communist Youth League. After graduation the following May, she volunteered to take part in

rural land reform. In 1952, she was appointed editor of the supplement to the private newspaper *Changzhou Min Bao*, where she spent the next two years writing dozens of reports, poems and comic dialogues. During that time, her parents divorced, and her mother moved with Lin's siblings to Shanghai.

After *Changzhou Min Bao* was forced to close at the beginning of 1954, Lin Zhao was transferred to the Changzhou Municipal Federation of Literature and Art Circles. Later that year, she was admitted to Peking University as a “cadre student” studying Chinese literature with a monthly stipend of 25 *yuan*. She soon became editor of the school journal and poetry magazine and joined the university's poetry society. In May 1955, CPC launched its nationwide campaign to criticize and investigate the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” along with its campaign to eliminate counterrevolutionaries. In a letter to her mother, Lin Zhao wrote, “Whether they want me to die in a well or a river, they are forcing me to write things I know nothing about, and I have no choice but to satisfy them... I did not intentionally frame you... From now on I would rather die in a river or a well than write against my convictions!”

In autumn 1956, the CPC Committee at Peking University decided to close down the university's poetry magazine and change it into a general student literary magazine called *Red Chamber (Hong Lou)*. Lin Zhao became the magazine's editor along with her classmate Zhang Yuanxun. She continued publishing poems in *Guangming Daily* and *China Youth Daily*.

### **“My young heart is full of wounds”**

Soon after the CPC Central Committee announced its “rectification campaign” in *People's Daily* on May 1, 1957, Peking University students responded with a “May 19th Movement” using slogans such as “free airing of views” and “help the Party's rectification”. History student Xu Nanting put up a big-character poster in the university canteen: “Tsinghua University has a representative to the Third National Congress of the Communist Youth League. Does Peking University have one? If so, who is it, and who elected him? Can he represent our views?” Other students such as Long Yinghua and Chen Fengxiao followed up with posters demanding a democracy wall, the abolition of the CPC Committee system and required political courses, and creation of a

democratic forum where students could put forward suggestions for rectifying the Party. Among the most influential postings were an epic poem by Shen Zeyi and Zhang Yuanxun, “The Time Has Come”, and poems and speeches by Tan Tianrong. Lin Zhao showed her support for Zhang and the others with her long poem “What Is This Song?” and in a May 22 debate objected to accusations that “Right-deviating speech is counterrevolutionary incitement”. Chen Fengxiao, Tan Tianrong and others established the “One Hundred Flowers Society” at the end of May, along with the magazine *Square* (*Guangchang*), edited by Zhang Yuanxun. In a poem entitled “Party, I Appeal to You”, published in *Square* under the pen name Ren Feng, Lin Zhao wrote, “Strange denunciations hack like a saber; my young heart is full of wounds.” At that time, she was an intern at *China Youth Daily*, and Zhang Yuanxun and the others kept in regular contact with her while publishing *Square*.

When the “Rectification Campaign” turned into an “Anti-Rightist Struggle” in June, millions of intellectuals, students, cadres and members of democratic parties became the new targets of dictatorship. Out of 8,000-plus students and teachers at Peking University, 716 were labeled Rightists, including Chen Fengxiao, Tan Tianrong, Zhang Yuanxun and Lin Zhao. The university journal *Hong Lou* published several articles accusing Lin Zhao of helping Zhang Yuanxun undermine the Party’s influence in campus publications and of questioning the sincerity of the Party’s rectification efforts.

Lin Zhao was expelled from the Youth League, but was allowed to retain her student status and remained on campus for “labor under supervision”. She attempted suicide by swallowing two boxes of match heads, declaring, “I will never bow my head and admit guilt!” The school authorities punished her “antagonistic attitude” with an additional three years of Reeducation through Labor (RTL).<sup>8</sup> Ill health spared her from being sent to the northwest, and she

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<sup>8</sup>Reeducation through Labor (Laodong Jiaoyang, or Lao Jiao), literally as Labor, Education and Training, is an administrative penalty that the PRC borrowed and adapted from the Soviet Union. According to the “State Council Resolution on the Issue of Reeducation Through Labor” and other related administrative laws and regulations, public security organs are unilaterally authorized to rule, without recourse to the legal processes of the procuratorates or courts, that an individual is

was allowed to serve out her time in “reform under supervision” in the journalism reference library. Her mother, Xu Xianmin, also came under attack, with her pay reduced from 300  *yuan* to 120  *yuan*.

When the journalism schools of Peking University and Renmin University were merged in June 1958, Lin Zhao continued her “supervised labor” at Renmin University, where she fell in love with another student Rightist, Gan Cui. Gan Cui’s application for permission for them to marry was rejected by the school authorities, who said their courtship was defiance of reform. In September 1959, Gan Cui was sent to Xinjiang for Reform through Labor. The emotional blow devastated Lin Zhao’s health, and her mother was allowed to take her back to Shanghai to recuperate.

### **“I’d rather spend my life in prison”**

By 1960, the failures of the Great Leap Forward had reduced much of China to famine and starvation. Zhang Chunyuan, a Rightist student from the History Department at Lanzhou University, along with other Rightist students and teachers undergoing Reform through Labor in Gansu, launched an effort to change the country’s course. A Shanghai native among them contacted Lin Zhao, and got from her a copy of *The Guiding Principles of the Yugoslavian Communist Party* and her new long poem, “Song of the Seagull”. After reading the book, Zhang wrote an essay entitled “The Current Situation and Our Mission”, in which he proposed “bringing about a peaceful, democratic and free socialist society in China”. He also mimeographed “Song of the Seagull” as publicity material, and subsequently published another long poem by Lin Zhao, “The Day Prometheus Died”, in his mimeographed publication *Shooting Star (Xinghuo)*. In July that year, Zhang Chunyuan was arrested, along with 39 other students and teachers serving Reform through Labor with him, as well as dozens of sympathetic local villagers and the former Party secretary of Wushan County, Du Yinghua. On October 24, Lin Zhao was arrested in Suzhou as an

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to be forcibly restricted to a specified Reeducation through Labor venue, where he is deprived of freedom of speech and movement and is forced to undergo manual labor and ideological education for a period not exceeding four years.

“active counterrevolutionary” for her poems and was sent to the Shanghai No. 1 Detention Center. A month later, her father, Peng Guoyan, killed himself by swallowing rat poison.

After being transferred to Shanghai’s Jing’an Detention Center in 1961, Lin Zhao constantly asked her family to bring her bed sheets, on which she wrote with her own blood. After suffering a relapse of tuberculosis, Lin was released to her mother’s care under medical parole in March 1962. In July, she sent “A Letter to Peking University President Lu Ping” appealing for Lu to come to the aid of persecuted students. In September she joined a Suzhou Rightist, Huang Zheng, in drafting the guiding principles, constitution and action plan for a Chinese Free Youth Militant League. She also contacted a foreign resident of Shanghai and asked him to have several of her essays published abroad.

This led to her being arrested again on November 8, 1962. She was sent to Shanghai’s Tilanqiao Prison, and her family was not allowed to visit her. Soon after that, prison officials sent her for evaluation at the Shanghai Psychiatric Hospital, where she was declared insane. Protesting her abuse in prison, she repeatedly went on hunger strike and attempted suicide. On June 18, 1963, she wrote:

*As long as I draw breath, I would rather spend the rest of my life in prison than go against my original wishes or intentions.*

In August 1963, Lin Zhao was moved to Shanghai No. 1 Detention Center. She was tried in December 1964, and in May 1965 was sentenced to 20 years’ imprisonment for “counterrevolutionary crimes”. After she was transferred back to Tilanqiao Prison, she cut her finger and wrote in blood a “Post-Judgment Declaration”:

*This is a disgraceful judgment, but I hear it with pride!*

Tilanqiao Prison’s “New Crimes Committed by Lin Zhao While Undergoing Reform” recorded:

*During her years of imprisonment, Prisoner Lin has consistently refused to receive education and has written many reactionary letters in blood totaling hundreds of thousands of words.. In spite of undergoing various forms of*

*education by prison staff, and being disciplined through such measures as solitary confinement, individual correction, family admonishment, etc., prisoner Lin remains thoroughly unrepentant and has openly declared that she will never abandon her aims or change her standpoint.*

Lin Zhao also wrote many diary entries and letters to her family. On May 6, 1966, Zhang Yuanxun, who had been released on completion of his sentence and was still under supervised labor, secretly made his way to Shanghai and accompanied Lin's mother to visit her in prison, describing himself as her "fiancé". Lin told Zhang:

*I could be killed at any time. I believe that someday history will speak of today's miseries. I hope you'll tell the people of the future about today's suffering. I hope you'll compile my writings and letters into three volumes: a collection of poems entitled Ode to Freedom, an essay collection entitled Past Life and a collection of letters entitled A Bundle of Love Letters.*

On April 29, 1968, an amended judgment from the PLA's Shanghai Municipal Public Security, Procuratorial and Judicial Military Control Commission condemned Lin Zhao to death. She wrote in blood:

*History will declare me innocent!*

That same afternoon, Lin Zhao was executed in secret at Shanghai's Longhua Airport. She was 36 years old.

Two days later, on May 1, public security officials charged Lin's mother five cents to cover the cost of the bullet that killed her. Xu Xianmin suffered a mental breakdown and killed herself on the Shanghai Bund in 1975.

In January 1979, the CPC Committee of Peking University issued a notification that Lin Zhao had been wrongly designated a Rightist. On August 22, 1980, the Shanghai Higher People's Court vacated Lin Zhao's earlier convictions for reason of her insanity. On January 25 the following year, the court re-vacated the previous verdict based on her insanity and reiterated her innocence. Lin Zhao's case file, including her writings in blood, was made public in the 1980s, but suppressed again soon afterwards.

In 2003, the independent film maker Hu Jie produced a documentary on Lin Zhao based on interviews with 80 people who had known her. The film, *In Search of Lin Zhao's Soul*, also included footage of her prison writings. On April 22, 2004, the some teachers and students from Sunan College of Journalism and Peking University raised funds for a monument and moved Lin Zhao's remains to Lingyanshan Cemetery in Suzhou's Mudu Township.

In 2005, the Independent Chinese PEN Center established a "Lin Zhao Memorial Prize" to honor writers under 35 years old who carry on Lin Zhao's struggle for freedom.

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## **Case No. 15 (1961): Mei Zhi Following Her Husband to Prison**



*Mei Zhi (born Tu Qihua, May 22, 1914 - October 8, 2004), was the wife of Hu Feng and an author of children's literature and biographies. Implicated in the "Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique", she spent nearly six years in solitary confinement, and following her release in 1961 continued to suffer persecution for nearly 19 years.*

### **Meeting Hu Feng in the Left League**

Mei Zhi was born in Nanchang, Jiangxi Province. Her father, Tu Bokai, was a scholar who passed the county-level imperial examination during the Qing dynasty and earned his living as a teacher. In 1927, the family moved with Tu to Ganzhou, where 13-year-old Mei Zhi was admitted to a local girls' middle school. The family moved again in 1931 to Shanghai, where Mei Zhi studied at a girls' middle school while working part-time as a tutor. She soon began doing publicity work for the League of Left-Wing Writers, where she became acquainted with Hu Feng, and after graduating from upper middle school, she married him.

Mei Zhi published her first work, a short story entitled "Evening of Injury", in *Free Talking (Ziyou Tan)*, a supplement to *Shanghai News (Shen Bao)* in 1934. She continued publishing fiction over the next four years, while also

giving birth to a son, Xiaogu, and a daughter, Xiaofeng, and helping Hu Feng publish *July* magazine in Wuhan and Chongqing.

After the family moved to Hong Kong and then to Guilin, Mei Zhi helped Hu Feng edit the July Series of poetry and literature, and compiled the stories she told her children into a long story poem entitled *The Little Dough Boy Seeks Immortality*, which was published in *Youth Literature* and subsequently as a stand-alone book.

In March 1943, the family moved back to Chongqing, where Hu Feng founded *Hope* magazine, and Mei Zhi took charge of distribution, accounting and proofreading. In 1944, she published a short story in *Anti-Japan War Literature* and joined the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Writers and Artists.

In February 1946, the family returned to Shanghai, where Mei Zhi helped Hu Feng establish Hope Society, published a collection of folk legends and gave birth to another son, Xiaoshan, in 1947.

When Hu Feng accepted the CPC's invitation to visit its northern "liberated areas" in late 1948, Mei Zhi remained behind in Shanghai with the children and continued to run Hope Society, producing a collection of Hu Feng's essays entitled *The Road to Realism*. In 1949, Mei Zhi joined Ouyang Zhuang, Hua Tie, Luo Luo and Luo Fei in editing and publishing an occasional book series entitled The Ants Mini-Series while continuing to write.

The PLA captured Shanghai in May 1949, and as the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China declared itself established in Beijing in October, Mei Zhi published a long poetic fairy tale in *People's Daily*, "Little Red Riding Hood's Escape", which was published with "Froggy's Tough Battle" as a picture-story book the following year. Mei Zhi, Luo Fei, Luo Luo and Hua Tie also began publishing the literary monthly *Starting Point* (*Qidian*) in 1950, but it soon folded under the government's new policies on books and periodicals. That same year, Mei Zhi joined the Shanghai Branch of the CWA, while continuing to publish stories for children in various publications. The family joined Hu Feng in Beijing in August 1953, and Mei Zhi was assigned work in the Children's Literature Committee of CWA.

## Refusing to “draw a clear distinction”

As early as 1945, Hu Feng’s literary theories had been regarded as heresy by some of CPC writers and their leadership and, and he came under frequent criticism in line with Mao’s “Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art”. In July 1954, Hu Feng submitted a “Report on Artistic Practice Since Liberation” to the Culture and Education Committee of the Government Administration Council to pass on to the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee; Mei Zhi had helped transcribe most part of that report. The government launched a nationwide campaign against Hu Feng’s thought in early 1955. Public security police searched the couple’s home in the early hours of May 17, and then held them for investigation in separate detention centers.

Soon after that, the authorities launched a mass purge of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique”, arresting many “Hu Feng elements”. Mei Zhi insisted on Hu Feng’s innocence and refused to disassociate herself from him by “drawing a clear distinction”. As a result, the authorities designated her a “core member of the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique”, and she was sent into solitary confinement. On July 11, 1955, the Central Propaganda Department and the Ministry of Culture issued notices banning “all writings and translations by Hu Feng and core members of the Hu Feng Clique”, including all of Mei Zhi’s published works.

In February 1961, Mei Zhi’s 80-year-old mother died, and Mei Zhi was released to make arrangements for the funeral and to look after her 14-year-old youngest son. The funds confiscated during the ransacking of her home were returned, minus 1,400 *yuan* to cover the cost of her upkeep in detention.

After writing many pleading letters, Mei Zhi was allowed to visit Hu Feng at Qincheng Prison in April 1965. On November 11, she obtained a *nolle prosequi* ruling, which stated her to be a “core member of the Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” but “granted her leniency” for “good behavior”. On December 26, Hu Feng was sentenced to 14 years’ imprisonment as “leader of a counterrevolutionary clique”, but four days later, he was released to serve the remaining three years of his sentence outside of prison due to his advanced age and poor health.

## **Accompanying Hu Feng to Reform through Labor**

In February 1966, the authorities ordered Hu Feng to Sichuan Province, with Mei Zhi going along to look after him. They first lived in a standalone compound, but following the launch of the Cultural Revolution, they were sent to the Miaoxi Labor Reform Tea Farm in Lushan County. Hu Feng was sent back to prison on November 7, 1967, while Mei Zhi remained at the labor farm.

In August 1970, Mei Zhi was assigned work for “tempering through manual labor”. By then, Hu Feng had been handed a life sentence for “the crime of counterrevolution” after the Sichuan Province Revolutionary Committee determined that he had “written a reactionary poem on a portrait of Chairman Mao”. Tormented into mental breakdown, Hu repeatedly attempted suicide.

In January 1973, Mei Zhi, by then nearly 60 years old, was sent to the Sichuan Province No. 3 Prison in Dazhu County to take care of her physically and mentally ravaged husband. After Hu’s condition stabilized, Mei Zhi encouraged him to write his autobiography as a form of confession, and later used it as the basis for her *Young Hu Feng* and *The Biography of Hu Feng*.

In February 1978, Mei Zhi had her “counterrevolutionary” label removed and recovered her rights as a citizen. In January 1979, the Sichuan Provincial Public Security Bureau rescinded Hu Feng’s life sentence, and he was allowed to settle with Mei Zhi in Chengdu and receive medical treatment.

## **Reputation and works restored**

Mei Zhi accompanied Hu Feng when he returned to Beijing for medical treatment in March 1980, and she went back to work at the CWA in July. That September, the Central Committee issued a document rescinding the case of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” and rehabilitating and restoring the reputations of all “Hu Feng counter-revolutionary elements”. On October 1, the Ministry of Public Security formally revoked its 1965 decision against Mei Zhi and restored her reputation. Mei Zhi and her children then began petitioning for Hu Feng’s rehabilitation and the restoration of Mei Zhi’s written works. From 1982 onward, *Wenhui Monthly*, *Jottings*, *Children’s Literature* and other publications began publishing Mei Zhi’s stories and essays again.

Hu Feng died of cancer in June 1985, and was finally completely rehabilitated in June 1988.

In 1996, Mei Zhi attended the fifth national congress of the CWA. Her 600,000-character *Biography of Hu Feng* won the October Arts and Literature “biographical literature prize” in 1998. In 2001, she was elected to the presidium of the Six National Congress of the CWA.

On October 8, 2004, Mei Zhi died in Beijing at the age of 90. In 2007, Ningxia People’s Publishing House issued *The Collected Works of Mei Zhi* in four volumes totaling 1.8 million characters.

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## Case No. 16 (1962): Lü Yuan Condemned for Old Letters



*Lü Yuan (Lu Yuan, born Liu Renfu, November 8, 1922 - September 29, 2009), a poet, translator and editor of foreign literature, was labeled a spy because of some of his old correspondence and was imprisoned for nearly seven years as a member of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique”. Following his release in 1962, he remained under surveillance for 18 years.*

### **A representative writer of the July school’s later period**

Lü Yuan was born in Huangpi County, Hubei Province. His father died when he was two, and his mother when he was 13, after which he was raised by his elder brother.

Just before the Japanese invaded Wuhan, the capital of Hubei Province, in October 1938, Lü Yuan joined the flow of refugees west and enrolled in Hubei United Middle School in Enshi. While both working and studying, he began writing in his spare time, and in 1939 published a short story entitled “Papa Can’t Come Home Yet” in *China Times* (*Shishi Xinbao*) in Chongqing.

Discontented with his school’s environment and teaching standards, Lü Yuan dropped out in 1940 and took refuge in China’s wartime capital, Chongqing, where he became an apprentice in the Iron and Steel Department of the China Industrial Company. In August 1941, he published his first poem

under the pen name Lu Yuan in *China Times*. He continued publishing poetry from then on, and helped found the Poetry Cultivation Society (*Shi Kendi She*).

In 1942, Lü used a middle school graduate certificate under the name Zhou Shufan to gain admittance to study English at Fudan (Fuh Tan) University in Chongqing. By then his poetry had begun to attract notice, and Hu Feng approached Lü for inclusion of his poems in the first volume of the July Poetry Series. From then on, Lü Yuan was regarded as a representative of the latter period of the July school of poets, with a particular reputation for political lyric poetry. When Hu Feng visited Chongqing in March 1943, Lü Yuen requested his tutelage and regularly solicited his advice.

In 1944, while still in college, Lü Yuan was drafted by the Nationalist Government to serve as an interpreter for American troops who had come to China for the War of Resistance against Japan. After a short training course, Lü was assigned to the Sino-American Cooperative Organization. He wrote to Hu Feng asking if he should go, and unclear about the nature of the organization, Hu Feng advised him not to. When Lü failed to report for duty, the authorities issued an order for his arrest. Lü went into hiding, and Hu Feng found him a job teaching at a middle school in northern Sichuan under the pseudonym Zhou Suifan. Lü married Luo Hui that same year. More than ten years later, Lü's letter asking for Hu Feng's advice was presented as "iron-clad evidence" of Hu using him to collude with KMT, and of Lü serving as an "agent of the US and Chiang Kai-shek".

In 1947, Hu Feng included two of Lü Yuan's poems in the second volume of his July Poetry Series. That same year, Lü returned to Wuhan and began working as a clerk for a foreign oil company, while continuing to publish poetry. He joined an underground group of the CPC in 1948.

Shortly after PLA troops occupied Wuhan on May 16, 1949, the newly-established Wuhan Municipal Military Control Commission founded *Changjiang Daily*, and Lü Yuan was appointed deputy head of the newspaper's Literature and Arts Section. In June he was invited to Beijing to take part in the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers, and in early 1953, he was transferred to Beijing to serve as head of the International division of the Central Propaganda Department. During these few years, Lü published three volumes of poetry and translations of works by Russian and Belgian writers.

## Identified by Mao as an “agent of the US and Chiang Kai-shek”

When Hu Feng drafted his “300,000-word Report” in the first half of 1954, Lü Yuan was among the people who offered him their opinions. During the ensuing investigation against the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique”, Hu’s former friend Shu Wu published his 1940s correspondence with Hu on May 13, accompanied by an editorial note:

*Lu Ling must have received even more confidential letters from Hu Feng, and we hope he will produce them. The best way forward for Hu Feng and all other members of his faction is to reveal their true faces and help the government gain a thorough understanding of Hu Feng and his anti-Party clique, and to be honest people from now on.*

After consulting with Lu Ling, Lü Yuan provided the Propaganda Department with all of the letters Hu Feng had written to him, after which he was “temporarily relieved of his duties” and placed in isolation. After Hu Feng was arrested and his home searched, the letter Lü Yuan had written to Hu in 1944 was published in edited form in the third batch of Hu Feng’s correspondence published in *People’s Daily* on June 10.

Lü Yuan was consequently labeled a “secret agent”, and his letter used as evidence of Hu Feng’s collusion with KMT. In July 1955, Lü was put under “isolation and investigation” in the Damopan staff quarters of the Propaganda Department and interrogated by case officers of the Public Security Ministry. His works were included in the publishing ban on writings by core members of the “Hu Feng Clique”.

After less than a year, Lü Yuan was coerced into confessing to “counter-revolutionary crimes”, even though the authorities had long ago determined that he had never even interpreted, much less spied, for the US military. But since the highest authorities had already published the evidence and verdict of his “crimes”, nobody dared to contradict it, and Lü remained in detention with no further action on his case until he was transferred in 1956 to an isolation cell in a compound in Xidan’s Anfu Hutong, and then in August 1960 to the notorious Qincheng Prison. Spared further interrogation, he perfected his English and went on to teach himself German.

On June 5, 1962, Lü Yuan was granted exemption from prosecution because of his “good attitude”. He was released and given a job as a German editor in the translation section of People’s Literature Publishing House. In his spare time, he translated German literary theoretical works for the Foreign Language section of the Academy of Social Sciences using the pen name Liu Banjiu.

When the Cultural Revolution was launched in 1966, Lü Yuan’s home was searched, and in autumn 1969, he and the other staff of People’s Literature Publishing House were sent down for labor reform in the Ministry of Culture’s May Seventh Cadre School in Xianning, Hubei Province. Returning to Beijing in 1974, he was given a job in the translation section of the depository library of the State Bureau of Publication, where he translated non-fictional foreign works for internal circulation among the central leadership.

The effect of more than two decades of hardship on Lü Yuan’s thinking and poetry is evident in his poem “Helping Myself”:

*I no longer swear oaths  
Am no longer bound by any pledge  
No longer wallow in a gambler’s error  
No longer believe in any probability  
No longer count on any savior  
No longer look forward to rescue.  
As a result  
The great sea is mine  
Time is mine  
I am my own  
And – I am free!*

**“Yet we were innocent!”**

Lü Yuan was transferred to the foreign literature editing section of People’s Literature Publishing House in 1979, and in November, he was invited to the fourth National Congress of Literary and Art Workers. He was rehabilitated with the rest of the “Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique” in September 1980. The following year, Lü Yuan and another poet from the “Hu Feng Clique”, Niu Han, edited a selection of poems by former July poets under the title *White*

*Flower*. The last sentence of the preface he wrote expressed the feelings of these long suffering writers:

*The writers wish to use this title of simplicity and purity in remembrance of what we encountered in the past: we suffered for our poetry, yet we were innocent!*

Lü Yuan continued advancing within People's Literature Publishing House until his retirement in 1988. He attended the fourth congress of the CAW in December 1984 and his works were reissued. In 1998, his translation of Goethe's *Faust* won the Lu Xun Prize for translation, and that same year he won the gold medal in the 37th Struga International Poetry Festival in Macedonia. In 2007, Wuhan Publishing House issued his self-edited *Collected Works of Lü Yuan* in six volumes totaling more than 2 million characters. He remained an honorary committee member of the CAW, an honorary director of the Chinese Translators' Association, vice-chairman of the Chinese Poetry Society and a member of the China PEN Center of PEN International.

Lü Yuan died of a lung infection on September 29, 2009, at the age of 87.

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## **Case No. 17 (1963): Li Jiantong Banned for her Anti-Party Novel**



*Li Jiantong (aka Han Yuzhi, March 26, 1919 - February 14, 2005), a Party cadre, was accused of launching anti-Party activities through a novel about her brother-in-law, the CPC martyr Liu Zhidan. In 1963, Li's novel was the first literary work subjected to a special investigation by the CPC Central Committee, and it resulted in Li being persecuted for 16 years.*

### **From art teacher to CPCcadre**

Li Jiantong was born into an impoverished rural family in Xuchang County, Henan Province. Abandoned at birth, she was adopted by Li Fushun, the owner of a small business. Several years later, she was given into the care of Li's sister and took the name Han Yuzhi. In 1934, at the age of 15, Li began attending the Xuchang Girls' Normal School, and published her first poem in a supplement to *Alarm Bell Daily (Jingzhong Ribao)*. After graduating in 1935, she attended the Kaifeng Normal School for Art Teachers, where she and several schoolmates published a school magazine, *Surge (Pengbai)*. She discontinued her studies in 1936 when her family moved to Nanjing, and the following year she was admitted to Xinhua School of Arts in Shanghai, majoring in piano, singing and painting.

When the War of Resistance against Japan broke out in July 1937, Li abandoned her studies and returned to her hometown, initially teaching art at a

primary school. That winter she joined the CPC's China Youth Cadre Training Class in Jingyang County and took the name Li Jiantong. After joining CPC in summer 1938, she enrolled in the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College (Kangda) in Yan'an and continued working there after completing her studies, first as CPC branch secretary at its attached hospital, then as a political officer in the sanitation department, and finally as the music section head of the Northwestern Art Troupe. She began studying music at the Lu Xun Academy of Arts in early 1942, after which she was sent to work in the social club at the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region Government. In 1946, she married the regional vice-chairman, Liu Jingfan, and became a secretary at the regional government office.

With the establishment of PRC on October 1, 1949, Liu Jingfan was appointed First Deputy Director of the Supervision Commission of the Government Administration Council and Secretary of the CPC Leadership Group at the Commission. Li Jiantong accompanied her husband to Beijing and worked as the office secretary to the CPC Group. When the Supervision Commission was reorganized into the Supervision Ministry of the Government Administration Council in spring 1954, Li Jiantong became a middle-ranking supervision officer.

### **“Using a novel for anti-Party activities is a great invention”**

In 1954, the Central Propaganda Department asked Workers Publishing House to produce a book on the revolutionary martyr Liu Zhidan. Since Li Jiantong had previously helped Liu Jingfan produce an article on his elder brother, the project was assigned to her, and she was allowed to leave her duty of a deputy secretary of CPC committee at the Academy of Geological Research to write the book. In summer 1962, serialization of *Liu Zhidan* began in *Guangming Daily*, *Workers' Daily* and *China Youth Daily*, but publication was halted after the First Secretary of the CPC committee in Yunnan Province, Marshall Yan Hongyan, raised objections and reported his dissatisfaction to the Central Committee.

This incident arose during the tenth plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC in September 1962, marked by virulent class struggle

and controversy over demands by victims of political purges for reassessment of their cases. Yan Hongyan claimed that Gao Gang was the archetype of a positive character in Li Jiantong's novel *Liu Zhidan*, and that the book was an attempt to reverse the official verdict of "Gao Gang Anti-Party Clique". During the tenth plenum, Kang Sheng, an alternate member of the Politburo as well as a deputy head of the Culture and Education Group of the Central Committee, passed Mao a note saying, "Using a novel for anti-Party activities is a great invention". Mao read the note aloud at the meeting and then declared:

*Anyone who wants to overturn a regime needs to first create public opinion and carry out ideological work. Whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, that is how it has been done.*

The plenum thereupon began looking into who was behind the book. Coming under suspicion as key conspirators were Vice-Premier Xi Zhongxun, who was a former leader of the northwest region, the State Economic Commission's vice-director, Jia Tafu, and of course Liu Jingfan. The Central Committee established a "special investigation committee to look into the anti-Party activities of Xi Zhongxun and other comrades", headed by Kang Sheng. The committee in May 1963 submitted an "Investigation Report on the Book *Liu Zhidan*", which found that "the novel exaggerates and distorts the status and function of the northwestern base area of the CPC, reverses the verdict on Gao Gang and is a program of the 'Xi Zhongxun Anti-Party Clique.'"

It was subsequently alleged that this novel had "falsified Party history", "depicted Mao Zedong Thought as Liu Zhidan Thought" and "flattered Xi Zhongxun" in order to create public opinion that would allow the "Xi-Jia-Liu Anti-Party Clique" to seize control of the Party and the state. The matter then escalated and expanded into a "Northwest Anti-Party Clique" led by Peng Dehuai, Gao Gang and Xi Zhongxun. Xi Zhongxun was dismissed from all of his official positions and in 1965 was sent down to Luoyang to work as deputy director of a mining machinery factory; he spent eight years in prison during the Cultural Revolution. Jia Tafu was also dismissed and persecuted to death in 1967. Liu Jingfan was dismissed and forced to make public self-criticism, and in 1968, he was imprisoned for "current counterrevolutionary crime".

Following Jia Tafu's death, Labor Minister Ma Wenrui was implicated as a conspirator and imprisoned for five years.

The launch of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 expanded the scope of investigations and purges connected with this case, including the publisher and editors of Workers' Press along with cadres and ordinary citizens who had assisted or provided interviews for the book, and even people associated with these individuals who were involved in the book's production. More than 10,000 people came under various forms of attack, and many died of persecution in what became the most far-reaching case of literary inquisition in Chinese history.

Li Jiantong was dismissed and investigated in winter 1962, and imprisoned in January 1968. She had her Party membership rescinded in 1970 and was sent to a May Seventh Cadre School in Xiajiang County, Jiangxi Province, for Reform through Labor. After falling ill, she was allowed to return to Beijing for medical treatment at the end of 1972.

### **Banning after rehabilitation**

In August 1979, the Central Committee issued a document thoroughly rehabilitating the author and everyone else connected with the publication of *Liu Zhidan*. In October that year, Workers Publishing House issued the first volume of the book, as a result of which Li Jiantong was admitted to the CWA. Culture and Art Publishing House then published volumes two and three in 1984 and 1985, but these latter volumes raised new controversy, with some old cadres unhappy with certain departures from historical fact, which they felt belittled and defamed revolutionary martyrs and other deceased individuals of equivalent stature to Liu Zhidan. These cadres wrote letters to the Central Committee leadership demanding harsh disciplinary measures, and the matter was entrusted to Xi Zhongxun, who following rehabilitation had become a member of the Politburo and Secretary of Central Committee Secretariat of CPC. In January 1986, the Central Committee issued a memo to halt publication of the book and take other appropriate action.

Li Jiantong petitioned unsuccessfully for the ban to be reversed and died at the age of 86 on February 14, 2005, without seeing her wish fulfilled. Two

years after her death, her book *The True Record of the Anti-Party Novel Liu Zhidan* was published in Hong Kong.

In November 2009, *Liu Zhidan* was republished in three volumes by Jiangxi Educational Press, but the Central Committee soon intervened, and the book was banned a third time on the basis of the 1986 Central Committee document.

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## **Case No. 18 (1964): Sun Yefang Suffering from Academic Opinions**



*Sun Yefang (born Xue Eguo, October 24, 1908 - February 22, 1983), an economist and political activist who upheld “production price theory” and other economic laws of value, was attacked in 1964 as the head of a revisionist “Zhang Wentian-Sun Yefang Anti-Party Alliance” and subjected to purges and imprisonment for the next 13 years.*

### **Early Study in the Soviet Union**

Sun Yefang was born in a town on the outskirts of what is now Wuxi, Jiangsu Province. His father was a clerical worker in a cotton mill run by Wuxi’s prominent Rong (Jung) family.

In 1921, Sun began formal schooling at the age of 13, and joined the Chinese Socialist Youth League in 1923. He was admitted to the Wuxi Public Welfare School of Industry and Commerce in 1924, and at the end of that year, he joined both CPC and KMT.

In July 1925, Sun was sent to Shanghai to do propaganda work for the Western Shanghai Workers’ Federation. That November, he joined Zhang Wentian, Wang Ming and other CPC members to study at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow. After graduating in 1927, he was assigned work as a

translator at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow and then at Sun Yat-sen University.

In September 1930, Sun returned to Shanghai and became involved in setting up a rickshaw drivers' union and in establishing the Shanghai Eastern District Workers' Federation. When the Worker's Federation was broken up by the authorities in January 1931, Sun lost contact with the CPC and soon afterward was arrested in Shanghai's British Concession. He remained in custody for a week until Chen Hansheng (Chen Han-seng, or Geoffrey Chen), deputy director of the Institute of Social Sciences at Academia Sinica, secured his release on bail, and then arranged for him to carry out surveys on rural economy.

In 1933, Sun Yefang helped Chen launch the Chinese Association of Rural Economy Studies, and the following year became a founding editor of *Rural China* (*Zhongguo Nongcun*). In June 1935, he traveled to Japan via Hong Kong to carry out research, and while in Tokyo, he translated the soviet writer David Rosenberg Iohlevich's *The History of Political Economic Thought* for Commercial Press (Shangwu Yinshu Guan). In July 1935, he published two articles on rural economics in *Rural China* under the pen name Sun Yefang, and he resumed editing the monthly upon his return to Shanghai that September. He reestablished his relationship with the CPC in early 1937.

After the War of Resistance against Japan broke out in July 1937, Sun became a secretary of the Cultural Work Commission of the CPC's Jiangsu provincial Committee. He married Hong Keping in September, and at the end of that year became founding editor of *Shanghai Weekly*, *Translation Weekly* and other publications.

In August 1940, Sun was notified of his transfer to Yan'an. Using the pseudonym Su Liang, Sun left Shanghai with his wife and took a circuitous route through Hong Kong, Guilin and Guiyang, finally reaching Chongqing at the beginning of 1941. He was reassigned to the New Fourth Army headquarters later that year, passing through Hong Kong and Shanghai to arrive in July at the CPC's Anti-Japanese Base Area in northern Jiangsu Province. There he headed the propaganda education section of Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee's Central Bureau, and later taught at the Party

school of the Central Bureau. In April 1943, he became propaganda head for the Jinpu-Luxi prefectural Committee of the CPC.

### **From financial management to economic research**

Following China's victory over Japan in August 1945, Sun served in various positions relating to finance and economics at the regional and prefecture level, including deputy secretary general of the Economics Commission of the CPC Central Committee's Eastern Bureau.

Sun Yefang accompanied PLA troops to occupy Shanghai on May 27, 1949, and became the head of the Heavy Industry Section of the Shanghai Military Control Commission. Early the following year, the Eastern Military and Political Commission was established, and Sun was appointed a deputy director of its Industry Department. In August, the National Shanghai Business College was renamed Shanghai Institute of Finance and Economics, and Sun became its president at the end of the year. When the State Council established the State Bureau of Statistics in November 1954, Sun was transferred to Beijing to serve as its deputy director. He subsequently carried out on-site investigations in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Guangdong and Shanghai, and wrote treatises such as "Base Planning and Statistics on the Law of Value" and "Starting with 'Total Output Value.'"

Sun became head of the Economics Institute of the Chinese Academy of Science (CAS) at the end of 1957, just months before the CPC Central Committee launched its nationwide Great Leap Forward campaign, proposing "to surpass Britain and catch up with America" in the major industrial output within 15 years. To this end, the entire populace was enlisted in a steel-making campaign, while the launch of a rural communization movement aimed to send China "sprinting toward Communism". The result was wasteful communal meals and grossly exaggerated production figures that ultimately depleted rural grain supplies and set off waves of famine throughout China.

## Emphasizing the law of value in view of the great famine

In July and August 1959, the CPC Politburo convened in succession its enlarged meetings and the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee in Mount Lu (Lushan), Jiangxi Province. After criticizing the Great Leap Forward and its disastrous consequences, some leading figures such as Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou were purged as part of a so-called “Peng-Huang-Zhang-Zhou Right Opportunist Anti-Party Clique”. Afterwards, a nationwide Anti-Right Deviation Movement was launched to label more than three million other cadres and CPC members as “Right Opportunists”. With no one daring to speak out, the policy-induced famine continued for three years, resulting in the starvation deaths of an estimated 30 million people.

This catastrophic event led the Central Committee to begin adjusting its policies in 1962, and some of the “Right Opportunists” were rehabilitated. By then, Zhang Wentian, an alternative Politburo member who had served as the top leader of the CPC from 1935 to 1943, had been demoted and sent down to the Economics Institute of the CAS. Sun warmly welcomed Zhang’s arrival and invited him to participate in the Political Economics Research Group, as well as to review the manuscript of the collectively drafted *Socialist Economic Theory*, of which Sun was in charge. On some theoretical issues, the two shared identical views, especially in their emphasis on the lessons to be learned from the Great Leap Forward in its pursuit of high targets and rapid development without regard for basic economic factors and the Law of Value.

Sun Yefang had written a number of treatises, research reports and internal lectures since 1959, with a particular emphasis on the Law of Value, regarding profit as the overall standard for assessing an enterprise’s technical and operational quality. Zhang Wentian wrote a paper in the same vein in February 1964, and other economists, many of them research fellows from the Economics Institute, also put forward various theoretical suggestions and inquiries regarding the failings of a planned economy.

The most controversial discussion at the time centered on “production price theory”, which arose following publication of an essay by Yang Jianbo, a research fellow at the Institute, entitled “National Economic Equilibrium and

the Production Price Issue” in *Economics Research* in 1963. Yang’s endorsement of “production price theory”, which exceeded the bounds of orthodox Soviet-style socialist political economics, drew criticism from some economists. Two other Institute scholars, He Jianzhang and Zhang Ling (aka Zhang Zhuoyuan), published a counter-criticism in *Economics Research* the following year, systematically backing up Sun Yefang and Yang Jianbo’s viewpoints and giving rise to even more widespread controversy.

### **The Zhang Wentian-Sun Yefang Anti-Party Alliance**

In August 1964, a “Symposium on the Issue of Socialist Reproduction” was convened by the Central Committee’s official magazine *Red Flag (Hongqi Zazhi)*, and two papers submitted by Yang, He and Zhang came under severe criticism. Sun Yefang finally stood up and said, “Don’t criticize them anymore. The viewpoints expressed in the articles are mine – I take responsibility. I accept the challenge, and I fight my own battles”. He then systematically laid out his viewpoint:

*Many countries, including China, have adopted the Soviet Union’s standpoint that the Law of Values is antagonistic to and mutually incompatible with socialist planned economy. This standpoint has become virtually the norm, and it has seriously fettered the understanding and exploration of objective economic laws...*

*Up to the present, I affirm the following: socialism requires production prices and capital profit margins... In fact, Yugoslavia implements a capital tax; in my view, capital tax is a partial capital profit rate. Revisionism should be criticized, but we can’t say we don’t want any of the things that revisionism demands.*

*The law of values is the first of all laws.*

In October 1964, the CPC Central Committee sent a 70-member Socialist Education Task Force to the Economics Institute. Sun was suspended, and in the following year he was subjected to criticism 39 times. His economic standpoint allegedly “opposed the unified economic management of a

proletarian country and advocated independence and autonomy for enterprises; and secondly, opposed the adjustment of production according to society's requirements, and advocated adjustment of production according to profit". On that basis, it essentially "led to the peaceful evolution of socialism into capitalism and was an out-and-out revisionist theory". Zhang Wentian was labeled Sun's backer in a "Zhang Wentian-Sun Yefang Anti-Party Alliance". In September 1965, the Work Team ruled that Sun was "resisting the principled criticism of the Party and the masses with a most overbearing attitude". On that basis, he was dismissed from all of his positions and sent down to a production brigade at Zhoukoudian Commune on the outskirts of Beijing for Reform through Labor.

After CPC Politburo on May 16, 1966, issued its notice that effectively launched the Cultural Revolution, *Red Flag* on June 8 published an editorial entitled "Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", in which Sun Yefang was publicly named among the first batch of "representative bourgeoisie who have insinuated themselves into the Party":

*In the field of economics, Sun Yefang and others have put forward a set of revisionist fallacies. They oppose the dominance of Mao Zedong Thought and politics and advocate the dominance of profit and currency. They have vainly attempted to change socialism's production relations and to turn socialist enterprises into capitalist enterprises.*

On August 8, *People's Daily* published Gong Wensheng's "Sun Yefang's 'Theory' is Revisionist Fallacy", a compilation of Sun's writings from 1956 to 1964 presented as "very important negative examples", for instance the following quotes:

*It is right to emulate Chairman Mao in approaching problems, but on the negative side, it also brings the danger of conventional thinking.*

*In his book Regarding the Proper Handling of the Problem of Contradictions among the People, Comrade Mao Zedong's taskings are "virtual" and highly abstract. When these rationales are summed up in the general line of "going all out, aiming high, and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results", they are even more "virtual"; the energy in "going all out" is a completely mental thing.*

*The most pervasive phenomenon is that when talking of “actual”, there is only “actual” and no “virtual”, i.e., it is a string of phenomena and numeral indicators; when talking “virtually”, there are pages of empty verbiage, and the “virtual” becomes devoid of meaning.*

*Excessive emphasis on the role of ideology, taken to its negative side, sabotaged distribution according to work done as well as the development of productivity, and ultimately had an effect on ideology. The result of egalitarianism is to make reward and punishment for work even more unfair; as a result, ideology has not improved over the last few years but has actually deteriorated.*

*Production relations need revolution, but this revolution is not easy. Our dialectics are somewhat inadequate; in the past, we only knew about industrialization... The 1958 crash was handled execrably.*

*Were the problems that emerged in the people’s commune movement due to it being too progressive and advanced? We cannot say that; it was because of rash advance and errors of subjective idealism, or what might be called the error of subjective volitionism.*

*When the masses have lost their faith in the collective, nothing that might accelerate production should be rejected out-of-hand, including organizational configurations such as output assigned to households and the lending of fields in lean years.*

*Financial incentives were proposed by Khrushchev<sup>9</sup> in 1953 to develop agriculture, and they have been beneficial.*

After this, newspapers throughout China published reams of articles criticizing Sun Yefang. Sun was subjected to struggle and criticism as an “anti-Party, anti-socialism, counterrevolutionary revisionist” and was detained in a work unit jail for “ox demons and snake spirits”, assigned to sweeping

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<sup>9</sup>During the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev issued a “secret report” exposing the negative aspects of Stalin’s rule and implementing an anti-Stalinization policy. Victims of the Great Purge were rehabilitated, and various reforms were introduced. Sino-Soviet relations broke down, and CCP began criticizing “Soviet modern revisionism.”

corridors and scrubbing toilets. In April 1968, he was formally arrested on charges of being a “soviet revisionist agent” and having “illicit relations with a foreign country”. He was sent to Beijing’s Qingcheng Prison without trial, and was held in solitary confinement for seven years before being released in April 1975.

### **The Sun Yefang Prize in Economic Science**

Sun Yefang was thoroughly rehabilitated in 1977, and from then on he served as a consultant and honorary director of the Institute of Economics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), a consultant to CASS and to the Economic Research Center of State Council, a member to the Chinese People’s Consultative Conference and a member of the Advisory Committee of the CPC Central Committee. He published *Certain Theoretical Problems with Socialist Economy*, with a subsequent continuation and a revised and enlarged edition.

Sun Yefang died in Beijing of natural causes on February 22, 1983, at the age of 74.

On June 19, 1983, CASS established a foundation for the Sun Yefang Prize in Economic Science, which began selecting honorees in 1984. It has become China’s premier award in the field of economics.

In October 1998, Shanxi Economics Publishing House issued *The Collected Works of Sun Yefang* in five volumes totaling 1.4 million characters.

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## Case No. 19 (1965): Wu Han

### Victim of History



*Wu Han (born Wu Chunhan, September 24, 1909 - October 11, 1969), a historian, educator, essayist, editor, political activist and government official, was targeted in the opening salvos of the Cultural Revolution when his historical drama Hai Rui Dismissed from Office was judged in 1965 to be “using the past to criticize the present.” He died after four years of persecution.*

#### **Admitted to Tsinghua after failing mathematics**

Wu Han was born in a village of Yiwu County, Zhejiang Province, where his father taught in a private school. After graduating at 16 from a provincial middle school, he discontinued his studies due to financial hardship and taught at his village primary school for three years. Accepted into a college preparatory course in Hangzhou in 1928, he then began studying at China College in Shanghai, headed by the leading intellectual Hu Shih.

In the first half of 1930, Wu Han wrote his dissertation “The Economic Situation of the Western Han”, for which he was paid 80 *yuan*, and that autumn he began working in the library of Yen-ching University in Beijing.

After completing a chronology of the Ming scholar Hu Yinglin in early 1931, Wu applied to study history at Peking University. While failing the exam in mathematics, his results in literature, history and English were perfect, and

Tsinghua University agreed to admit him. Under the recommendation of Hu Shih, by then the director of College of Liberal Arts at Peking University, Wu was provided with a scholarship to address his financial difficulties. The following year he became editor of the humanities section of the student publication *Tsinghua Weekly*, and he began to concentrate his studies on the history of the Ming dynasty.

During his university years, Wu Han published more than 40 articles in various university and history publications. He was an editor of the journal *History (Shixue)*, and in 1933 became founding editor of *History Quarterly*, where his articles were well regarded in the academic community. He also began to write essays of a general nature.

### **From historical research to political insinuation**

After formal publication of his *Chronology of Hu Yinglin* in January 1934, Wu established the Historical Research Association, and following graduation he became a teaching assistant at Tsinghua. He became chief editor of *History Biweekly* in Tianjin in April 1935.

After the War of Resistance against Japan broke out in July 1937, Wu Han accepted a posting as professor of history at Yunnan University in Kunming. He married his Tsinghua schoolmate Yuan Zhen that October, and under her influence became increasingly politically engaged. In summer 1940, Wu Han became professor of history at Southwest United University, formed through the wartime relocation and consolidation of Peking, Tsinghua and Nankai universities.

Wu Han joined the China Democratic Political League (subsequently renamed the China Democratic League) in July 1943, and convinced Wen Yiduo (Wen I-to), a leading poet and professor of Chinese Literature at Southwest United, to also join. Rising within the leadership of the party, Wu in December 1944 became editor of *Democracy Weekly*, an official organ of the League's Yunnan branch, and wrote many articles on history that targeted and satirized the KMT's autocratic rule. During that same year, he published a historical storybook about the Ming dynasty's founding emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang, which served as a veiled criticism of KMT generalissimo Chiang

Kai-shek. An essay collection entitled *History's Mirror* followed the following year.

After China won the War of Resistance against Japan in August 1945, Southwest United University was disbanded as Peking, Tsinghua and Nankai universities were allowed to return to their original campuses. Upon leaving Kunming, Wu Han spent some time in Shanghai while his wife recuperated from an illness. Following the assassination of the Democratic League's Kunming leaders, Li Gongpu (Li Kung-pu) and Wen Yiduo, by KMT agents in July, Wu published a series of articles memorializing them and protesting against the authorities. Upon his return to Beijing, he continued as professor of history at Tsinghua University and became chairman of the Democratic League's Beijing branch.

### **From professor to politician**

After publishing his essay collection *Historical Events and Personages* in 1948, Wu Han set off to visit the "liberated area" in China's northeast at the invitation of the CPC Central Committee. Passing through Shanghai, Wu met the Democratic League's chairman, Zhang Lan (Chang Lan), inaugural chairman Huang Yanpei (Huang Yen-pei) and propaganda head Luo Longji, who entrusted him with a letter to pass along to Shen Junru (Shen Chun-ju), Zhang Bojun (Chang Po-chun) and other League leaders who had already made their way to the liberated area. The letter proposed terms for negotiating a cooperative relationship between the League and the CPC: "If the CPC doesn't accept our terms, the League will withdraw from the coalition government and become an opposition party". Wu Han expressed no views on the content of the proposal, but he did not deliver the letter. In November 1948, Wu arrived at the CPC Central Committee base in Xibaipo in Pingshan County, Hebei Province, where he met Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other CPC leaders.

Following the CPC's "peaceful liberation" of Beijing in early 1949, Wu Han represented the Military Control Commission in its takeover and reorganization of Peking and Tsinghua universities, rejoining Tsinghua as vice-chairman of the university's board as well as director of the College of Liberal Arts and chairman of the History Department. That September, he became a

member of the standing committee of the national committee of the CPPCC, then joined the Culture and Education Commission of the Government Administration Council and was appointed vice-mayor of Beijing. His participation in political and academic bodies proliferated over the following decade, while he also published *The Life of Zhu Yuanzhang* and *Notes on Historical Readings*.

In March 1957, the CPC Central Committee approved Wu Han as a member of the CPC. After the Anti-Rightist Campaign began that year, he took the lead in exposing and criticizing the so-called “Zhang-Luo Alliance” between his former Democratic League colleagues Zhang Bojun and Luo Longji, claiming that the opinions in the 1948 letter he had been asked to transmit all originated with Luo. In a meeting in December 1958 during which Zhang, Luo and others were expelled as Rightists, Wu Han was elected vice-chairman of the Democratic League’s central committee.

### **Rise and fall through insinuation**

Wu Han joined the CWA in 1959 and then responded to Mao’s appeal to “Learn from Hai Rui” by publishing a series of articles on the Ming official venerated as a model of integrity for criticizing his sovereign. He followed up in 1960 with the historical drama *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office* (Hai Rui Ba Guan). In September 1961, Wu joined Deng Tuo, a secretary of the Secretariat of the CPC’s Beijing Municipal Committee, and Liao Mosha, head of the Committee’s United Front Office, in launching a cultural column entitled “Jottings from Three-Family Village” in the municipal Party publication *Frontline* (*Qianxian*), with the three men contributing articles under the shared pen name Wu Nanxing. Over the following years, Wu Han published a series of essay collections and edited several series of historical works.

In November 1965, Yao Wenyuan, the head of the literature and arts section of *Liberation Daily* in Shanghai, published an article in *Wenhui Bao* entitled “A Critique of the New Historical Play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*”. According to subsequent reports, Mao sent his wife Jiang Qing to order the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the CPC to criticize the play as his opening salvo against the Beijing Municipal Committee. Yao Wenyuan did the actual

writing, amending the essay ten times before Mao approved its publication. The essay, which asserted that the play was a “poisonous weed”, was the prelude to the launching of the Great Cultural Revolution. That December, Mao said:

*The strength of Yao Wenyuan’s essay was in naming names, but it didn’t hit the key target. The key point is “dismissal from office”. The Jiajing Emperor dismissed Hai Rui, and in 1959, we dismissed Peng Dehuai. Peng Dehuai is Hai Rui.*

In April 1966, the *Frontline* column came under attack, with Deng Tuo, Wu Han and Liao Mosha accused of promoting an “anti-Party, anti-socialism revisionist line”. On May 16, an enlarged meeting of CPC Politburo issued what came to be known as the “May 16 Notice”, which formally launched the Cultural Revolution. The notice stated, “The objective of this great struggle is criticism against a large group of anti-Party, anti-socialism representative figures of the bourgeoisie (the Central Committee and all of its organs, as well as every province, city and autonomous region, have such representative figures of the bourgeoisie)”.

Two days later, Deng Tuo killed himself.

Following repeated denunciation, Wu Han and Liao Mosha were imprisoned in March 1968. Wu Han died in prison on October 11, 1969, after suffering a relapse of tuberculosis. He was 60 years old. His wife, Yuan Zhen, had predeceased him more than half a year earlier under the hardship of Reform through Labor. Their adopted daughter, Wu Xiaoyan, became mentally deranged, and after being imprisoned in autumn 1975, she killed herself.

In July 1979, the Beijing Municipal Committee of CPC rehabilitated the “Three-Family Village Anti-Party Clique” and restored Wu Han’s Party membership and political reputation.

In June 2009, China Renmin University Press published *The Complete Works of Wu Han* in ten volumes totaling more than five million characters.

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## Case No. 20 (1966): Tian Han Dead because of Satirical Plays



*Tian Han (Tien Han, born Tian Shouchang, March 12, 1898 - December 10, 1968), a famous playwright, poet, lyricist, art critic, social activist and government official, was criticized in 1966 as “anti-Party, anti-socialism and anti-people” because his opera Xie Yaohuan was regarded as “using the past to disparage the present”. He was persecuted until his death two years later.*

### **Laying the foundation for modern Chinese theater**

Tian Han was born to an impoverished peasant family in Changsha County, Hunan Province, and lost his father when he was nine years old. At the age of 14, he was admitted to Changsha Normal School, and that same year published his first work in *Changsha Daily* – a libretto for a Peking Opera entitled *The New Story of Educating Her Son*. Three years later, he published the play *The New Story of the Peach Blossom Fan* in the supplement to Shanghai’s *Times* under the pen name Han’er.

In 1916, he accompanied his uncle and his fiancé’s father to Japan, where he studied English at Tokyo’s Advanced Normal School. In 1920, he joined Guo Moruo, Cheng Fangwu, Yu Dafu and others in establishing the Creation Society in Tokyo, and published a collection of letters between himself, Guo and Zong Baihua (Tsung Pai-hua). His first play, *Divine Light*, was performed

in October 1920. In 1921, Tian published translations of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Oscar Wilde's *Salome* in *Young China*.

In May 1922, Tian Han published his first stand-alone volume, the memoir *Rose's Road*, as well as his play *A Night in the Coffee Shop* in the inaugural issue of *Creation Quarterly*. Upon returning to China that September, he became an editor at Chung Hwa Book Company in Shanghai. In January 1924, Tian and his wife founded *Nanguo (South)* semimonthly, and Tian published his one-act play *Night of the Tiger*. He abandoned *South* after four issues, however, due to his wife's illness. He left Shanghai for his old home in Changsha in August, and at the end of that year published his first collection of plays as well as translations of Kan Kikuchi's *Selected Modern Japanese Plays* and Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

After his wife's death in early 1925, Tian Han accepted an offer to teach Chinese literature at Hunan Provincial No. 1 Normal School. Later that year, he left Changsha to teach at Shanghai University and Great China University, and published his silent movie script *Prince Cuiyan* in a special supplement to *Xingshi Weekly*. In 1926, Tian launched the Nanguo Film Troupe, serving as stage manager while also involved in films, plays and performances. He directed the film *Go to the People* and published a translation of Maeterlinck's *Monna Vanna*.

Tian Han served for a short time as artistic consultant in the political department of the National Revolutionary Army General Headquarters in Nanjing in mid-1927 before joining Shanghai Arts University as head of the Liberal Arts department and then as the university's president. When the authorities refused to authorize his presidency position at the end of the year, he continued his involvement in drama performances and other arts events in Shanghai, Hangzhou, Nanjing, Guangzhou, Wuxi under the name of the South Society (Nanguo She). During this time, Tian also published collections of essays and translations of Japanese dramatic works.

### **Developing Left-wing cinema**

In early 1930, Tian published a lengthy essay entitled "Our Self-criticism", in which he declared a shift to the left from romanticism to realism. He went on

to help establish the Chinese League of Liberation Movements, ostensibly under the banner of Lu Xun, but in fact a Leftist group led by the CPC. He also joined the standing committee of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers and helped launch and lead the Chinese League of Left-wing Dramatists. In September that year, the authorities closed down the South Society due to its pro-Communist leanings, and Tian Han became an “underground writer”, continuing to publish and carry out activities under the pseudonym Chen Yu.

In March 1932, Tian Han joined the CPC along with Ding Ling and other writers, and in July, he was appointed CPC secretary at the League of Left-wing Dramatists and as a member of the CPC Central Committee’s Cultural Works Committee. He then accepted an appointment as screenwriter for the United China Film Company, and his screenplays for *Three Modern Women* and *Maternal Light* were produced within the following year and a half. When the Yihua Film Studio was reorganized in September 1933, Tian Yuan took charge of film production and headed the screenplay committee. He also made Leftist anti-Japanese propaganda films with Yang Hansheng, a screenwriter who oversaw the movie industry for the Cultural Committee of the CPC’s Shanghai Central Bureau, as well as Xia Yan and others. This led to him being shut out by the Association for Anti-Communism Comrades in the Film Industry.

In spring 1934, the CPC’s Film Group helped establish the Diantong Film Company, and Tian Han was put in charge of screenwriting. The following year, the company produced four successful Leftist films, one of which, *Children of the Storm*, was written by Tian Han and Xia Yan. Tian Han also wrote the lyrics of the wildly popular theme songs for that movie and *Plunder of Peach and Plum*.

Unhappy with an article published in *Society Monthly*, Tian Han in August 1934 used a pen name to publish an essay in the *Torch* supplement to *Dawan Bao* in which he made a veiled criticism of a letter by Lu Xun that was also published in that issue.

In October that year, Tian Han took over from Hu Feng as executive secretary of the League of Left-wing Writers. Soon after that, he accompanied Xia Yan, Yang Hansheng and Zhou Yang (at that time the CPC secretary at the League) to discuss League matters with Lu Xun. During the meeting, Tian

accused Hu Feng of being a “hidden traitor” sent by the authorities, and this angered Lu Xun, who still trusted Hu Feng more than anyone else. Not long afterward, when replying to a letter from an editor at Tian Han’s *Theater Weekly* regarding the adaptation of *The Story of Ah Q* into a script, Lu Xun mentioned Tian’s pseudonymous *Torch* essay and said, “If someone from the same camp were to disguise himself and stab me in the back, my loathing and disdain for him would be more than for an open enemy”.

A year and a half later, Lu Xun dismissively referred to Zhou Yang’s group as the “four fellows” in the course of the “two slogans debate”, a dispute that affected all those involved for nearly half a century.

### **The Great “National Calamity Drama”**

Tian Han, Yang Hansheng and others were arrested on February 19, 1935, and were transferred to the Provost Detention Center in Nanjing three weeks later. Tian was released on bail in July through the intervention of Xu Beihong (Hsu Pei-hung), Zong Baihua and Zhang Daofan (Chang Tao-fan, a member of the KMT Central Executive Committee and head of the school board for the National Academy of Theater). The KMT Propaganda Department assigned a minder to “look after” him, but allowed him to engage in theater and other cultural activities in Nanjing.

In November that year, Tian Han took advantage of the Nanjing premier of Datong Film Company’s *Under Mount Emai* to present his new play, *Night of Upheaval*, and his opera *Dream Return*. At the end of the month, he established the China Stage Association, through which he presented three public performances over the next five months, along with a series of plays that came to be known as “national calamity drama”. Not long afterward, essays that Lu Xun published in Shanghai targeted the “four fellows” and ridiculed Tian Han for “staging plays in Nanjing”, where he had previously been imprisoned by the KMT. Tian Han nevertheless continued adapting Lu’s *The Story of Ah Q* into a five-act play.

The resistance film *Youth’s March*, directed by Tian Han, had its premier just three days after the War of Resistance against Japan broke out on July 7, 1937. After that, Tian accepted an invitation by the Nanjing Journalists’

Association to quickly write the drama *Lugou Bridge*, which had its premiere in Nanjing on August 7. Tian Han left Nanjing for Shanghai the following month and then withdrew to Wuhan, where he presented his play *The Last Victory* and his new Peking opera, *The New Yanmen Pass*. At the end of the year, Tian Han helped launch the All-China Anti-Japanese Association of Theater Circles, of which he was elected executive manager and head of the Drama Department.

### **Remaking traditional drama and opera**

In January 1938, Tian Han returned to his native Changsha and established *Anti-Japan War Daily*, serving as its chief editor. When the Political Department of the national government's Military Commission established its propaganda division under Guo Moruo, Tian Han was invited to take charge of arts propaganda, first in Wuhan and then in Changsha. After the great fire in Changsha in November, Tian Han left the division to tour with theater troupes raising money for relief efforts. In the process of roaming from Changsha to Guilin, he shifted his emphasis to presenting new versions of traditional regional operas and using old themes to inspire resistance against the current enemy.

In May 1940, Tian Han was called back to the wartime secondary capital in Chongqing to work in the drastically cut-back propaganda division, where he wrote the screenplay for *Victory March*. In November that year, the division was reorganized into the Cultural Works Committee, and Tian Han was appointed head of the committee's Literature and Arts Research Group, where he established and edited *Theater Age (Xiju Chunqiu)*, published in Guilin. After relations between the CPC and KMT broke down over the Wannan Incident in January 1941, Tian Han left Chongqing for Hengshan, Hunan Province, and then proceeded to Guilin, where he continued to present plays and operas. With Japanese troops advancing on the southwest in November 1944, Tian Han accompanied the mass exodus from Guilin, arriving in Kunming in March 1945. His adaptation of the Peking Opera *Burning Incense* had its premier following China's victory in the Anti-Japan War.

Tian Han left Kunming for Chongqing in February 1946 and returned to Shanghai in May. His play *Beauty Walks*, performed in Wuxi and Shanghai

from March to May 1947, was a great success and premiered in a film adaptation in 1949. Other films, plays and operas followed in rapid succession.

### **Encouraging “a hundred flowers to bloom”**

In September 1948, Tian Han left Shanghai for the CPC’s Northern China Liberated Region, and the following January, he accompanied the PLA into “peacefully liberated” Beijing. In the middle of 1949, he prepared and attended the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers, and was elected to the standing committee of CFLAC and as chairman of the National Association of Theatrical Workers (NATW). In September, he attended the meetings of the first national committee of the CPPCC, during which “March of the Volunteers”, for which Tian wrote the lyrics, was chosen as a temporary national anthem. Soon after the establishment of the People’s Republic of China on October 1, 1949, Tian Han was appointed to the Government Administration Council’s Culture and Education Committee and as head of the Opera Improvement Bureau of the Ministry of Culture, which in January 1950 established the Opera Experimental School with Tian Han as its director. That April, the NATW began publishing *People’s Theater* (renamed *Theater Daily* in 1954), and Tian Han served as chief editor while also publishing his play *Storm in North Korea* in its pages. At a meeting of the NATW in December, he presented a report entitled “Fighting for a Patriotic New People’s Opera”, in which he said:

*In fact, the abundant living symbolism and limitless talent and intelligence of the Chinese people is still buried in local arts throughout China!... We can no longer allow these cultural treasures to be buried and lost. This is the time! Apart from continuing to reform Peking Opera, we should put an emphasis on reforming local opera and drama, and use organization and planning to carry out universal reform of local theater and opera throughout China, as well as the operas germinating among ethnic minorities, and strive to “let a hundred flowers bloom” among theatrical arts throughout China.*

Mao later used Tian Han's phrase "let a hundred flowers bloom" as the main slogan for the CPC arts policy under which Tian and many other cultural figures were persecuted.

In March 1951, an organizational restructuring of the Ministry of Culture combined the Opera Improvement Bureau with the Artistic Undertakings Management Bureau under Tian Han's directorship. In January 1952, Tian Han became publisher of the NATW's new magazine *Script* (*Juben*). Tian's rewriting of his old work *Story of the Golden Alms Bowl* as the Peking Opera *Story of the White Snake* was published in the magazine and later performed at the Opera Experimental School. In September 1953, he was reelected to the standing committee of the CFLAC and as chairman of the Chinese Dramatists Association (CDA). In September 1954, Tian attended the first National People's Congress as an elected delegate from Sichuan Province.

At the Supreme State Conference on May 2, 1956, Mao formally declared "Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" as the guiding principle on artistic and academic issues. Based on his on-the-ground observation and experience promoting the reform of regional operas throughout China, Tian Han published two essays in the July and November issues of *Theater Daily* on the need to improve the living conditions of artists and performers, and he submitted a related report to the CPC Central Committee. This resulted in the central and local governments allocating significant support to artists in straitened circumstances. The Ministry of Culture also issued a notice on the issue of banned plays: "Apart from the need for certain organizational procedures to examine and decide on banning programs opposing current politics, there shall be no prohibitions". As a result, artists throughout China praised Tian Han, and he continued to voice strong criticism when the CPC Central Committee launched a "free airing of views" for Party rectification the following spring. For example, at a "air viewing session" for theatrical circles on May 28, he said, "All we want is a good life under socialism, yet this remains an inhuman way of life, and that's intolerable!"

When leading figures in the literary and arts community were labeled members of a "Rightist anti-Party clique", Tian Han was likewise targeted by the Central Propaganda Department. It was only through the protective efforts of the Propaganda Department's vice-director, Zhou Yang, that attention

shifted to renowned playwright and film director Wu Zuguang instead; after undergoing self-criticism, Tian Han was allowed to continue leading the Anti-Rightist Campaign at the NATW, during which he was ordered to expose and criticize the “Wu Zuguang Rightist Clique”.

During festivities commemorating the Yuan dynasty dramatist Guan Hanqing in 1958, Tian Han published a play in the May issue of *Script* focusing on Guan’s works and promoting *Injustice to Dou’e*, an artistic depiction of “pleading for the people” that is regarded as Guan’s greatest dramatic work. Tian explained, “Why did I write the play *Guan Hanqing*? To answer this question, I must first explain why Guan Hanqing wrote *Injustice to Dou’e*. He was a realist, and he used the past to criticize the present”.

That same year, Tian Han published a play extolling the Great Leap Forward, *Shisanling Reservoir Rhapsody*.

In April 1959, Tian Han once again attended the second NPC as a delegate from Sichuan. In August, the CPC Central Committee purged Defense Minister Peng Dehuai, who had criticized the Great Leap Forward, as a member of a “Right Opportunist Anti-Party Clique”, after which the Campaign against Right Opportunists was launched throughout the Party. The Propaganda Department ruled that Tian Han was a representative of Right Opportunist Thought within the CDA, and he was repeatedly subjected to criticism. Even so, Tian Han was reelected as CDA chairman and continued his participating in other professional associations in 1960. That same year, acting under orders, he wrote *Princess Wencheng*, a play using the past to praise the present. In 1961, Tian rewrote the Shaanxi Opera *The Female Inspector General* as a 13-act Peking Opera entitled *Xie Yaohuan*, which was performed the following year to great acclaim. This was another play attempting to “plead for the people”; in spite of its positive depiction of the Emperor and an upright official, it was eventually presented as evidence of Tian “using the past to disparage the present”.

After the failure of his economic policies during the Great Leap Forward, Mao Zedong turned toward “class struggle” in the cultural and ideological sphere in 1962. Under the influence of his former-actress wife, Jiang Qing, he first focused on plays and films, writing at the end of 1963:

*At one time, Theater was promoting ox demons and snake spirits. The Ministry of Culture is not managing culture; there are many feudalistic works featuring emperors, general and ministers, scholars and ladies.*

At a symposium convened by the Central Propaganda Department the following January, CPC Central Committee Vice-chairman and PRC President Liu Shaoqi criticized the Kunqu opera *Li Huiliang* and the Peking opera *Xie Yaohuan*, saying the antagonists in both cast aspersions on the Communist Party. In July, the Central Committee Secretariat set up a Five-person Cultural Revolution Group nominated by Mao and headed by Central Committee standing committee member and First Secretary of the CPC's Beijing Municipal Committee, Peng Zhen. This Group proceeded to carry out a CPC rectification campaign in the Ministry of Culture and the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, with public criticisms of *Li Huiliang*, *Xie Yaohuan* and many other films, novels and literary works, and making Tian Han a prime target. In October, Tian was suspended from his position as secretary of the CPC Leadership Group at the CDA. When attending the NPC and CPPCC sessions in 1964-1965, he was obliged to carry out self-criticism before delegates of the artistic community.

In October 1965, 67-year-old Tian Han was sent down to "Study and Reform" in a production team of the Niulanshan People's Commune in Beijing's suburban Shunyi County, where the CDA was tasked with carrying out the "Four Cleans Campaign". A month later, *Wenhui Bao* published Yao Wen Yuan's lengthy critical essay "A Criticism of the New Historical Play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*", which raised the curtain on the Cultural Revolution.

### **The result of "pleading for the people"**

On January 1, 1966, *Script* published Yun Song's essay "Tian Han's *Xie Yaohuan* is a Big Poisonous Weed", which was then reprinted in *People's Daily* on February 2. It concluded:

*In Xie Yaohuan, Comrade Tian Han brazenly slanders the socialist system as "persecuting good and loyal men"... He revealed that these "good and loyal*

*men” are himself and others who share his thinking. Thus, in this play, Xie Yaohuan is an embodiment of Tian Han, Xie Yaohuan “pleading for the people” is Tian Han “pleading for the people”, and the “tragic” conclusion is an outburst of “grief and indignation” from Tian Han and those who “plead for the people”.*

On February 24, *People’s Daily* reprinted “A Critique of Xie Yaohuan” by He Qifang, head of the Literature Institute at CAS. Previously published in *Literary Review*, this article took criticism of the play a step further:

*Advocating and carrying out so-called “pleading for the people” in a socialist society is out-and-out reactionary, and is out-and-out anti-Party, anti-socialism and anti-people.*

Once the Cultural Revolution was formally launched in May that year, Tian Han and other arts figures who had been criticized in CPC Central Committee publications became primary targets of Red Guard denunciation and beatings. Tian suffered constant physical abuse and humiliation, and at one point, a young female Red Guard whipped him so hard with a belt buckle that blood poured from his head.

Late at night on December 4, 1966, Tian Han was arrested and secretly imprisoned in the Beijing Garrison Command Headquarters and interrogated by the “Tian Han Special Investigation Group”. Two days later, *People’s Daily* published three essays with an editorial note: He Cheng’s “Lu Xun Angrily Rebukes the Traitor Tian Han”, Gao Hongyang’s “Kick Away the Stumbling Block to Drama Revolution” and Ju Hui’s “Struggle and Thoroughly Pillory the ‘Godfather’ of Theater Circles, the Counterrevolutionary Tian Han”. Tian was no longer addressed as “Comrade”, but was labeled a long-time anti-Communist, a disgraceful traitor, a counterrevolutionary revisionist who had infiltrated CPC, a leader of capitalist roaders within the Party, and a daring vanguard of “anti-Party, anti-socialism and anti-Mao Zedong Thought” within the theatrical community. He was investigated for offenses as far back as the 1920s and 1930s, and the lyrics he wrote to “March of the Volunteers” were no longer used.

In February 1967, Tian Han was sent to Beijing's Qincheng Prison, where further investigations covered the time when he was detained and held under house arrest in Nanjing in 1935. He was hospitalized under a pseudonym in July 1967 for treatment of coronary heart disease and diabetes, but his interrogation continued. Tian Han died on December 10, 1968, at the age of 70.

Beginning in spring 1970, Tian Han and the other "four fellows", Zhou Yang, Xia Yan and Yang Hansheng, came under nationwide criticism, and all of their writings were purged. On March 2 and April 23, 1971, *People's Daily* published two articles by Xin Wentong and the Nanjing University Chinese Department Revolutionary Mass Criticism Group posthumously criticizing Tian and his widely influential works. A special investigation team of the CPC Central Committee declared Tian Han a traitor in 1975 and "permanently rescinded" his Party membership.

This verdict was revoked by the Central Committee in early 1979, and on April 25, the CFLAC carried out a rehabilitation and memorial ceremony for Tian Han. In December 1982, the NPC restored "March of the Volunteers" as the National Anthem of the People's Republic of China.

From 1983 to 1986, China Theater Press published *The Collected Works of Tian Han* in 16 volumes totaling some five million characters. In 2000, Huashan Literary Press published *The Complete Works of Tian Han* in 20 volumes totaling more than 8.3 million characters.

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## **Case No. 21 (1967): Liu Wenhui**

### **Executed for Opposing the Cultural Revolution**



*Liu Wenhui (November 16, 1937 - March 23, 1967), a worker and freelance writer, imprisoned and then executed for “counterrevolutionary crimes” after writing and disseminating an essay opposing Mao and the Cultural Revolution.*

Liu Wenhui was born in Shanghai, the fifth of nine siblings. His father, Liu Zonghan, started out working for a bank, but after China’s victory in the War of Resistance against Japan, he became a section chief and assistant commissioner in the United Nations Relief Headquarters. He retired from the Shipping Industry Bureau in 1954, but during the 1956 Campaign to Eliminate Counterrevolutionaries he was accused of “pre-liberation counterrevolutionary crimes”, and following a formal court Verdict in 1958, he was sentenced to “penal labor and reform under surveillance”.

In 1952, 15-year-old Liu Wenhui dropped out of middle school due to his family’s financial difficulties and became an apprentice in the hull workshop of the East Shanghai Shipyard. He served out his apprenticeship in less than three years and became a journeyman. After joining the Chinese Communist Youth League in July 1956, he was elected secretary and later foreman of his workshop Youth League branch, while also attending a technical secondary night school run by the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions.

When the CPC Central Committee launched its Party Rectification Campaign in 1957, Liu Wenhui responded with a big-character poster exposing the bureaucratism and corrupt lifestyles of his factory's leaders. As a result, the factory leadership labeled him a Rightist and stripped him of his official positions and his Youth League membership. The factory leaders were obliged to reverse these actions and rehabilitate Liu in the latter stage of the Anti-Rightist Campaign, when the CPC Central Committee decided that workers couldn't be considered Rightists. After that, Liu enrolled in evening university courses and began reading large quantities of political, historical and literary writings.

Liu was transferred to the Shengsi Machine Factory on Zhejiang's Zhoushan Archipelago as a backup worker in December 1961. Accused of organizing a failed attempt to leave the country in 1964, Liu was sentenced to three years of surveillance and control in February 1966 and escorted back to Shanghai.

When the CPC Central Committee launched the Cultural Revolution in May that year, Liu wrote two pamphlets based on his own experience, *On Counterfeit Class Struggle and Practical Bankruptcy*, and *A Thorough Look at Various Campaigns Since 1957*, but these were confiscated by Red Guards during a search of his home. The Central Committee issued its "Resolution Regarding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (known as "The 16 Points") on August 8, after which Liu wrote a long memorial entitled "Refuting the 16 Points of the Great Cultural Revolution". He and his younger brother Liu Wenzhong made 14 copies of the essay, and when Liu Wenzhong took a vacation to Hangzhou on National Day, he mailed the copies to Peking University, Tsinghua, Fudan and other elite universities throughout China.

The Liu brothers were arrested in their home on November 26, 1966. On March 9, 1967, the Shanghai Municipal Intermediate People's Court found Liu Wenhui guilty of counterrevolutionary crimes, specifically that in 1957 he had "carried out a frenzied attack on the Communist Party's leadership and the socialist system, grossly slandered our previous political campaigns and various general and specific policies"; that in 1962 he had "headed and organized a counterrevolutionary clique plotting to hijack a ship and defect to the enemy. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched, he

targeted the Central Committee's Resolution Regarding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution ("The 16 Points") and composed a counterrevolutionary '16 Points,' which he disseminated to 14 major universities and middle schools in eight major cities, using extremely venomous language to revile the great leader; he carried out a frenzied attack on the new stage of socialist revolution as 'a new stage of militaristic aggression' and on the socialist system as 'the base of warfare,' and slandered the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution movement as 'a major persecution of the populace.' He also gave enormous publicity to bourgeois 'peace, democracy, equality and fraternity,' and expended great effort in adulating Soviet revisionism and American imperialism". Liu was found to be a "counterrevolutionary guilty of the most heinous crimes, utterly unrepentant and entrenched as an enemy of the people". On that basis, he was sentenced to death. The verdict was upheld against his appeal by the Shanghai Municipal Intermediate People's Court on March 10.

On March 20, 1967, Liu Wenhui wrote a deathbed statement that he hid in his quilt and then handed over to the prison to give to his family after he died. In this statement, he wrote:

*I believe that after I die, our country's democrats and realists within the Communist Party will advance toward world trends, and that China will have hope, that is, democracy, freedom and equality... Mao has contributed to the Chinese people as a historical figure, but since 1955, he has shifted toward a reactionary aspect. The whole world is changing, but he is so muddleheaded, obstinate, arrogant and glory-mongering and presents himself as a savior, to the point where domestic politics and foreign affairs have fallen into chaos, and he seems likely to take even greater chances until he becomes the bane of China. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution compels the people to submit their wills and purges dissent; its methods are backstage manipulation and the covert shooting of poisoned arrows, creating a world of darkness, duping the masses, confusing right and wrong, autocratically and vaingloriously toying with the lives of the multitudes and risking disaster for China as he stakes everything on the implementation of his great ideals. I resolutely oppose isolationism and exclusionism, militarism, and the anti-democratic, anti-liberal, anti-industrial measures of burning books, burying scholars and enslaving the people in vicious and retaliatory class struggle; I*

*oppose the absurdity of “liberating two thirds of the people of the world”. I therefore consider it my duty to engage in battle with Mao. In this way, I die a death more significant than Mount Tai... Once the Mao regime falls, I will be restored to honor as a martyr, and my family will be cleansed of the defilement it has suffered.*

Liu Wenhui was executed in public at the Shanghai Cultural Stadium on March 23, 1967, at the age of 29.

On January 6, 1982, the Shanghai Municipal Higher People’s Court addressed repeated petitions by Liu’s family by rehabilitating him and declaring his innocence. By then, the convictions of Liu’s father and brother for counterrevolutionary crimes had also been reversed, and Liu Zonghan and Liu Wenzhong were thoroughly rehabilitated.

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## **Case No. 22 (1968): Wang Ruowang Charged for Offending Mao and Lin**



*Wang Ruowang (born Wang Shouhua, February 4, 1918 - December 19, 2011), a writer, editor and political activist, was arrested in 1968 on accusations of reviling Mao, and spent nearly ten years in custody or under surveillance and control.*

### **Early experience as a prison writer**

Wang Ruowang was born in Wujin County, Jiangsu Province, the son of a primary school teacher. He enrolled at the age of 14 in Nanjing's Qixia Mountain Village Normal School, but was expelled a year later for "disorderly conduct" and became an apprentice at Shanghai's New Asia Pharmaceutical Factory. Studying and writing in his spare time, he began publishing essays and poetry in *The Gazette*, joined the CPC-led Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers and the Chinese Communist Youth League, and edited and published a semimonthly called *Professional Life*. After instigating and participating in strikes and protests, Wang was arrested by the KMT government in 1934 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He continued writing in prison and paid off prison guards to take his writings out for publication.

After the KMT government began cooperating with the CPC in the War of Resistance against Japan, Wang was one of the political prisoners released in August 1937, and the CPC soon afterward sent him to Nanjing to coordinate

with other released prisoners. He was then sent to Yan'an to train at the Northern Shaanxi Public School and serve as leader of the First Brigade. He joined the CPC in October, and when his training ended, he was assigned a job with the Youth Work Committee of the CPC Central Committee as Party branch secretary and team leader in the Anwubao Youth Training Course. In February 1938, Wang published two reports in a supplement to *New China Daily*, "New Experiments in National Defense Education" and "Inconceivable Brutality". He was sent to do youth work in the CPC's Xi'an Work Committee in April, and then in August was appointed CPC secretary of Baoji County. In April 1939, Wang was transferred back to the Youth Work Committee in Yan'an. The following year he published the short story "Slave Groom" in Hu Feng's *July Monthly*. He married Li Ming in November 1940.

### The Wang Shiwei of Shandong

In April 1941, Wang Ruowang helped found the Youth Work Committee's wall newspaper *Light Cavalry*, where he served as deputy chief editor and published an essay entitled "Friendship":

*Upon my return to Yan'an, I could not resist visiting my old comrades-in-arms. While chatting about old times, I gradually found that our friendship was not as it had once been; there was an invisible barrier between us, and what surprised me most was that the degree of estrangement was directly related to what ranking a person attained after coming to Yan'an.*

Wang had the same ideological inclinations as the "exposing darkness" literary trend espoused by Ding Ling, Xiao Jun, Ai Qing and other prominent writers. However, when Mao Zedong formally launched his "rectification campaign" in February 1942, Wang had just been transferred to the Urban Works Department of the CPC Central Committee for training, so he did not become involved in the subsequent creative surge of the "exposure faction" or in the resulting purge of Wang Shiwei and others, nor was he implicated when *Light Cavalry* was investigated and banned. Instead, he was sent in June to the Shandong Branch of the CPC Central Committee to serve as a cadre in the Urban Work Department.

Wang was launched to fame with the publication of his essay “The Story of Mao Zedong” in the CPC’s Shandong newspaper *The Masses Daily* in 1943. When the Central Committee’s Shandong Branch underwent rectification in May that year and published a “democracy wall newspaper” welcoming suggestions, Wang responded enthusiastically with many critical opinions, some targeting branch secretary Li Yu. As a result, Wang was soon subjected to criticism and struggle, during which his participation in Yan’an’s *Light Cavalry* wall newspaper came under examination. He became known as “the Wang Shiwei of Shandong”, and was even accused of spying for the KMT. Fortunately, Luo Ronghuan, the First Secretary of the Central Committee’s Shandong Branch and the political commissar of the Shandong Military Region, ruled that the evidence suggested nothing more than “ideological problems”, and instead of being harshly disciplined, Wang was transferred to the branch’s Party School for study. Two months later, Wang was sent down to a village in Junan County, where he worked as a primary school teacher, helped peasants establish mutual aid committees and wrote a series of articles for *The Masses Daily*. Wang was brought back to the Urban Work Department to serve as a youth corps instructor in early 1945.

### **From labor union to Writers’ Association**

After the War of Resistance against Japan ended in August 1945, Wang’s wife, Li Ming, was transferred to the county town of Linyi, where the CPC Central Committee Eastern Bureau was headquartered, and Wang joined her as a member of the bureau’s Labor Movement Committee. In autumn 1946, Wang founded and edited *Cultural Rejuvenation* Semimonthly, and he published the short story collection *Station Agent Lü* in 1947. When PLA troops occupied Jinan in September 1948, Wang became head of the labor welfare department of the Shandong Province Federation of Trade Unions, and then was transferred to Yanzhou to serve as director of the Huaihai frontline bureau of the Xinhua News Agency.

When PLA troops occupied Shanghai in May 1949, Wang became deputy director of the culture and education department of the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions, in charge of organizing industrial unions and night schools. He

founded Labor Movement Publishing House and *Labor Movement Daily*, as well as the Trade Union's song-and-dance ensemble, and he wrote and published four *Worker Reading Primers*. He became head of the education section of the Unemployed Workers' Relief Committee in 1950.

In 1951, Wang published the novelette *The Fiancé in the Countryside* in *Literary New World* in Shanghai, and joined with Jiang Yutian and others in writing the modern drama *Paper Tiger*.

In 1952, Wang became director of the Wusong Machine Factory (subsequently renamed Shanghai Diesel Engine Factory) and deputy secretary of its CPC branch, and published the essay collection *Consolations to North Korea*. In April 1954, he became deputy director of the Literature and Art section of the Propaganda Department of the Eastern Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and at the end of that year he was appointed director of the Shanghai Writers' Association and deputy chief editor of *Literature and Art Monthly*, while also publishing many essays in *People's Daily*, *Liberation Daily* and *Wenhui Bao*.

### **From Hu Feng critic to Rightist**

In 1955, Wang Ruowang joined the campaign to criticize the "Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique", publishing an essay collection entitled *The Destruction of the Hu Feng Gang and Others*.

In 1957, a series of essays resulted in Wang being labeled a Rightist. He was expelled from the CPC and sent down to a rural village for Reform through Labor. His wife, Li Ming, was driven to mental breakdown by constant threats and intimidation, and two younger brothers were persecuted as Rightists. Wang had his Rightist label removed in 1962, and heeding Premier Zhou Enlai's call to "Discard all mental blocks and engage in bold creation", he published short stories extolling the Great Leap Forward in *Shanghai Literature*, only to have Ke Qingshi, the Secretary of the CPC's Shanghai Municipal Committee, publicly criticize him for "openly vilifying the Three Red Banners". This caused Li Ming, by then a member of the Municipal Committee, to suffer a mental relapse, and after she died in 1965, Wang laid down his pen for a time.

## **Imprisoned again**

In August 1968, Wang was arrested as an “active counterrevolutionary” on allegations of having reviled Mao, Lin Biao and other leaders. After public denunciation at a mass rally, he was sent to the Shanghai No. 1 Detention Center where the KMT had imprisoned him more than 30 years before, and he was further accused of having turned traitor at that time. Wang was held without trial for nearly four years but adamantly refused to admit to vilifying Mao and other leaders, and when inquiries among his previous fellow prisoners determined that he had never turned traitor, he was “released for education” on June 30, 1972. He remained under surveillance by his local neighborhood committee and public security office as an “active counterrevolutionary” and spent five months in Reform through Labor at a “May Seventh Cadre School” in Fengxian County before being transferred back to Shanghai to help dig air-raid shelters.

## **A Cold Wind in Spring**

In November 1978, Wang Ruowang was finally rehabilitated, and his Party membership was restored, after which he became deputy editor of *Shanghai Literature* and took up writing again after a 13-year hiatus.

Wang married Yangzi in 1979, and later that year published a commentary entitled “A Cold Wind in Spring” in *Guangming Daily*, which was reprinted in *People’s Daily*. In September, *Red Flag* published his article “On Laissez Faire Governance of the Arts”. In November, he attended the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers and was elected to the board of the CWA.

In 1980, *Harvest Magazine* published his novelette *Hunger Trilogy*, which was subsequently translated into English and published in the United States in 1991. His reportage entitled “Meritorious Service or Crime?” appeared in *Democracy and Rule of Law* in March 1984 and was adapted as the radio play “The Innocent Female Prisoner”. In May that year, supported by several literary associations, Wang was elected a delegate to the Xuhui District People’s Congress. At the end of that year, he was reelected to the board of the CWA, and in April 1985 he founded the China Art School as its principal.

The last three months of 1986 saw publication of Wang's political commentary "Chinese Culture's Struggle between Opening and Closing" in Hong Kong's *Mirror Monthly (Jingbao)*, "My View of Polarization – A Discussion with Comrade Deng Xiaoping" in Shenzhen's *SEZ Workers' Daily* and "One-Party Dictatorship Can Only Result in Imperiousness" in *Shenzhen Youth Daily*.

In mid-December, the tertiary institutions of many major cities experienced a wave of protests against administrative interference in student elections and other basic rights and demanding reform to the educational and political systems. More than 3,000 people took to the streets of Shanghai on December 19, ending up at the municipal government offices. Wang Ruowang wrote two eye-witness accounts and published them under the pen names Wang Jielun and Qiu Bingbing in *Hong Kong Economic Journal*.

During a discussion of the 1986 Student Movement with Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang and State Council Premier Zhao Ziyang on December 30, 1986, Deng Xiaoping, the chairman of the CPC Central Committee Advisory Committee, reiterated the need to "oppose liberalization", and called for leading intellectuals Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan and Wang Ruowang to be expelled from the Party.

On January 13, 1987, CPC's Shanghai Municipal Discipline Inspection Commission decided to again strip Wang Ruowang of his Party membership, and two days later, *People's Daily* published "Regarding Wang Ruowang's Erroneous Opposition to the Four Cardinal Principles and Advocacy of Bourgeois Liberalization", along with the Shanghai DIC's "Decision to Expel Wang Ruowang from the Party". The media throughout China reported this news and launched a nationwide campaign against "bourgeois liberalization". On the afternoon of January 18, the police summoned Wang Ruowang for questioning and searched his home, and he was dismissed from all his positions.

In autumn 1987, the US-based Chinese Democracy Education Foundation awarded Wang its Outstanding Democrat Prize, but the Chinese authorities blocked him from receiving it.

## Participation in the Pro-democracy Movement

On April 15, 1989, former CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang died, and university students in Beijing, Shanghai and other major cities staged mass protests “against corruption and for freedom” in his memory. Wang Ruowang joined a protest in Shanghai in early May over the CPC Municipal Committee’s closure of *World Economic Herald* for publishing “A Symposium Mourning Comrade Hu Yaobang”. After Beijing implemented martial law on May 20, Wang took part in a mass protest on May 22 and delivered a speech at Shanghai’s People’s Square. He was placed under house arrest on July 19 and then held in the Shanghai No. 1 Detention Center for more than a year.

In 1991, Wang became chief advisor to the Shanghai Human Rights Association (Shanghai Renquan Xiehui) established by Li Guotao, Wang Fuchen and other young people, whom he then joined in establishing *Democracy Forum*, only to have the authorities shut the magazine down while it was still with the printer.

After Columbia University invited Wang Ruowang to New York as a visiting scholar in August 1992, Wang and his wife Yangzi sought political asylum in the United States. Wang became general convenor of the Chinese Federation of Democracy Movements in May 1993 and chairman of the New York-based China Democracy Party in June 1995.

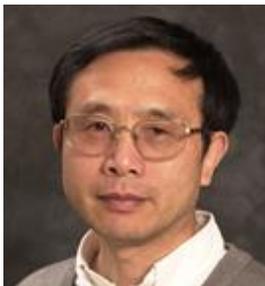
On December 19, 2001, Wang Ruowang died in New York of lung cancer at the age of 83.

Wang’s collected works and other volumes have been published in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

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## Case No. 23 (1969): Yang Xiguang Sentenced for “Whither China”



*Yang Xiguang (alias Yang Xiaokai, October 6, 1948 - July 7, 2004), a Red Guard thinker and an economist of the Austrian school, was sentenced in 1969 to ten years' imprisonment for “counterrevolutionary crimes” because of his essay “Whither China?”*

### **A “black son-of-a-bitch” becomes a Rebel Faction Red Guard**

Yang Xiguang was born in Dunhua, Jilin Province, to parents who were both CPC officials. In 1949, his family accompanied the army south to Changsha, Hunan Province, where his father, Yang Difu, became the head of Xiangtan County, and his mother, Chen Su, became a member of the Hunan Provincial Labor Movement Committee. His parents were promoted to senior positions in the Hunan Provincial Federation of Trade Unions in 1952, but in the mid-1950s, both were attacked and demoted as “Right Opportunists”, and then as counterrevolutionary revisionists when the Cultural Revolution began in 1966. By then, Yang Xiguang was a student at Changsha’s No. 1 Middle School. Labeled a “black son-of-a-bitch”, he was not allowed to take part in the officially-supported Red Guards, so he joined the Rebel Faction Red Guards that opposed the CPC’s Hunan provincial Committee.

In January 1967, Mao Zedong supported a Rebel Faction “revolution” that overthrew the CPC’s Shanghai Municipal Committee and municipal

government, and established a “Shanghai People’s Commune”, later renamed the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

Hunan’s various rebel factions sprang into action, but began fighting among themselves on how to seize power. On January 20, troops from the Hunan Provincial Military Region were suddenly dispatched to “support the left”. The Red Flag Army, a Rebel Faction organization made up of demobilized soldiers that had been attacking the Military Region, was banned as a “reactionary organization,” and some of its leaders were arrested; the province’s largest Rebel Faction organization of workers, Xiang River Storm (Xiangjiang Fenglei), which had supported the Red Flag Army, was also suppressed. Feeling that an injustice had been done, Yang Xiguang organized a Red Guard “Fighting Force to Seize Military Power”. He put up big-character posters and distributed leaflets criticizing the provincial Military Region for “committing line error” by suppressing mass organizations, and gained immediate fame for proposing the slogan “Seizing Power Requires Seizing Military Power”.

On February 4, the Military Region cracked down further on Xiang River Storm with the arrest of more than 10,000 people. Yang Xiguang was among those taken to the Detention Center of the Changsha Municipal Public Security Bureau, where he was held for two months. Following his release, Yang went all over Hunan observing the situation, and wrote a series of ideological theoretical works, including “Suggestions for Establishing Maoist Groups”, “Report on an Investigation of Changsha Educated Youth”, “Investigative Report on Chinese Educated Youth Up the Mountains and Down to the Countryside” and “Political Power Grows out of the Barrel of a Gun”. He also joined some Rebel Faction groups in establishing the Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance Committee (PRGAC) on October 11.

### **“Whither China?”**

On January 6, 1967, Yang Xiguang completed his treatise “Whither China?” which was printed into a pamphlet six days later under the byline of “A Soldier to Seize Military Power, in the 319 Steel Corps of Red Rebel Committee at No.1 Middle School, PRGAC” and then circulated it within the PRGAC for opinions and revisions. The draft proposed:

*The fundamental social contradiction giving rise to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the contradiction between the broad masses and the rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The development and intensification of this contradiction has determined that society needs a thorough change that involves overturning the rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, thoroughly smashing the old state apparatus, bringing about social revolution and a redistribution of assets and power – establishing a new society, the Chinese People’s Commune – that is also the fundamental program and ultimate objective of the first great cultural revolution.*

The paper particularly targeted the leader in charge of the CPC Central Committee’s day-to-day operations, Premier Zhou Enlai, whom it labeled “the current chief representative of China’s ‘red’ bourgeois class”, as well as what it referred to as the “provisional bourgeois government”, the Preparatory Commission of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

On January 24, 1968, Zhou Enlai, along with Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing and other Party and military leaders, met in the Hunan Hall of the Great Hall of the People with Hua Guofeng and other members of the Preparatory Commission of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee and representatives of some of Hunan’s Rebel Faction organizations. Kang Sheng, who was a member of the standing committee of the Central Committee Politburo as well as an advisor to the Central Cultural Revolution Group, took out “Whither China” and criticized it line-by-line as the “counterrevolutionary program” of the PRGAC, after which Zhou Enlai summed up the critique:

*The Provincial Revolutionary Preparatory Committee has not suppressed them too harshly, but rather has been insufficiently wary.*

*All of their words and deeds are opposed to Chairman Mao and Marxism-Leninism. They talk like Taiwan’s Chiang Kai-shek, or like the Soviet revisionists or American imperialists, reducing the proletarian command under Chairman Mao to a Mao-Lin faction – how is this different from what Taiwan, Moscow and the American imperialists are saying?... These fellows want to establish their party, their military, their reactionary theory; their essay has the*

title “*Whither China?*”, which is modeled after Chiang Kai-shek’s “*China’s Destiny*”.<sup>10</sup>

*And what the devil is this group “Seize Military Power”? That name should be rubbed out!*

Zhou emphasized:

*Is it possible for a middle-school student to propose the theory that the Great Cultural Revolution will gain its first victory in one or several localities?*

*It wasn’t Yang Xiguang who penned this essay, nor are the ideas his; there are clearly evil manipulators behind the scenes...*

Subsequently the record of this meeting was published in Hunan as “Central Leading Cadre’s ‘January 24 Directive.’” PRGAC spontaneously disbanded soon after that, and only a few organizations, including the Seize Military Power group that Yang Xiguang belonged to, maintained their opposition. Yang evaded capture and issued a joint statement with his friends under the pseudonym Shen Jian: “Our struggle is for the long term, and is currently at an extremely rudimentary stage. We should regard this as a revolution requiring at least 20 years”.

On February 5, 1968, Yang Xiguang, Liu Xiaobing and six other members of Seize Military Power issued a “Serious Announcement Regarding the Present Political Situation”, which proposed “lowering the red banner of the PRGAC” and “striking down China’s biggest party boss – Kang Sheng”. In April, Yang Xiguang fled to Wuhan, but was informed upon and arrested. He was escorted back to Changsha and detained in the Zuojiatang Detention Center of Changsha Municipal Public Security Bureau, after which he was publicly denounced dozens of times at his school and elsewhere. His parents had by then come under investigation as Yang’s “behind-the-scenes manipulators”; his father was locked up in “Mao Zedong Thought study sessions”, while his mother broke down under constant denunciation and

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<sup>10</sup> TN: Chiang and a ghostwriter completed *China’s Destiny* at the end of 1943. The book, a response to Mao’s *On New Democracy*, detailed Chiang’s views on China’s culture and history and its glorious future.

humiliation and hanged herself on January 23. The PRGAC was banned, and some of its leaders and Yang's friends were arrested.

While Mao Zedong was on an inspection tour of Hunan in June 1969, he summoned the leaders of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, Li Yuan and Hua Guofeng, and among his related directives brought up the problems of the "PRGAC ultra-leftists" and "their desire to establish a new party and military". In October, Yang Xiguang was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for counterrevolutionary crimes and was escorted to the Yueyang Reform-through-Labor farm to serve out his sentence. During his imprisonment, Yang put himself under the tutelage of some fellow prisoners who were teachers and engineers, and from them he learned English, mechanics, economics and mathematics. He kept 50-60 volumes of diaries and wrote a literary screenplay.

### **Achievement in economic research**

Upon completing his sentence in April 1978, Yang Xiguang went to live with his father in Changsha and audited mathematics classes at Hunan University. He also reverted to his childhood name of Yang Xiaokai. He became a proofreader at Xinhua's provincial printing factory in Shaoyang in 1979, and the following year was admitted to the Quantitative Economics and Techno-economics Research Institute of CASS. After obtaining his Master's degree in econometrics in 1982, he became a teaching assistant and lecturer at Wuhan University.

In 1983, the Hunan Provincial Higher People's Court ruled on reexamination that Yang Xiguang's essay "constituted problems of ideological knowledge and not counterrevolutionary intent, and therefore did not constitute a crime. On that basis, the verdicts of the courts of first and second instance are incorrect and are overturned, and Yang Xiguang is declared innocence".

That same year, Yang went to the United States to study at Princeton University, where he obtained a PhD in economics in 1987. He then became a post-doctoral student at Yale University's Economic Growth Center. In 1988, he published his memoir *Captive Spirits: Prisoners of the Cultural Revolution*. That same year, he began teaching in the economics department of Australia's

Monash University. He was promoted to senior lecturer in 1989 and then to professor in 1992, and in 1993 he was elected to the Australian Academy of Social Sciences. In the 1990s, he became a professor of economics at the University of Louisville and served as a visiting scholar at major universities in the United States and Taiwan. He was awarded a personal Chair in Economics at Monash University in 2000 and that same year became a visiting professor at Peking and Fudan universities.

Yang Xiaokai's accomplishments in economics brought him the closest any Chinese had come to winning the Nobel Prize in Economics at that time.

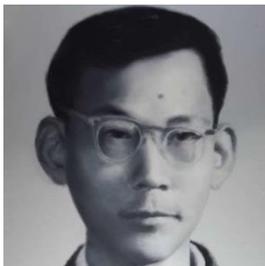
On July 7, 2004, Yang Xiaokai died of lung cancer in his home in Melbourne, Australia, at the age of 55.

Yang Xiaokai was the author of many economics texts in English and Chinese, among them *Specialization and Economic Organization: A New Classical Microeconomic Framework*, *Economics: New Classical versus Neoclassical Frameworks* and *An Inframarginal Approach to Trade Theory*.

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## **Case No. 24 (1970): Yu Luoke Executed for “Family Background”**



*Yu Luoke (May 1, 1942 - March 5, 1970), a worker, independent writer and popular thinker, was detained at the outset of the Cultural Revolution for his treatise “On Family Background”, and was executed for “current counter-revolutionary crime”.*

### **The family background problem**

Yu Luoke was born in Beijing to Yu Chongji, who had studied in Japan and worked as an engineer, and Wang Qiulin, the manager of a privately-owned factory. When the factory came under joint state-private ownership in 1954, Wang stayed on as manager and was elected a committee member of the Beijing Municipal Federation of Industry and Commerce and a delegate to the National Women’s Congress, but the CPC still classified her personal class status as “capitalist”. In 1957, both of Yu’s parents were labeled “Rightists”, resulting in their being stripped of all their positions and sent to the countryside for Reeducation-through-Labor, which further enhanced the “family background problem” affecting Yu Luoke. His application to join the Communist Youth League of China was repeatedly rejected.

After graduating from middle school in 1960, Yu took the college entrance exam, but was dropped from the roster due to his “family background problem”. At the end of the year, he responded to the government’s mobilization of

“educated youth to go up the mountains and down to the countryside”, and the following spring he was assigned to a vegetable farm at the Red Star People’s Commune in Daxing County.

While at the farm, Yu continued studying and writing in his spare time. He published a short story in the *Beijing Evening News* in 1962, and later that year he applied to take the entrance exam for Beijing Normal University, but was rejected again due to his family background. He published a film review in *People’s Cinema (Dazhong Dianying)* in 1963. In early 1964, he suffered a mental breakdown and returned to the city to recover. Two months later, he was given contract work compiling material for the Science and Technology Intelligence Unit, and after that, he became a substitute teacher at local primary schools, in his spare time writing a play that was performed by the Beijing Folk Theater Troup.

After the publication of Yao Wenyuan’s “Critique of the New Historical Play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*” in Shanghai’s *Wenhui Bao* on November 10, 1965, Yu Luoke wrote several articles criticizing the essay and submitted them to *Beijing Daily*, *Wenhui Bao* and *Red Flag*. Only *Wenhui Bao* published one of the articles in edited form on February 13. Soon after that, Yu was discharged from his teaching job due to his family background, and he found new work as an apprentice at the People’s Machine Factory.

After an enlarged meeting of the CPC Politburo launched the Cultural Revolution on May 16, 1966, Beijing middle school students, in particular the children of CPC officials, responded by establishing the Red Guards, which spread to secondary and tertiary institutions throughout China. In their politics and organization, the Red Guards pushed the CPC concept of “class struggle” to an extreme and categorized family backgrounds into two main class alignments: the Five Red Categories (workers, poor peasants, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary soldiers and revolutionary martyrs) and the Five Black Categories (landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists), with the subsequent addition of two more “black” categories of capitalists and capitalist roaders in power.

Those who were “born red” were naturally the core of the Red Guards, while those “born black” were rejected. By July that year, developments had reached a point where the sons and daughters of senior CPC officials were

promoting a pair of scrolls that took “blood lineage theory” to its extreme: “The son of a hero must be a good fellow; the son of a reactionary must be a scoundrel”. This provided a basis for open discrimination, humiliation and attacks against people with “family background problems”.

CPC leaders such as Chen Boda criticized the couplet as “not comprehensive” and not beneficial to the “general orientation of struggle”, which was to “unite the majority” against capitalist roaders in power.

### **“On Family Background” spreads throughout the country**

On August 14, 1966, Yu Luoke wrote his first draft of “On Family Background”. Soon after that, because of his family background and his earlier criticism of Yao Wenyuan, he was detained in the People’s Machine Factory. After being allowed to return home at the end of the year, he continued writing his essay.

On January 18, 1967, Yu’s younger brother, Yu Luowen, and several other middle school students published the first issue of *Middle School Cultural Revolution (Zhongxue Wenge Bao)*, which devoted three pages to “On Family Background” under the byline of Beijing Study Group on the Family Background Issue. The essay started out by declaring, “The family background problem has been a serious social issue for a long time now”:

*Because of the influence of a reactionary line that looks “leftist” but is actually “rightist”, some are never able to enjoy equal political treatment. In particular, young people from the so-called Seven Black Categories, also known as “sons of bitches”, have come to be regarded as standard targets of dictatorship and congenital “criminals”. Under this influence, family background decides virtually everything.*

Regarding the couplet on “blood lineage theory”, the essay pointed out:

*The error is in believing that family influence is greater than social influence, and in failing to see the decisive function of social influence. In short, it only acknowledges the influence of elders and holds that this influence exceeds all else.*

It went on to explain the extensive social influence and ideological nature of this kind of “class bias”:

*The statement that “family background crushes people” is by no means false. Anyone who has surmounted “class bias” can give even more classic examples than we do. So, who is the victim? If things continue to develop this way, how will it be different from blacks in America, Sudras [lower-caste Hindus] in India or Burakumin [Untouchables] in Japan?...*

*In terms of performance, all young people are equal. Young people with bad family backgrounds do not need others to unite with them out of charity, and cannot be merely peripheral to others. Who is a pillar of society? This is not decided in the womb. We will not acknowledge any privilege that cannot be attained through personal effort.*

Many Cultural Revolution tabloids reprinted and discussed the essay, and it quickly spread throughout China. After that, each issue of *Middle school Cultural Revolution* published an essay by Yu Luohe, and he also published articles on family background in *Middle School Forum*, repeatedly emphasizing his core viewpoint: “All young people should enjoy equal political treatment, regardless of family background”.

In April 1967, a member of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Qi Benyu, declared: “‘On Family Background’ is a great poisonous weed; it maliciously distorts the Party’s class line and incites young people with bad family background to attack the Party”.

On January 5, 1968, Yu Luohe was arrested just as he was writing an essay “On Wages”. After more than 80 interrogations over the next two years, he was finally charged:

*Since 1963, the suspect disseminated a large quantity of reactionary discourse, wrote reactionary letters, poems and diaries totaling tens of thousands of words that viciously defamed and slandered the proletarian command; during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution he wrote more than ten reactionary articles that were printed and distributed throughout the country and created great counterrevolutionary public opinion; and furthermore, he recruited a dozen counterrevolutionaries and bad elements in this city and elsewhere in a conspiracy to carry out an assassination in a vain*

*attempt to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. While in custody, the suspect has maintained a very belligerent counterrevolutionary bluster.*

### **Executed during the One Strike and Three Antis Campaign**

On January 31, 1970, the CPC Central Committee issued a “Directive on Striking Down Counterrevolutionary Sabotage”, followed on February 5 by a “Directive Against Graft and Embezzlement, Speculation and Profiteering” and a “Notice on Opposing Extravagance and Waste”. After these three documents were issued, the “One Strike-Three Antis Campaign” was launched nationwide.

At a public trial held at the Beijing Municipal Workers’ Stadium on March 5, Yu Luoke was sentenced to death for “current counterrevolutionary crime” and was summarily executed. He was not yet 28 years old.

During a national drive launched in 1978 to rehabilitate victims of injustice, and following numerous petitions by Yu Luoke’s parents, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People’s Court held a retrial and on November 21, 1979, declared Yu innocence.

Xu Xiao, Ding Dong and Xu Youyu compiled and edited Yu’s writings into *Yu Luoke’s Posthumous Works and Memoirs*, published in 1999 by China Federation of Literary and Art Circles Publishing House.

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## Case No. 25 (1971): Wang Zaoshi

### Pursuing Wei Zheng Spirit



*Wang Zaoshi (Wang Tsao-shih, born Wang Xiongsheng, August 3, 1902 - August 5, 1971), a social activist, editor, lawyer, political commentator, educator, historian and translator, was labeled a Rightist for his writings, and died in prison after 17 years in captivity.*

#### **One of the “Three Anfu Elites”**

Wang Zaoshi was born in a village in Anfu County, Jiangxi Province, to the family of a bamboo merchant. At the age of eight in 1910, he began studying at a private school, where his teacher and future father-in-law, Zhu Lainfu, gave him the name Zaoshi, adapted from the saying “Heroes create the times” (*Yingxiong zao shishi*).

In 1913, Wang Zaoshi was admitted to the Upper Primary School of Anfu County. After graduating in 1916, he earned the highest points in the admission examination to Provincial No. 1 Middle School in Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi Province. The following year, Wang and his fellow Anfu native Peng Wenying achieved two of the highest scores among Jiangxi students taking the entrance examination to the Tsinghua School (the predecessor to Tsinghua University), a preparatory school for further study in the USA. After summer vacation, Wang and Peng followed Luo Longji, also an Anfu native but a

senior student at the Tsinghua School, to Beijing. They came to be known as the “Three Anfu Elites”.

When the May Fourth Movement broke out in 1919, Wang took part as an elected representative of the Tsinghua student delegation. He was arrested on June 4 for distributing pamphlets, and following his release four days later, he wrote “The Story of My Arrest”, which was serialized in the student publication *Tsinghua Weekly*. He participated in petitioning the government on August 28, resulting in his one-day detention. In December that year, Tsinghua established its first student union, with Luo Longji as its president and Wang Zaoshi as one of its councilors. In 1921, Wang entered the upper section, organized the Benevolence Society (Ren She) with his schoolmates and then was elected chairman of the executive committee of the Tsinghua student union. A year later, he was elected chairman of the union council and also of its education committee.

In October 1923, Wang published an essay in *Tsinghua Weekly* entitled “The Attitude of Mr. Liang in Lecturing, and My Attitude in Listening”, in which he refuted comments made by Liang Qichao, a famous chair professor of Sinology, in his essay “My Reflections on the Double Ten Festival”. Wang defended Sun Yat-sen and the KMT against Liang’s criticism, while denouncing Liang for joining the warlord governments and serving as Justice Minister under former President Yuan Shikai and Financial Minister under former Premier Duan Qirui (Tuan Chi-jui). Tsinghua President Cao Yunxiang (Tsao Yun-Siang) was greatly displeased with Wang’s biting comments and demanded his apology on penalty of being expelled for “insulting a teacher”, but Wang adamantly refused. In the ensuing controversy, Liang Qichao resigned from his teaching position.

On May 30, 1925, the Japanese owners of a Shanghai cotton mill killed a striking worker, and British Concession police open fire on protesters, killing 13 in what came to be known as the “May 30 Massacre”. This set off protests across the country, and Wang Zaoshi represented Tsinghua in the Beijing Students’ Reinforcement Association for Shanghai Incident, while editing a special supplement to *Jing Bao* on the tragedy.

After graduating from Tsinghua that year, Wang went to the United States to study at the University of Wisconsin. He obtained his Bachelor’s degree two

years later and his Master's degree the following year, and then married Zhu Toufang, the daughter of his first teacher. In June 1929, Wang successfully defended his thesis, "The Disarmament Issue in the Foreign Policy of the Great Nations Since 1919", and obtained his PhD in Political Science. He then went to England as a research fellow at the London School of Economics, studying under Harold Joseph Laski, a Fabian political scholar and later a Labor leader.

In May 1930, Wang Zaoshi embarked on a tour of Europe, passing through the Soviet Union on his way back to China. Upon returning to Shanghai in August, he accepted an appointment as department head and professor of politics at Kwang Hua University, and then as head of the College of Liberal Arts, while also lecturing at several other universities. At the same time, he published a series of articles attacking the current regime and advocating democratic constitutional government and human rights in *Crescent Moon*, a magazine published by Xu Zhimo, Luo Longji, Hu Shih, Liang Shiqiu and others. Following Wang's August 1931 article "From 'Prince Ordained by Heaven' to 'Hooligan Emperor,'" which satirized Chiang Kai-shek, the magazine was forced to close down. Wang continued to criticize the KMT in essays published in *Eastern Miscellany (Dongfang Zazhi)*, *Rebirth Magazine (Zaisheng Zazhi)* and other influential publications.

### **The Seven Gentlemen of the National Salvation Federation**

After Japan occupied China's northeast in September 1931, Wang published the pamphlet "Two Great Policies for National Salvation", and launched the Shanghai University Professors' Anti-Japanese National Salvation Association as a member of its standing committee, as well as the Shanghai Federation of Anti-Japanese National Salvation Associations. He also accepted an invitation to take part in the National Crisis Conference organized by the KMT government at the end of the year. When Japanese troops attacked Shanghai on January 28, 1932, Wang represented his organizations in supporting the 19th Route Army and other national armies in the Battle of Songhu.

In November 1932, Wang joined Peng Wenying and others in founding *Advocacy and Criticism (Zhuzhang Yu Piping)* Semimonthly, where he published the article "Our Political Stand", which held that China "should not

be monopolized by any person, political party or class”, and that “any act in violation of the country’s laws should be punished regardless of a person’s status, power or influence”. He also published essays on how to address the KMT’s corruption and other problems. The KMT authorities used a “secret general order of a nationwide ban” to close down the magazine after four issues on the basis that its discussion was “preposterous” and “recklessly slandered this party”. The magazine resumed publication six weeks later under a new title, *Free Speech (Ziyou Yanlun)*, and with an essay by Wang Zaoshi entitled “Stabilizing the Country after Resisting Foreign Aggression”, which refuted Chiang Kai-shek’s policy of “resisting foreign aggression after stabilizing the country”.

At the end of 1932, Wang joined Song Qingling (Soong Ching-ling), Cai Yuanpei (Tsai Yuan-pei), Yang Xingfo (Yang Chien), Lin Yutang and others in launching China’s first human rights organization – the China League for Civil Rights. The following March, Wang, Shen Junru and others were elected to the executive committee of the League’s Shanghai branch, and Wang published a number of essays on related issues.

In June 1933, Yang Xingfo, secretary-general of the government’s Academia Sinica and also of the China League for Civil Rights, was assassinated by government secret agents, and Wang Zaoshi was put on the official blacklist of “suspected Communists”. Some universities reportedly received secret orders not to hire Wang as a lecturer, and his existing contracts with Kwang Hua and other institutions were terminated. Friends helped him find work as a translator at Commercial Press, and he also became a professional legal consultant.

In November 1933, the 19th Route Army’s generals led a mutiny and united with an anti-Chiang faction in the KMT and the Third Party to establish the People’s Revolutionary Government of the Chinese Republic. Wang Zaoshi was invited to participate, but he sensed trouble and quickly returned to Shanghai. There he published a declaration opposing Chiang and resisting Japan, after which *Free Speech* was ordered to cease publication.

As military pressure built up on the CPC’s northern Shaanxi base area in 1935, the CPC instigated the “December 9th Movement” in Beijing, in which more than 10,000 students from the city’s universities and middle schools took

to the streets demanding an end to the civil war and a united front against Japan. When protestors clashed with government troops, similar protests proliferated throughout the country. Three days later, Ma Xiangbo (Ma Hsiang-po) and Shen Junru issued a “Manifesto of the Shanghai Cultural Circle’s National Salvation Movement”. As one of the 283 signatories, Wang Zhaoshi joined in establishing the Shanghai Cultural Circle’s National Salvation Association on December 27, as well as the Shanghai All Circles National Salvation Federation and All-China National Salvation Federation over the next few months. He was elected propaganda chief and standing committee member of all three organizations, and was put in charge of the *Journal of the Shanghai Cultural Circle’s National Salvation Association* and *National Salvation Intelligence*.

In mid-November 1936, the underground CPC organized tens of thousands of workers in strikes at Japanese-owned textile factories, and the National Salvation Federation enthusiastically supported the strike by issuing a proclamation and organizing a Strike Backup Aid Committee. On November 23, the national government succumbed to Japanese military threats and arrested the Federation’s six standing committee members, Shen Junru, Wang Zaoshi, Li Gongpu, Sha Qianli (Sha Chien-li), Zhang Naiqi (Chang Nai-chi) and Shi Liang (Shih Liang), as well as executive committee member Zou Taofen (Tsou Tao-fen), who came to be known collectively as the Seven Gentlemen of the National Salvation Movement. They were escorted to Suzhou and imprisoned in the High Court Prison on charges of “endangering the Republic”. The court held two sessions in June 1937 without issuing a verdict. When the War of Resistance against Japan broke out on July 7, the government changed directions, uniting with resistance forces of all political stripes, including the CPC, and releasing all political prisoners. On July 31, the Suzhou High Court terminated the detention of the Seven Gentlemen, and all were released on bail.

On August 13, 1937, Wang Zaoshi returned to Shanghai just as the national armed forces launched its Songhu Offensive. He quickly became embroiled in the backup reinforcement movement, and accepted a government appointment in the newly-established Second and Fourth departments of the Resistance Base Camp, covering political strategy and civilian militia training.

In the years that followed, Wang published the political monographs *An Analysis of China's Problems and Collected Absurdities* (1935), as well as translations of Hegel's *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* and works by Robert Balmain Mowat, John Holladay Latané and Harold Laski.

### **Member of the National Political Council**

In March 1938, Jiangxi Provincial Governor Xiong Shihui (Hsiung Shih-Hui) invited Wang Zaoshi to Nanchang to serve as dean and professor of the province's Political Training Institute. In June, he became a member of the newly established government consultative body, the National Political Council, and at the Council's first session in Hankou on July 6, he proposed establishing civic organizations at the provincial and county levels. He continued to table proposals at all subsequent meetings.

In March 1939, Japanese troops occupied Nanchang, and Wang withdrew to his hometown in Anfu County, where he took over operation of the privately-owned *Rixin Daily*, and then reformed it to *Front Daily* (*Qianfang Ribao*) after he joined Peng Wenying and others in establishing Qifang Cultural Bookstore. Wang and Peng published many essays in the newspaper and made it the most influential publication of the southeastern resistance frontline.

In September that year, Wang went to Chongqing to take part in the fourth session of the First National Political Council, and represented the National Salvation Federation in facilitating passage of the "Resolution to Request that the Government Regularly Convene National Assemblies to Implement Constitutional Government".

In 1940, Wang Zaoshi established the Anfu County Middle School and became its principal.

On April 13, 1941, the government of the Soviet Union, which had all along supported China's war against Japanese invasion, signed and announced a Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact. With the exception of the CPC, the public consensus in China was that this pact damaged China's sovereignty and went back on the 1937 Sino-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. A few days later, the National Salvation Federation convened a forum of all representatives in Chongqing, during which participants attacked the Soviet government's

perfidiousness and chose Wang Zaoshi to draft a “Letter to Marshal Joseph Stalin”, which was signed by Shen Junru, Zhang Naiqi, Wang Zaoshi, Li Gongpu, Sha Qianli, Zhang Shenfu (Chang Shen-fu), Liu Qingyang (Liu Ching-yang), Hu Ziying (Hu Tzu-ying) and Shi Liang. Sha Qianli delivered a copy of the letter to the Soviet Ambassador to China, Alexander Panyushkin, and Wang Yaoshi delivered a second copy to the KMT’s propaganda head, Wang Shijie (Wang Shih-chieh). The KMT then disseminated the letter through the Hong Kong-based weekly *Popular Will (Minyi)*. The letter stated:

*Your honorable country on April 13 signed a Neutrality Pact with the Japanese imperialists occupying our country, and issued a proclamation of mutual respect of the territorial integrity and sacred inviolability of the so-called Manchukuo and People’s Republic of Mongolia, clearly violating the territorial and administrative integrity of China. We are compelled to express the utmost regret. We therefore completely endorse our government’s solemn declaration of nullification, and firmly believe that this is the sentiment of all of our compatriots.*

The CPC Central Committee, which had proclaimed the Soviet-Japanese pact “a major victory of Soviet diplomacy”, was very displeased with the letter’s content. As the letter’s drafter, Wang shouldered the main blame, and some even claimed that the KMT had bought him over. Even so, when the government published the name list for the third session of the National Political Council in July 1942, the names of Shen Junru, Wang Zaoshi and other delegates of the National Salvation Federation had been stricken on the grounds that they were “peripheral members of the CPC”.

From April to November 1944, the Japanese military launched its largest scale invasion of China in the form of a campaign to “open communications lines on the mainland”, fully occupying the railway line passing through Hunan and Guilin to Vietnam. As a result, Wang Zaoshi could no longer go to Chongqing and was forced to remain in Ji’an until the war ended more than a year later.

After Japan declared its unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945, the National Salvation Federation changed its name to the Chinese People’s National Salvation Association. Wang Zaoshi returned to Shanghai in May

1946, and headed up Freedom Publishing House, established in conjunction with the Life Bookstore established by Zou Taofen, who had died two years earlier. Wang also joined the Jiusan Society (September Third Society). In July that year, the China Democratic League's two Kunming-based leaders, Li Gongpu and the famous poet Wen Yiduo, were assassinated, and Wang joined Shen Junru and others in preparations for a public memorial ceremony, while drafting "A Biographical Sketch of Mr. Li Gongpu", which was published under a joint byline with Shen.

In December 1948, Wang was elected a standing director of the Shanghai branch of the Jiusan Society. He organized rescue efforts for the staff of Shanghai's *Observer* magazine, who had been arrested following the government's closure of the magazine, arranging for several of the detainees to be released on bail the following February.

### **In the Shanghai People's Political Consultative Conference**

On May 27, 1949, PLA troops captured Shanghai, and Wang Zaoshi represented the Chinese People's National Salvation Association in Shanghai's first People's Congress in August. When the People's Republic of China established its government on October 1, four of the surviving five members of the Seven Gentlemen, Shen Junru, Zhang Naiqi, Sha Qianli and Shi Liang, were appointed to ministerial-level positions in Beijing, but the youngest and most educated of the group, Wang Zaoshi, did not receive an appointment. Having achieved its historical mission, the National Salvation Association declared itself disbanded in December.

In March 1950, Wang Zaoshi was appointed to the Culture and Education Committee of the East China Military and Political Commission, and in April he was elected to the Shanghai Municipal People's Political Consultative Conference.

In August 1951, Wang Zaoshi became a professor at Fudan University, first of political science and then of history. He also headed the privately-run Chenming College of Liberal Arts, the Progressive Middle School and the Zhengping Accounting School. In August 1954, Wang was elected a delegate to the first Shanghai Municipal People's Congress, and in the following May he

represented Shanghai at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, while also being elected to the CPPCC's standing committee and its Politics and Law Group.

Wang's wife, Zhu Toufang, died in March 1956. Later that year, Wang helped establish the Shanghai Law Association and was elected vice-chairman during its first meeting in December.

### **Labeled an Ultra-Rightist**

Arriving in Beijing in February 1957 as a Shanghai delegate to the CPPCC, Wang Zhaoshi represented the five surviving members of the Seven Gentlemen in writing to the CPC Central Committee to clarify the circumstances behind their letter to Stalin years before. On February 27, Wang attended an expanded meeting of the Supreme State Conference as a non-voting special delegate, and upon hearing Mao's speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People", he was galvanized by Mao's emphasis on a policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" between the CPC and the democratic parties. During the March CPPCC session, he delivered a speech in which he emphasized "surmounting the problem of bureaucratism, carrying out mutual supervision and expanding democratic lives":

*We should on the one hand raise our telescopes to take a long view of general trends and affirm our main achievements... while on the other hand use a microscope to discover the contradictions, difficulties and flaws in our work, or to take preventative measures before they've arisen, or to eliminate them when they're just beginning, or to solve problems that have already developed, in order to prevent something arising from nothing or enlarging and incurring unnecessary loss.*

Expressing his concern with implementing "long-term co-existence and mutual supervision", he said:

*Of course we all understand the principles of "saying all you know and speaking without reserve" and "not attaching blame to speaking out, and taking warning from others' words", but they are less easily put into practice;*

*it is hard to be Tang Taizong, but even harder to be Wei Zheng.<sup>11</sup> Being Tang Taizong requires a high level of political acumen and a rare degree of open-mindedness; being Wei Zheng requires a high level of loyalty to the people's interests, and brings the risk of succumbing to flattery and intimidation. I think there may be many Tang Taizongs at all levels of the officials inside the Party at present, but I suspect there are very few Wei Zhengs outside the Party.*

After the CPPCC session closed on March 20, *People's Daily* published Wang's speech with a photograph, and Premier Zhou Enlai invited him to dinner and an exchange of views.

After *People's Daily* published the CPC Central Committee's announcement a Party-wide "rectification campaign" on May 1, Wang was invited to participate in rectification efforts in Shanghai, and he repeatedly and ardently voiced his opinions in symposiums held by *News Daily* and *Guangming Daily*:

*During the airing of views from all quarters these few days... I've discovered two great facts: one, the selfless spirit of CPC, and two, the exceptionally excellent quality of China's intellectuals. For a ruling party that has founded the People's Republic, it has so promptly taken the initiative and expended so much effort on the national level to promote such a comprehensive campaign to expose contradictions and publicly criticize ideology and work, which is absolutely unprecedented in the history of humanity... The more thoroughly the Party allows the public to air its views, and the more unrestrained this airing, the more the Party's prestige and popular trust will be strengthened.*

On this basis, he raised a series of suggestions and criticisms:

*We Chinese intellectuals, as a social stratum, do in fact have the tradition of lofty ideals that Chairman Mao mentioned. This tradition is a critical condition*

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<sup>11</sup> TN: Wei Zheng served as advisor and eventually chancellor to the Tang Emperor Taizong. He was famous for advising the emperor based on principle, regardless of the risk of falling into disfavor.

*for us to ensure the successful establishment of socialism. The Party has underestimated this in the past, but should cherish it even more going forward.*

*The bureaucratism of today is not an exceptional phenomenon, but is pervasive; it is not just germinating, but has developed to a rather serious degree; generally speaking, imperious behavior and violations of law and discipline increase down the ladder. This obstructs the progress of our production, affects our construction plans and damages the material and spiritual life of the masses... As Premier Zhou has said, bureaucrats have built a wall and dug a moat between the Party and the masses, with the result that people who love China and the Party, no matter how zealous their efforts to build socialism brick by brick, have inexplicably been placed outside the wall and moat and left in the cold. It is hard to conceive how such a country can have a future while individuals have no way out.*

*In the past we have in fact done too little to promote rule of law; we must pay special attention to this from now on and make it part of the people's basic education, so that every individual is aware that the Constitution is a sacred and inviolable fundamental law, and that everyone must act in accordance with law. All people in China are equal before the law.*

*The Party cannot replace the government or the law. This is not only a safeguard for the people, but also for the Party's prestige.*

*In order to expand democracy, we must also enhance rule of law. Democracy is a principle, and its expression is dependent on rule of law. In other words, the principle of democracy must be stipulated in law and become a mutually observed behavioral norm in order to be realized.*

*In order to take the further step of establishing a democratic legal system, the first thing we need is to emphasize and pursue constitutional law. The Constitution is a country's fundamental law, and should be considered sacred and inviolable, but it seems that since promulgation it has been increasingly ignored. This is absolutely unacceptable. We need to defend all rights bestowed by the Constitution, and should meet all of our obligations. We should fight any attempt to sabotage the Constitution and ensure that the dignity of the Constitution is maintained.*

On June 8 that year, *People's Daily* published the editorial "Why Is This?" (subsequently revealed to have been penned by Mao himself), and the CPC Central Committee began turning the "rectification campaign" into an "anti-Rightist struggle". Four days later, Wang Zaoshi wrote a letter to Zhou Enlai expressing his gratitude and following up on their conversation in Beijing, while continuing to make suggestions:

*I will seriously consider your suggestion that I come to Beijing to work and resurrect the National Salvation Association from the standpoint of our Motherland's needs... Your speech in Hangzhou on demolishing walls was an especially powerful image that has encouraged the multitudes and me. I have pondered this question countless times, and feel there are two fundamental points: 1) the airing of views must be carried out in phases, but grass-roots problems are the most numerous and serious, and in terms of the overall campaign, the focus of airing views should be on the grass-roots level; 2) resolving contradictions requires first rectifying ideology, but in order to make long-term plans for peace and order, this campaign should control the general direction – which is to further establish a democratic rule-of-law system for socialism... At present the Party's prestige is at a high point; although there is some radical and extreme or even erroneous discussion, correcting it will quickly encourage everyone to continue to boldly expose contradictions, and will highlight the Party's magnanimity and popularity.*

The "counterattack" against Wang's criticism began that very day; ten people, including Da Yijin, the vice-chairman of the Shanghai branch of the Jiushan Society and a professor of Economics at Fudan University, signed their names to an essay entitled "Exposing the Essence of Wang Zaoshi's Reactionary Words and Deeds", and over the following six days, the Shanghai Law Association and the Politics and Law Group of the municipal Political Consultative Conference convened a symposium to publicly criticize Wang. *Liberation Daily*, *People's Daily* and other newspapers publishing a series of articles and critical essays accusing Wang of "comparing himself with Wei Zheng to attack the Party", "igniting the grass roots to create chaos" and "adopting the attitude of making a clarion call and donning the cloak of legal language to advocate for old legal scholars to return to the fold, and inciting

these people's dissatisfaction with the Party and the government". The articles criticized Wang's suggestion of "taking the further step of establishing a democratic legal system for socialism" as "trumpeting bourgeois democracy and rule of law and effectively attempting to replace the socialist system with the capitalist system and thus carry out his plot of restoring capitalism". The reports resurrected his 1941 "Letter to Marshal Joseph Stalin" as "anti-Soviet and anti-Communism", and attacked his youthful studies under the reformist Fabian Society leader Laski. The conclusion drawn was that "Wang Zaoshi in this way carried out a programmatic, planned and organized attack against the Party and the people".

On June 22, 1957, Wang once again wrote to Zhou Enlai, expressing his feelings and requesting help:

*My fear of an incurable situation has resulted in accusations that I desire chaos, bringing shame not only the Party, China and you, but also on myself. I hope to remedy the situation with this solemn and sincere, practical and realistic self-criticism. But if I am coerced into admitting to being an anti-Party, anti-socialism Rightist, this is against my will because I am not, and I feel this will bring no benefit to the construction of socialism.*

The following day, *Wenhui Bao* published a report entitled "In an Impressive Display of the Anti-Rightist Struggle in Shanghai's Tertiary Institutions, Wang Zaoshi, Xu Zhongnian and Others Encounter a Frontal Assault and Find Themselves Isolated", and the tone of criticism escalated after that.

On July 3, *People's Daily* published a Xinhua news item "revealing the conspiracy of the Zhang-Luo Alliance", which upgraded Wang Zaoshi from a "Rightist" to a key member of a "Rightist Clique":

*Last night, at a meeting convened by Shanghai's News Daily to expose and criticize the bourgeois Rightist Lu Yi, Lu admitted that Shanghai Rightists Chen Renbing, Peng Wenying, Wang Zaoshi, Yang Zhaolong, Wang Hengshou, Xia Gaoyang, Sun Dayu, Xu Jie, Han Ming and Lu Yi are members of a programmatic and highly organized and delegated anti-people, anti-socialism and anti-Communist Party conspiratorial clique led by the Zhang Bojun-Luo Longji Alliance. Chen Renbing, Peng Wenying and others were assigned to*

*gain control of the Democracy League's Shanghai committee and the literary and arts community; Wang Zaoshi, Yang Zhaolong and others were to attack legal and judicial operations; Lu Yi and others were to take charge of the news media; Sun Dayu, Xu Jie and others were to ignite the tertiary institutions... Wang Zaoshi, Peng Wenying, Lu Yi, Sun Dayu and Zhao Wenbi conspired together... When Wang Zaoshi attended the CPPCC session in Beijing in spring this year, he engaged in several closed-door talks with Luo Longji, Zhang Naiqi, Gu Zhizhong, Pan Dakui and others.*

The Xinhua report described Wang's follow-up to Zhou Enlai's suggestion to resurrect the National Salvation Association as "plotting to organize a reactionary political party":

*Gu Zhizhong, Lu Yi, Wang Zaoshi et al. want to use the resurrection of the National Salvation Association as a pretext for organizing a reactionary political party... Zhang Naiqi has stated that he wants a posting in this future reactionary organization. Lu Yi and Wang Zaoshi returned to Shanghai to discuss a grand plan with Sun Dayu and others, but Sun Dayu felt using the National Salvation Association as a pretext was not good enough and advocated simply organizing a political party... Wang Zaoshi encouraged Lu Yi to take control of News Daily.*

At a meeting of Shanghai government and Party cadres on July 9, Mao Zedong delivered a concise verdict: "Here in Shanghai, there are these Rightist characters Wang Zaoshi, Lu Yi, Chen Renbing, Peng Wenying and Wu Yin who are coming out and making trouble".

Not long afterward, Wang Zaoshi surrendered and wrote many self-criticisms. At the end of 1957 he submitted an application to be sent down to the countryside for Reform through Labor, but the following year he was designated an "ultra-Rightist", stripped of all his positions, demoted and sent to his university's library as a clerk. From then on, Wang's disposition underwent a great change; he did not show the slightest interest in being a "Wei Zheng", and regularly reported to the leadership on his thinking to demonstrate his submission to remolding.

At the end of September 1960, Wang had his Rightist label removed and returned to the History Department as a teacher and translator, but very few of his translations were published.

### **A former Rightist dies during the Cultural Revolution**

After the launch of the Cultural Revolution in May 1966 and the publication of the June 1 *People's Daily* editorial entitled “Sweep Away All Monsters and Demons”, Wang Zaoshi, as a label-removed Rightist, became one of those to be swept away. When the Red Guard movement sprang up in mid-August, Red Guards from nearby middle schools repeatedly ransacked Wang's home and confiscated many of his manuscripts. From September onward, he was placed in the Reform-through-Labor group at his university and cleaned the toilets every day. Starting on September 22, the Red Guards put him under isolation and investigation in his home, and he was subjected to endless rounds of criticism and struggle. He was sent to Shanghai's No. 1 Detention Center on November 2 after a casual mention of Socialist Democracy and the British Labour Party led to accusations that he was organizing a counterrevolutionary Socialist Democratic Party. Although Wang Zaoshi refused to admit guilt under interrogation, and the authorities had no evidence to convict him, he remained detained without trial for many years.

On August 5, 1971, Wang died of hepatorenal syndrome at the age of 68.

On December 3, 1978, the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau signed and issued a “Resolution Regarding Wang Zaoshi's Rehabilitation”, which negated the “issue of Wang Zaoshi organizing a counterrevolutionary political party”. His wrongful designation as a Rightist was corrected in May 1980, and on August 19, the Shanghai Municipal Political Consultative Conference and Fudan University carried out a joint memorial during which Wang's good name was completely restored.

In January 1999, China Youth Publishing House issued a selection of Wang Zaoshi's translations and writings, edited by Ye Yonglie, under the title *My Immediate Reply*.

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## **Case No. 26 (1972): Chen Fengxiao Broken Dreams at Weiming Lake**



*Chen Fengxiao (b. April 16, 1936), a prominent student Rightist, teacher, scholar and writer, spent 15 years in prison and labor reform as the leader of a “Rightist counterrevolutionary clique”, followed by another 12 years of labor reform and persecution.*

### **The Hundred Flowers Society “rectifies”the CPC**

Chen Fengxiao was born in Weifang, Shandong Province. His excellent school performance resulted in his being admitted to Peking University at the age of 18 to study at the Department of Mathematics and Mechanics.

Three years later, in May 1957, when the CPC Central Committee announced the launch of a “Party rectification campaign”, Peking University students started airing their views in their May 19 Movement. Responding to calls for democracy by history student Xu Nanting and philosophy student Long Yinghua, Cheng Fengxiao and his fellow mathematics students Zhang Jingzhong, Yang Lu and Qian Ruping put up a big-character poster in the university’s main dining hall making the following additional demands:

*1) Abolish the system of CPC Committees and run the university in a democratic fashion; 2) abolish politics as a compulsory subject and make it an optional; 3) abolish the system of CPC Committees deciding who can study*

*overseas, and implement selection by examination; 4) launch a Free Forum to ensure freedoms of speech, press, assembly, association and demonstration.*

Many students then banded together to transform the dining hall into a Peking University Democracy Wall. Among the many posters and leaflets posted there, the most influential were a long poem by Chinese students Shen Zeyi and Zhang Yuanxun entitled “The Time Has Come”, physics student Tan Tianrong’s “A Poisonous Weed” and Chen Fengxiao’s “Young People, We Are the Masters of Peking University!”

In the latter half of May, Chen Fengxiao contacted student activists Tan Tianrong, Shen Zeyi, Zhang Yuanxun, Long Yinghua and Xu Nanting to establish a Hundred Flowers Society at the university. Chen became its secretary-general and took charge of organising and general affairs, while Tan became its president. The group established a publication, *Square*, with Chen on the editorial board and Zhang Yuanxun as chief editor. On May 31, the Hundred Flowers Society published a manifesto calling for free discussion and publication and declaring that the May 19 Democracy Movement would continue in the spirit of the May Fourth Movement. Many students and teachers eagerly joined the Hundred Flowers Society, and with more than 10,000 *yuan* in donations, publication of *Square* was launched.

On June 8, *People’s Daily* published its Mao-penned editorial “Why Is This?” which quoted He Xiangning, a prominent pro-democratic activist associated with the CPC:

*This is a new era in which we are heading toward socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. But is it possible that everything is uniform, and that there is no left, right or center? No... She [He Xiangning] points out that an extremely small number of people have a hypocritical attitude toward socialism; what their hearts actually yearn for is capitalism, and their minds long for Euro-American-style politics; these are the Rightists of today. Under the pretext of “helping to rectify the Communist Party, this Rightist minority is challenging the leadership of the Communist Party and the worker class, and is even clamoring for the Communist Party to “step down”.*

The following day, the *Workers' Daily* printing factory confiscated the manuscript and 10,000 printed copies of the first issue of *Square*, and some workers attacked Zhang Yuanxun and other students who came to collect the magazine. On June 10, *People's Daily* published an editorial entitled "The Workers have Spoken!":

*Over the past few days, workers have held symposiums in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Shenyang, Anshan and other places, angrily denouncing the anti-Communism, anti-socialism words of a tiny minority of Rightists...*

In this way, the CPC Central Committee transformed the rectification campaign into an anti-Rightist struggle to beat back attacks by bourgeois Rightists, and the largest political campaign since 1949 began to unfold throughout China.

On June 12, Chen Fengxiao posted a "Statement":

*My objective in establishing this publication is to gather students' views on further enlarging the scope of democracy, because I'm profoundly aware that one person's strength is just a drop in the ocean, and that no matter how many good suggestions he has, one person can shout himself hoarse to very little effect, and will eventually be silenced by the bureaucrats. Nevertheless, if many sharing the same views band together, they become powerful; the bureaucrats will be forced to pay attention, and the masses will dare to support us. That is why I want to launch a publication that provides a platform for everyone to have his say.*

*The main reason why many students do not dare express their dissatisfaction with the Party is the adverse effects and side-effects of the campaign to eliminate counterrevolutionaries...*

*We want to help rectify the Party, but beyond that, we're fighting to expand the scope of democracy; these are inseparable goals... We want to carry out group activities, but this is a democratic group, not an anti-Party group... attacking bad Party members is not tantamount to attacking the Party.*

*We must do our utmost to maintain it [the magazine], not only during the rectification period, but also even afterward. If possible, we hope to make it a mimeographed and letterpress publication... Our publication will not be controlled by bureaucrats. Anyone who is worried about our publication can*

*come right up to Block 28, Room 426, to talk with me. If the university leadership suspects that we are up to something and have questions for us, they can also come and talk with me. There is no need for groundless accusations or to investigate others; I take full responsibility for any problems. Many people are suspicious of us, but many others have great hopes for us. Those who suspect us are free to do so. We are not afraid, and those who place their hopes in us should speak up. We will not let you down!*

Determined to carry on, Chen and other core members of the Hundred Flowers Society sold off all their possessions to purchase a hand-operated mimeograph machine and paper, and then worked night and day in Chen's room to print up a collection of *Square* articles in book form.

On June 21, *People's Daily* published a Xinhua news item: "Upsurge in the socialist fighting spirit among teachers and students in the capital's tertiary institutions: Truth and facts defeat the Rightists". The article referred to the Hundred Flowers Society as a "reactionary clique" and to the content of *Square* as "anti-Communism and anti-socialism". The following day, Chen and his group printed off more than 500 copies of *Selections from Peking University's Democracy Wall* and took them to Weiming Lake, where they quickly sold out. However, the university CPC Committee soon afterwards broadcasted an order for the books to be surrendered, and most of them were burned in public. On that day, *Square* ceased publication, and soon afterwards, the Hundred Flowers Society was declared disbanded.

On July 5, Chen Fengxiao put up a big-character poster fighting back against the "anti-Rightist struggle":

*Ever since our university began its anti-Rightist campaign, the conservative faction has attempted to redeem its bankrupted reputation and loss of public credibility by adopting despicable methods of rumormongering, defamation and vicious personal attacks against activists in the democracy movement to achieve its aim of intimidating and duping the masses... The conservative faction declared in *People's Daily* that the Hundred Flowers Society is a reactionary clique and that *Forum* is a reactionary publication. Even though they clearly know that many people at Peking University do not believe this, they do not hesitate to use such deceitful methods to attack the democracy*

*movement at Peking University in order to stir up apprehension and hatred among students at other universities... Their trump card is to use all available means to identify so-called reactionaries or counterrevolutionaries in the Hundred Flowers Society and in the editorial department of Square. They are now interrogating some activists in the democracy movement, confusing them and using threats to coerce them into admitting to so-called anti-socialism crimes, and are arresting and prosecuting some of the organizers of this movement... Anyone who does not believe it should wait and see. The conservative faction will carry out these measures sooner or later. Finally, we must declare that I was an active participant and organizer of this movement; I initiated and founded the free forum and took part in the Hundred Flowers Society, and in my own name, I joined the editorial department of Square... Members of the conservative faction, I was the organizer of this movement, and you naturally hate me to the marrow of my bones, so I invite you to come for me. I know you will make endless trumped-up allegations to frame me, and I am willing to bear this; I only hope that you would not persecute other innocent people, and at the same time, I publicly request that those who have been in contact with me should feel free to disregard issues of face and give up everything you know about my words and deeds. I will not blame anyone in the least... Members of the conservative faction, it may appear that you have won, but don't you understand? The seeds of fire of the May 19 Movement have been sown, and eventually they will burst into a great prairie blaze that will reduce you to ashes.*

### **Leader of a “counterrevolutionary clique”**

On September 16, 1957, Chen was arrested while attempting to flee China through Tanggu Harbor in Tianjin and was sent to Beijing's Caolanzi Detention Center. After more than 30 rounds of interrogation, he was transferred in early May to the K Block of Beijing Prison. On May 17, the Beijing People's Procuratorate filed an indictment with the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court charging “Chen Fengxiao, Tan Jinshui, Zhao Qing, Lin Shuguo, He Yongzeng and Zhang Yuanxun with organizing or participating in a counterrevolutionary organization, printing counterrevolutionary propaganda

and engaging in counterrevolutionary propaganda activities in a conspiracy to subvert the people's democratic regime". In June, the court found Chen guilty of heading a counterrevolutionary clique and sentenced him to 15 years' imprisonment. Zhang Yuanxun was sentenced to eight years, He Yongzeng to five years, and Zhao Qing and Lin Shuguo each to four years. Tan Jinshui was released with a warning in return for confessing and informing against the others.

On April 6, 1959, Chen Fengxiao was sent to the Xingkaihu Labor Farm in Heilongjiang's Mishan County for "Reform through Labor".

The launch of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 plunged China into chaos, and when the Chinese-USSR border area where the Xingkaihu Labor Farm was located became unstable in January 1967, Chen was transferred to the Changshuihe Labor Farm in Bei'an County. In 1968, Changshuihe was used to settle "educated youth" who were sent "up the mountains and down to the countryside". In February 1970, Chen and other inmates were transferred to Inner Mongolia's Wulan Farm to labor in the clay pits.

Chen Fengxiao was released on completion of his sentence on September 16, 1972, but as a "released felon" deprived of his political rights for an additional five years, he was forced to remain at the labor farm as a "hired farm laborer".

### **Petitioning for rehabilitation**

On April 5, 1978, the CPC Central Committee authorized the United Front Department and Ministry of Public Security's "Report Requesting Instruction Regarding the Removal of All Rightist Labels", after which rehabilitation of "wrongfully labeled Rightists" commenced. Some designated "counter-revolutionaries" were also rehabilitated, but Chen Fengxiao, still held at the labor farm, was shut off from this news until in September 1979. Chen took advantage of a home visit to file an appeal at Peking University, and 19 days later, the Beijing Intermediate People's Court ruled that "Chen Fengxiao was wrongfully convicted of being an active counterrevolutionary". It rescinded the judgment and declared him innocent, and credited him with work seniority calculated from September 16, 1957.

In July 1980, Chen returned to Inner Mongolia as a teacher at a secondary school, and he married in December. In March 1982, he was transferred to his hometown in Shandong Province, where he continued to teach. Peking University expunged Chen's Rightist status in 1984, and in 1987, he was appointed a delegate to the Weifang Municipal People's Political Conference. He retired in 2002.

In 2005, the US-based Laogai Research Foundation published Chen Fengxiao's memoir, *Broken Dreams at Weiming Lake*.

Chen Fengxiao began participating in a rights defense petitioning campaign by former Rightists in 2007.

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## **Case No. 27 (1973): Yuan Changying**

### **Soul Remaining at LuoJiaHill**



*Yuan Changying (October 11, 1894 - April 28, 1973), an essayist, playwright, translator, scholar and educator, died after 16 years of persecution as an ultra-Rightist starting in 1957.*

### **England's first Chinese female MA**

Yuan Changying was born to a well-off rural family in Liling County, Hunan Province. Her father, Yuan Jiapu, had studied at Japan's Waseda University, and served as an official in various places after returning to China.

Yuan began her formal studies at a local private school at the age of eight, and three years later was admitted to a girls' school in neighboring Pingxiang County, Jiangxi Province. In 1911, she began studying at a girls' school run by the Methodist Church, while also teaching at a primary school. She went on to serve as an English tutor while following her father's moves from Beijing, where he served as acting president of Republic (Minguo) University, to Kunming, where he served as Director of Finance in the Yunnan provincial government. Yuan Changying was admitted to the church-run McTyeire School in Shanghai in 1914, and in 1916, her father paid her tuition to attend London's Blackheath Girls' School. He also introduced her to a young man from her hometown, Yang Duanliu, who had moved to London a few years earlier to study banking at the University of London. Yuan began studying

Classics and Modern Drama at the University of Edinburgh in 1917, and in 1920 published an article on her experiences as an overseas student in Shanghai's *Pacific Magazine*, encouraging more female students to study overseas. After obtaining her MA degree with a thesis on Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Yuan returned to China in 1921 and married Yang Duanliu, now working as chief accountant at Commercial Press in Shanghai. Yuan began publishing a variety of essays and translations under her married name, Yang Yuan Changying.

In 1922, Yuan began teaching English literature at Peking Normal College for Women. The following year she published her first book, *French Literature*, and gave birth to a daughter, Yang Jingyuan. She began teaching English in Chengzhong Middle School in Shanghai in 1924, and then in 1926 went to France for advanced studies in French Literature and Modern Drama at Université de Paris. After returning to Shanghai in 1928, she began teaching Shakespeare and Prose at China College, where Hu Shih was president. When Academia Sinica was established under Cai Yuanpei that same year, Yang Duanliu was appointed head of the Social Sciences Institute, and subsequently served as acting head of the new Institute of Economics and head of accounting for Academia Sinica.

### **One of the “Three Outstanding Women of Luojia Hill”**

In 1929, Yuan Changying became professor of foreign literature at the newly-established Wuhan University. During that same year, she published a short story collection, *Buffalo*, and adapted the classical epic poem *Peacock Flying Southeast* into a three-act play of the same name, which she subsequently published with other plays to great acclaim. She published a translation of Jean-Jacques Bernard's play *Martine* in August 1930.

In 1933, Yuan gave birth to a son, Yang Hongyuan, while continuing to publish plays, and she became known as one of the “Three Outstanding Women of Luojia Hill”, along with Ling Shuhua (Su-hua Ling Chen) and Su Xuelin (Su Hsueh-lin). Meanwhile, Yang Duanliu became head of the Economics faculty and then of the Law faculty at Wuhan University, and in

1935 was appointed Chief Auditor for the national government's Military Commission.

Yuan published her first essay collection, *Jottings from a Mountain Abode*, in July 1937, the same month that the War of Resistance against Japan broke out. In June 1938, Yang Duanliu was appointed to the newly-established consultative body, the National Political Council. Soon after that, the Japanese surrounded Wuhan, and Yang was put in charge of moving Wuhan University to Leshan County, Sichuan Province. Over the next few years, Yuan Changying continued publishing plays and essays, including a collection with Su Xuelin entitled *Life and Death Trilogy* in 1942.

In 1945, Yuan Changying became an executive at the Three People's Principles Youth League, where Yang Duanliu had been working for two years. In that same year, Yang was elected to the KMT's Central Executive Committee.

In 1946, Wuhan University moved back to its original location at Luojia Hill and Yang Duanliu became head of the university's reactivation committee as well as its dean of studies. In 1948, the university nominated Yuan Changying as a delegate to the Constitutional National Assembly (the National Assembly's first meeting).

When PLA troops occupied Wuhan in May 1949, Yuan and Yang believed they had nothing to fear and actively ingratiated themselves with the new regime. Yang was appointed to the finance committee of the South-central Military and Political Commission in 1950. Yuan was invited to attend the Wuhan Municipal Congress of Literary and Art Workers, and elected to the executive committee of the municipal Federation of Literary and Arts Workers. When a reorganization of China's colleges and universities was carried out in 1952, Wuhan University's foreign literature department was abolished, and Yuan Changying was transferred to the Chinese faculty. She joined the Chinese Writers' Association in 1955 and the China Democratic League the following year, and continued her participation in provincial cultural congresses.

## Designated an ultra-Rightist

When CPC Central Committee launched its Rectification Campaign in May 1957, *Guangming Daily*, run by the China Democratic League and other democratic parties, organized symposiums for high-level intellectuals and persons outside of the CPC in nine major cities, including Shanghai and Wuhan, to express critical views to “help the CPC rectify its work style”. Yuan Changying was among the professors and experts invited to speak at symposiums held in Wuhan on May 4 and 7, and both Yuan and Yang Duanliu were among eight senior professors invited to informal discussions with Wuhan University president Li Da (a founding member of CPC) on May 16 and 17.

*Guangming Daily* repeatedly quoted Yuan Changying in its reporting on the rectification campaign, in particular a speech she made on the topic of “privileged class work-styles of Party members at Wuhan University” on May 4:

*Teachers from other schools say that at their schools, the Party members are buttressed from the masses; at Wuhan University, this buttress is an impregnable fortress... Generally speaking, it is constructed from the privileged class work-styles of some Party members... Some say that this impregnable fortress at Wuhan University divides people into three categories: Party members are Class A, non-Party member intellectuals are Class B, and some activists are Class C. These activists are iron wall activists, because Party members never associate with non-Party intellectuals, and rely on these activists to understand the thinking of non-Party intellectuals; and the reporting of these activists is not factual, but is aimed at expressing their own activism, as a result of which the buttress becomes thicker by the day. At Wuhan University, the privileged class work-style of Party members can be observed everywhere... Wuhan University lacks a democratic atmosphere, and anyone who raises an opinion finds himself labeled... After the policy of “long-term coexistence and mutual supervision” was proposed, the leaders of the university Party branch called on everyone to give their opinions. I had misgivings at the time, but felt it would be wrong not to speak, so I expressed some minor opinions, not daring to make major suggestions. What happened next? Some Party members were unhappy: “Yuan Changying has a lot of*

*opinions!” I feel that the period between liberation and the “hundred flowers” policy was like the weather of early spring, with abrupt temperature changes... Intellectuals were very happy, but also apprehensive. Since hearing Chairman Mao’s speech, we have felt that spring has come and the flowers can bloom. If Wuhan University is to be handled well, it needs to break down that impregnable fortress wall; both Party members and the masses must take responsibility. Party and Youth League leaders cannot regard themselves as privileged, but should treat the masses and intellectuals outside of the Party as part of the same family. However, we are far from meeting this demand, and it remains a mere hope.*

In addition, Yuan supported a proposal by two prominent legal scholars to “rule the country by law” and suggested that “the three harms<sup>12</sup> are systemic in nature; a committee should be established to improve school administration and propose a plan to submit to the Higher Education Department or even the State Council”.

In June 1957, the Rectification Movement turned into an Anti-Rightist Struggle. In an article on “the errors committed by *Guangming Daily*’s editorial board while Zhang Bojun and Chu Anping were distorting its political direction” published in *People’s Daily* on July 19, a reference was made to Yuan Changying’s speech on May 17, although she was not named. More than 480 of Wuhan University’s 4,000 students and teachers were attacked as Rightists, including Yang Duanliu and Yuan Changying, with Yuan being labeled an “ultra-Rightist” as well. Yuan was dismissed from her teaching position and sent to labor reform in the university library. While undergoing criticism, her past involvement with the Three People’s Principles Youth League and the National Assembly was investigated, and a year later, the Hubei Provincial Higher Court found her guilty of “historic counterrevolutionary activities”. She was dismissed from all employment and put under surveillance and control for two years. By then, Yuan was 64, and Yang Duanliu was 73; due to their

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<sup>12</sup> TN: The “three harms” in the Rectification Movement were bureaucratism, subjectivism and factionalism.

advanced age, Yuan was not sent to the countryside, but was allowed to serve her penal labor under surveillance on campus, sweeping the streets.

In 1962, Yuan had her Rightist label removed, but when the Cultural Revolution was launched, both Yuan and Yang again came under attack for their “historic counterrevolutionary activities”. Their children, who had long been under political pressure, cut all ties with them at this time.

### **Dying of sickness alone**

Yang Duanliu died on September 5, 1966, at the age of 81. Yuan Changying, by then 72 years old, was obliged to move to a small house, where she lived alone, relying on regular visits from a nephew and a former housekeeper. In January 1970, the university forced Yuan to leave Wuhan, and she returned to her native place in Hunan to stay with a distant relative, her daily needs supported through 20 *yuan* that her daughter sent her every month. Yuan Changying died on April 28, 1973, at the age of 78.

On October 9, 1979, the Hubei Province Higher People’s Court rescinded the 1958 verdict against Yuan Changying, and in 1984, the CPC Committee at Wuhan University completely removed her Rightist label.

Hunan People’s Publishing House produced *Selected Works of Yuan Changying* in 1985, and some of her earlier writings were reissued.

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## **Case No. 28 (1974): Nie Gannu Convicted for His Poetry**



*Nie Gannu (Nie Kan-nu, born Nie Guoyan, January 28, 1903 - March 26, 1986), a poet, writer, editor and scholar of classical literature, was arrested because of the content of his poetry and was held for more than seven years before being sentenced to life in prison for counterrevolutionary crimes in 1974.*

### **A schoolmate of Chiang Ching-kuo and Deng Xiaoping**

Nie Gannu was born to the family of a small businessman in Jingshan County, Hubei Province. Following the death of his mother when he was two, he was adopted by his father's younger brother, Nie Xingzhou.

Nie began studying at the county upper primary school at the age of nine, but his family's poverty obliged him to discontinue his studies five years later. He then began publishing poetry in *Dahan Daily* in Hankou.

In 1921, Nie was admitted to the Shanghai High School of English. A year later, he joined the KMT and went to Quanzhou, Fujian Province, to serve as a clerk at the front headquarters of the East Route Expeditionary Army of the National Revolutionary Army. He then left China for the Malaysian city of Kuala Lumpur, where he taught Chinese and arithmetic at a primary school. In 1923, he moved to Rangoon, Burma, and worked as a newspaper editor under the name Nie Qi.

In May 1924, Nie returned to China and entered the Whampoa Military Academy in Guangzhou.

In early 1926, the KMT government sent Nie to the Soviet Union to study at Moscow's Sun Yat-sen University, where he was a classmate of Chiang Ching-kuo and Deng Xiaoping. After the KMT Army's violent suppression of Communist organizations in Shanghai in April 1927 ended the KMT alliance with Soviet Russia, Nie was repatriated to China and began teaching at the KMT Central Committee's Nanjing Party School.

In 1928, Nie became vice-director of the KMT's Central News Agency, and then became editor of the *Rain and Flower* supplement of *Xinjing Daily*. That same year, he married Zhou Ying.

After the Mukden Incident in 1931, Nie fell into disfavor with the authorities by organizing a "Young Writers' and Artists' Anti-Japan Association". In order to avoid arrest, he resigned and fled to Japan to join Zhou Ying, who was studying at Tokyo's Imperial University. Through Hu Feng's introduction, Nie joined the Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers in February 1932, and the group's Leftist cultural activities led to Hu, Nie and Zhou being expelled from Japan the following year. Nie became active in Shanghai's League of Left-Wing Writers as a leading member of its theoretical research committee.

### **Publishing a magazine with Hu Feng, Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong**

In April 1934, Nie became a founding editor of the *Trend* supplement to *China Daily News*. He joined the CPC in 1935, and that same year published his first short story collection, *Chance Meeting*. In February 1936, Nie joined Hu Feng, Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong in founding the literary magazine *Petrel* with Lu Xun's support. Under the alias Nie Youcai, he escorted the writer Ding Ling, who had just escaped from custody in Nanjing, to Xi'an. He published two collections of essays in 1936 and 1937.

Following the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan on July 7, 1937, Nie joined Hu Feng, Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong in establishing *July Magazine*. In January 1938, Nie, Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong and Ai Qing were invited to Linfen, Shanxi Province, to teach at the National Revolutionary

University run by the warlord Yan Xishan, and Nie subsequently joined the Ding Ling-led Northwest Combat Zone Service Team of the CPC's Eighth Route Army. Fleeing the Japanese, everyone but Xiao Jun accompanied Ding Ling to Xi'an in February, and then to Yan'an in May. In August Nie returned to Wuhan, where he was then dispatched to southern Anhui to serve as secretary of the Cultural Committee of the CPC's New Fourth Army and as literary editor of the military publication *Resisting Enemy*. In that same year, he published the essay collection *On the Problem of Intellectuals*.

In early 1939, Nie left the army for Jinhua, Zhejiang Province, where he joined the official periodical of the Cultural Work Committee of the CPC's Zhejiang provincial committee, *Southeast Battle Front*, and then became chief editor of its successor publication, *Cultural Warrior*.

In May 1940, Nie went to Guilin to work as editor of the *New Cultivation* supplement to *The Force Reports (Li Bao)*, and in August, he became a founding editor of the literary monthly *Wild Grass*, while also publishing two short story collections that year. He founded *Half Moon Literature* in 1941, and published several volumes of essays and other writings over the following two years.

In 1944, Nie went to Chongqing, where through Feng Xuefeng's introduction he became a contract writer for the KMT's Central Cultural Movement Committee, while also teaching at a private middle school and establishing the literary magazine *Bibliography*, which folded after two issues. He then resigned from the school and became an editor at several publications, while also teaching at the Southwest Academy. He published the novel *Sister* in 1946

### **Chief editorial writer for Hong Kong's *Wen Wei Po***

In June 1947, the CPC sent Nie to Hong Kong to serve as chief editorial writer for *Wen Wei Po (Wenhui Bao)*. In February 1949, Nie became the first poet to eulogize Mao Zedong in his epic poem "1949 in China". He attended the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers in July, and the founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China on October 1. Appointed to the South-central Culture and Education Committee, he returned to Hong Kong

until he was transferred to Beijing in 1951. During his four years in Hong Kong, Nie published many collections of essays, poetry, plays and short stories.

### **Pulled into adversity with Hu Feng**

After returning to Beijing in 1951, Nie became a director of CWA, deputy chief editor and head of the classics department of People's Literature Publishing House, a member of the Chinese Script Reform Committee, and a member of the editorial committee of *Guangming Daily*.

When the authorities launched their purge against the "Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique" in May 1955, Nie was implicated even after writing an exposure and criticism letter. He was placed under isolation for investigation in July, and the *Selected Essays of Gannu*, already printed by People's Literature, was withdrawn from circulation. In May 1956, Nie was put under probation within CPC and was dismissed from all of his positions.

In 1957, Nie's wife, Zhou Ying, who was a member of the CPPCC and of the central committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee, answered calls to "rectify" the CPC by protesting the injustice against Hu Feng, as a result of which she was labeled a Rightist, along with Nie Gannu, who had helped her revise the text of her speech. Nie was expelled from the CPC and sent to Heilongjiang's Great Northern Wilderness for "Reform through Labor".

In October 1959, Nie was transferred to the Mudanjiang Wasteland Reclamation Bureau to serve as editor of *Great Northern Wilderness Literature*. After completing his labor reform the following year, he returned to Beijing and was made an official of the Literary and Historical Data Committee of the CPPCC. His Rightist label was removed in autumn 1961.

In 1962, Nie learned that Hu Feng's wife, Mei Zhi, was in Beijing, and finding a way to meet her, Nie and Zhou Ying encouraged her to write for permission to visit Hu Feng in prison. When Hu Feng was allowed to return home for a short time in early 1966 to "serve his sentence outside prison", Nie went to visit him and dedicated a poem to him, and continued to correspond with Hu Feng after he and Mei Zhi were banished to Sichuan.

## Sentenced to life in prison for his speech

When the Cultural Revolution was launched in July 1966, Nie was afraid that Red Guards would seize his unpublished manuscripts, so he entrusted a friend with taking them to Mei Zhi in Sichuan. However, Nie had been under secret surveillance since 1962, and the police intercepted the documents. Some of his poems contained criticism of the injustice against Hu Feng and Ding Ling, and an informer also reported him for repeatedly “viciously defaming” Mao, Zhou Enlai, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and other leaders in private conversation. On January 25, 1967, Nie was arrested for “current counter-revolutionary crimes” and was sent first to Gongdelin Prison and then to Banbuqiao Prison. Due to war preparations, Nie was transferred to Shanxi’s Jisan County Detention Center in October 1969. Nie was tried in the detention center in December 1972 for “counterrevolutionary” comments that had been surreptitiously recorded:

*It's hard to say how badly this person will be portrayed future histories!... Of course there is nothing that can be done now, but how long can this continue? Chiang Kai-shek was also formidable, but didn't he fall? Dialectics make it very clear that things always turn toward their antithesis, and we need to view issues in terms of development. The day will come when the scoundrels will fall... Now everyone thinks life is a bit better, and that there is hope, but that is just being satisfied with pseudo-socialism. In fact, they're feudalists, out-and-out feudalists!... Things will surely change; there are still some within the Communist Party, and besides that, the communist movement is international now, and the world will not let China continue in this way. As to when it will change, that I cannot say. At any rate, it will surely change; China has many such people... The people won't go along with it; don't look on the surface, all those cries of “Long live, long live!” What are people actually thinking? Now the problems are on the agenda and they will have to be resolved!... As for the Anti-Rightist Campaign, whether we were wrong or they were wrong, this question must be resolved!*

*This Chairman Mao has read quite a few ancient works; he has taken the methods of China's emperors and combined them with Marxism-Leninism. That is not Marxism, but Chinese feudalism. No one can match him in military*

*matters, but he does not know what he is doing in other areas, and he still has to manage everything himself and will not let anyone else have a say. What game has he been playing since 1955?... Hu Feng's "five knives"<sup>13</sup> are every one of them correct and solve the problem, and are tenable on literary questions. You treat it like a political issue and bring the Party in to suppress it, the whole Party in a test of strength against one person. Even if Hu Feng was not an individual but a clique, all they've come up with so far is a few dozen people, so why are they so worried?...*

*Before I was labeled a Rightist, I had nothing against Chairman Mao, and I never felt I was a Rightist, so I have never been able to understand it. I had my opinions about Zhou Yang and Wang Renshu in literary circles, but I doubt that Chairman Mao was right to lead this campaign, and I suspect him of launching a personality cult. It is Chairman Mao carrying on a personality cult and no one else; I do not have material proof, but I feel he puts a particular emphasis on personality cult. My only proof is personal experience.*

*... I feel there is little democracy within the Party, and that it is even a dictatorship. I think even some leaders of the Party are not free to speak, and only Chairman Mao has freedom to speak; what Chairman Mao says goes... I feel that being labeled a Rightist is the same as when they branded the faces of criminals in the Song dynasty; it takes the same form, because once they've been labeled a Rightist, no one will come near them; only Rightists can get together with Rightists, and once they're together, there's not much worth talking about, just grumbling. If they cannot find other Rightists to talk to, they have to be on guard, so they find other Rightists. I feel this is one of the pleasures of life: like attracts like! It is Chairman Mao who ignited the fire of the Great Cultural Revolution; I feel it's like the Battle of the Fiery Oxen,<sup>14</sup>*

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<sup>13</sup>In his "300,000 word memorial" on cultural issues, Hu Feng accused the Communist authorities of thrusting "five knives" at readers and writers: the Communist world view, sending writers to live among workers, farmers and soldiers, Thought Reform, "national style" and "writing on the important topic of revolutionary struggle."

<sup>14</sup>The Battle of the Fiery Oxen was devised by the Qi general Tian Dan during the Warring States period. Tian Dan routed the enemy camp one night sending over

*where Chairman Mao is the general Tian Dan and the Red Guards are the bulls. Chairman Mao used the Red Guards to destroy Peng, Lu, Luo and Yang, who felt there was no democracy in the Party. I have the same views.*

*I think that Chairman Mao is very good at using the masses' worshipful mentality toward leaders, and leverages this mentality to destroy his enemies.*

*Since being labeled a Rightist, I have come to understand what the dictatorship of the proletariat feels like, and feel democracy is even more precious. Therefore, I feel Chairman Mao is undemocratic, within and without the Party, and is creating a personality cult. The people I have been in touch with are previous intellectuals and previous pro-democracy activists. I think that the Great Cultural Revolution is a Party matter; those within the Party also wanted democracy, so they forced Chairman Mao to take a stand on whether or not to be democratic, and then Chairman Mao used "Great Democracy" to wage a counterattack against those who wanted democracy.*

On May 8, 1974, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court delivered its verdict:

*Nie Gannu has stubbornly persisted in a reactionary standpoint and demonstrates extreme hatred toward the Party and socialism. He has constantly disseminated large quantities of reactionary speech among some of "Rightists", and with extreme viciousness has defamed the proletarian headquarters, vilifying the Party's policies and the socialist system in a vain attempt to overturn the proletariat dictatorship and restore capitalism. He has written many reactionary poems decrying the injustice against the counterrevolutionary Hu Feng, the Rightist Ding Ling and others. Irrefutable evidence of all of these crimes has been presented in trial. Nie has persisted with a reactionary standpoint and is incorrigible in his savage counterrevolutionary activities; the crime is serious and should be punished severely. In accordance with Article 2, Article 10.3 and Article 17 of the Regulations on the Punishment of Counterrevolutionaries of the People's*

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a herd of cattle carrying bundles of burning reeds on their tails and knives tied to their horns.

*Republic of China, the current counterrevolutionary Nie Gannu is sentenced to life in prison and permanent deprivation of political rights.*

### **Released in an amnesty for KMT Operatives**

At the end of October 1974, Nie Gannu was transferred to the Shanxi Province No. 3 Prison in Linfen County to serve out his sentence.

Nie's wife, Zhou Ying, went everywhere requesting help for his case, and through Li Jiansheng, the wife of Zhang Bojun, she met a former judge of the Shanxi Provincial People's Court, Zhu Jingfang. Zhu in turn introduced Zhou to the warden of Linfen Prison, Yang Kongzhen, and the prison's political department head, Peng Yuanfang, who were willing to help Nie as a victim of injustice.

At the end of 1975, the CPC Central Committee issued a document offering "release as an expression of leniency" to all former KMT military and civilian staff at the county level or above. Because Nie had once served as a vice-director of the KMT's Central News Agency, he was proposed for inclusion among those named for release, and following judgment by the Shanxi Province Higher People's Court, he was granted a "special pardon" on October 10, 1976. Zhou Ying met him at the prison and took him home to Beijing.

In March and April 1979, Nie Gannu was rehabilitated and his reputation was restored, along with his rank, salary and CPC membership. In September, he was appointed a consultant to People's Literature Publishing House, and in November, he was elected to the national committee of the CFLAC and to the standing committee of the CWA, and later appointed a member of the national committee of the CPPCC.

Nie Gannu continued to publish volumes of essays and poetry following his release from prison. On March 26, 1986, he died of natural causes in Beijing, at the age of 83.

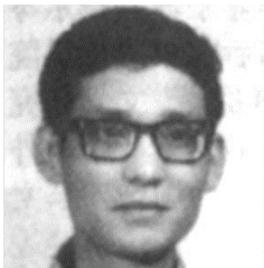
In November 2003, Wuhan Publishing House issued *The Complete Works of Nie Gannu* in ten volumes totaling more than 3 million characters.

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## Case No. 29 (1975): Zhang Yang Arrested for His Near-Fatal Novel



*Zhang Yang (born Zhang Zunkuan, May 19, 1944 - ), a writer, was arrested in 1975 after handwritten copies of his novel *The Second Handshake* were banned, and he narrowly escaped being executed.*

### ***From Spindrift to Red Leaves on Xiang Mountain***

Zhang Yang was born in rural Changge County, Henan Province. When he was only two months old, his father was assassinated in the anti-Japanese resistance. When Zhang was two, his mother took him to live with her parents in Nanjing. After his mother remarried in 1949, the family moved to Changsha.

While a 17-year-old student at Changsha's No. 6 Middle School, Zhang published his first essay, "The Wedding", under the pen name Zhou Yu in *Changsha Evening News*. After graduating from middle school in 1962, he failed the college entrance exam, so he continued studying and writing at home. In February 1963, he wrote a 15,000-character short story of, "Spindrift", based on his uncle's tragic love story, and the following year expanded it into a 70,000-character novella under the title *Red Leaves on Xiang Mountain*.

In 1965, under the government's policy of sending educated youth "up the mountains and down to the countryside", Zhang was sent to the Zhongyue People's Commune in Liuyang County, Hunan Province, and he continued to revise his novella during his spare time.

After the Cultural Revolution was launched in mid-1966, Zhang threw himself into it, and became acquainted with Luo Mengyin, the head of the Lu Xun Commune, a Red Guard rebel faction at the County Middle School. The next summer, Zhang published an essay in a rebel faction newspaper declaring that the rustification of educated youth was a complete betrayal of Mao's speech on May 4, 1939, "The Orientation of the Youth Movement". That same year, he completed the 100,000-character third revision of his novella.

In spring 1968, the authorities declared Luo Mengyin's rebel faction to be a "counterrevolutionary clique". Luo was arrested, and a search of his home uncovered letters that Zhang had written in supporting him. Zhang fled, and while on the run he rewrote *Red Leaves on Xiang Mountain*, having lost the previous manuscript when he loaned it to a friend to copy.

### **From *The Return* to *The Second Handshake***

After he finished the fourth version of his work in Changsha in February 1970, Zhang renamed it *The Return* and left the manuscript with a friend. Soon after that, he was arrested while visiting another friend and detained in the Liuyang County Detention Center until the end of 1972.

During that time, the anonymous manuscript that he'd left at his friend's home was circulated and copied all over China, reaching its widest circulation under the title *The Second Handshake*. After leaving prison, Zhang returned to laboring in the countryside, at the same time rewriting *The Return* into a novel of more than 120,000 characters. However, he completed this manuscript in 1974, just at the time that all kinds of popular hand-copied books were being investigated, and in October, the manuscript for *The Second Handshake* was confiscated in Beijing. The book attracted the attention of Yao Wen Yuan, the Politburo member in charge of propaganda work. He ordered the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau to establish a "*The Second Handshake* Special Investigation Team". After more than a month of inquiries, Zhang Yang was identified as the author. The Hunan Provincial Public Security Bureau was notified, and officers were deployed to arrest Zhang.

## **From demands for a death sentence to rehabilitation**

On January 7, 1975, Zhang was arrested at Zhongyue Commune and sent to the Hunan Provincial Detention Center in Changsha. His aunt in Changsha and uncle in Beijing were labeled abettors. In accordance with the “dictatorship of the masses” that prevailed at the time, the provincial Public Security Bureau instructed the local relevant departments to mobilize a mass criticism meeting, during which Zhang was framed for a multitude of crimes and demands were made for his execution. On June 18, Zhang was indicted on charges of “current counterrevolutionary crimes” on the following grounds:

*The crux of this reactionary novel is the wish for the “return” of capitalism, creating a public sentiment for counterrevolutionary restoration of the old order. This black book is permeated from beginning to end with the humanistic theory of landlords and the bourgeoisie; theories opposing Marxism’s class struggle and proletariat dictatorship; opposing the Party’s fundamental line and vigorously promoting “renegade philosophy” and the “the theory of innate geni”; reversing the verdicts against Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao; opposing the Great Cultural Revolution, supporting landlords, the bourgeoisie and all Monsters and Demons; in the ideological domain promoting peaceful evolution and summoning the ghosts of Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Yang’s black cultural line; glorifying the capitalist system and vilifying the socialist system of the proletariat dictatorship; publicizing bourgeois ideology and poisoning youth, and vying with the proletariat for succession.*

The indictment listed four crimes: 1) venomously attacking the Great Leader Chairman Mao; burning the fourth volume of *The Selected Works of Mao Zedong*; 3) savagely carrying out class retaliation; and 4) incorrigibly refusing to confess his crimes and submit to the law, qualifying him as an utterly unreformed die-hard deserving of a death sentence.

The judge in charge of this case at the Hunan Provincial Higher People’s Court, Li Haichu, found this to be a fabricated case of injustice, and he refused to be mired in a literary inquisition that devalued human life. Although not empowered to negate the indictment, Li used various pretexts to delay the case until the Cultural Revolution ended in October 1976 and rectification began on some unjust cases.

In October 1978, *China Youth Daily* received a letter from Li Qian, a worker at the Yichang Resin Factory in Hubei Province, who called for *The Second Handshake* to be rehabilitated and published. In December, *China Youth Daily* sent two editors, Gu Zhicheng and Kuang Xiayu, to make inquiries in Hunan. On January 9, 1979, *China Youth Daily's* internal reference publication *Youth Movement Situation*, distributed to the CPC's top leaders, published an investigative report stating that *The Return* was a good book and that the author, Zhang Yang, should be rehabilitated and released from prison.

Hu Yaobang, who at that time was a Politburo member and third secretary of the Central Disciplinary Inspection Commission, quickly issued a memo for this case to be ended and the prisoner to be released. Two days later, *China Youth Daily* published Li Qian's letter with an editorial note, and on March 10, it published the investigative report by Gu Zhicheng and Kuang Xiayu calling for "courageously and knowledgeably protecting *The Second Handshake*, a worthy book".

After Zhang Yang was rehabilitated, more than a thousand other young people who had been imprisoned for copying and circulating his book were also released and rehabilitated.

In the latter half of July 1979, Zhang Yang's new 250,000-character revision of *The Second Handshake* was published by China Youth Publishing House. Around the same time, Zhang was given a job at the Hunan Provincial Federation of Literary and Arts Circles. He went on to serve as editor of *Xiangjiang Literature* and as deputy director of the Hunan Provincial Tumor Hospital, as vice-chairman and honorary chairman of the Hunan branch of CWA, and as a delegate to the Hunan Provincial People's Political Consultative Conference.

A new 600,000-character edition of *The Second Handshake* was published by People's Literature Publishing House in June 2006. Zhang Yang is also the author of other novels and reportage.

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## **Case No. 30 (1976): Wang Juntao**

### **Detained for Tiananmen Poems**



*Wang Juntao (July 11, 1958 - ), a prominent social activist, editor and scholar, was detained in 1976 for posting four poems in Tiananmen Square during the April Fifth Movement to commemorate Zhou Enlai.*

#### **Arrested for posting poems during April Fifth Movement**

Wang Juntao was born in Nanjing, but moved to Beijing at the age of three when his father, an instructor of politics at a military academy, was transferred there.

When Premier Zhou Enlai died on January 8, 1976, Mao Zedong selected Politburo member, vice-premier and Public Security Minister Hua Guofeng as acting premier. Mao then further developed the “counterattack against the Right-deviating case reversal trend” that he had launched two months earlier, and publicly criticized Deng Xiaoping, a vice-chairman of the CPC Central Committee and First Vice-Premier, for taking steps to restore the national economy that had been destroyed during the Cultural Revolution and for carrying out a series of rectification measures.

Against this backdrop, a movement by Nanjing’s students and young workers to commemorate Zhou Enlai in March 1976 developed into a protest movement that spread to major cities throughout China. In late March, as the Qing Ming Festival approached, an increasing number of Beijing citizens

began arriving at Tiananmen Square to lay floral wreaths and bouquets at the Monument to the People's Heroes, and to post elegies, funeral scrolls and condolences.

At that time, Wang Juntao was in his third year of upper middle school, and secretary of his class branch of the Communist Youth League. On April 3, he organized two groups of students to lay wreaths at Tiananmen Square. On the following day, which marked the Qing Ming Festival, Wang posted four poems at the memorial.

That was a Sunday, and Tiananmen Square was teeming with people, many of whom delivered speeches, read out poems, posted memorials or distributed pamphlets commemorating Zhou Enlai. Many of the writings targeted the CPC Central Committee's "Cultural Revolution faction", Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan, and even Mao Zedong, and some expressed support for Deng Xiaoping.

On April 5, police and militia cleared the square of wreaths and crowds, resulting in massive protests during which official vehicles and the joint command headquarters were burned. More than 10,000 police officers, militia and soldiers were then sent to the square, arresting more than 200 people and beating many others in what came to be known as the "April Fifth Movement".

On April 16, Wang Juntao was arrested and sent to the Detention Center of the Haidian Branch of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau for investigation on charges of "backstage plotting, on-the-spot direction and creation of reactionary poems".

Mao died on September 9. On the evening of October 6, Hua Guofeng, together with Ye Jianying, Wang Dongxing and Li Xiannian, launched a coup d'état and arrested the Gang of Four – Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan, along with Mao's nephew Mao Yuanxin. On the following day, a Politburo meeting in the absence of those four made Hua Guofeng Chairman of the Central Committee and Central Military Commission, and formally ended the Cultural Revolution.

On November 26, Wang Juntao was released as one of the people wrongfully arrested for opposing the Gang of Four, and following his graduation from middle school, he became one of the "educated youth" sent down to the countryside in the suburbs of Beijing.

## Stopped from publishing during the Democracy Wall Movement

In October 1978, Wang Juntao was admitted to study the Nuclear and Atomic Physics at Department of Technical Physics, Peking University. As a representative of “educated youth”, he also attended the tenth congress of the Communist Youth League and was elected to the presidium and as an alternate member of the League’s Central Committee.

On November 14, 1978, the Beijing Municipal Committee of the CPC, with the authorization of the Politburo Standing Committee, declared the rehabilitation of the April Fifth Tiananmen Incident. Several days later, big-character posters went up on a 100-meter long wall of a bus station at Xidan calling for “science, democracy and rule by law” and for “democracy to put dictatorship on trial”. Within a short time, the Xidan Democracy Wall became known throughout the world and became a gathering place for political discussions. During a Central Committee Work Conference on November 25, Central Committee Chairman Hua Guofeng formally declared the thorough rehabilitation of the Tiananmen Incident.

Wang Juntao joined in the Democracy Wall Movement at the end of 1978, and helped fellow April Fifth participants Zhou Weimin, Han Zhixiong, Chen Ziming, Li Shengping and Liu Di establish the magazine *Beijing Spring* (*Beijing Zhi Chun*), with Wang serving as a deputy editor. The magazine was suppressed in 1979 following the arrest of *Exploration* editor Wei Jingsheng, the leader of the China Human Rights Alliance (*Zhongguo Renquan Tongmeng*), Ren Wandong, the convenor of *April Fifth Forum* (*Siwu Luntan*), Liu Qing, and others. In December 1979, the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee issued a notice banning the Xidan Democracy Wall, and *Beijing Spring* was forced to cease publication.

In October 1980, Wang Juntao, Hu Ping and Zhang Wei campaigned for election to the Haidian District People’s Congress as representatives of Peking University students. Hu Ping was ultimately elected.

Wang graduated from Peking University in 1982 and was assigned to work at the Atomic Energy Institute at the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

In 1984, he resigned from his job and moved to Wuhan, where he eventually became head of the Adult Education and Development Center at

Central China Normal University, director of the Jiangxia Night School at Wuhan University, assistant to the director of the Wuhan Automotive Factory, and assistant to the secretary-general of the Program Office of the Hubei provincial government.

In 1986, he was required to return to Beijing to work at the Chinese Institute of Politics and Administration and the Chinese Administrative Correspondence College.

In 1987, Wang became a committee member of the Beijing Social and Economic Research Institute and vice-chairman of the Beijing Talent Evaluation and Testing Center, vice-chair of the Beijing Social Economics Foundation and chairman of the Beijing Creativity Institute, as well as deputy editor of *Economics Weekly*.

### **Sentenced for negotiation in the 1989 Pro-democracy Movement**

April 4, 1989, brought the death of Hu Yaobang, former General Secretary of the CPC, who had been forced to resign over the 1986 student protests. University students in Beijing and other places launched large-scale street demonstrations to mourn Hu in what came to be known as the 1989 Pro-democracy Movement. On April 2, Wang cosigned an open letter from intellectuals to the CPC Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council, as well as other declarations. On May 23, Wang helped establish the Joint Liaison Group of All Circles in the Capital for the Patriotic Upholding of the Constitution, and on May 27 he presided over the issuing of the group's ten-point statement:

*This student movement, a people's movement from the beginning to the present, has been a purely spontaneous mass-character great patriotic pro-democracy movement... If in the near future there is no urgent session of the NPC, the large-scale and peaceful petitioning campaign at Tiananmen Square will continue at least until the NPC session is convened on June 21.*

Wang supported Liu Xiaobo, Zhou Duo and two others who began a three-day hunger strike on June 2, and took charge of press releases, logistics, security and other duties.

Following the “June 4th Massacre”, Wang fled Beijing. His name was included on the arrest warrant issued by the Ministry of Public Security on June 24, and he was designated one of seven intellectuals who served as “back-stage planners and commanders of the counterrevolutionary revolt”. After more than four months as a fugitive, Wang was detained at the Changsha Train Station on October 20 and held until his formal arrest on November 24, 1990.

On February 12, 1991, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People’s Court sentenced Wang Juntao to 13 years’ imprisonment for “conspiring to subvert the government” and “counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement”.

### **Released under “hostage diplomacy”**

Under pressure from the international community, the Chinese authorities released Wang Juntao under “hostage diplomacy” in April 1994, and he became the first political prisoner sent into overseas exile on the pretext of having his health examined. He became a Nieman Scholar at Harvard’s Fairbank Center and then a Mason Scholar at Harvard’s John F. Kennedy School of Government. He obtained a Master’s degree in Public Management in 1997 and then transferred to Columbia University, where he obtained an MS in Political Science in 2000 and a PhD in Comparative Politics in 2006. In October 2006, he went to New Zealand’s University of Canterbury for post-doctoral research.

Since his return to the US, Wang has remained active in the overseas dissident community, and has served as a commentator and expert for Deutsche Welle and Radio Free Asia. In April 2010, Wang helped found the National Committee of the Chinese Democracy Party (CDP), of which he is co-chair with Wang Youcai.

Wang Juntao’s writings include the English treatises *Confucian Democrats in Chinese History* (2003), *Reverse Course: Political Neo-conservatism and Regime Stability in Post-Tiananmen China* (2008) and *Popular Authoritarianism: China’s New Order and the Role of Propaganda* (2009). He has also jointly edited several works on Chinese politics with Chen Ziming.

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## **Case No. 31 (1977): Wang Shenyou Executed for a Love Letter**



*Wang Shenyou (August 1945 - April 27, 1977), a university student and popular thinker, was arrested for a letter he wrote to his girlfriend the day after Mao died. He was executed seven months later for “current counterrevolutionary crime”.*

### **Diaries as “evidence of counterrevolutionary crime”**

Wang Shenyou was born in Shanghai, the fourth of seven children of worker parents who had fled famine in their native Henan.

Wang demonstrated strong intelligence and scholastic aptitude from his youth, and began keeping a diary in middle school. In 1962, at the age of 17, he passed the entrance exam to study physics at East China Normal University, specializing in radio technology.

In autumn 1965, Wang and his classmates took part in the Socialist Education Movement at a factory on Shanghai’s Chongming Island, returning to the university after the Cultural Revolution broke out in May 1966. Unhappy with how the Cultural Revolution was going, Wang in January 1967 joined a Red Guard movement against Zhang Chunqiao, who at that time was vice-director of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and head of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee. The authorities subsequently detained Wang for his participation in the unrest, ransacking his home and beating him,

and the diaries he had been keeping for nearly ten years were confiscated as “evidence of counterrevolutionary crime”. Wang was sent to the Shanghai No. 1 Detention Center in January 1968, but was released four months later and returned to his university for “labor under supervision”.

In 1970, the CPC Central Committee launched its “One Strike-Three Antis Campaign”, and the Workers’ Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team in control of Wang’s university criticized him for “concentrating on non-political academic matters”. He defended himself with a “confession” along with a “Summary of thinking during eight years at the university” and “What I really have on my mind”, citing quotes by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao and Lu Xun to support his viewpoint. The authorities asserted that Wang was “savagely attacking the Great Cultural Revolution” and “sabotaging the One Strike and Three Antis Campaign”, categorized him as an enemy without a label, and assigned him to labor under supervision at his university but did not allow him to graduate.

In November 1970, Wang Shenyong was sent for labor under supervision at the May Seventh Cadre School run by East China Normal University at a farm in Jiangsu Province. In May 1972, East China Normal University and other colleges were merged into Shanghai Normal University. When Wang returned to Shanghai in June to look after his father, who had become paralyzed with a stroke, he was sent to work in the greenification committee of Shanghai Normal University. In May 1974, he was sent to labor at another May Seventh Cadre School in Fengxian County on the outskirts of Shanghai.

### **Death penalty for a love letter**

In February 1976, Wang was sent back to Shanghai Normal University to work in the university’s air defense office. During that time, a middle school classmate introduced him to a young woman working at a radio factory. The two became romantically involved, and Wang frequently expressed his political views in letters to her.

On September 10, 1976, the day after Mao’s death, a worker supervisor suddenly appeared while Wang was writing a letter. Wang tore up the letter and tossed it down a drain, but the worker immediately called for a school security

guard and had Wang taken to the Putuo District Branch of the Shaihai Public Security Bureau while the shreds of paper were recovered as “evidence of counterrevolutionary crime”.

A month after the arrest of the Gang of Four, Wang was put on trial and ordered to rewrite his letter as a “confession”. He expanded the original 20,000-character letter into a 60,000-character elaboration of his views:

*From September 7 to 9, 1976, I sent a letter to someone I was in love with, and I recall its content as follows: 1) Opening remarks; 2) My views on Marxism and my world views; 3) My views on Chinese history prior to 1949; 4) My views on the history of the Soviet Union; 5) My views on Chinese history since 1949 and on Chairman Mao; 6) My views on China's current situation; 7) My views on bilateral relations; 8) My predictions of future bilateral relations. I did not have the chance to write points 7 and 8. Following is what I recall of the original letter.*

He reflected in detail on the series of man-made disasters since 1957:

*The 1957 anti-Rightist struggle basically obliterated the power of the bourgeois democratic parties, and capitalists outside of the Party basically withdrew from China's historical stage at this point. It was at this time that a change occurred in the relationship between those inside and outside of the Party. The 1958 establishment of the People's Communes implanted the seeds of division within the Party, and could even be seen as the source of the catastrophic divisions that surfaced during the Cultural Revolution eight years later. For this reason, 1958 is a critical year for understanding China since the establishment of the People's Republic... By 1959, a man-made economic disaster had exposed the scourge of mass descent into blind fanaticism, but only a minority perceived it, and few of those clear-sighted individuals dared give voice to their realization. The Party elder Peng Dehuai was one of the very few who was not only fully aware of the problem, but also honest and fearless enough, in spite of his advanced age, to go around the country investigating what was actually happening on the ground, enabling him to analyze the economic roots of the disaster and write them up in a lengthy report to Chairman Mao. The result was a political storm at the Lushan Conference that lit the fuse of intra-Party fission.*

....

*The general populace has been robbed of tranquility for nearly 20 years; depressed production, atrophied markets, scarcity of commodities, social chaos and uncertainty over the future have reached intolerable levels...*

....

*China is now in its darkest period since Liberation, and there is no sign when it will end. History appears to be regressing, but it will advance again. Although unable to shed blood at Tiananmen Square, I can still be a witness to history, an onlooker waiting for the opportunity to record the experience and thinking of our generation, so that when future generations recall our lives they will treasure their own and feel spurred on toward a better life.*

On November 23, before Wang had completed his “confession”, a verdict and arrest report were simultaneously written to include “nine major offenses”, among them “venomous attacks on the Great Leader”, “adulating Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Dehuai” and “venomously attacking the ‘Anti-Rightist Struggle’, ‘Struggle against Right-Deviation’, ‘Three Red Banners’, ‘Socialist Education Movement’, ‘Great Cultural Revolution’ and ‘Struggle to Criticize Deng.’”

The following day, using the pretext of “anti-proliferation”, the CPC standing committee at Shanghai Normal University agreed that Wang Shenyou should be dealt with in accordance with law, and recommended capital punishment. The CPC leadership group of the Shanghai High People’s Court unanimously agreed with the recommendation of Putuo District Party Secretary Dong Zhen to a two-year suspension of the death sentence, but the CPC secretary of the Court changed his mind soon after attending a cadre conference during which the Shanghai Municipal Party Secretary directed that “vilification of Chairman Mao’s great banner... must be resolutely attacked”. Fearing that suspension of the death sentence would be regarded as “siding too much with the Rightists”, the CPC secretary convinced his colleagues to retract the suspension. On April 7, the Standing Committee of the CPC’s Shanghai municipal committee reviewed the High Court’s verdicts on 58 major cases (including death sentences), spending an average of less than four minutes on each case. Considering the differing views on Wang Shenyou’s case, the

Standing Committee came down in favor of the death penalty without suspension.

At a public pronouncement of his verdict before 30,000 onlookers at the Putuo District Athletic Stadium on the afternoon of April 27, 1977, Wang Shenyou was sentenced to death for “current counterrevolutionary crime”, and was executed within the hour. He was not yet 32 years old.

### **Posthumous publication abroad following rehabilitation**

The CPC Committee of Shanghai Normal University was restored in 1978, and in August 1979, the newly appointed First Secretary, Shi Ping, received a letter from a graduate student asking for a reexamination of Wang Shenyou’s case. After examining the file, Shi Ping felt an injustice had occurred, and he made a recommendation of rehabilitation to the relevant authorities. There was considerable resistance, however, and it was only after 19 meetings of its standing committee that the CPC’s Shanghai municipal committee publicly delivered a new judgment regarding Wang Shenyou on April 3, 1981:

*Following investigation, it is found that Wang Shenyou suffered political persecution during the Cultural Revolution because he opposed the perverse policies of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four... The summary execution of Wang Shenyou on the original Verdict of “current counterrevolutionary crime” was an utter injustice, and he should be rehabilitated.*

However, plans for in-depth reporting on the case in major publications were cancelled, and an edited edition of Wang’s posthumous writings was never published. *The Collected Works of Wang Shenyou*, edited by Jin Feng and Ding Dong, was finally published in Hong Kong in 2002.

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## Case No. 32 (1978): Li Yizhe Condemned for a Wall Poster



*Li Yizhe (from left):Chen Yiyang,Wang Xizhe, Guo Hongzhi and Li Zhengtian*

*Li Yizhe was the name used by a group of men responsible for a famous big-character poster posted in Guangzhou in 1974: “On Socialist Democracy and the Legal System: To Chairman Mao and the Fourth NPC”. The name was drawn from the names of the poster’s co-drafters and signatories, Li Zhengtian (December 24, 1942 - ), Guo Hongzhi (October 9, 1929 - September 21, 1998), Chen Yiyang (1947 - ) and Wang Xizhe (August 13, 1948 - ).*

The big-character poster consisted of a preface and a main text totaling more than 30,000 characters. The 12,000-character preface was mainly drafted by Guo and Wang, while the main text was a combined effort by Wang, Chen and Li, finalized by Wang after repeated discussions among all four and with others who would be subsequently labeled members of “Li Yizhe Counterrevolutionary Clique.” It was posted on a wall at an intersection on Beijing Road in Guangzhou on November 10, 1974. The four were arrested on March 2, 1977, and held until December 30, 1978.

## **Guo Hongzhi**

Guo was born in a village of Zhaoyuan County, Shandong Province. At age 16, when the Anti-Japan War ended in August 1945, he joined the PLA and was trained as a radio operator. He joined the CPC in 1946.

In October 1950, Guo was transferred to the Chinese People's Volunteer Army to fight in the Korean War. He was honorably discharged due to physical disability in 1955 and became a local cadre.

When the Cultural Revolution was launched in mid-1966, Guo was deputy director of the technical department of Guangdong People's Radio. In March 1967, he joined a movement to oppose an order by Guangzhou Military Region Commander Huang Yongsheng to suppress mass organizations. During this movement, Guo became acquainted with a member of a university Red Guard rebel faction, Li Zhengtian, and the two established the "227 Meeting for Concerted Action" in Room 227 of the Guangdong Provincial Hall of Science. When the CPC Central Committee launched its "Purification of the Class Ranks" campaign in May 1968, Guo was arrested in July and imprisoned by the Guangzhou Garrison Command Headquarters.

Following Lin Biao's death in an attempt to leave China in September 1971, Huang Yongsheng was arrested as a "diehard follower of the Lin Biao Clique", and Guo Hongzhi was released. He resumed contact with Li Zhengtian, who in October 1973 introduced him to Wang Xizhe, and Wang introduced both of them to Chen Yiyang.

Within the Li Yizhe group, Guo Hongzhi was the best-versed in Marxist theory. Although he was actively involved in the drafting and publication of the big-character poster, Guo's position as a CPC cadre made him especially vulnerable to charges of being a "backstage manipulator", so his name was not included on the poster, and the authorities did not ascertain his participation until 1977, at which point he was arrested.

Following his rehabilitating in early 1979, Guo no longer involved himself in political movements, but took part in the Guangdong China Poetry Society. He suffered a stroke after retirement, and died on September 21, 1998, at the age of 69.

## Li Zhengtian

Li Zhengtian was born in Enshi County, Hubei Province. In 1966, Li was a fifth-year student of oil painting at the Guangzhou Academy of Fine Arts, but the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution prevented him from graduating.

In March 1967, Li became one of the main leading figures of Guangzhou's Red Headquarters Call-to-Arms Combat Group opposing military suppression of the Red Guard Rebel Faction. In that way, he met Guo, Wang and Chen, and subsequently became deputy propaganda head for the Guangzhou Red Rebel Alliance Headquarters. As leader of the "227 Meeting for Concerted Action", he penned influential big-character posters such as "The Ten Differences" and "Faced with Catastrophe, What does the Future Hold?".

Li was imprisoned in August 1968 during the "Purification of the Class Ranks" campaign. Following his release in 1972, he was sent back to the Academy of Fine Arts for supervised labor, but was not assigned a job after graduation.

In November 1973, at Guo Hongzhi's suggestion, Li Zhengtian and Wang Xizhe each wrote an article about the Cultural Revolution. Li emphasized the legal system in a simple outline, while Wang stressed democracy in relatively thorough arguments. The texts were combined into the essay "On Socialist Democracy and the Legal System" to send to Mao Zedong under the pen name "Li Yizhe". Li and Wang formally signed their actual names and addresses to the text and mailed it at the beginning of December, with a copy also sent to Ding Sheng, the head of the Guangdong Provincial Revolutionary Committee. The text was also mimeographed and distributed to key members of some former rebel faction organizations.

As a university graduate and a fairly prominent rebel faction member, Li Zhengtian became the chief target of the authorities' criticism of the Li Yizhe article. Especially after the article was published with a preface as a big-character poster in November 1974, Li attracted particular attention as contact person for the group.

In early 1975, the authorities escorted Li Zhengtian to more than 100 universities, factories and other organizations as a "negative example" for debate and public criticism. Attempting to talk reason, Li was beaten more than

70 times. In August that year, Li was sent to a tungsten mine in northern Guangdong for penal labor under surveillance, and then was sent to a detention center in March 1977. As the main instigator of the “Li Yizhe Counter-revolutionary Clique”, Li was not released until the end of 1978.

Following rehabilitation in February 1979, Li Zhengtian was sent back to the Guangzhou Academy of Fine Arts as a librarian, and he continued to work in the fine arts field as a professor and painter. He also wrote a number of philosophical treatises on socio-political subjects.

### **Chen Yiyang**

Chen Yiyang was born in Guangzhou and was in his final year at Guangzhou’s No. 17 Middle School when the Cultural Revolution began. During the opposition to the military crackdown in 1967, Chen’s school organized a rebel faction organization called the Guangzhou Red Headquarters Jinggang Mountain Commune, of which Chen became a leader, along with his younger schoolmate, Wang Xizhe.

During the movement to send “educated youth up the mountains and down to the countryside”, Chen was sent to do farming work at Guzhu Commune in Guangdong’s Zijin County.

Chen stayed in contact with Wang Xizhe and influenced the ideas Wang expressed in the Li Yizhe big-character poster, so Li and Guo treated him as co-author when they finalized the first draft. Chen subsequently agreed to be part of “Li Yizhe”, and in 1974 revised the outlined portion on the legal system into a formal text, as well as using the same pen name to issue a big-character poster entitled “The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution!”

In early 1975, the authorities used Chen as a “negative example”, took him around to be publicly criticized at more than 100 venues, and then sent him to Jiufu Farm on the outskirts of Guangzhou for supervised labor. He was imprisoned in March 1977 as a leading member of the “Li Yizhe Counter-revolutionary Clique” until his release at the end of 1978.

After being rehabilitated in February 1979, Chen was assigned work as a librarian at the Guangdong Province Institute of Philosophy and then at the

provincial Academy of Social Sciences until his retirement in 2007. In 2008, he was made a visiting professor at the Huawen Academy of National Studies.

Chen studied classical Chinese philosophy in his spare time and has published a number of related works.

### **Wang Xizhe**

Wang Xizhe was born in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, but grew up in Guangzhou. When the Cultural Revolution began, he was an underclassman of Chen Yiyang at Guangzhou's No. 17 Middle School, and like Chen he was a leading figure of the rebel faction organization established there. The group in April 1967 joined with others to form the Guangzhou Red Headquarters Jingtang Mountain Commune, of which Wang also became a leader.

When the authorities began the "Purification of Class Ranks" in July 1968, Wang fled to Wuhan, but was arrested in August. After returning to Guangzhou, he was locked up and beaten by the Military Training Team and Workers' Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team that controlled his school until his release in April 1969. At the end of the year, he was sent down to the Yingde Tea Plantation to labor as an "educated youth".

As an only child in his family, Wang was allowed to return to Guangzhou on New Year's Day, 1973, and he became a furnace man in an aquatic products factory. In June that year, Wang encountered Li Zhengtian, and through him became acquainted with Guo Hongzhi, joining them to produce the Li Yizhe big-character poster. As the youngest of the group, and a worker with a "good family background", Wang was granted "protection" by the CPC's Guangdong Provincial Secretary, Zhao Ziyang, and was only subjected to small public criticism sessions, unlike Li and Chen.

In March 1977, Wang was sent to a detention center as a key member of the Li Yizhe Counterrevolutionary Clique. He was released at the end of 1978 and rehabilitated the following February.

By then, the Democracy Wall movement in Beijing was beginning to subside, and the official crackdown was intensifying with the arrests of Wei Jingsheng, Ren Wanding, Liu Qing and others. Ignoring the advice of other members of the Li Yizhe group, Wang threw himself into the movement and

joined Xu Wenli in publishing *April 4<sup>th</sup> Forum*, while also publishing more articles expressing similar views to those in the Li Yizhe poster.

In September 1979, Wang helped establish the National Association of Independent Magazines and became a consultant of its flagship publication, *Duty (Zeren)*. In January 1980, he published a 30,000-character article on “Mao Zedong and the Great Cultural Revolution” in Hong Kong’s *Seventies Monthly*. Wang was arrested again on April 20, 1981, and on May 28, 1982, the Guangzhou Municipal Intermediate People’s Court sentenced him to 14 years’ imprisonment for “counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement”, “organizing a counterrevolutionary clique” and “inciting the masses to sabotage the implementation of national law”.

Wang was released on parole on February 27, 1993, while the Chinese government was vying to host the Olympics. In October 1996, he joined Liu Xiaobo in publishing the “October 10 Manifesto” opposing military action against Taiwan and calling for peaceful reunification. After Liu was arrested in Beijing on October 8, Wang made his way to Hong Kong and on the 14<sup>th</sup> went into exile in the United States, where he became a visiting scholar at Fairbank Center of Harvard University.

After 1998, Wang became a leader of the “Free China Movement” and a coordinator of the overseas democracy movement’s “Overseas Roundtable Conference”, as well as joining other organizations in the exile community.

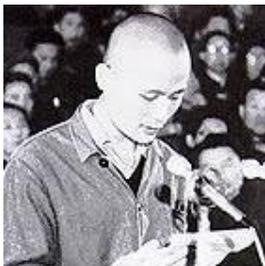
Wang has published several volumes of essays, from *Collected Essays of Wang Xizhe* in 1981 to *Wang Xizhe on Taiwan* in 2007.

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## Case No. 33 (1979): Wei Jingsheng Imprisoned for Warning about Deng



*Wei Jingsheng (May 20, 1950 - ), a dissident and social activist, was arrested in 1978 after posting an essay on Democracy Wall warning of Deng Xiaoping's dictatorial tendencies, and was eventually sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary crimes".*

### **“The Fifth Modernization”**

Wei Jingsheng was born in Beijing, the eldest son of two CPC officials. When the Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966, Wei, still a middle school student, joined the Red Guards under the Capital Red Guards Joint Action Committee, and traveled around the country.

In 1968, Wei's parents sent him to his ancestral village in Jinzhai County, Anhui Province, to engage in farming work. He joined the PLA in 1969, and after his enlistment period expired, he was demobilized to Beijing and assigned work as an electrician at the Beijing Zoo.

In November 1978, people began putting up big-character posters on a wall in Xidan calling for democracy, freedom and human rights, later known as Democracy Wall Movement. On December 5, Wei Jingsheng put up his own poster calling for “The Fifth Modernization”:

*At present, newspapers, magazines and radio broadcasts no longer barrage us with propaganda for the dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle.*

*On the one hand, this is because such propaganda was the magic weapon of the deposed Gang of Four; but more importantly, on the other hand, it is because the masses are tired of listening to it. Therefore, it is no longer effective in deceiving the people.*

*The law of history is that the new cannot come in until the old is gone. Since the old has gone, people are naturally waiting to see what will come. Heaven never disappoints, and the waiting has been rewarded with a great promise called the Four Modernizations.*

*... Regrettably, the old political system that everyone loathes has not changed, and the democracy and freedom people have been hoping for is not even mentioned; the people's living conditions have not really changed...*

*Do the people have democracy now? No. Don't the people want to be the masters of their own destiny? Of course they do. That is why the CPC defeated the KMT. But after their victory, what happened to their promises? As the slogan of the people's democratic dictatorship was changed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "democracy" implemented among a tiny minority of the population was eliminated and replaced by the Great Leader's personal dictatorship... If we want modernization in economics, science, the military, etc., we must first of all modernize our people and our society...*

*What is democracy? Handing the power to all of the laborers is "genuine democracy"...*

*What is genuine democracy? Only when people select representatives to manage their affairs in accordance with their will and interests can we talk about democracy. Moreover, people must have the power to change those representatives whenever they want to, to prevent those representatives running roughshod over the people in their name. Is this possible?*

*The people in Europe and North America are enjoying this kind of democracy, which allowed them to unseat Nixon, de Gaulle, Tanaka and others at will. If necessary, they can also allow these leaders to take power again, and no one can interfere with their democratic power... We want to control our own destiny, to have neither gods nor Caesars, to believe in no supreme saviours, but to become the masters of our country. We do not want to be the modernized tools for an autocratic ruler to enlarge his ambition, but for our people to live a modernized life. The people's democracy, freedom and happiness are the*

*only objectives for us to implement modernization. Without this fifth modernization, any other modernization is just a new promise.*

*... Why must human history move toward development – otherwise known as modernization? It is because humanity needs the practical results that a prosperous society brings; it is because the social consequence of these practical results is freedom, which provides the optimal conditions for people to achieve their chief objective, the pursuit of happiness. Democracy is the most effective currently-known method for attaining freedom. Is it not then completely obvious why democracy has become the goal of human struggle in modern times?*

*...The victory of democracy struggling against autocracy inevitably brings optimal conditions and maximum speed to social development; on this point, American history provides the most distinctive and most powerful evidence...*

*Is the struggle for democracy the goal of the Chinese people? The Cultural Revolution was the people's first display of their power, and all reactionary forces trembled before it. Because the people had not yet recognized their direction, and democratic forces were not in the mainstream, most struggles were smothered as the dictatorial tyrant bought people over, lured them astray, sowed dissension, spread defamatory rumors and imposed violent suppression. Because the people blindly worshipped leaders who were dictators and careerists, they unknowingly once again became the tools and victims of tyrants and potential tyrants.*

*Today, 12 years later, the people have finally realized their goal, recognized a direction for their struggle and realized their true leader – the banner of democracy. Xidan Democracy Wall has become their first battleground in the struggle against reactionary forces. The struggle will surely succeed – this has become a cliché, and “the people will surely be liberated” is a slogan that has gained new significance. There will still be bloodshed and sacrifice, and we will encounter even more insidious plotting. But the banner of democracy will not be obscured by the reactionary forces. Let us unite under this great and true banner and march toward modernization of the social system for the people's tranquility and happiness, and for the people's rights and liberties!*

## 15-year sentence for warning about Deng

Wei Jingsheng established and edited *Exploration Magazine* in January 1979 and published a series of articles. On January 9, Fu Yuehua, a member of the newly-established China Human Rights Alliance, was arrested for organizing a protest by petitioners, marking the beginning of the government's suppression of the Democracy Wall Movement. On March 25, Wei Jingsheng posted his essay "Do We Want Democracy or a New Dictatorship?", warning that Deng Xiaoping might degenerate into a dictator:

*No individual political leader should have the people's unconditional trust. If the policies he implements are beneficial to the people, and if he leads the people on a path to peace and prosperity, we should trust him, but what we trust is his policies and his path. If the policies he implements violate the people's interests, or if the path he takes is dictatorial and against the people, then the people should oppose him. Likewise, what the people are opposing are his policies that violate the people's interests and encroach on the people's lawful rights, and his path that is against the people. According to the principles of democracy, any authority should bow to the opposition of the people.*

Four days later, the CPC's Beijing municipal committee issued a notice to "safeguard public order in the capital":

*Any slogans, posters, big-character posters, handbills, publications, albums, records or photographs that oppose socialism, oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat, oppose the CPC leadership, oppose Marxism or Mao Zedong Thought, reveal state secrets or violate the Constitution or law are hereby banned.*

The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau also issued six notices prohibiting "assemblies or protests that obstruct traffic", "assaults on Party, government or military organs, enterprises or institutions", "confusing the public with rumors and inciting disturbances", "intercepting vehicles or riding public transportation without a fare", "posting or writing slogans, posters, big-character posters, handbills" and so on. The authorities then arrested Wei

Jingsheng and the China Human Rights Alliance's external liaison officer, Chen Lü.

On April 8, 1979, the CPC Central Committee circulated a Public Security Ministry's document, "Report Requesting Instructions on the Handling of Seven Organizations Controlled and Dominated by Villains in Beijing, Shanghai and Other Localities", which affirmed that among the 87 spontaneous organizations established throughout China since October 1978, "a tiny minority of organizations are controlled by counterrevolutionaries and reprobates", including *Exploration Magazine* and the China Human Rights Alliance in Beijing. They were to be dealt with by attacking the ringleaders and breaking up the organizations.

On October 6 that year, Wei Jingsheng went on trial in the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court and presented a powerful self-defense:

*I believe that the charges in the indictment by the Beijing Municipal Procuratorate Branch do not stand. I published my magazine and wrote big-character posters in accordance with Article 45 of the Constitution: "Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assemble, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and have the right to speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debate and write big-character posters". Our goal of publishing our magazine was to explore China, and to send China down the path towards prosperity and strength. We believe that it is only through free, unfettered and factually-based inquiries that this goal can be achieved. We cannot accept the assertion by the Public Security Bureau and the Procuratorate that the actions we performed in accordance with the above principles are counterrevolutionary.*

Wei Jingsheng's self-defense was recorded by a friend attending the court hearing, and then transcribed and published, leading to the arrest of several people, including Wei's friend Liu Qing, a convener of *April Fifth Forum Magazine*.

On October 16, 1979, the court delivered its verdict:

*Wei Jingsheng has betrayed the Motherland and has provided China's military intelligence to foreigners. He has also violated China's Constitution,*

*has written reactionary articles, has engaged in counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement and has endangered the basic interests of his country and the people. This constitutes the crime of counterrevolution to a serious degree and under flagrant circumstances. In order to safeguard the socialist system, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, ensure the smooth progress of the modernization of socialism and suppress counterrevolutionary sabotage, and in accordance with the provisions of Article 2, Article 6. 1), Article 10. 2) and 3), Article 16 and Article 17 of the Regulations on the Punishment of Counterrevolutionaries of the People's Republic of China, Wei Jingsheng is sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, and 3 years' deprivation of political rights following the expiration of his imprisonment.*

After five years in solitary confinement, Wei Jingsheng was transferred to Tangshan Prison and then to the Qinghai Labor Reform Farm. While in prison, he wrote many letters to Deng Xiaoping and kept the drafts, which were later collected and published.

### **Re-sentenced and exiled**

In 1993, under enormous international pressure, and in hopes of hosting the Olympics, the Chinese government released a batch of famous dissidents, including Wei Jingsheng on September 14. In February 1994, Wei met with John Shattuck, a US State Department official responsible for human rights who was visiting China. The Beijing police detained Wei on remand on April 1. He was formally arrested on November 21, and on December 13 the Beijing Municipal No. 1 Intermediate People's Court sentenced him to 14 years' imprisonment for "conspiring to subvert the government".

China Times Publishing House in Taiwan published Wei Jingsheng's *Letters from Prison* in 1997.<sup>15</sup> On November 16 that year, the Chinese government, again vying for the rights to host the Olympics, released Wei on "medical parole" and escorted him directly onto a US-bound aircraft. Wei was

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<sup>15</sup> TN: Subsequently published in English translation by Penguin in 1998 as *The Courage to Stand Alone: Letters from Prison*.

elected chairman of the Overseas Joint Conference of the China Democracy Movement in 1998.

Wei Jingsheng has won many international awards, including the first “Outstanding Contribution Prize for Democracy of China” presented by the San Francisco-based Chinese Democracy Education Foundation (1986), Sweden’s Olof Palme Prize (1994), the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award (1994), the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought (1996), the National Endowment for Democracy Award (1997) and US PEN Center’s Freedom to Write Award (1998).

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## Case No. 34 (1980): Wang Fuchen Tried for Slandering Mao



*Wang Fuchen (January 21, 1955 - ), a worker, prominent dissident and rights activist, was imprisoned for putting up posters criticizing Mao during the Democracy Wall Movement in Shanghai.*

### **Establishing the first human rights organization under the CPC**

Wang Fuchen was born in Shanghai, the sixth of eight children of a steel mill worker and a street peddler. After graduating from middle school at the age of 17, he did not go along with the movement of “educated youth up the mountains and down to the countryside”, and so had to wait until September 1978 to be assigned work in a bicycle factory. During his six years of unemployment, Wang spent a great deal of time in second-hand bookshops, where he met other young people in similar circumstances.

On November 10, 1978, someone using the pen name “Practitioner” put up a big-character poster on the eastern wall of People’s Square in Shanghai calling for a “socialist forum”. There was little reaction at first, but as Beijing’s Xidan Democracy Wall gained momentum later that month, more posters began to appear at People’s Square. Attracting the most attention was another large poster under the name “Practitioner” put up on November 25 that discussed and negated the Cultural Revolution from the perspective of human rights and democracy and called for gradual reform.

Wang Fuchen and his friends at the end of November announced the establishment of a Shanghai Human Rights Association, with Wang as secretary-general and Yang Zhou as chairman of its board. Yang was a young cadre who had been sent to Xinjiang before the Cultural Revolution and who had become influential in the People's Square Movement. The Shanghai Human Rights Association was the first human rights organization publicly organized under the rule of the CPC, and it soon attracted the participation of many "educated youth" who had recently returned to Shanghai from the countryside. On December 10, 1978, the group launched a "city-wide street demonstration by returned "educated youth" and their families to petition the CPC's Shanghai municipal committee for returnees' right to residency and employment, shouting the slogans: "We want to eat! We want to work! Return our household registration! Return our youth!"

Wang Fuchen was one of eleven representatives who took part in talks with leaders of the municipal committee. Two days later, the CPC Central Committee published its Document No. 74, which stated: "CPC committees at all levels must realistically strengthen leadership and actively and reliably make plans to resolve the issue of educated youth". In January and February 1979, Wang and his friends put up a poster in the People's Square:

*Thoroughly criticize Left-deviating opportunism; show Mao Zedong's true face at Lushan.*

*The people in Shanghai will not forgive the monstrous crimes of the Warlord, Party Tyrant and Dictator Mao Zedong, which have devastated our country and our people.*

On March 6, the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau issued a notice stating: "It is forbidden to mislead the people with rumors, incite unrest or engage in any form of libel or slander... Beyond designated locations, it is forbidden to put up or write slogans, posters, etc. in public places or on buildings". On March 22, *Beijing Daily* published an article entitled "Human Rights Is Not a Proletarian Slogan".

On March 28, Wang Fuchen boarded a train to Beijing to petition Deng Xiaoping, who had gained control of the CPC Central Committee, to explain that most of the participants in the Democracy Wall Movement supported

Deng's policies of "reform and openness". However, he was arrested before the train left the station and sent to the No. 1 Detention Center of Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau. At trial, Wang was prosecuted for his anti-Mao poster, but he resolutely refused to admit guilt for the sake of lenient treatment, saying, "It's Mao Zedong who's the criminal, and I've done this country a service".

At that time, the CPC Central Committee was holding a forum on the principles for theoretical work, during which Deng Xiaoping on March 30 stated, "Shanghai has a so-called 'Democracy Symposium', within which some people have slandered Comrade Mao Zedong and have put up big posters of counterrevolutionary slogans". On April 8, the Central Committee transmitted the Ministry of Public Security's "Report Requesting Instructions on the Handling of Seven Organizations Controlled and Dominated by Villains in Beijing, Shanghai and Other Localities". The seven organizations included three in Shanghai, namely the Socialist Democracy Promotion Association (Shehuizhuyi Minzhu Chujin Hui), the Shanghai Democracy Symposium and the Revitalization Society. On April 19, the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau banned all three along with the Shanghai Human Rights Association. Fourteen activists were arrested, including Yang Zhou of the Shanghai Human Rights Association and Qiao Zhongling of the Shanghai Democracy Symposium, far surpassing the arrests of Wei Jingsheng and other three activists connected with Beijing's Xidan Democracy Wall Movement.

On December 31, 1980, the Shanghai Municipal Intermediate People's Court tried Wang, Yang and Qiao, and sentenced Wang and Qiao to three years' imprisonment, respectively for "for counterrevolutionary defamation" and "disrupting traffic", and Yang to two-and-a-half years for "disturbing social order".

### **Reviving the Shanghai Human Rights Association**

Following his release from prison on March 31, 1982, Wang Fuchen opened a bicycle repair shop. He then reestablished contact with Yang and others, and they revived the Shanghai Human Rights Association. In mid-December 1986, student protests broke out at several major universities throughout China. The

students protested university administrators' interference in student elections and other basic rights, and demanded reforms to the education system and the overall political system. On December 19, more than 3,000 students marched to Shanghai's municipal government offices, with Wang Fuchen and others lending their support.

When former CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang died on April 15, 1989, university students in Beijing, Shanghai and other major cities staged memorials activities that turned into the street protests against corruption and demanding freedom. On May 2, more than 10,000 Shanghai university students took to the streets in protest at the CPC municipal committee's decision to shut down the *World Economic Herald*, which had published the content of a "Forum to Commemorate Comrade Hu Yaobang". After joining the street protest, Wang Fuchen and some friends continued with a protest at People's Square. Late that night, police cleared the square and detained the protesters for "disturbing public order". Wang was held until August.

In 1991, Wang, Yang Zhou and others contacted dissidents who had persisted with the People's Square Movement and reorganized the Shanghai Human Rights Association, inviting the famous writer Wang Ruowang to serve as chief advisor. They began publishing *Democracy Forum* magazine, but the authorities shut it down at the printing factory. The following year, Wang Fuchen and others organized the Human Rights Salon, which conducted seminars every week at different public parks. After a year, the authorities forced them to discontinue. In March 1993 and March 1994, the Shanghai Human Rights Association made two unsuccessful attempts to register with the Social Organization Management Office of the municipal government, while publishing *Public Newsletter* with Wang as chief editor.

In March 1994, Wang helped draft the "1994 Nineteen-Point Program for the Democratization of the State and Society in China", issued jointly with more than 50 others, including Bao Ge, Yao Zhenxiang, Li Guotao, Yang Zhou, Lin Muchen and Yang Qinheng as an open letter to Qiao Shi, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Their demands included:

*Amend the Constitution. China's present Constitution, lacking human rights safeguards, should undergo a major revision of principle with human rights as*

*the focus to ensure that the constitutional essence expresses democracy and respects human rights. Items in conflict with the fundamental civil rights of freedom of expression and freedom of conscience should be removed...*

*Repeal provisions regarding counterrevolutionary crime in the Criminal Law...*

*Reconsider abolishing the Reeducation-through-Labor Law...*

*In accordance with people's representative hearings throughout China after the 1989 June 4<sup>th</sup> Incident, promptly rehabilitate unjust cases, comfort the victims and their families...*

*As soon as possible, draft and promulgate a "News Law"...*

*Issue a "Political Party Law"... and improve the "Social Organizations Law"...*

*Draft "Regulations to Punish Political Corruption", and bring the ruling Party's corruption problems under the scope of the Criminal Law.*

*Draft a "Political System Reform Bill" to provide a process for political reform...*

*Pursue religious autonomy...*

*Allow lawful citizens to privately operate radio stations, television stations, publishing houses and newspapers...*

*Make the state armed forces and the police non-partisan bodies...*

*Implement ethnic autonomy; grant all ethnic areas equal legal status and mutual respect in terms of their politics, economy, culture, language and living environment; promote ethnic harmony, and prevent conflict and hostility based on differences of religion, custom or ideology.*

*We urge dialogue with the Dalai Lama...*

*Push forward and accelerate economic privatization and abandon the remnants of planned economy. Allow workers to become factory owners, allow the establishment of independent unions and intervention by unions to harmonize conflicts between labor and management and realistically safeguard workers' interests. Allow farmers to own land; all citizens' labors should be reasonably reflected in their ultimate allocation of benefits...*

*Gradually abolish the unreasonable household registration system, draw closer to international norms of population management...*

*The National People's Congress should as soon as possible establish a democratic system of voting in order to create the conditions for all citizens to decide domestic and international issues of major importance to our country's future and honor the principle of "all power belonging to the people"...*

That year, the United States, France and other countries were making state visits to China, signifying a relaxation of pressure on human rights issues as Western countries sought to improve economic relations with China. The Beijing authorities renewed their crackdown on freedom of expression and the space for political movements. In mid-March, after a visit by US Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the prominent dissident Wei Jingsheng, who had been released from prison just half a year earlier, was arrested again. When French Premier Édouard Balladur arrived in Beijing on April 7, the famous dissident Xu Wenli, who had been released from prison less than a year earlier, was detained by Beijing police, and in Shanghai, Wang Fuchen, Yang Zhou and Bao Ge were detained the following day and held until Balladur left Shanghai on April 10.

Wang Fuchen left Shanghai and went into hiding. Returning to Shanghai a month later to see Yang Zhou, he learned that the chairman of the Shanghai Human Rights Association, Li Guotao, had disappeared at the end of April and was believed detained. Following Yang's suggestion and arrangements, and with the help of Yao Zhenxiang and his brother, Wang again went into hiding and considered fleeing China. Yang Zhou was arrested the following day, and within a month, the other four directors of the Shanghai Human Rights Association and Bao Ge were all arrested.

At the end of 1994, Wang Fuchen and Yao Zhenxiang made their way to Hong Kong, and the following year they were granted political asylum in France. In June 2003, Wang helped found the China Labor Party, holding official positions in the party's French branch. In recent years, Wang has published articles in *Beijing Spring* and other overseas publications, expressing his continued concern with human rights and freedom.

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## Case No. 35 (1981): Liu Qing Punished for a Prison Journal



*Liu Qing (aka Liu Jianwei, December 4, 1946 - ), a prominent dissident, social activist and editor of independent magazines, was sentenced to three years of “Reeducation-through-Labor” at the end of 1979 after publishing April Fifth Forum during the Democracy Wall Movement, organizing a protest and publishing “Wei Jingsheng On Trial”. After his prison journal was published overseas, he was imprisoned for another eight years in 1981 on charges of “counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement”.*

Liu Qing was born in Nanjing but grew up in Beijing. After graduating from middle school in 1965, he responded to the call for “educated youth up the mountains and down to the countryside” and became a farmer in Quwo County, Shanxi Province. He was admitted as a “worker-peasant-soldier student” to the Department of Civil Engineering at the Nanjing Institute of Technology in 1973, and three years later took part in the “April Fifth Movement” mourning the death of Zhou Enlai. After graduating in early 1977, he was assigned a job at the 102 Base of the Aeronautics and Space Ministry in Hanzhong, Shaanxi Province.

In 1978, Liu Qing returned to Beijing for health reasons. While awaiting a job transfer, he became drawn into the Xidan Democracy Wall Movement launched in November that year. He joined Xu Wenli of *April Fifth Post*, Zhao

Nan of *People's Forum* and others in establishing a popular magazine, *April Fifth Forum*, and served as the magazine's external liaison.

When Chinese Human Rights Alliance member Fu Yuehua was arrested on January 9, 1979, for organizing a street protest by petitioners,<sup>16</sup> Liu Qing joined with the Alliance and the privately published magazines *Exploration* and *Enlightenment (Qimeng)* in appealing for Fu's release. Later that month he established the Private Magazines and Mass Organizations Joint Conference and coordinated mutual aid against government suppression. After *Exploration* editor Wei Jingsheng and Chinese Human Rights Alliance leader Ren Wanding were arrested on March 29 and April 4, Liu Qing continued coordinating rescue efforts through the Joint Conference. When the Stars Fine-Art Exhibition organized by Huang Rui and Ma Desheng was closed down by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau on September 29, the Joint Conference staged a "protest to defend the constitution" on National Day two days later, with Xu Wenli as "front line commander" and Liu Qing as "rear line commander".

Wei Jingsheng went on trial in the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court later that month and was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on October 16. In order to appeal for assistance in China and abroad, Liu Qing organized publication of the transcript of the trial proceedings through the Joint Conference. When two people were arrested for selling "Wei Jingsheng on Trial" at Xidan Democracy Wall on November 12, Liu Qing went to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau and surrendered himself in exchange for their release. He was then sentenced to three years of RTL.

While serving his sentence, Liu Qing wrote "Looking Back and Forward Without Hope: My Indictment of Society and the Court", which was secretly transported from the RTL camp in 1981 and published in Hong Kong, Taiwan and elsewhere as *Prison Diary*. In December that year, Liu was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement. He was released after completing his sentence in December 1989.

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<sup>16</sup>Under the Chinese system, members of the public are allowed to petition government departments up to the central government level when they feel lower-level government departments have engaged in abuse of power or have handled cases unjustly.

In July 1992, Liu Qing was granted permission to leave China to become a visiting scholar at Columbia University in New York. In October that year, Liu joined the New York-based NGO Human Rights in China, and served as its president until his retirement in January 2006.

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## Case No. 36 (1982): Qin Yongmin Sentenced for Uniting Magazines



*Qin Yongmin (August 11, 1953 - ), a worker, social activist and editor of independent magazines, was taken into custody for his involvement in Wuhan's Democracy Wall Movement and for uniting magazines throughout China. In 1982, he was sentenced to eight years imprisonment for "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement".*

### **Publishing *The Bell* during Wuhan Democracy Wall Movement**

Qin Yongmin was born in Wuhan, Hubei Province. After graduating from middle school in 1969 when he was not yet 16 years old, he was forced to join other educated youth going "down to the countryside" and worked as a farmer at the Zhengchang Commune in Mianyang County, Hubei Province. The following year, when his diary was found to contain expressions of dissatisfaction over being denied a university education, Qin was accused of "venomous attacks" and sent to a youth reformatory for 40 days. He was then sent back to the commune, and when his schoolmates were allowed to return to the city, he was forced to stay in the countryside for another two years until 1976, when he was recruited as a worker in the cold rolling plant of the Wuhan Steel Corporation.

When the Xidan Democracy Wall Movement broke out at the end of 1978, a wall in Wuhan's Zhongshan Avenue also became plastered with posters, and

Qin Yongmin often went there to post his own writings. In early 1979, he joined Zhu Jianbin and others in founding and editing *The Bell (Zhongsheng) Magazine* and cooperated with Xu Wenli, the editor of Beijing's *April Fifth Forum*, to head the *Forum's* Wuhan office.

Qin wrote approving comments on a small poster entitled "On Comrade Mao Zedong's Theory and Practice" at Wuhan Democracy Wall. Qin praised and supported the essay's rejection of the theories, policies and political movements Mao had carried out since 1949, and its calls for a comprehensive rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai, Gao Gang, Rao Shushi and other leaders of "erroneous political lines" and "anti-Party cliques", as well as Rightists and counterrevolutionaries. Qin went a step further by saying that it was not merely a matter of Mao's policy errors increasing since the founding of the PRC, but rather that Mao was a historical criminal on par with the brutal first emperor Qin Shihuang, and that all he did must be thoroughly repudiated.

With the arrest in 1979 of leading dissidents such as Wei Jingsheng, Ren Wandong and Liu Qing in Beijing, and Wang Fuchen, Yang Zhou and Qiao Zhongling in Shanghai, all independent magazines came under varying degrees of pressure, and many ceased publication. Qin Yongmin continued to publish *The Bell* and maintained contact with publishers of other magazines throughout China, in hopes of convening a National Congress of Independent Magazines in Wuhan and establishing a national organization for mutual support and coordination.

In February 1980, as the situation grew increasingly tense in Wuhan and other parts of China, Qin held a "Wuhan Conference" with *Voice of Democracy* editor Fu Shenqi from Shanghai and other publishers from other parts of China. It was decided that all independent magazines would suspend publication for half a year. When another congress was held in Guangzhou, Qin, Fu and others discussed establishing the China Democracy Party. Qin was arrested in his home in April 1981, and in March 1982, the Wuhan Municipal Intermediary People's Court sentenced him to eight years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement", the harshest sentence dealt out on a single charge of publishing an independent magazine. Qin was released after serving out his sentence in April 1989, and he married at the end of that year.

## Launching the Peace Charter Movement

In November 1993, on the eve of the 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the issuing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Qin Yongmin drafted the Peace Charter in Beijing, which “respectfully recommended” the reconciliation of all the people of China, including “the governments on both sides of the Strait, primarily, of course, the mainland government; all Chinese and overseas compatriots, including both sides of the Strait, Hong Kong and Macau and ethnic minorities; and all organizations inside and outside of China dedicated to social progress”, and including ten items:

*The mainland government... has the obligation to respect all resolutions of the United Nations on human rights... should immediately abolish the offence of counterrevolution under international monitoring and the supervision of international and domestic public opinion.*

*As soon as possible formulate and implement a transition from centralized to pluralistic and then establish and strengthen completely democratic strategies and measures.*

*Immediately reassess the June 4th Incident and release all political prisoners imprisoned for the June 4th Incident or other reasons.*

*Remove all legal prohibitions against political exiles, and allow all students, scholars, labor unionists and others in exile to return to China.*

*Formulate and implement a Law of Association according to modern international standards and remove the ban on other political parties.*

*The two governments on either side of the Taiwan Strait should immediately begin direct negotiations.*

*The mainland government must fully respect the right to autonomy of the people of Hong Kong and Macau, and handle the return of Hong Kong and Macau to Chinese sovereignty in accordance with the principle of sovereign rights to the center and administrative rights to the locality.*

*The government should resolve all problems of ethnic minorities in accordance with modern international standards, fully respect the right to national self-determination of all ethnic minorities, and abandon the outmoded concept of maintaining unity through violence.*

*Based on the acceptance of the above by all parties, but of course first of all by the mainland government, we recommend holding a roundtable of persons from the mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, ethnic minorities and persons from all fields inside and outside of China to discuss and decide on the next stage of peaceful transformation and peaceful cross-strait unification.*

On November 14, Qin joined Zhou Guoqiang, Song Shuyuan, Yang Zhou, Liu Nianchun, Chen Lü, Li Hai, Qin Yumin and Sha Yuguang in signing and launching the Peace Charter Movement, but a few days later Qin and Yang Zhou were arrested, and in December Qin was escorted back to Wuhan, where he was sentenced to two years of RTL for “disturbing public order”. While in RTL, he was repeatedly and harshly beaten.

After completing his sentence at the end of 1995, Qin borrowed money from friends to open a small bookshop, but constant official harassment and persecution deprived him of a peaceful existence.

### **Running China Human Rights Watch**

In April 1997, Qin Yongmin’s wife divorced him and left with their daughter, but official persecution made it hard for Qin to support even himself. On June 5, he sent a letter to President Jiang Zemin demanding his right to survival. On August 11, his 44<sup>th</sup> birthday, he issued an open letter to Jiang Zemin demanding that the 15<sup>th</sup> CPC Congress implement political reforms for democratic constitutional government. On October 27 that year, the Chinese government formally signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and on March 12, 1998, State Council Vice-Premier Qian Qichen reaffirmed the Chinese government’s commitment to signing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, greatly encouraging China’s human rights activists.

In Beijing on March 20, 1998, Xu Wenli issued an open letter to the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, the NPC and CPPCC and the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Vienna, applying for the establishment of China Human Rights Watch. Qin Yongmin followed in Wuhan by applying to the Hubei Provincial Department of Civil Affairs to publish *Citizen’s Forum*.

When they received no reply, Xu and Qin coordinated with others to formally establish China Human Rights Watch and a bulletin of the same name, becoming the first human rights monitoring organization under CPC rule. They issued 10 bulletins within the first week.

In July that year, Qin joined with Xu Liangying, Lin Mu, Xu Wenli and Ren Wanding to form a National Coordination Committee to fight for the release of political prisoners. In early September, Qin joined Chen Zhonghe, Lü Xinhua, Ren Qiuguang, Xiao Shichang, Liu Feiyue and Gao Jinqin in launching the Hubei Provincial Preparatory Committee of China Democracy Party, and applied to the provincial authorities to register as a community organization. On the morning of September 24, Qin and Chen were taken to the local Public Security Bureau station and informed that China Human Rights Watch had been banned as an “illegal organization”. Qin’s home was then searched, and he was held for 48 hours. By then, *China Human Rights Watch* had published more than 300 bulletins in half a year, and its news releases had been regularly published in major newswires and media worldwide.

On October 5, 1998, the Chinese government formally signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. On the evening of October 26, Qin Yongmin was summoned to the local Public Security Bureau station and formally notified that *China Human Rights Watch* was being closed down. His home was searched, and the police confiscated his fax machine and all documents relating to the bulletin. Qin and Chen Zhonghe tried again to register the organization on November 5, only to be refused, and Qin was arrested on November 30.

On December 22, The Wuhan Municipal Intermediate People’s Court sentenced Qin to 12 years’ imprisonment for “subverting state power”. Because Qin refused to admit guilt, he was subjected to constant abuse in prison; his health deteriorated, and he developed heart, gastric and liver disease, and went nearly blind in one eye.

After completing his sentence on November 29, 2010, Qin continued writing and reporting on China’s human rights situation. He joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in May 2011, and in November that year received the Liu Xiaobo Courage to Write Award.

Qin has published a number of works on China's political development and human rights, as well as a novel.

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## Case No. 37 (1983): Zhang Xianliang Striked for Old Offenses



*Zhang Xianliang (June 5, 1946 - ), a worker, freelance writer and social activist, was arrested in the 1983 Strike Hard campaign against “Spiritual Pollution” for articles and magazines he had published during the Shanghai Democracy Wall Movement in 1979, and was then sentenced to five years’ imprisonment for “counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement”.*

Zhang Xianliang was born in Shanghai. After graduating from middle school in 1960, he was admitted to a preparatory course for the Huainan Mining Institute in Anhui. When the institute was dismissed in 1964, Zhang returned to Shanghai and engaged in agricultural work in Chongming County.

When the Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966, Zhang established and led a Rebel Faction at his farm, and subsequently came under investigation during the “purification of the class ranks” campaign. After the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976, Zhang was assigned a job as a construction worker at Shanghai’s No. 10 Construction Company.

When Shanghai’s Democracy Wall Movement (also called the People’s Square Movement) began in November 1978, Zhang frequently went to the wall to post essays and poems under the pen name Shen Mo. An essay he wrote protesting China’s war with Vietnam was accepted for publication in the independent magazine *Petrel (Haiyan)* in March 1979, but the authorities shut

down the magazine soon afterward. Zhang then became founding editor of *Science and Democracy*, but the authorities also ordered that magazine to cease publication after two issues.

In 1983, the CPC Central Committee launched its campaign against “Spiritual pollution” and its “Strike Hard” campaign against crime. On August 19, Zhang Xianliang and a dozen others were arrested on allegations of organizing a counterrevolutionary clique in connection with their involvement with *Science and Democracy*. Zhang was also prosecuted for 72 essays posted at People’s Square that the authorities attributed to him. In December, the Shanghai Municipal Intermediate People’s Court sentenced Zhang to five years’ imprisonment for “counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement”, and he was sent to Anhui’s Baimaoling Labor Farm. Following completion of his sentence in 1988, Zhang resumed his participation in the democracy movement.

On June 4, 1993, Zhang organized a commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the June 4<sup>th</sup> Incident in Shanghai’s People’s Park. He was arrested the following day and sentenced to three years of RTL. He spent those three years in solitary confinement, and the torment and abuse he suffered there caused him to become critically ill at one point.

Deprived of books, pen and paper during his incarceration, Zhang still managed to compose 72 poems, which were published overseas through various channels.

After completing his sentence on June 7, 1996, Zhang applied for permission to visit his daughter in the United States. The authorities initially refused to issue him a passport, but when he continued his involvement in the democracy movement, he was finally escorted onto a US-bound flight on September 19.

In November 1998, Zhang Xianliang founded Amnesty China and became its chairman. He currently lives in Oakland, California. Zhang’s works include collections of essays, poetry and speeches, as well as a novelette.

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## Case No. 38 (1984): He Yongquan Convicted for Publishing *Duty*



*He Yongquan (May 15, 1956 - ), a worker and free-lance writer, participated in the 1978 Democracy Wall Movement in Shanghai and continued his activities for several years after the movement. He was suppressed and sentenced in 1984 to five years imprisonment for “counterrevolutionarypropaganda and incitement”.*

He Yongquan was born in Shanghai. In 1975, he graduated from middle school and was assigned a job at Shanghai’s No. 2 Fireproofing Material Factory. Later that year, he became acquainted with Fu Shenqi at the Hongkou District Library, and Fu introduced him to Wang Shenyou, who was executed for his writings just over one year later.

In spring 1977, He Yongquan joined Fu Shenqi, Lin Ou and others in establishing a literary coterie periodical called *Fish Park (Yuyuan)*, which during its six-issue run published poetry, short stories and translations.

When the Democracy Wall Movement began in People’s Square in Shanghai in mid-November 1978, He Yongquan, Fu Shenqi, Wang Jianwei and others posted a “Notice of Association” announcing the establishment of the Revitalization Society (Zhenxing She), the first openly established association at that time.

In January 1979, He Yongquan helped edit the inaugural issue of *Voice of Democracy*, which subsequently published his essay “The Spirit of April Fifth is Eternal”, used as evidence in convicting him several years later.

In September 1980, the National Association of Independent Magazines was established in Guangzhou and published a journal called *Duty*. The magazine moved to Shanghai in January 1981 and was edited by Fu Shenqi for issues three to eight. When the government imposed a nation-wide crackdown on Independent magazines in April, Fu Shenqi was arrested along with Xu Wenli in Beijing and Wang Xizhe in Guangzhou. He Yongquan began planning a special issue of *Duty* with Wang Jianwei, Qin Linshan, Yang Qinheng and others, which would include their stands on the suppression and publishing ban as well as a name list and news relating to all those arrested. However, due to financial constraints the plan was abandoned. He Yongquan also wrote poems, short stories and fables around this time.

After the CPC Central Committee launched its campaign against “Spiritual Pollution” and its “Strike Hard” campaign against crime in 1983, He Yongquan and other participants in the independent magazines were arrested. During a search of his home, all of He’s manuscripts were confiscated, including the completed manuscript for a book entitled *Review and Summary*.

In January 1984, the Shanghai Municipal Intermediate People’s Court found He Yongquan and the others guilty of “counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement”. He Yongquan pleaded innocence, pointing out that the “illegal publications” had been published prior to the Shanghai government’s October 9, 1981, ban. Even so, the court convicted all four men, sentencing He Yongquan to five years’ imprisonment, Wang Jianwei to three years, and Qin Linshan and Yang Qinheng each to two years. He Yongquan’s appeal was rejected, and he was transferred to Shanghai’s Tilanqiao Prison to serve out his sentence. While in prison, He Yongquan continued to write poetry, including the long poem “The Death of Christ”.

After his release from prison on August 18, 1988, He supported himself by writing poetry and short stories, but after a few years, he gave up writing and went into business. He resumed writing in 2004, and has published commentaries, memoirs and short stories on overseas websites such as

*Democracy Forum, Yibao, Sacred Fire of Freedom and Humanity and Human Rights.* He joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in 2009.

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## **Case No. 39 (1985): Xu Wenli Placed in Confinement for Appeal**



*Xu Wenli (July 9, 1943 - ), a famous dissident, social activist and underground publisher, was imprisoned for 15 years for participating in the Democracy Wall Movement, and spent five years in solitary confinement after his prison diaries were published overseas.*

### **Founder of April Fifth Forum**

Xu Wenli was born in Anfu County, Jiangxi Province. He graduated from secondary school in Beijing in 1964. Rather than take the college entrance exam, Xu enlisted in the army and served as an aviation ground service mechanic in Shanghai, Hainan and Zhejiang. He was demobilized after five years and assigned a job as a forger and then as an electrician at the Beijing Railroad.

After the Xidan Democracy Wall Movement began in mid-November 1978, Xu Wenli helped establish the movement's first publication, *April Fifth Post*, which later merged with Zhao Nan's *People's Forum* to become *April Fifth Forum*, the most influential independent magazine in northern China at that time.

When China Human Rights Alliance liaison Chen Lü and *Exploration* editor Wei Jingsheng were arrested on March 29, 1979, Xu Wenli published a

series of essays and speeches condemning the government's attempt to "smother democracy" through violent suppression. He also conducted public opinion polls and symposiums.

On October 1, 1979, China's National Day, Xi Wenli served as "front-line commander" for a successful "demonstration to defend the Constitution" on Beijing's Chang'an Avenue, protesting the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau's closure two days earlier of the "Stars Fine Art Exhibition". On November 12, *April Fifth Forum's* external liaison, Liu Qing, was arrested after taking responsibility for the sale of the notes of Wei Jingsheng's trial. Xu Wenli quickly appealed for help, petitioning at the *People's Daily* headquarters. Xu also published an essay in *April Fifth Forum* protesting Wei Jingsheng's sentencing to 15 years' imprisonment in November 1979. *April Fifth Forum* was forced to close down in March 1980.

### **Chinese Association for the Promotion of Democratic Unification**

Xu continued to maintain contact with supporters of the Democracy Wall Movement all over China, and in June 1980, he consulted with Wang Xizhe in Guangzhou, Sun Weibang in Qingdao, Liu Eran in Anhui and others about possibly organizing a political party. The idea was eventually abandoned, but they teamed up with Xu Shuiliang in Nanjing and Fu Shenqi in Shanghai to publishing a privately-circulated publication called *Study Newsletter*. The magazine published six issues, distributing hundreds of copies all over China. On April 9, 1981, Xu Wenli was arrested, and nothing was heard of him for more than two years. It was not until late June 1982 that his family received a copy of the court's written verdict.

On June 8, 1982, a closed trial at the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court found that Xu Wenli had in 1980 "held a secret gathering with the intention of establishing a 'Chinese Communist Alliance' to 'smash one-party autocracy,'" and that from late 1980 until spring 1981, Xu had "secretly planned to establish a 'Chinese Association for the Promotion of Democratic Unification,' had drafted a program, and had planned to send people to Hong Kong to collude with anti-China and anti-Communist elements in a plot to establish the headquarters of a counterrevolutionary organization in Hong

Kong”. The court also found that during the Democracy Wall Movement, Xu had posted and distributed leaflets, made speeches and written essays that distorted facts and “incited the public to oppose the just verdict of the judicial organs against a counterrevolutionary, and sent essays slandering the judicial organs to foreign reporters and embassies”. Xu was sentenced to 15 years’ imprisonment for “counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement, the heaviest penalty handed down in connection with the Democracy Wall Movement.

In November 1985, Xu Wenli’s prison diaries was secretly carried to the United States and published in serial form in *China Spring* magazine. The first part of the diaries covered Xu’s early life, while the second part depicted his involvement in the Democracy Wall Movement and his arrest, trial and imprisonment. Particularly sensational were his revelations on this secret trial, including the procuratorate’s obliteration and falsification of evidence, and the judge’s assumption of guilt. After the diaries was published, Xu was placed in solitary confinement for five years. He was finally released on May 26, 1993, under enormous international pressure, and with China aspiring to host the 2000 Olympic Games.

### **Founding the China Democracy Party**

On October 27, 1997, the Chinese government formally signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and Vice-Premier Qian Qichen reiterated the government’s commitment to signing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in March 1998. Later that month, Xu Wenli and Qin Yongmin applied to establish China Human Rights Watch with an open letter to the CPC Central Committee, State Council, NPC, CPPCC and the United Nations Human Rights Commission. The organization, which issued a newsletter of the same name, became the first rights monitoring organization to be established under the rule of the CPC.

On July 1, 1998, Xu, Qin and Mao Guoliang issued a joint statement calling for the PRC to sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

*We not only look forward to our government signing and implementing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, but also pledge that we*

*will join with all of China's people in enthusiastically and staunchly defending the Covenant...*

Soon after the PRC government signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights on October 5, 1998, Xu Wenli joined with Zha Jianguo, Gao Hongming and Zhang Hui to establish the Xu Wenli Office in Service to the Great Undertaking of Democratic Constitutional Government in China. The following month, Xu and the others established the Beijing and Tianjin regional office of the China Democracy Party, with Xu as chairman.

Xu was arrested on November 30, 1998, and on December 12 he was sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment for inciting subversion of state power.

The arrest and imprisonment of Xu Wenli, Qin Yongmin, Wang Youcai and dozens of other members of the China Democracy Party aroused international protest, and Xu, Qin and Wang were collectively nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1999.

On December 24, 2002, as China President Jiang Zemin prepared to visit the United States, Xu Wenli was released on "medical parole" and escorted onto a US-bound aircraft. On May 26, 2003, Xu was presented with an honorary PhD at Brown University, and became a senior fellow of the university's Watson Institute for International Studies.

Xu Wenli founded the Caring for China Center on March 26, 2003, and he established the China Democracy Party Overseas Exile Headquarters on December 3, 2004. He became chairman of the China Democracy Party Joint Headquarters in 2007.

Xu Wenli joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in 2006. He has published several works of non-fiction, including *Letters from Prison*, *My Life Dedicated to the Chinese Nation*, and *Outline of Humanity's Normal Social Order*.

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## Case No. 40 (1986): Xue Deyun Arrested for Speeches



*Xue Deyun (pen name Ma Zhe, 1960- ), a poet and editor, was arrested after giving a speech urging university students to join a street protest, and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for "disturbing public order".*

Xue Deyun was born in Tongren County, Guizhou Province, but he was educated in Sichuan Province, where his father was a cadre at a RTL farm.

After graduating from a technical secondary school in 1980, Xue was assigned work in the commerce department of Leibo County's Yongsheng District. In summer 1982, he was transferred to his native Tongren County to work at a government employment agency. He applied for leave without pay in November 1984 and the following January took a temporary job at the Guiyang Baihua Food Factory. He gave up this job in 1986 and became involved in "behaviorist poetry"<sup>17</sup> activities, roaming around the country giving poetry readings.

At the end of November 1986, Guizhou folk poets Huang Xiang, Huang Xiangrong, Mo Jiangang, Zhang Ling and others organized a China Poetry Celestial Star Cluster, and printed several hundred copies of a poetry magazine to take to Beijing for a literature and arts festival planned at Peking University

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<sup>17</sup>Behaviorist poetry combines performance elements with the reciting of poetry, with an emphasis on body language to express the poet's life experience.

in December. Xue Deyun was in Beijing at the time, and he joined the group in giving “explosion” behaviorist poetry readings at Peking University, Beijing Normal University, the Renmin University of China, the Lu Xun Academy of Literature and the editorial board of *Poetry* magazine. When the literature and arts festival was delayed until the middle of the month, the members of the Celestial Star Cluster left Beijing, while Xue took some magazines to Wuhan, Guangzhou, Nanjing and Shanghai.

On December 5, students at the China University of Science and Technology in Hefei, Anhui Province, staged a street protest over school authorities’ interference in student participation in district people’s congress elections and other matters. University students in other cities also began rallying over their discontent with university management and demanding reform to the state educational and political systems in what came to be known as the 1986 Student Movement. Xue gave readings and lectures at universities all over China and joined protests. On December 25, he returned to Beijing, where student protests were just beginning, and stayed in a dormitory at Beijing Normal University.

On December 26, the standing committee of the Eighth Beijing Municipal People’s Congress passed “Beijing City Temporary Provisions on Processions and Demonstrations”, which imposed limits on street protests in Beijing. This provoked a negative reaction among the students, and Xue Deyuan produced small posters describing the Shanghai student movement. On December 29, some Beijing Normal University students launched protests against the Temporary Provisions and went to other universities appealing for support. Xue took part in organizing the protests and gave a speech at Peking University calling for the abolition of the Temporary Provisions and the CPC’s “one-party dictatorship”. That night he went around the dormitories notifying students of a rally at Tiananmen Square on January 1.

Xue was arrested on December 30, 1986. The Xinhua News Agency reported:

*Beijing public security organs, acting on reports from the public and with the authorization of the Beijing municipal prosecutorial branch, today arrested Xue Deyun, who was passing himself off as a student to infiltrate various Beijing tertiary institutions to incite sabotage.*

Two days later, on New Year's Day 1987, thousands of Peking University students gathered for protests at Tiananmen Square and East Chang'an Avenue.

On May 22, 1987, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court sentenced Xue Deyun to three years' imprisonment for "disturbing public order", and his appeal was rejected. Major Beijing news organs, including *People's Daily*, covered Xue's case from his arrest to his sentencing.

After completing his sentence on December 29, 1989, Xue continued roaming the country giving behaviorist poetry readings.

In August 1997, Xue joined dozens of other writers and poets in launching the China Cultural Revitalization Movement, which advocated literary creation without ideological control and promoted freedom of expression and publication. The following January, Xue and several others founded *China Cultural Revitalization* magazine and issued a manifesto for the movement:

*We seek the third liberation, which is the complete emancipation of every citizen's personality, freedom and rights. Under the prerequisite of enough freedom to guarantee that no citizen's interests are violated, it involves satisfying each person's spiritual, material, cultural, belief and artistic needs, complete freedom of thought and comment and means of expression, and laws that safeguard every citizen's human dignity.*

Xue also published an essay entitled "Reflections on the Founding of *Common People Magazine*":

*In more than ten years since the launch of reform and openness, culture in the research institutes has achieved pluralism, religion has resurged and the economy has developed. Yet the stubbornly insular nature of the state political system is still grossly antagonistic to what national revival requires each citizen to enjoy: independence, self-respect, basic rights guarantees, freedom and opposition to slavery. The restriction and even disintegration that the system imposes on the health and growth of the economy are enormous. The essence of corruption is ossification of the political system. The persistence of monopoly and selfish interest has plundered state coffers and poisoned popular sentiment. Cultural captivity is manifested in the cancelation of privately-*

*organized exhibitions, the shutting down of poetry readings, prohibitions on rock concerts and the reporting of only positive news...*

Xue was detained on January 26, 1998, and was held beyond the statutory detention time limit before going to trial on March 1, 2000, at the Guiyang Municipal Intermediate People's Court, where he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for inciting subversion of state power.

PEN International expressed deep concern for Xue; he was adopted as honorary member by PEN centers worldwide, and awarded the PEN/Barbara Goldsmith Freedom to Write Award in 2000.

In July 2001, the Guizhou Provincial High People's Court rejected Xue Deyun's appeal of his verdict, but reduced his sentence to three and a half years, allowing him to be released on July 25.

In 2005, Xue Deyuan became a monk at Yunnan Province's Dali County Jizushan Buddhist Temple, taking the religious name Ming De.

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## **Case No. 41 (1987): Liu Binyan**

### **Banned for Liberalism**



*Liu Binyan (February 7, 1925 - December 5, 2005), a famous writer and journalist, was persecuted for more than two decades after being labeled a Rightist in 1957, and came under an official ban in 1987 when the government decided his literary reportage was a classic example of “liberalization”.*

### **Youth Corps propagandist**

Liu Binyan was born in Harbin, where his father was a Russian interpreter for the Zhongdong Railway. Soon after beginning middle school in 1939, Liu published his first piece of writing, a short story entitled “Mother’s Heart” in *Dabei Newspaper*.

After graduating from middle school in 1942, Liu went Beijing to join his elder sister and entered a secondary school there. The following year, he left school for Tianjin and joined the CPC-led Tianjin Federation of Anti-Japanese National Salvation. He went to a CPC-ruled area in 1944 and joined the CPC, and then was sent to teach in Tianjin’s Yaohua Middle School.

Soon after Liu returned to Harbin to visit his family in July 1946, China’s civil war broke out. Liu was elected vice-chairman of the Harbin Democratic Youth League and became an instructor and administrator at the Youth League

School. In November 1948, he became deputy propaganda chief for the New Democracy Youth Corps, and after the PLA captured Shenyang, he was sent there to carry out education and Youth Corps propaganda work. During this time, he translated a number of Soviet propaganda works for youth, as well as Russian plays and other literary works.

In 1951, Liu was transferred to Beijing to work as a reporter and editor for *China Youth Daily*, while continuing to translate works from the Soviet Union.

### **An “ultra-Rightist” exposing the dark side of socialism**

In April 1956, Liu published the fictional feature “On the Bridge Worksite” in *People’s Literature* magazine, and later “The Inside Story of Our Newspaper”, articles that exposed the dark side of society and pointedly criticized bureaucratism. The first such works under CPC rule, Liu’s articles caused a sensation throughout China and launched a new literary trend.

In March 1957, Liu published a commentary in *Literature and Art Studies* that defended Wang Meng’s controversial short story “A New Arrival at the Organization Department”. Soon after *People’s Daily* announced the launch of the campaign to rectify Party work styles on May 1, Liu collaborated with *China Youth Daily* Shanghai correspondent Chen Bohong to produce “Shanghai On My Mind”, describing the response of various Shanghai residents to “helping the Party’s rectification”. Mao Zedong quickly sent down a memo accusing Liu and Chen of “trying to create confusion”. When the CPC Central Committee changed the rectification campaign into an “Anti-Rightist Struggle”, Liu Binyan came under criticism as a Rightist.

As criticism against him escalated, Liu was designated an ultra-Rightist in March 1958, and he was expelled from the CPC and relieved of all his positions. He spent the next three years in penal labor under supervision in Shanxi, Shandong and the rural outskirts of Beijing.

In autumn 1961, Liu returned to *China Youth Daily* to translate and compile international news items. His Rightist label was removed in March 1966, but the Cultural Revolution was launched soon after that, and Liu was accused of expressing anti-Party sentiments in his diaries. During the 1968 Purification of the Class Ranks he was detained by the Military Control Commission to

undergo political investigation and denunciation. He was sent to Henan's Xinyang Prefecture May 7th Cadre School for penal labor under supervision in April 1969. After the Cultural Revolution ended, Liu was sent to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to work as a translator in the Philosophy Institute's reference room in 1978, eventually becoming editor of the Philosophical Translations series.

### **“A Second Kind of Loyalty” as representative of liberalization**

Liu was rehabilitated in January 1979, and his CPC membership, employment and wages were restored. In September 1979, the publication of his exposé “Between Human and Demon” (aka “People or Monsters?”) returned Liu to nationwide prominence. Soon afterward, he became a senior reporter at *People's Daily*, and over the next eight years published a series of reportage that won him a string of awards for journalistic excellence. His representative works, “Between Human and Demon”, “A Second Kind of Loyalty” and “A Thousand Years of Merits and Demerits” (written with Yu Yitai) criticized corruption at all levels of the CPC and earned him the reputation in China and abroad as “China's Conscience” at the same time that they created controversy within the Party ranks. In December 1984, Liu was elected to the board and as vice-chair of the Chinese Writers' Association, receiving the highest number of votes after Chairman Ba Jin.

Deng Xiaoping delivered his speech against “bourgeois liberalization” at the Sixth Plenum of the CPC's Twelfth Central Committee in September 1986. That November, the vice-president of the Chinese University of Science and Technology, Fang Lizhi, proposed a “symposium on the history of the Anti-Rightist Campaign”, which drew the support of more than 30 other intellectuals, including Liu Binyan and Xu Liangying, a research fellow at the university's History of Natural Sciences Institute. The symposium was to be held in February 1987, the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Anti-Rightist Campaign. After protests at the University of Science and Technology in December 1986 ignited the “1986 Student Movement” nationwide, Fang Lizhi was labeled a backstage agitator, even though he had advised students to return to their classes. Soon after that, Liu Binyan was pressured to withdraw from the symposium.

On December 30, 1986, Deng Xiaoping discussed the handling of the student movement with CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang, State Council Premier Zhao Ziyang and other leaders, reiterating his objections to “liberalization” and calling for “the representative figures of bourgeois liberalization”, Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan and Wang Ruowang, to be expelled from the Party. When Hu refused to comply, the CPC Politburo removed him from his position as General Secretary in January 1987. Later that month, Liu Binyan was expelled from the CPC for a second time and was relieved of his posting as a *People’s Daily* journalist, as well as his vice-chairmanship of the CWA. All of his works were banned from publication.

### **Dying in exile after condemning the June 4th Massacre**

In March 1988, Liu Binyan was invited to visit the United States as a visiting scholar at UCLA and then at Harvard. During 1989 Democracy Movement and subsequent crackdown on June 4th, Liu expressed his support for the patriotic student movement and vehemently condemned the official atrocities. As a result, he was stripped of his right to return to China.

Liu received an honorary doctorate from Trinity College in 1990 and became a visiting scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center in Washington, DC, and after that at Princeton University, where he also served on the board of directors of the Princeton China Initiative. He also founded *Press Freedom Guardian* and the English-language monthly *China Focus* as well as the Chinese-language *Highway*. In 1999, Liu became a visiting scholar at the Asia-Pacific Center of Stockholm University as well as a commentator for Radio Free Asia. Liu helped establish the Independent Chinese PEN Center in 2001 and was elected its first chairman, becoming honorary president in 2005. Liu died in New Jersey of colon cancer on December 5, 2005, at the age of 80.

Liu Binyan published several volumes of essays and reportage, including English translations published as *A Higher Kind of Loyalty, People or Monsters?*, *Two Kinds of Truth: Stories and Reportage from China*, *Tell the World* and *China’s Crisis, China’s Hope*.

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## Case No. 42 (1988): Huang Xiang Sentenced for Poetic Disturbances



*Huang Xiang (January 23, 1941 - ), a prominent poet, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for "disturbing public order" after organizing "explosion" poetry readings at several Beijing universities.*

### **A roaming life and Reeducation-through-Labor**

Huang Xiang was born in Wugang County, Hunan Province, but was raised by his grandparents and foster mother in Guidong County. During Land Reform, his family was classified as "bureaucratic landlords". Forced to discontinue his formal education after graduating from primary school, Huang was tutored at home by his foster mother.

In 1956, Huang went to live with his uncle in Guiyang, Guizhou Province, and became an apprentice at a mining machinery factory. He was transferred to the Guiyang Hardware Factory in 1958, and that same year he began publishing folk-style poetry in *Mountain Flower*, a literary journal published by the Guizhou Federation of Literary and Arts Circles.

In 1959, Huang spent several months wandering around Qinghai Lake and the Qaidam Basin in Qinghai Province. This was a sensitive time, with the Tibetan Uprising occurring in March that year, and eventually Huang was detained and sent back to Guiyang, where he spent nearly four years in RTL for "attempting to cross the border and go over to the enemy".

After being released in 1963, Huang continued wandering and sustaining himself through casual labor. While working at Guizhou's Meitan Tea Farm in 1964, he fell in love and began writing poetry. In 1968 he was allowed to return to work at the Guiyang Hardware Factory (renamed the Standardized Item No. 2 Factory), and after that he was transferred to the Guiyang Knitting Mill, during which time he wrote the poem "Song of the Torch". He was targeted as an "active counterrevolutionary" in the "One Strike-Three Antis Campaign" in 1970 and was put under "strict confinement".

### **Enlightenment during the Democracy Wall Movement**

In October 1978, Huang Xiang compiled "Song of the Torch" and other poems into a suite entitled "Fire God Symphony", and copied it onto a big-character poster that he took to Beijing and pasted on a wall at Wangfujing Avenue, where he also recited the poem to passers-by. While in Beijing, he distributed a mimeographed magazine called *Enlightenment* that caused a sensation throughout Beijing and contributed to the Democracy Wall Movement.

On November 24, the China Enlightenment Society, the first community organization of the Democracy Wall Movement, was established at Tiananmen Square. As publisher and editor, Huang Xiang painted two banners reading: "Mao Zedong must be reassessed as 30 percent achievement and 70 percent error!" and "The Great Cultural Revolution must be reevaluated!"

During the first half of 1979, Huang Xiang posted and distributed issues of *Enlightenment*, including essays entitled "To President Carter" and "The Effects and Side-effects of Historical Figures on History", and the poems "Image of Love", "Pastoral Symphony" and "Ode to Democracy Wall".

In 1980, Huang helped found the privately published magazine *Rising Generation* in Guiyang and became its main writer.

### **Poetry Explosion disturbs social order**

In November 1986, Huang Xiang wrote several poems and handbills for a Literature and Arts Festival planned for December at Peking University, and at the end of the month, he joined Zhang Ling, Mo Jiangang, Huang Xiangrong

and others in forming the China Poetry Celestial Star Cluster. The group brought hundreds of poetry printouts to Beijing and joined with Xue Deyun and others to give a series of “explosion” behaviorist readings at Beijing’s major universities. The authorities blamed these readings for triggering the 1986 Student Movement that occurred shortly thereafter. Xue Deyun was arrested that same month, and Huang Xiang was arrested in his home in Guiyang on October 14, 1987. He was sentenced the following May to three years’ imprisonment for “disturbing public order”, and was sent to Reform through Labor at the Wang Wu Laogai Detachment on the outskirts of Guiyang.

After completing his sentence in October 1990, Huang continued with his writing and was invited to the United States in 1993. Back in China, he reached an agreement in 1995 for publication of a collection of his poems entitled *Huang Xiang: The Beast Who Drinks Hard without Drunkenness*, but just as the printing was completed, the authorities banned the book.

### **“No place for me in the vastness of China”**

In autumn 1996, Huang Xiang reestablished contact with his birth mother in Jiangxi and relocated there from Guiyang. He continued to be harassed, however, and his works continued to be banned, leading him to feel that “in the vastness of China, there is no place for me”. He left China with his wife Zhang Ling in 1997, and has lived in the United States since then. Huang was hosted in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from October 2004 to October 2006 as part of the North American Network of Cities of Asylum program.

Huang Xiang was a member of the Independent Chinese PEN Center until 2006, when he withdrew to establish the Chinese Free Culture Movement.

In April 2008, Huang Xiang and Zhang Ling returned to China to visit Huang’s mother. He received a courteous reception from local authorities and published a long essay entitled “The Physique and Heartbeat of the Chinese People”. *The Collected Poems of Huang Xiang* was published privately in China in 2011, but was banned from circulation. When Huang’s mother died in early 2012, the couple was refused visas to return to China for the funeral.

Huang Xiang has published many collections of poems as well as an autobiography, *Clamor and Loneliness*, and two autobiographical novels. An

English translation of his poetry, *A Bilingual Edition of Poetry Out of Communist China* by Huang Xiang, was published in the United States in 2004. Translations of his works have also been published in Japan and elsewhere.

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## **Case No. 43 (1989): Bao Zunxin**

### **Black Hand of the Pro-democracy Movement**



*Bao Zunxin (September 1, 1937 - October 28, 2007), an intellectual historian, editor and writer, was arrested in June 1989 for organizing intellectuals to support the student protests in Beijing, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement".*

#### **Joint editor of the *Toward the Future* book series**

Bao Zunxin was born in He County, Anhui Province. In 1959, he was admitted to Peking University as a student of classical Chinese literature, and he began publishing scholarly articles in college journals in 1963. After graduating in September 1964, he was assigned a job as editor at Zhonghua Publishing House, and in 1976, he was transferred to the research room of the National Publishing House Administration, where he was chief editor of *Chinese Philosophy* from 1978 to 1987.

In 1981, Bao became an associate research fellow in intellectual history at the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He began editing the *Toward the Future* book series with Jin Guantao in 1983, then went on to edit a series of 74 highly influential works on natural and social sciences by foreign and Chinese authors produced by Sichuan People's Publishing

House from 1984 to 1988. He also served as deputy chief editor of *Dushu*, a highly influential magazine among Chinese intellectuals. From 1988 to 1989, he was an editor of the Cultural and Philosophy series of books produced by Shandong Literary Publishing House.

During this time, Bao also published essays on China's intellectual history in *People's Daily*, *Guangming Daily* and other leading newspapers and journals, and some were collected for publication in *Small Steps Collection* (1984) and *Critique and Enlightenment* (1989).

### **Convenor of intellectuals in the 1989 Pro-democracy Movement**

On January 6, 1989, Fang Lizhi, the former vice-president of the China University of Science of Technology whom Deng Xiaoping had expelled from CPC and dismissed from his job for his role in the 1986 Student Movement, published an open letter to Deng suggesting that the government should observe the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of PRC, the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the May Fourth Movement and the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the French Revolution by granting a nationwide amnesty and releasing Wei Jingsheng and other political prisoners. On February 13 and 26, Bei Dao and more than 30 other writers and artists, along with Qian Linzhao and more than 40 other scientist, responded with open letters to the NPC Standing Committee and CPC Central Committee and its leadership. Bao Zunxin was one of the signatories.

Following the death of former CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang on April 15, 1989, memorial activities by university students in Beijing and elsewhere developed into the street protests that came to be known as the 1989 Pro-democracy Movement. As students laid wreaths in Tiananmen Square and made demands for political reform and cleaner government, Bao Zunxin went to discuss the developing situation with young scholars Xie Xuanjun, Yuan Zhiming and others, and they drafted an "Open Letter to CPC Central Committee, NPC Standing Committee and State Council":

*[The students'] demands are positive and constructive, and a fundamentally sound strategy for resolving China's current predicament and rallying public opinion to work together. The practical achievement of the above objectives is also an essential prerequisite for long-term stability and*

*unity. For this reason, we recommend that Party and state leadership pay serious attention to the aspirations and demands of the students, engage directly in equal dialogue with them, and draw historical lessons from the 1976 Tiananmen Incident...*

Bao headed this list of signatories, and helped collect signatures from more than 40 other notable intellectuals in various field. The open letter's publication on April 21 marked the expansion of the Student Movement to all sectors of society. After this, Bao participated in a series of activities and gave speeches at various Beijing universities expressing support for the student movement.

On May 13, more than 3,000 university students staged a hunger strike at Tiananmen Square to demand a dialog with CPC leadership, and Bao Zunxin, Yan Jiaqi, Su Shaozhi and other leading intellectuals put up a poster at Peking University stating "We can no longer remain silent. We must show our conscience, our courage and our sense social responsibility!! Let us write history!!!"

The next evening, Bao and Dai Qing, Yu Haocheng, Li Honglin, Yan Jiaqi, Su Xiaokang and other scholars and writers accepted a request from the Central Committee United Front Department to speak with the hunger strikers, and they read out "Our Urgent Appeal Regarding the Current Situation" making several demands:

*First, that the Central leadership issues public comments affirming that this student movement is patriotic and democratic, and that they will not "settle scores" with students in any way; second, that they acknowledge the legitimacy of the student organizations that the majority of students have formed through a democratic process of selection; and three, that they should not under any excuse, pretext or means use violence against the hunger striking students.*

At the same time, they appealed to the students:

*In the long-term interests of China's reform, in order to avoid a situation that will bring pain to ourselves and gladden our enemies, and to allow the high-level Sino-Soviet meeting to proceed smoothly, we earnestly request that students exercise the most laudable rationality of this student movement and temporarily withdraw from Tiananmen Square.*

Neither side responded positively to their appeal.

On the afternoon of May 5, Bao Zunxin, Yan Jiaqi and others organized a protest by “China’s intellectuals” in support of the students. Bao marched at the front of the group, and upon reaching the square, he delivered a speech:

*Our government has not yet sent anyone to speak; this is an incompetent government... Today 40,000 intellectuals from more than 200 of the capital city’s work units have joined in this protest to express our support and respect for you... Inspired and compelled by you, we 40,000 intellectuals have also stood up, and we will fight alongside you for the freedom and democratization of all of China.*

On May 16, Ba Jin, Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin and 1,000 other leading intellectuals issued a joint declaration that constituted the largest spontaneous group criticism of the government by intellectuals since the founding of the PRC. Bao also took the lead in singing the “May 17 Declaration” drafted by Yan Jiaqi and helped collect signatures from others. This statement for the first time openly aimed its criticism at Deng Xiaoping: “The Qing Dynasty has been dead for 70 years, but China still has an emperor in all but name, an elderly and fatuous dictator”.

On May 19, the CPC Central Committee and State Council decided to impose martial law on Beijing on May 20. Bao Zunxin, Yan Jiaqi, Su Xiaokang, Wang Guntao and others responded with a “May 20th Pledge”:

*We will never abandon the democratic cause carried out through the lives and ardor of the patriotic students, and we will never offer any excuse for our own cowardice or reiterate past insults; we will never sell out our consciences or surrender to despotism; we will never give our allegiance to the Last Emperor of China in the 1980s.*

On May 22, Bao founded *News Express*, one of the few privately-operated publications at that time. The following day, he helped organize the Beijing Federation of Intellectuals and was elected its convenor, and as its representative took part in establishing the Joint Liaison Group of All Circles in the Capital for the Patriotic Upholding of the Constitution. At the preparatory

meeting for the Beijing Federation of Intellectuals on the afternoon of May 24, Bao and Yan Jiaqi were elected general convenors, and Bao signed and delivered the federation's inaugural declaration:

*Our views are: 1) Abolish martial law and withdraw the troops to their bases; 2) immediately convene a meeting of the NPC Standing Committee and deliberate on recalling Li Peng from office; 3) on the basis of resolving the above two issues, realistically move forward on the democratization of China.*

On May 25, Bao Junxin and Yan Jiaqi jointly issued "On the Trajectory of Democracy and Rule of Law Resolve China's Current Problems: An Indictment of Li Peng", which called on "every member of the NPC Standing Committee and every NPC delegate to cast your sacred vote to abolish martial law and remove Li Peng from his position as Premier".

On May 27, Bao took the lead in drafting the "Ten-point Statement of Joint Liaison Group of All Circles in the Capital for the Patriotic Upholding of the Constitution on the Current Situation":

*From the beginning up until the present, this student movement and Pro-democracy Movement has been a purely spontaneous mass great patriotic democratic movement... The starting point of this student and democratic movement is: driving forward the political systemic reform of modern China and accelerating the course of China's democratization... The order of martial law that Li Peng signed is a fascist intimidation method to sabotage democracy and the legal system... If an urgent meeting of the NPC is not called in the near future, the large-scale peaceful petitioning movement at Tiananmen Square will continue at least until the NPC meets on June 20th...*

On the night of June 3, martial law troops were ordered into Beijing. They occupied Tiananmen Square in the early hours of June 4, in the process killing hundreds or even thousands of protesters in what came to be known as the June 4th Massacre.

The Ministry of Public Security on June 22 issued warrants for the arrest of Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin and five other intellectuals, and Bao was among those arrested. On August 10, *People's Daily* announced that Yan and Bao had been relieved of their positions and expelled from the CPC.

On January 26, 1991, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court found Wang Dan, Liu Xiaobo, Bao Zunxin, Ren Wanding and four others guilty of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" and stated, "Bao Junxin's crime is serious, but he has displayed repentance, and so receives a lenient sentence of five years' imprisonment and an additional two years' deprivation of political rights".

### **Nirvana unattained**

Bao Zunxin was released on parole on November 25, 1992. While remaining under unlawful surveillance, he continued to write and to participate in human rights activities.

In 1995, Bao signed open letters by Liu Xiaobo calling for measures against corruption, and for progress on democracy and rule of law.

Bao published his memoir, *Inside June 4th: Nirvana Unattained*, in Taiwan in 1996. He joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in 2004 and was elected an honorary director in 2005.

Bao began suffering from a cerebral embolism in 2004. He recovered following an operation, but early on October 23, 2007, he suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and died at the age of 70.

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## **Case No. 44 (1990): Liao Yiwu**

### **Incriminated by a Poem on the Massacre**



*Liao Yiwu (August 4, 1958 - ), a renowned poet, writer and folk artist, was arrested in 1990 for his poem memorializing the victims of June 4th Massacre, and eventually sentenced to four years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary crimes".*

#### **From a street urchin to poet**

Liao Yiwu was born in Yanting County, Sichuan Province, and left to wander the streets after his parents became targets of the Cultural Revolution when he was eight years old.

Liao resumed his schooling in the 1970s, but just before graduating from secondary school in 1976, he came under criticism and reprimand for writing a "reactionary poem" on a wall. On April 5 that year, he was arrested for distributing a leaflet entitled "Please Don't Believe Them". He signed up unsuccessfully for the college entrance exam four times from 1977 to 1980.

At the end of 1980, Liao began working as a truck driver on the Sichuan-Tibet Highway. He joined the underground literature movement in 1982, editing and contributing poetry to publications such as *Modernism Alliance* and *Modern Chinese Experimental Poetry*. Long poems such as "Our Children's Generation", "Big Basin" and "The People" gained him an enthusiastic following as well as more than 20 official poetry prizes.

From 1983 to 1989, he continued to publish a series of rebellious poems that triggered debate in literary circles and made him a representative figure of New Wave Poetry. His activities attracted surveillance by the police, and he came under heavy criticism during the Campaign to Eliminate Spiritual Pollution in 1983 and the Anti-Liberalism Campaign in 1987, after which he was banned from any form of publication. In 1986, he joined protests against the CWA's closure of the literary magazine *China*. Through the introduction of the writer Fang Fang, Liao was admitted to the writer's course at Wuhan University in summer 1988, only to be expelled three months later.

### From “Slaughter” to *Requiem*

When the death of former CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang on April 15, 1989, triggered student protests in Beijing and elsewhere, Liao refused to take part in any “mass movements”, and left Beijing for his native Fuling, Sichuan Province. Upon hearing of the slaughter in Beijing in June, however, Liao penned a long poem “Slaughter”, protesting the violent crackdown and then read it out on a tape recording that he handed over to the Canadian Sinologist Michael Day. In March 1990, Liao organized, wrote and performed *Requiem*, a poetic television documentary memorializing the victims of the June 4th Massacre. He was arrested on March 16 along with the poet Wan Xia and 20 others, all of whom were subsequently released. Michael Day was expelled in November 1991 as a “cultural spy”.

In May 1992, Liao was secretly tried and sentenced to four years' imprisonment for “counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement”. While in prison, he spent 23 days with his hands shackled behind him for “violating prison rules”, and he attempted suicide twice in protest over his brutal treatment. From 1992 until January 1994, he wrote the initial draft of a long literary piece, *Survival*, and learned the bamboo flute from an elderly monk.

Because of international concern, in particular intervention from then British Prime Minister John Major, Liao was released 43 days before completion of his sentence, on January 31, 1994.

## Interviewing the marginalized

After leaving prison, Liao supported himself by playing his bamboo flute in Chengdu's bars, then ran a teashop and worked at a magazine and a newspaper from 1995 to 1998. He signed many petitions calling for human rights and democracy, and repeatedly petitioned local police departments over being deprived of a decent living. This resulted in his being detained several times, and he lost manuscripts totaling more than two million characters during searches of his home. He was arrested at his wedding for "illegal reporting" on February 26, 1999. That same year, he published *Desecrated Temple: A Portrait of China's Underground Poetry in the 1970s*, which described the history of Beijing's Xidan Democracy Wall. While many scholars judged it one of the "ten best books" of that year, it was banned by the CPC Propaganda Department, and its publisher, Xinjiang Youth Publishing House, was reorganized. That same year, under the pen name Lao Wei, Liao published *Adrift: Interviews with the Marginalized*, which was reprinted five times in three months before being banned. On the eve of June 4, 1999, Liao was interviewed by Radio Free Asia and read out his poem "Slaughter".

In early 2000, Liao joined a veteran of the *Today* poetry movement, Mang Ke, in producing *Fei Ya Fei (Flying)*, an underground film financed by a Japanese company, in which he reenacted his living situation since his release from prison. The film was shown at the 2000 Berlin International Film Festival.

## Interviewing the Lower Strata of Chinese Society

Using the pen name Lao Wei again in 2001, Liao published *Interviews with the Lower Strata of Chinese Society* in two volumes. More than 50 publications published excerpts or reports, and a symposium on the book drew such a large crowd that it had to be moved from Beijing's Guolinfeng Book Store to the Dajue Temple in the Beijing suburbs. Liao read out "Slaughter" and played his flute, and afterwards *Southern Weekend* devoted a full page to a dialog between Liao and the famous journalist Lu Yuegang. Soon afterward, *Interviews with the Lower Strata of Chinese Society* was banned, unsold copies of the book were ordered destroyed, and the publisher, Changjiang Literary Arts Publishing

House, was reorganized at great financial loss. *Southern Weekend* also suffered a major upheaval, with several senior executives dismissed. After that, the CPC Propaganda Department, General Administration of Press and Publication and public security organs explicitly banned publication of Liao's works under his real name or pen name. His books nevertheless remained popular in illegally circulated pirated editions.

In 2001, Liao helped establish the Independent Chinese PEN Center, and was elected to its first board of directors in October 2003. He won the Freedom to Write Award in 2007, and in October 2009 was elected an honorary director.

The authorities denied Liao the right to leave China on 16 occasions. A storm of international protest arose when he was again denied an exit visa to attend the Cologne Literary Festival on March 1, 2010, and German PEN and more than 100 Western authors signed a "global appeal" for the victims of the June 4th Massacre to be commemorated by a worldwide reading of Liao's works. Tens of thousands of people, including several Nobel laureates, took part in the reading in more than 30 Western cities and on more than 100 radio and television stations. In September that year, Liao was allowed to leave China for the first time to attend the International Literature Festival in Berlin.

After again being refused permission to leave China in early 2011, Liao escaped his Chengdu home and made his way across the border to Vietnam on July 2, 2011, flying to Germany on July 6. The following year he was awarded a special artist grant by the German Academic Exchange Service, and he has been living in Berlin ever since.

Several volumes of Liao Yiwu's works have been published in Taiwan, and have also been translated into English, German, French, Japanese and other languages. Among his best-known works in English are *The Corpse Walker* (2008), a translation of his *Interviews with the Lower Strata of Chinese Society*, and *God is Red* (2011), a book about Christians in China.

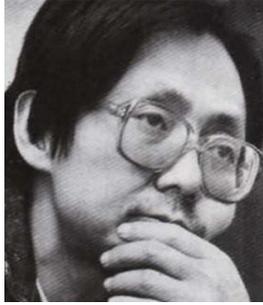
Liao has won many international awards, including *Christianity Today's* Best Book Award (2011), the German Geschwister-Scholl-Preis (2011), Poland's Ryszard Kapuściński Prize (2011), and the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade (2012).

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## Case No. 45 (1991): Ren Wanding

### Protests without Repentance



*Ren Wanding (born Ren An, September 6, 1944), a prominent dissident, freelance writer and human rights activist, was arrested as a participant in the 1989 Democracy Movement and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for refusing to express repentance for the offence of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement".*

Ren Wanding was born in Shangrao County, Jiangxi Province. He began studying at the Beijing Institute of Civil Engineering and Architecture in 1964. In 1969, he was locked up on accusations of "treason and surrender to the enemy" and opposing the Cultural Revolution, and was subjected to denunciation and criticism.

Ren took part in the Beijing Democracy Wall Movement in November 1978. On January 1, 1979, he established the Chinese Human Rights Alliance and began publishing a mimeographed newsletter, *Human Rights in China*, only the second human rights-related organization and the first such publication established since the founding of the PRC. A few days later, Ren drafted a Chinese Declaration of Human Rights, which was signed by seven people and posted on Democracy Wall. Its 19 demands included:

*Freedom of thought and speech, and the release of all prisoners of thought or speech; Constitution to effectively protect the right to criticize and evaluate*

*leadership of the Party and State; full autonomy of ethnic minorities; direct universal suffrage of all citizens of China to elect the state and local leaders; progressive abolition of state ownership of the means of production and transition toward a system of common social ownership; negotiations between the governments of the PRC and the Soviet Union; learning from Western traditional democracy and culture; freedom of occupation, freedom of apparel and freedom of movement; abolition of the censorship system, freedom of creation and freedom of press; the opening of China's borders.*

*We appeal for support from the governments of all countries, from the United Nations, from human rights organizations and from the public....*

On January 9, 1979, Fu Yuehua, a member of the China Human Rights Alliance, was arrested after organizing a protest on Chang'an Avenue against hunger and persecution and demanding democracy and human rights. The arrest marked the beginning of a clamp-down on the Democracy Wall Movement. On March 22, *Beijing Daily* published an editorial entitled "Human Rights Is Not a Proletarian Slogan". After the external liaison officer for the Human Rights Alliance, Chen Lü, and *Exploration* editor Wei Jingsheng were arrested on March 29, Ren Wanding appealed for their release in an open letter to the NPC Standing Committee and Legal System Committee, and posted it on Democracy Wall. He was arrested on the spot and later sent to serve four years of RTL.

Upon completing his sentence in April 1983, Ren was released and then became a company accountant as well as an associate research fellow for the Beijing Institute of Economic Science. After the government launched its campaign against "bourgeois liberalization" in 1987, Ren began publishing political commentaries in Hong Kong, Taiwan and the United States.

When mourning the death of ousted CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang developed into mass street protests in April 1989, Ren went to Tiananmen Square and gave a speech:

*After 40 years of CPC rule, the people have no means of livelihood, thieves are everywhere, inflation is rampant and the national economy is in crisis... If the Four Cardinal Principles do not disappear from the Constitution, they will take precedence over the interests of the people.*

Ren Wanding gave speeches a dozen times at Beijing's major universities encouraging participation in the Democracy Movement, and the texts of his speeches were published in Hong Kong and Taiwan. A few days after the June 4th Massacre, Ren was arrested in his home.

On January 26, 1991, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court found Ren guilty of "a major crime, with no expression of repentance", and sentenced him to seven years imprisonment for counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement. He was released on completion of his sentence on June 9, 1996.

In late 1998, Ren Wanding helped establish the China Democracy Party, and became a member of the party's advisory committee. In 2007, he was a signatory of "07 Declaration of Human Rights" and established China Human Rights Forum and the China Human Rights Defenders Website.

Ren left China in September 2007 and became a visiting scholar in Hong Kong, Europe and the United States. In September 2008, he settled in Paris as a visiting scholar for the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris and Fondation Maison de Science de l'Homme.

Ren's writings have been published in several volumes.

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## Case No. 46 (1992): Hu, Kang and Liu Convicted for Organizing a Party



*(From left) Kang Yuchun, Hu Shigen and Liu Jingsheng*

*Hu Shigen (November 14, 1955 - ), also known as Hu Chenglun, a university lecturer, social activist and freelance writer; Kang Yuchun (March 31, 1964 - ), a doctor, social activist, editor and translator; and Liu Jingsheng (January 5, 1954 - ) a worker, editor and freelance writer, were organizers and leaders of the China Freedom and Democracy Party, the Chinese Progressive Alliance and the China Free Trade Union. They were arrested in May 1992 after publicizing commemorations for the third anniversary of the June 4th Massacre, and were sentenced to prison terms of 15 to 20 years for “organizing a counterrevolutionary clique”.*

### **Hu Shigen**

Hu Shigen was born in Nanchang County, Jiangxi Province, the third of six children of a rural Party cadre. After his father died in the Great Famine in 1959, his mother took the family to live with her parents in Nanchang City.

In 1968, two years after the launch of the Cultural Revolution, Hu began studying at Nanchang’s Fang Zhimin Middle School. The school joined Jiangxi’s Communist Labor University movement, and at the end of the year moved to Xinjian County, where students began studying part-time while also engaging in agriculture. After graduating in 1971, Hu was assigned a job in the Jiangxi Automotive Factory.

Hu was admitted to Peking University as a student of Chinese Literature in 1979. After receiving his Master's Degree in 1986, he became a lecturer at the Beijing Language and Culture University. He published papers such as "The Merged Morphemes of the Beijing Dialect", and in 1988 was editor, under the name Hu Chenglun, of an essay collection entitled *Linguistics and the Teaching of Sinitic Languages*.

Hu participated in the Democracy Movement in 1989. After the June 4th Massacre, he was investigated and dismissed from his teaching position. In January 1991, he joined Wang Guoqi, a worker in the same university, in founding the China Freedom and Democracy Party (CFDP). He recruited Liu Jingsheng, Wang Tiancheng, Kang Yuchun, Chen Qinglin to join the party, and drafted the CFDP's "Statement on China's Human Rights Issues," criticizing the CPC:

*Since taking power, the CPC has implemented bureaucratic monopoly and military rule, imposing all-out dictatorship on the Chinese people in terms of politics, economy and culture, and forcibly depriving the Chinese people of the basic human rights to which they are entitled.*

On December 20, 1991, Hu joined Liu Jingsheng, Wang Tiancheng, Kang Yuchun and Chen Qinglin in holding a "core member meeting" for the Freedom and Democracy Party, which approved a political program and constitution drafted by Hu and elected him as its chairman. That same month, Hu joined Liu Jingsheng, Wang Guoqi, Gao Yuxiang and Li Quanli in establishing the China Free Trade Union, for which Hu drafted organizational and recruitment materials.

The Freedom and Democracy Party began secretly expanding throughout China, and also combined with Kang Yuchun's Chinese Progressive Alliance and other underground organizations, reaching a membership of more than 300 by early 1992. The groups began planning memorial activities for the third anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Incident in Beijing, Shanghai, Wuhan, Chengdu, Panyang and other major cities, including a program to drop leaflets from remote-controlled model airplanes in Tiananmen Square. The authorities found out about the plot and detained Hu Shigen on May 27, with dozens of other arrests taking place throughout China in the following months.

After more than two years in detention, Hu Shigen and more than 20 others finally went to trial in 1994, and on December 16, 1994, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court found Hu Shigen guilty of organizing and leading a "counterrevolutionary clique" and of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement", for which he was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment. His appeal to Beijing's Higher People's Court was rejected.

While in prison, Hu Shigen went on hunger strike every year to commemorate the June 4th Massacre. Such "defiance of reform" led to his being maltreated and held in "small cell" solitary confinement.<sup>18</sup> He began suffering from heart, liver and kidney disease and had a nervous breakdown.

PEN International expressed great concern regarding Hu Shigen's case, and he was adopted as an honorary member of English, Canadian and Independent Chinese PEN centers. He continued writing in prison, including the essay "How Big a Character is Xin", which was managed to get out of prison, and published and translated into English by PEN. In June 2008, the US-based National Endowment for Democracy awarded Hu its annual Democracy Award.

Hu Shigen was released on August 26, 2008, following three sentence reductions, but he continued to be deprived of his political rights for an additional four years, and remained under police surveillance and frequent summonses.

Hu joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in December 2009.

### **Kang Yuchun**

Kang Yuchun was born in Beijing. He began studying at the Beijing College of Traditional Chinese Medicine in 1981. After obtaining his Master's degree in 1990, he began practicing TCM at Beijing's Anding Hospital.

In June 1991, Kang joined An Ning, Lu Zhigang, Lu Mingxia, Wang Peizhong and others in establishing the Chinese Progressive Alliance and

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<sup>18</sup>A "small cell" for major prisoners measures two meters long by one meter wide, with a ceiling height of 1.6 meters – approximately the size of a coffin. Such cells are hot, smelly and infested with insects.

became editor of the group's flagship publication, *Freedom Forum*. In October that year, he joined CFDP founded by Hu Shigen and others.

On May 29, 1992, Kang Yuchun was detained, and formally arrested on September 27. On December 16, 1994, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court sentenced him to 17 years' imprisonment for "organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary clique" and "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement". His appeal was rejected.

PEN International expressed concern about Kang Yuchun's case, and he was adopted as an honorary member of the English and German Centers.

While in prison, Kang took college classes in law and English, and also served as a prison doctor. He was released on October 28, 2003, after serving 11 years and five months of his sentence. He currently works at Beijing's Chaoyang District No. 3 Hospital, using TCM in psychiatric treatment. He continues to write in his spare time, and has published his prison writings along with translations of works by Soviet dissident Natan Sharansky and American political scientist Kenneth Janda.

## **Liu Jingsheng**

Liu Jingsheng was born in Beijing to parents who were both CPC officials. Liu joined the PLA in December 1969, while not yet 16 years old. While at the Qingdao Naval Base he began thinking about political issues. After completing his military service in 1973, he returned to Beijing and was assigned a job as a worker and driver at the Beijing Bus Company.

When Beijing's Xidan Democracy Wall Movement began in November 1978, Liu became acquainted with Wei Jingsheng, and the two worked with Lu Lin and Yang Guang to publish *Exploration* magazine. On March 15, 1979, Liu was arrested for stealing vehicles for the magazine's use, and Wei Jingsheng and the others were arrested two weeks later. The procuratorate initially charged Liu with "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement", but when the court found no "counterrevolutionary intent," he was charged with larceny instead. The court found him guilty, on September 15, but given the minor nature of the crime, he was released immediately on the basis of the half year he had spent in custody.

After returning to work at the bus company, Liu was demoted and restricted to working on site as a ticket seller. He was transferred to a new job at the Beijing Chemical Plant in 1990.

In 1991, Liu Jingsheng joined Hu Shigen and the others in establishing the China Freedom and Democracy Party, and helped Kang Yuchun and others form the China Progressive Alliance. In December, he helped Hu Shigen form the China Free Trade Union, where he drafted publicity materials as well as an essay entitled “The Eternal Martyred Spirits of June 4th”.

After helping plan commemoration of the third anniversary of June 4th Massacre, Liu was detained on May 28. The Beijing Municipal Intermediate People’s Court sentenced him to 15 years’ imprisonment for organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary clique and for counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement.

PEN International expressed concern over Liu’s case, and he was adopted as an honorary member of several PEN centers. In 1998, PEN American Center awarded Liu its PEN/Barbara Goldsmith Freedom to Write Award.

On November 27, 2004, Liu was released after serving 12-and-a-half years of his sentence. He began publishing essays and memoirs in overseas publications, and joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in 2007. He is best known for his memoir of the Democracy Wall period, *An Indelible Memory*.

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## Case No. 47 (1993): Gao Yu Sentenced for Reporting“State Secrets”



*Gao Yu (February 23, 1944 - ), a prominent journalist, editor and columnist, was arrested in October 1993 and then sentenced to six years' imprisonment for publishing what the Chinese authorities considered “state secrets” in Hong Kong media.*

### **Famous Columnist in the Hong Kong Media**

Gao Yu was born in Chongqing. She began studying literary theory at Renmin University in 1962. After graduating in 1968, she was assigned a job as a middle school teacher in rural Shanxi Province. In 1975, she was transferred to the Beijing Municipal Cultural Bureau as an instructor in Mao Zedong Thought at the Party School, and in 1977, she became a screenwriter for the art documentary *Spring*, a joint production of the Beijing Film Studio and the Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio.

In 1980, Gao Yu was transferred to the China News Service as a reporter. She interviewed many notable individuals, including some who were politically sensitive, and became a famous columnist in Hong Kong publications.

Gao Yu became deputy chief editor of *Economics Weekly* in October 1988, and on December 4, the magazine published her interview with prominent intellectuals Yan Jiaqi and Wen Yuankai, which touched on the 1987 dismissal of Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang. Gao wrote:

*We should not repeat the disastrous policy of unprogrammed changes in the power structure as in the case of Khrushchev and Liu Shaoqi... China can no longer allow Cultural Revolution-style unprogrammed power shifts.*

Less than half a year after Gao Yu wrote these words, General Secretary Zhao Ziyang was dismissed for objecting to the violent suppression of the 1989 Pro-democracy Movement. The authorities classified Gao Yu's article as contributing to the 1989 "political program of violent upheaval", and *Economics Weekly* was shut down.

### **Drafter of the "Beijing Tertiary Students' Letter to the Chinese People"**

On the eve of the 1989 student movement, Gao Yu published an article entitled "Taking Democracy from the Streets to the Great Hall of the People" in the April issue of the pro-Beijing Hong Kong monthly *Mirror* (*Jingbao*). The article was a record of an informal discussion on March 22 between *Mirror* chief editor Tsui Sze-man and five young scholars from the Beijing Social and Economic Research Institute, Chen Ziming, Wang Juntao, Min Qi, Chen Xiaoping and Liu Weihua. Identifying with the young scholars' demands for lawful process, Gao Yu subsequently joined the 1989 Democracy Movement.

At the request of Hu Jiwei, a member of the NPC Standing Committee and former chief editor and publisher of *People's Daily*, Gao Yu went to Tiananmen Square on May 21, 1989, and advised the protesting students to withdraw. She was then persuaded by student leader Wang Dan and others to help them draft a "Beijing Tertiary Students' Letter to Chinese People", which called for the NPC Standing Committee to hold emergency meeting and send a delegation to engage in direct dialog with the students to discuss the lifting of martial law and the return to the classrooms.

Just before the violent crackdown on the evening of June 3, Gao Yu was secretly abducted and held by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau in a school in Pinggu County. Three-and-a-half months later, she was placed under formal "residential surveillance". By then, warrants had been issued for Yan Jiaqi, Chen Ziming, Wang Juntao and others, and the young scholars

whom Gao had interviewed were all arrested. Hu Jiwei was dismissed from all his official positions for “supporting the student movement and supporting upheaval and riots” and was placed under probation within the CPC for two years. The authorities tried to further penalize Gao Yu for her recent articles and her drafting of the students’ open letter, but were unable to come up with further criminal charges, and when Gao experienced heart problems after 15 months in custody, they released her on August 28, 1990. Gao Yu then continued working as a freelance writer.

### **Twice a Laureate of the IWMF’s Courage Awards**

In late September 1993, Beijing failed to be awarded to host the Olympic Games in 2000, Gao Yu was arrested again on October 2, two days before she was to leave for the USA as a visiting scholar at Columbia University’s Graduate School of Journalism. On November 9, 1994, the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People’s Court secretly handed down a verdict against Gao Yu, ruling that she had accessed two top secret documents by Chinese leaders and had written the contents into articles published in *Mirror Monthly*, for which she was paid HK\$800. The court found her guilty of “leaking state secrets” and sentenced her to six years’ imprisonment. Once it became public, the verdict raised concern and admiration for Gao Yu in media circles throughout the world.

In 1995, Gao Yu was awarded the first Golden Pen of Freedom Award by the World Association of Newspapers, and the Courage in Journalism Award of the International Women’s Media Foundation. In 1997, she became the first laureate of the UNESCO/Guillermo Cano World Press Freedom Prize. On the eve of a visit by State Council Premier Zhu Rongji to the United States in February 1999, Gao Yu was released on “medical parole”, and she continued reporting as a freelance journalist, winning more awards for her work. In May 2000, she was named one of the International Press Institute’s 50 World Press Freedom Heroes of the twentieth century.

Gao Yu joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in 2004. In June 2006, on the ICPC’s nomination, she became the first journalist to twice receive the

IWMF's Courage in Journalism Award. In 2009, she was elected an honorary director of the ICPC, and became an honorary member of Czech PEN Center.

Gao Yu is a prolific writer, and a collection of her articles was published in Hong Kong in 2009 under the title *My June 4th*.

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## Case No. 48 (1994): Zhang Lin

### Labeled a Hooligan for Defending Rights



*Zhang Lin (June 2, 1963 - ), a dissident writer and social activist, was arrested in 1994 and then sentenced to three years of Reeducation-Through-Labor after contacting foreign journalists about human rights violations near his home village.*

Zhang Lin was born in Bengbu, Anhui Province, to worker parents. He was admitted to Tsinghua University in 1979 to study engineering physics. While in Beijing, he came under the influence of the Xidan Democracy Wall Movement and established the Historical Geographical Society. When the movement failed, he applied to discontinue his schooling, but finally received a college degree in 1985 and was assigned a job in the production technology department of the Bengbu Textile Mill.

Zhang resigned from his job in 1986, and in August that year he entered Hong Kong illegally to seek out the KMT. When he failed, he asked to be sent back to China, where he was held for three months in Guangzhou. Following his release, he made an unsuccessful attempt to reach the Taiwan-controlled island of Quemoy via Xiamen.

Starting in April 1988, Zhang Lin became actively involved in civil society organizations in Hainan and Yunnan and then returned to Bengbu, where he organized the Anhui Branch of the Futurology Society.

Following the death of ousted CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang in April 1989, Zhang Lin rallied more than 5,000 people in Bengbu's city center and then began a more wide-ranging organizing of workers, students and others to take part in the Democracy Movement. Following the June 4th Incident, Zhang organized a "civilian Kamikaze corps" to block traffic in Bengbu and planned other protest actions, but was arrested on June 8. Zhang was charged with various public order and counterrevolutionary offenses, but due to the "complexity" of the case, he wasn't formally indicted until 18 months later.

On February 13, 1991, Zhang Lin was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement". When he contracted a near-fatal case of neuritis on March 2, the court decided to grant him early release.

In early 1994, Zhang Lin joined Liu Nianchun and Li Hai in establishing the "Federation for the Protection of Workers' Rights". In Beijing, he contacted several foreign journalists and invited them to look into corruption problems in Bengbu's factories and villages. He also helped publicize activities marking the fifth anniversary of June 4th Massacre. The Beijing police arrested Zhang Lin and Liu Nianchun on May 26. After being harshly beaten in detention, Zhang was sent back to Bengbu, where he spent three years in RTL for "hooliganism".

After completing his sentence on June 1, 1997, Zhang went to the United States to work for the exiled dissident Wei Jingsheng. He joined Wang Bingzhang, Wang Xizhe, Fu Shenqi and others in establishing the China Democracy and Justice Party in February 1998, and in October, he and another party member, Wei Quanbao, left the US with the intention of developing the party in China. Zhang was prevented from entering the mainland through Hong Kong's Lowu border crossing, and soon after he made his way to Guangzhou on November 7, he was arrested and sentenced to three years of RTL for illegal entry.

Having served out his sentence at the end of 2001, Zhang Lin returned to Bengbu and began publishing articles on the Internet exposing China's social ills. His attempt to attend a memorial ceremony for Zhao Ziyang in 2005 resulted in another spell of detention. On July 28, the Bengbu Municipal Intermediate People's Court found that from January 2004 to January 2005, Zhang Lin had posted several articles on the Internet and had given a radio

interview in which he fabricated incidents and incited subversion of state power, and sentenced him to five years' imprisonment.

While in prison, Zhang Lin went on hunger strike to protest his sentence and maltreatment. He suffered from dislocated spinal disks, muscular atrophy in his leg, and joint and eye ailments.

Zhang Lin joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in 2005, and that same year his autobiographical work *Mournful Spirit* was published in the US. In 2007, he was awarded ICPC's Writers in Prison Award.

Zhang was released with a six month sentence reduction on August 12, 2009. Since then he has continued with his writing and social activism, and remains under police surveillance and harassment, with periodic house searches and short detentions.

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## **Case No. 49 (1995): Chen Ziming Re-jailed for a Signature Campaign**



*Chen Ziming (January 8, 1952-), a prominent social activist, editor and scholar, was imprisoned for 13 years as an alleged “backstage manipulator” of the 1989 Pro-democracy Movement. He was released on medical parole in 1995, but jailed again after he joined a mass signature campaign offering suggestions to the National People’s Congress.*

### **Participation in the April Fifth Movement**

Chen Ziming was born in Shanghai, but grew up in Beijing after his engineer father relocated the family there for work. After graduating from middle school in 1968, Chen answered the government’s call for rustification of educated youth by going to the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, where he worked first as a farmer, then as a barefoot doctor and finally as vice-chairman of his work brigade’s revolutionary committee.

In 1974, Chen was recommended for admission to the Beijing Institute of Chemical Technology as a “worker-peasant-soldier student”. However, he was arrested as a counterrevolutionary in August 1975 when he made negative comments about the political situation in a letter, and he was expelled from the school the following April.

It was just at this time that crowds gathered in Tiananmen Square to mourn the passing of Zhou Enlai and then began protesting the ultra-Leftist policies of the Cultural Revolution in what came to be known as the “April Fifth Movement”. Although the authorities suppressed this “Tiananmen Incident”, Chen did not come under investigation, because on April 7, his school sent him to the Yongledian Farm to undergo Reform through Labor as planned for his earlier misdeed.

Chen was rehabilitated in 1978 and reinstated as a student just in time for the Xidan Democracy Wall Movement, and he joined April Fifth veterans Zhou Weimin, Han Zhixiong and Wang Juntao in publishing and editing the magazine *Beijing Spring*.

After graduating from the Beijing Institute of Chemical Technology in 1980, Chen was admitted to the Beijing’s Graduate School at China University of Science and Technology as a student in molecular biology. He became chairman of the Graduate Student Union, and at the end of the year was elected a deputy to the Haidian District People’s Congress. He married Wang Zhihong in March 1982.

After obtaining his Master’s degree in 1984, Chen became an assistant researcher at the Research Group of Nature Dialectics at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, where he also edited the journal *Philosophical Questions of Natural Science*. Later that year he established the Beifang Book and Periodical Publishing Co., which in 1985 sponsored the establishment of the Chinese Administrative Correspondence College and Beijing Finance and Trade Correspondence Institute, with Chen serving as convener of the joint school board. Chen also joined Yang Baikui and others in co-authoring the book *Western Civil Service Systems*, and with Li Shengping co-authored *Job Classification and Personnel Administration*.

In August 1986, Chen founded the China Institute of Politics and Administration and became deputy editor of the institute’s flagship publication, *Political and Administrative Research*. He teamed up with Li Shengping, Zhang Xianyang and others, and cooperated with Huaxia Publishing House to produce the Twentieth Century Library, which over the next few years produced nearly 100 volumes on humanities and sociology topics. He was also chief editor of the *Famous World Thinkers in Translation and Modernization*

and *Political Development* book series, while joining He Jiadong in editing *Manuscripts of Young Theoreticians*.

After the Chinese Institute of Politics and Administration was shut down in February 1987, Chen Ziming founded the Beijing Social and Economic Research Institute and served as its director and head of its sociology department. In 1988, he founded *Economics Weekly* as well as the Chinese Public Opinion Survey Center, while joining Chen Zhaogang and others in publishing *Introduction to Modern Political Science*.

### **Joining the 1989 Pro-democracy Movement**

On March 22, Chen Ziming and four other board members of the Beijing Social and Economic Research Institute, Wang Juntao, Min Qi, Liu Weihua and Chen Xiaoping, were interviewed by Tsui Sze-man, a CPPCC member and chief editor of the pro-Beijing Hong Kong monthly *Mirror*. Their discussion on the current political situation and the topic of “taking democracy from the streets to the Great Hall of the People” was published in the magazine’s April issue.

When mourning the death of ousted CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang developed into street protests in mid-April, the Shanghai-based *World Economic Herald* and *New Observer* magazine held a symposium in Beijing attended by Chen Ziming, Yan Jiaqi and Su Shaozhi of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the head of the Beijing office of the Hong Kong-based *Wen Wei Po*, Johnny Lau Yui-siu. The discussion centered on the rehabilitation of Hu Yaobang and a reversal of the verdicts in the recent campaigns against spiritual pollution and liberalization, with attendees explicitly voicing support for the student protests. The CPC’s Shanghai municipal committee soon afterward ordered the closure of *World Economic Herald*.

At a board meeting for the Beijing Social and Economic Research Institute on April 23 to evaluate the previous decade and the current situation, Chen Ziming said:

*Starting this year, or rather since the middle of last year, a trend has become increasingly popular. It could be said to have reached its high point over the past two days, but of course, it may rise even higher by May 4th.*

*Under these conditions, I think that even though some of our comrades will go to Tiananmen – and I think that all of us here will also go, including me – our main role is still as theoreticians. Arranging and organizing this kind of meeting puts the emphasis on clear thinking and stresses calmness while everyone else is becoming overheated.*

*China's independent intellectual class has already made history by standing up, and the next step of maturation requires an organizational process and a shift from political awareness to a powerful organized force... At present the intellectual class, especially its advanced elements, are facing an epochal task, which is whether the organizational process of the intellectual class can be accelerated to expedite a mutual accommodation with the government... constituting a new power to guide the people.*

After learning that CPC General Secretary Zhao Ziyang had been dismissed, and that Premier Li Peng had decided to impose martial law on Beijing and might even send PLA troops to clear Tiananmen Square, Chen Ziming hoped to remedy the situation by pulling it onto a trajectory of constitutional reform, and joined with Zhou Tuo, Yang Baikui and others in writing and distributing a “Letter to the People”:

*We strongly demand: 1) that a meeting of the NPC Standing Committee be convened immediately to dismiss Li Peng from his position as Premier; 2) that a special session of CPC National Party Congress be convened immediately to elect a Party General Secretary.*

On May 23, the Capital Patriotic All-Sector Joint Liaison Group for Protection of the Constitution was established. Wang Juntao was made frontline coordinator, and Chen Ziming was in charge of the rear line, organizing the distribution of theoretical articles and preparing to respond to the government crackdown with a withdrawal from the square.

After the June 4th Massacre, the Beijing Social and Economic Research Institute was shut down, its staff disbanded and its assets seized. On June 24, the Ministry of Public Security issued a warrant for the arrest of Chen Ziming and six others accused of being “back-stage plotters and directors of the counterrevolutionary riots in Beijing”. Chen evaded arrest for more than four

months until he and his wife, Wang Zhihong, were detained in Guangzhou on October 10. On February 12, the Beijing Intermediate People's Court found Chen Ziming and Wang Juntao guilty of "conspiring to subvert the government" and "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement", and each was sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment, the heaviest sentences imposed on students and scholars who took part in the 1989 Pro-democracy Movement.

While Chen was serving his sentence, a collection of his writings, *Chen Ziming Reflects on Ten Years of Reform*, was published in Hong Kong, along with his translation of Bryan Magee's *Karl Popper* under the pseudonym He Minghong.

Chen was released on medical parole in May 1994, and soon afterward learned that he had cancer. In 1995, he published *Between Life and Death – The Prison Letters of Chen Ziming and Wang Zhihong*, and signed two open letters offering opinions on corruption and the scrapping of the Custody and Repatriation system, which led to his being re-jailed in June.

Chen was released on medical parole again in November 1996 but remained under house arrest, and he was kept under tight surveillance even after completing his sentence in October 2002.

Chen helped He Jiadong establish the *Reform and Construction* website in May 2004, but it was shut down in August 2005. Chen joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in March 2006. He is the author of a number of works in China's political development, and his *Collected Works* were published in 12 volumes in Hong Kong in 2010. Chen Ziming died of cancer on October 21, 2014.

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## Case No. 50 (1996): Hada Jailed over Self-Determination



*Hada (November 29, 1955 - ), a Mongolian editor, scholar and social activist, was sentenced in 1996 to 15 years' imprisonment on charges of "splitting the country" and "espionage" for organizing activities related to ethnic self-determination and autonomy, and for writing and publishing related materials.*

Hada was born to a Mongolian peasant family in Horchin Right Wing Front Banner in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. He was admitted to the Inner Mongolian Teacher's College for Nationalities as a student of Mongolian language and literature in 1979. After graduating in 1983, he was assigned work as an editor in the Mongolian political theory section of the Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House House in Huhhot and also began publishing articles on political theory in Mongolian.

In 1986, he became a graduate student at Inner Mongolian Normal University, where he studied the philosophy of Marxism and obtained a master's degree in politics in 1989. Later that year, Hada and his wife, Xinna, were given official permission to open the Mongolian Academic Bookstore, which *Guangming Daily* praised as the "home of Mongolian learning" right up until Hada's arrest in December 1995.

In May 1989, Hada and his graduate school classmate Tegexi and others established the Mongolian Culture Rescue Committee, which at its first central committee meeting on May 25, 1992, was renamed the Southern Mongolian Democracy Alliance, with Hada elected chairman. Hada was reelected chairman at the Alliance's second central committee meeting on September 4, 1994, and Tegexi, who by then was an official in the foreign affairs office of the autonomous region government, was elected vice-chairman. The Alliance established and edited a magazine called *The Voice of Southern Mongolia*, for which Hada wrote many articles.

Hada went on to write a book entitled *The Way Out for the Southern Mongols*, in which he depicted decades of Inner Mongolia's history under Chinese rule, including the harm caused by multiple government-instigated political movements, Han migration and birth control policies. He appealed for Mongolians to defend their civil rights under China's Constitution, and proposed:

*Demarcating a significant portion of Inner Mongolia's 1.18 million square kilometers of land to establish a genuine Mongolian Ethnic Autonomous Country.*

*Carrying out a resolute, thorough and persevering struggle against the Han rulers and ultimately and thoroughly overturning their brutal domination.*

On August 23, 1995, the Southern Mongolian Democracy Alliance held its third central committee meeting and amended its constitution to read:

*This Alliance is a secret organization for the purpose of opposing Han colonial rule and fighting for self-determination, freedom and democracy for Southern Mongolia.*

*Short-term goal – using peaceful means to establish a Southern Mongolia Autonomous Country on a portion of Inner Mongolian soil. Long-term goal – to merge with Mongolia.*

Hada was reelected chairman and appointed Tegexi as propaganda head.

In winter 1995, the Southern Mongolian Democracy Alliance organized a strike by Mongolian students and teachers at Hohhot's universities and colleges, and held several street protests demanding the implementation of constitutional

rights and the drafting of a Basic Law granting genuine autonomy to Inner Mongolia. The authorities used armed force to suppress the movement.

On the evening of December 10, local public security police detained Hada and searched his home and book store. He was formally arrested on March 9, 1996, and on August 19, the Hohhot Municipal People's Procuratorate indicted Hada and Tegexi on charges of "conspiring to subvert the government; separatism; stealing, obtaining and providing intelligence for the enemy; and organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary clique".

In a closed trial, the Hohhot Intermediate People's Court on November 11, 1996, found Hada and Tegexi guilty of "planning, organizing and leading the reactionary 'Southern Mongolian Democracy Alliance,' the objective of which is splitting the country". The verdict cited as evidence the Alliance's constitution and Hada's *The Way Out for the Southern Mongols*, in which he was said to have "comprehensively and systematically elaborated on his ethnic separatist thinking". Hada was also accused of selling a photocopy of a document, issued by the CPC Committee of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, to a "Mongolian intelligence agent" for US\$1,000. It was alleged that "this material was published in overseas newspapers and magazines, resulting in an extremely bad political influence internationally".

Hada was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for separatism and 10 years for espionage, with the sentences combined for a total of 15 years' imprisonment and an additional four years' deprivation of political rights. Tegexi was also convicted of separatism and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and an additional three years' deprivation of political rights.

On December 26, 1996, the Supreme People's Court of Inner Mongolia rejected appeals filed by Hada and Tegexi and upheld their convictions. Hada was incarcerated in the Inner Mongolia No. 4 Prison in Chi Feng, where he was reported to have suffered repeated physical abuse due to his refusal to admit guilt. Tegexi was released three years early for good behavior in December 2002.

Hada's sentence finished on December 10, 2012, but he was reported transferred to an undisclosed location in Hohhot under house arrest. Prior to this, Hada's wife, Xinna, and son, Uiles, were also detained on trumped-up charges and were placed under formal arrest on January 17, 2011. Uiles was

released on bail after 10 months, and Xinna was handed a suspended three-year sentence for operating an “illegal business” on April 23, 2012. That same day, Hada was sent back to his native place under house arrest. All three family members were kept under close surveillance and prevented from contacting the outside world. Hada suffered from gastric ulcers and coronary heart disease, and his health was reported to have deteriorated under the abusive conditions of his custody.

PEN International and its centers, along with other human rights groups, have continued to express concern regarding Hada, considering him a typical case of the Chinese government’s violation of freedom of expression, publication, association, assembly and other basic rights. The Independent Chinese PEN Center awarded Hada its second Liu Xiaobo Courage to Write Award in 2011. Hada was finally released on December 9, 2014.

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## Case No. 51 (1997): Chen Wei

### Struggling Tirelessly



*Chen Wei (February 21, 1969- ), a freelance writer and social activist, was imprisoned for five years for “counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement” relating to commemoration of the third anniversary of the June 4th Massacre.*

Chen Wei was born in Suining, Sichuan Province, the second of four children of workers at the Suining Textile Factory. After graduating from Suining Middle School, Chen was admitted to the Beijing Institute of Technology in 1988 as a student of mechanical engineering.

The following April, Chen and several classmates organized a committee to join the wide-spread mourning for the passing of ousted CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang. When the memorial activities developed into street protests against corruption and demanding democracy, Chen and his classmates organized an Autonomous Students’ Union at the Beijing Institute of Technology, and 4,000 students from the Institute took part in the mass protest by university students on April 27. Chen Wei was the coordinator for 55 students who joined the student hunger strike in Tiananmen Square on May 13.

After the June 4th Massacre, Chen Wei returned to his native Suining, where he met up with a student from Renmin University, Liu Xianbin, and began planning the establishment of an underground University Autonomous

Federation. Before they could take further action, however, both were arrested, and after three months in Suining's Lingquansi Detention Center, Chen was transferred to Beijing's Qincheng Prison.

On October 31, 1990, the Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate indicted Chen Wei for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement", but in mid-December 1990, the Beijing Intermediate People's Court ordered his release and exempted him from further legal action. He was nevertheless suspended indefinitely from the Institute of Technology.

In 1992, Chen joined the China Freedom and Democracy Party recently established by Hu Shigen, a lecturer at Beijing Language and Culture University, and he took part in preparations to commemorate the third anniversary of June 4th Massacre. He was arrested on May 29, and after being held for two-and-a-half years, he was sentenced on December 16, 1994, to five years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement". His appeal was rejected, and he was transferred to Nanchong Prison in Sichuan Province to serve out his sentence.

Chen Wei was released on completing his sentence on May 28, 1997. The following year, he joined Liu Xianbin, Hu Mingjun, Ouyang Yi and others in launching the Sichuan branch of the China Democracy Party and took part in preparations for a Sichuan branch of China Human Rights Watch. Liu and the others were subsequently arrested in a government crackdown, and while Chen's lower profile allowed him to escape arrest, he remained under police surveillance and harassment and found it impossible to make a living.

In October 2000, Chen married Wang Xiaoyan, and that same month took over as chief editor of *Suining Culture*, which had been established a few months earlier. After publishing a brief article on Gao Xingjian winning the Nobel Prize in Literature, the magazine was closed down. Chen's daughter was born in March 2002, and in 2004, he helped establish the Suining Advertising Association and became its deputy secretary general.

Following a three-year reduction on his 13-year sentence, Liu Xianbin was released from prison in November 2008, and Chen Wei joined him among the first group of signatories of Charter 08. After the main drafter of the Charter, Liu Xiaobo, was detained on December 8, Chen Wei continued promoting the

movement and organized aid efforts for jailed rights defenders and their families.

Chen began publishing commentaries and memoirs on overseas websites in March 2009, and when Liu Xianbin was arrested again in June 2010, Chen organized aid efforts on his behalf.

As “Arab Spring” broke out and spread through northern Africa, China responded with a “Jasmine Revolution”. Chen Wei was detained in the first round of official crackdowns on February 20, and on December 23, the Suining Intermediate People’s Court sentenced him to nine years’ imprisonment for inciting subversion of state power. As evidence, the verdict cited articles by Chen posted on the Internet over the previous two years, and seven sentences in particular:

*People have been deprived of their freedom of thought and belief.*

*The CPC uses the apparatus of violence to control the people.*

*It is the enemy of democracy.*

*Everyone clearly perceives the inhuman nature of the CPC.*

*The death knell of one-party dictatorship has sounded.*

*Use street resistance to promote civil politics.*

*This system must be changed.*

After the court handed down his sentence, Chen Wei cried out, “I’m innocent!” and “Constitutional democracy will prevail and autocracy will perish!”

At the time of writing, Chen Wei remained incarcerated in Jialing Prison in Nanchong City, Sichuan Province, with his sentence due for completion in February 2020.

In June 2011, exiled participants in the 1989 Student Movement selected Chen Wei for the 11th China Youth Human Rights Award. PEN International and other rights groups have expressed strong concern for Chen, and he was awarded the Liu Xiaobo Courage to Write Award in 2011.

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## **Case No. 52 (1998): Zhao Changqing Inciting Subversion through Elections**



*Zhao Changqing (April 6, 1969 - ), a teacher, freelance writer, editor and social activist, was arrested in 1998 after he reported illegal activity during a local election in which he was a candidate. Sentenced to three years' imprisonment for "inciting subversion of state power", Zhao was the first person convicted of that offence following the amendment of relevant criminal laws in 1997.*

### **Participant in the 1989 Democracy Movement**

Zhao Changqing was born in rural Shanyang County, Shaanxi Province, and lost his father when he was only four years old. After graduating from secondary school, Zhao was admitted to Shaanxi Normal University as a student of history in September 1988.

Zhao began participating in the 1989 Democracy Movement the day after ousted CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang died. He helped establish the Autonomous Students' Union of Shaanxi Normal University on May 16, and took charge of publicity for the union.

After Beijing declared martial law on May 19, 1989, Zhao Changqing helped organize more than 4,000 people at his university for a protest march the following day. He then resigned from the Autonomous Students' Union and

established a Beijing Support Team, which arrived in Beijing on May 23 and joined the newly-established Autonomous Federation of Students of Provincial Tertiary Institutions, with Zhao serving as secretary of the liaison department.

Following the Beijing Massacre, Zhao was arrested on June 7 and beaten by martial law troops, and on June 13 the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau sent him to Qincheng Prison. On September 25, the Security Section at Shaanxi Normal University took him back to the school and released him.

After graduating in July 1992, Zhao was assigned to teach in a school for the dependents of employees of the No. 813 factory of China National Nuclear Corporation in Nanzheng County, Shaanxi Province. In April 1993, the Shaanxi Provincial Public Security Bureau opened an investigation file on Zhao.

On the eve of the 15<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CPC in August 1997, Zhao Changqing wrote “An Open Letter to the CPC Central Committee and All CPC Provincial Committees on Reforming the Political System and Embarking on the Road to Democracy”, in which he detailed “the enormous harm that the communist political system has inflicted on the country, the people and on the CPC itself”, and expounded on the importance of a democratic system for the country, the people, the modernization of China and the future of the Chinese Nation. He urged the CPC to follow international trends, and in particular the example of Taiwan’s KMT, by implementing democratic reform as soon as possible. He proposed six specific reforms, as well as a reassessment of the June 4th Incident, the release of political prisoners Wei Jingshen, Wang Dan and others, the restoration of Zhao Zhiyang’s political freedom, allowing exiled dissidents to return to China, amending the Electoral Law, allowing democratic elections for people’s congress deputies and chief executives at the county and city level, and other recommendations totaling 16,000 words. He sent this letter to the CPC’s Central Committee and its provincial, municipal and autonomous region committees.

### **Participating in a people’s congress election**

On December 23, 1997, Zhao Changqing declared his candidacy as an “independent” in the election for the People’s Congress of Nanzheng County.

Obtaining the signatures of 61 voters from the No. 813 factory, he was listed among the factory's first group of candidates.

On January 6, 1998, Zhao distributed an open letter entitled "Popular Will is Truth" as a campaign leaflet, while also announcing the results of a survey he'd carried out among factory workers the previous month regarding various problems at the factory, and describing the obstruction he had faced during the survey process. Apart from targeting the four official candidates that the "leading electoral group" had lined up through their "mulling and consultation", he continued his candidacy as an independent, and on January 11 distributed his "Second Open Letter to All Employees of the No. 813 Factory: For the Sake of Conscience, I Request Your Support", which exposed the leading electoral group's violations of the Electoral Law. During the electoral process, Zhao Changqing encountered pressure and harassment from all sides. In a meeting for the factory's mid and high-level cadres, certain leaders openly criticized Zhao for his background in the 1989 student movement, and said that his candidacy "carried a banner of legitimacy to engage in an open test of strength against CPC".

The day before the election on January 14, Zhao was summoned to the branch office of the Hanzhong Municipal Public Security Bureau and detained while his house was searched. On election day, the factory sent a ballot box to the Public Security Bureau for Zhao to vote, and after he was released in the afternoon, he was placed under "residential surveillance" for "suspicion of endangering state security". Because pressure from factory management led many voters to abstain, no candidates received enough votes to be elected to the two deputy seats. Although Zhao's name was not included on the formal ballot, and dozens of write-in ballots for him were disqualified due to errors, he still placed second with more than 960 votes, only a few dozen less than the leading formal candidate, and 200 votes more than the formal candidate who placed third. In an effort to prevent him from being elected, the authorities nullified the stipulation in the Electoral Law that there should be a second balloting, and as a result, the factory lost two seats in the county people's congress, with the county merely appointing one of the factory's cadres as a nonvoting deputy.

On January 19, The Hanzhong Municipal Public Security Bureau summoned Zhao, and he was placed under criminal detention for 30 days

before being released under residential surveillance, while the school dismissed him. On March 25, Zhao was formally arrested by the Hangzhong Municipal National Security Bureau, and when he was interrogated, the police acknowledged that his participation in the election was legal, and applied the charge to the open letter to the CPC Central Committee that he'd written the previous August. On July 10, Zhao was tried in a closed session before the Hanzhong Municipal Intermediate People's Court. On July 25, the Court ruled:

*Disregarding China's law and using freedom of expression as a pretext, Zhao Changqing wrote the open letter "Reform the Governance System and Embark on the Road to Democracy", attacking the communist system as endangering the country, the people, China's modernization and democratization, and the future of the Chinese nation, and inciting multi-party politics to drive the CPC out of power; he disseminated it to reactionary publications and organizations overseas, and made contact with hostile organizations abroad.*

On that basis, Zhao was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for inciting subversion of state power. It was the first verdict made on the offence, which was in fact just a new name for the offence of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" that had been eradicated along with other "counterrevolutionary offences" under the amendment of the Criminal Law in 1997.

In September 1998, Zhao Changqing was sent to Shaanxi's Hanzhong Prison to serve out his sentence, and was dismissed from his job at the No. 813 factory.

### **Open letter signature campaign**

Following completion of his sentence at the end of February 2001, Zhao was sent back to his native Shanyang County. Soon after that, he found work in Xi'an, first at the dean's office of the privately run Xijing University, and then at *Life Guidance* magazine.

On April 26, 2002, Yang Jianli, the chairman of the US-based Foundation for China in the 21st Century, was arrested after returning to China under an

assumed name to investigate a wave of labor protests in the northeast. On June 28, Zhao Changqing drafted “Our Appeal to Restore the Freedom of Yang Jianli and All ‘Prisoners of Conscience’”, which he sent through the internet to Liu Qing, executive chairman of the US-based organization Human Rights in China. The document was subsequently published in the August edition of *Beijing Spring* as an open letter by 170 Chinese dissidents.

Beginning in the latter half of August 2002, Zhao Changqing published political and news commentaries on the US-based *Democracy Forum* website, and wrote a “(Draft) Manifesto of the Chinese Citizen’s Movement” while soliciting opinions from friends. In October, he amended an open letter drafted by Sichuan democracy activist Ouyang Yi entitled “Welcoming a Convening of the 16th Congress of the Ruling Party that will ‘Progress with the Times’ and Push Forward Democratic Politics”, and collected signatures from 192 people all over China. The open letter, published by Human Rights in China on November 5, included six main recommendations:

*Reassess the 1989 Pro-democracy Movement and compensate those killed or injured in the crackdown.*

*Allow political exiles to return to China.*

*Restore Zhao Ziyang’s political rights and release him from house arrest.*

*Release all prisoners of conscience and guarantee the protection of human rights.*

*Push the National People’s Congress to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which China has already signed, and start the process of bringing domestic law into conformity with this and other international treaties that China has already ratified.*

*Expand the system of democratic elections from the villages and municipalities to national elections.<sup>19</sup>*

Two days later, Zhao was secretly detained by the Domestic Security Defense branch of the Xi’an Municipal Public Security Bureau under provincial authorization.

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<sup>19</sup> TN: See the HRIC press release, “Nearly 200 Dissidents Petition China’s 16th Party Congress with Political Demands,” November 5, 2002, <http://www.hrichina.org/content/2510>; full text of open letter in Chinese, <http://www.hrichina.org/hk/content/2569>.

On August 4, 2002, the Xi'an Municipal Intermediate People's Court determined that Zhao Changqing had published on the *Democracy Forum* website the essay "A Beautiful and Glorious Dream", which "vilified the Chinese regime as a 'totalitarian autocracy,' and clamored for 'fostering an America in the East,'" and had "libeled the Chinese government", "vilified the CPC's handling of the 'June 4th' incident as 'causing a large number of patriotic democratic youth and peaceful citizens to become victims of violence, suffer imprisonment or seek refuge abroad,'" and spread slanderous rumors that "Chinese society is on the brink of crisis from all directions"; that he "wrote the 'Manifesto of the Chinese Citizens' Movement,' which is programmatic and organizational in character, and openly proposed 'to take on the task of establishing a modern civil society in order to end the communist totalitarian system'"; that on November 3, "upon learning the news that Sichuan's Pu Yong had died of illness, he contacted 28 people throughout China to sign an 'urgent appeal' posted on the Internet to the effect that the Chinese government was persecuting 'political prisoners,' so as to damage the Chinese government's image"; and that "Zhao Changqing's behavior constitutes the crime of inciting subversion of state power; he is a recidivist offender and should be harshly punished in accordance with law". On that basis, the court sentenced Zhao to five years' imprisonment with an additional three years' deprivation of political rights. Zhao was then escorted to Shaanxi's Weinan Prison to serve out his sentence.

While in prison, Zhao was repeatedly subjected to the abuses of "strict management" due to his refusal to admit guilt or accept discipline. He was held in solitary confinement for a total of ten months.

PEN International and other rights organizations expressed concern over Zhao's case, considering his conviction a typical case of violating freedom of expression. The Independent Chinese PEN center adopted him as an Honorary Member in December 2005.

Zhao was released upon completion of his sentence on November 27, 2007. Starting in 2008, he began working as an editor at *Chinese Businessman* (*Huashang*) magazine, while also contributing memoirs and political and news commentary to *Beijing Spring*, *Democratic China*, *Boxun*, *Democracy Forum*, *Chinaeweekly* and other overseas Chinese media. In December 2008, Zhang

was among the first batch of 308 signatories to Charter 08. He moved to Beijing for work in 2009, and in June 2010, he joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center. He was detained for eight days in October 2010 for celebrating the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to imprisoned ICPC president Liu Xiaobo.

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## Case No. 53 (1999): Wu, Mao, Zhu and Xu Jailed for or Editing Opposition Party



(From left) Wu Yilong, Mao Qingxiang, Zhu Yufu and Xu Guang

*Wu Yilong (May 1, 1967-), Mao Qingxiang (January 1, 1949-), Zhu Yufu (February 13, 1953-) and Xu Guang (September 11, 1968-), writers, editors and social activists, were imprisoned in 1999 for involvement in a political party and editing the magazine Opposition Party.*

### Wu Yilong

Wu Yilong was born in Congyang County, Anhui Province. In 1991, he graduated from Anhui University with a degree in Chinese Literature and was assigned a teaching position at Anhui's Guichi Normal School. In 1993, he founded the magazine '93, and was also deputy chief editor of *Newly Compiled Lectures on Literary Theory*. After enrolling at Hangzhou University for a Master's degree in Chinese Literary and Art Theory in 1996, Wu organized a study club and in 1998 began editing the club's flagship magazine, *Student and Scholar*.

In June that same year, Wu Yilong joined Wang Youcai and Zhu Zhengmin in establishing a Zhejiang Preparatory Committee for the China Democracy Party (CDP). They worked with Wang Donghai and Lin Hui to draft a party constitution, and from August onward traveled all over China to establish more local preparatory committees for the party. In September, they began

publishing the magazine *Opposition Party*. After Wang Youcai and others were placed under house arrest, Wu, Zhu Zhengming, Zhu Yufu and Mao Qingxiang took over preparatory work for CDP, and Wu was elected a liaison person for the National Preparatory Committee of the CDP in November. Wu then began contacting the relevant government departments to formally register the National Committee of CDP.

On January 19, 1999, Wu was expelled from Zhejiang University just as he was preparing to graduate, and a series of detentions and house arrests followed until he, Mao, Zhu and Xu were formally arrested on September 15.

On November 2, 1999, the Hangzhou Intermediate People's Court found Wu Yilong, Mao Qingxiang, Zhu Yufu and Xu Guang guilty of "subversion of state power", and Wu was sentenced to 11 years imprisonment. His appeal was rejected, and he was sent to the Zhejiang Province No. 4 Prison in Hangzhou's Yuhang District.

In June 2010, students from the 1989 Democracy Movement in exile awarded Wu Yilong their China Youth Human Rights Award. Following his release from prison on September 14, Wu resumed his writing and social activism. He joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in August 2011 and was presented with the Liu Xiaobo Courage to Write Award in 2012.

## **Mao Qingxiang**

Mao Qingxiang was born in Zhuji County, Zhejiang Province. He graduated from middle school in 1968 and joined the army. After completing his tour of duty in 1971, he was assigned work at the Hangzhou Magnet Factory.

During the April Fifth Movement in 1976, Mao posted his first poem on a wall near the Hangzhou Municipal Government offices (it was subsequently included in *Selected April Fifth Poems*, published by the China Youth Press). He was arrested at the end of June, but was released and rehabilitated after the fall of the Gang of Four in October.

At the end of 1978, Mao took part in Hangzhou's Democracy Wall Movement and edited a number of independent magazines, as well as joining the National Association of Independent Magazines.

Mao married Hu Xiaoling in April 1981, and the couple spent their honeymoon visiting colleagues in private publishing circles all over China. Mao was arrested that August and sentenced to three years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement".

Following his release from prison, Mao engaged in business, and was operating a photographic studio in Hangzhou when the 1989 Student Movement began. He joined with friends to buy food and other supplies for students who gathered in the city's Wulin Square.

Mao helped establish the Zhejiang Preparatory Committee for the CDP in June 1998, as well as its flagship magazine *Opposition Party* in September. He was also elected to the CDP's National Preparatory Committee. Mao was placed under house arrest in June 1999 before being tried with the others and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for "subversion of state power".

Mao was released upon completion of his sentence on September 14, 2007.

### **Zhu Yufu**

Zhu Yufu was born in Shangyu County, Zhejiang Province. In June 1971, he began working at the Hangzhou Botanical Garden while teaching himself art design. He contributed illustrations to *Selected Tree Species for Urban Greenification* and helped with sculpturing work for the West Lake Scenic District.

Zhu joined Hangzhou's Democracy Wall Movement at the end of 1978 and published *April Fifth Magazine*. He went on to study Chinese Literature at the Hangzhou College of Education, and in 1988 became head of the Trade Union Work Committee at the Housing Administration of Jianggan District in Hangzhou.

When the student movement began in 1989, Zhu Yufu filmed hunger-striking students and showed the films at his work unit, while also helping to organize protests. As a result, the local Public Security Bureau placed him under investigation, and he lost his job and was transferred to basic manual labor.

On June 30, 1998, Zhu was arrested for helping to establish the Zhejiang Preparatory Committee of the CDP and distributing its manifesto, but was

released within 48 hours after Mary Robinson, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, took up his case. He was placed under house arrest from July to September, after which he helped establish and edit *Opposition Party* and resumed his participation in preparatory work for the Zhejiang branch of the CDP. He was elected a liaison person for the CDP's National Preparatory Committee that November.

After posting numerous articles on political subjects and human rights on the Internet, Zhu was detained in June 1999 and ultimately sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for "subversion of state power". Zhu was due for release on September 14, 2006, but was held for an extra day for protesting that nearly three months of pre-arrest detention was not treated as time served. Following his release, he continued to publish dissenting essays and was constantly harassed by the police.

On April 18, 2007, police came to Zhu's home to arrest a visiting friend, Hu Junxiong. When Hu refused to open the door, police began beating Zhu's son, and when Zhu came to his son's aid, he was arrested. On July 10, Hangzhou's Shangcheng District Court sentenced Zhu to two years imprisonment for "obstructing official business".

Zhu was released upon completing his sentence in April 2009, and he joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center the following June.

Zhu was arrested again on March 5, 2011, after posting a poem, "It's Time", on the Internet and encouraging people to take part in the Jasmine Revolution. On February 10, 2011, the Hangzhou Municipal Intermediate People's Court sentenced Zhu to seven years' imprisonment for inciting subversion of state power.

## **Xu Guang**

Xu Guang was born in Fuyang County, Zhejiang Province. In 1986, he became involved in the Student Movement while studying biology at Hangzhou University. During the 1989 Democracy Movement, Xu represented his university in the Zhejiang Student Federation. After graduating in 1990, he became an environmental protection monitor in Fuyang City.

Xu helped establish the Zhejiang Preparatory Committee of the CDP in June 1998, and became a contributor to *Opposition Party*, while also drafting the declaration of the CDP's Fuyang City Preparatory Committee. He was detained on June 23, 1999, and on November 2 was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for "subversion of state power".

Following his release on September 14, 2004, Xu Guang established a private company offering environmental services.

PEN International has closely followed the cases of all four men, and in December 2005, the Independent Chinese PEN Center made Wu Yilong, Mao Qingxiang and Zhu Yufu honorary members. All four men have continued writing and posting articles on the Internet and participating in rights defense activities, as a result of which they suffer constant police harassment and are placed under house arrest during politically sensitive periods such as the anniversary of the June 4th Massacre, the annual NPC and CPPCC sessions and PRC National Day.

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## Case No. 54 (2000): Tohti Tunyaz Imprisoned for Historical Research



*Tohti Tunyaz (October 1, 1959-), an Uyghur historian and writer, was sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment in 2000 for "endangering state security" after collecting and publishing material on the history of Xinjiang.*

Tohti Tunyaz was born in Aksu Prefecture of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. After graduating with a degree in History from the Central Institute of Nationalities (now Minzu University of China) in Beijing, he was assigned a job in the office of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, where he worked closely with Xinjiang governors Seyfuddin Eziz and Ismail Emet and helped translate Seyfuddin's works.

Tohti was invited to Tokyo University as a visiting scholar in 1994, and in 1995 he started his PhD research on Uyghur history and ethnic relations. While living in Japan, he sometimes collected research material while in China for family visits, and he published his first book in China, *Research on Uyghur History and Culture*, in 1995, as well as essays on Japanese research on Uyghur culture. He published articles on Uyghur issues in Japan as well.

On February 6, 1998, Tohti was detained while visiting family in Urumqi. He was accused of accepting funding from overseas Uyghur separatists and anti-China elements and of using his home visits to collect large quantities of state secrets, as well as posing as a state cadre and offering bribes to obtain

confidential documents and official files and take them out of the country for foreign organizations. He was also accused of publishing subversive articles in Japan and of planning to publish them in a book entitled *Behind the Silk Road*, the content of which allegedly incited separatism. The prosecution produced part of the Japanese manuscript in court and claimed it had been published in Japan in 1998, but no record of such a book has been found to date. On March 10, 1999, the Urumqi Municipal Intermediate Court sentenced Tohti to five years imprisonment for “illegally obtaining state secrets” and seven years for “inciting separatism” for a combined sentence of 11 years. Tohti’s appeal was rejected and he was sent to the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region No. 3 Prison in Urumqi to serve out his sentence.

After a full-scale investigation, the United Nations Human Rights Commission’s Working Group on Arbitrary Detention on December 2001 determined that Tohti had been arbitrarily detained in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, but the Chinese authorities ignored international public opinion and China’s international obligations. Because Tohti refused to admit guilt, he was deprived of visits from his wife and other family members right up until his release on February 10, 2009.

Tohti’s wife, who lives with their child in Japan and has obtained Japanese citizenship, has repeatedly applied to the Chinese authorities to allow Tohti to rejoin his family in Japan, where he could also receive medical treatment and continue his studies at Tokyo University, but the authorities have not granted permission.

According to information obtained by the PEN International, the Chinese authorities have provided Tohti with a new job and have promised to allow his wife to rejoin him in China, but his freedom of speech and movement are still limited, and he is not allowed free communication or travel.

PEN International and other rights organizations consider this a typical case of the Chinese authorities violating freedom of speech, academic freedom and other basic human rights. Tohti Tunyaz has been adopted as an honorary member of many PEN centers, and PEN American Center awarded Tohti its PEN/Barbara Goldsmith Freedom to Write Award in 2002.

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## **Case No. 55 (2001): Xu Zerong Convicted for Breaking Prohibition**



*Xu Zerong (aka David Tsui, January 14, 1951-), a scholar, writer, translator and publisher, was sentenced in 2001 to 13 years' imprisonment on trumped-up charges after being detained a year and half for collecting, exchanging and publishing sensitive material and engaging in independent publication.*

Xu Zerong was born in Wuhan, Hubei Province, the third of four children of two senior military cadres. Xu spent part of his youth in Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, and in Guangzhou when his parents were stationed there.

The Cultural Revolution interrupted Xu's middle schooling, and after completing studies at Guangzhou's Foreign Language School at the end of 1968, he was sent to work at a rubber tree plantation on Hainan Island. In 1974, he was recommended as a "worker-peasant-soldier student" to study at Guangzhou Metallurgy School, and following his graduation in 1977, he was assigned a job with the Guangzhou Metallurgy Bureau.

When the Cultural Revolution ended and university entrance exams resumed, Xu Zerong was admitted as a student of International Politics at Fudan University in Shanghai in September 1977. Following his graduation in 1982, he was assigned to the History department of Sun Yat-sen University. The following year he pursued graduate studies at Harvard University.

In November 1984, Xu was sent to work in the research office of the Xinhua News Agency branch in Hong Kong. He translated and published Michael Schaller's *The United States and China in the Twentieth Century* in 1985, and that same year, he resigned from Xinhua and began graduate studies in the Government and Public Administration department of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He obtained his MA in 1989 with his thesis "The Armed Struggle between China and the Communist Party of Thailand".

In October 1985, Xu Zerong began graduate studies at St. Anthony College of Oxford University, and in 1991 he obtained an MA in International Relations with his thesis "China's Decision to Enter the Korean War: Motivations and Objectives".

In 1993, Xu established the Hong Kong Social Sciences Service Center in Hong Kong, as well as Asia Science Publishing House, which published *China Social Sciences Quarterly* and *Asia Review*, two magazines filled with treatises on politics, humanities and social sciences subjects. In 1999, Xu published his doctoral thesis on *Chinese Military Intervention in the Korean War* and earned his PhD in International Relations from Oxford University, and later that year Xu moved to Guangzhou to serve as a research fellow of the Guangzhou Academy of Social Sciences and as a guest associate professor at East Asia Institute of Sun Yat-sen University. In June 2000, Xu was secretly detained by National Security police in Shenzhen and he was formally arrested on July 29.

After nearly 18 months in detention, Xu was tried in secret at the Shenzhen Municipal Intermediate People's Court. The court found that beginning in 1992, Xu had used the pretext of writing his PhD thesis to borrow four volumes of a book published for internal distribution, *A Summary of the Experience of the War to Resist America and Support Korea*, which he photocopied, microfilmed and then carried to Hong Kong, and that he had caused his ex-wife, Yuan Qiuxun, to mail a photocopy of the book along with microfilms of battle maps from Hong Kong to the head of the Korean Strategic Institute in return for a payment of US\$2,500 (in fact, the cost of reproduction), and that this material had been subsequently classified as top secret documents by the State Secrets Committee of the PLA Guangzhou Military Region. In addition, the court found that Xu had published 25 books and periodicals in Shenzhen in the name of the Hong Kong Social Sciences Service Center, Hong Kong Social Sciences

Publishing House and Asia Science Publishing House, through which he earned 330,000 *yuan*, and the Shenzhen Municipal Publications Assessment Committee had classified all of these publications as illegal.

On this basis, Xu was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for "illegally providing intelligence overseas" and five years for "illegal business", for a combined sentence of 13 years' imprisonment and a fine of 50,000 *yuan*. His appeal was rejected.

Xu Zerong's case sent shock waves through the domestic and overseas academic community, because there was irrefutable evidence showing that the real reason for Xu's arrest and heavy punishment was the publication of his published writings – in particular an article published in Hong Kong-based *Asia Weekly* (Yazhou Zhoukan) just before his arrest concerning a secret radio transmitter in Hunan Province that had been used to communicate with the Communist Party of Malaya during unrest in the Malay Peninsula in the 1970s and early 1980s. Oxford University appealed on Xu's behalf, as did more than 300 famous China scholars, who signed a petition demanding that the Chinese government exonerate Xu in line with its commitments to international covenants on academic freedom.

PEN International and other international human rights organizations likewise considered Xu Zerong's case a prime example of the Chinese authorities violating the basic human rights to academic freedom and freedom of information and publication. Xu was adopted as an honorary member of several PEN centers, and was awarded the Independent Chinese PEN Center's Writers in Prison Award in 2009.

Xu did not give up his scholarship while in prison, and persevered with his research and writing in spite of his poor living environment, deteriorating health and shortage of reference materials.

On June 23, 2011, Xu Zerong was released with a two-year sentence reduction, and after attending an ICPC celebration in Hong Kong, he became a visiting scholar at Oxford and Harvard. Apart from his own writings, Xu Zerong has translated many books by foreign scholars.

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## Case No. 56 (2002): Jiang Weiping Endangered for Muckraking



*Jiang Weiping (October 5, 1955-), a journalist, calligrapher and writer, was sentenced in 2002 to six years' imprisonment for "endangering state security" after publishing articles in Hong Kong magazines on the corrupt acts of Bo Xilai and other officials in northeastern China.*

Jiang Weiping was born in Dalian, Liaoning Province. He graduated from middle school in 1974, near the end of the Cultural Revolution, and was sent to labor at a farm in rural Xinjin County. In 1978, he was admitted to Liaoning University as a student of history, and then began publishing literary works.

Following his graduation in 1982, Jiang was assigned as editor and reporter for the art supplement of *Dalian Daily*. He was transferred to the Dalian branch of the Xinhua News Agency in 1987, and while working as a reporter he also published a novelette, *Secret Operation in the Dead of Night*, in *Chang'an Monthly*. Jiang's first collection of poetry, *The Great Wall and the Young Girl*, was published in December 1989, and another, *Into Your Dreams*, was published three years later. In 1993, Jiang became Northeastern Bureau chief and senior reporter for the Hong Kong pro-Beijing newspaper *Wen Wei Po*.

From 1997 onward, Jiang Weiping began publishing reportage under a variety of pen names in Hong Kong publications such as *Open Magazine (Kaifang)* and *Frontline (Qianshao)*. Many of the articles detailed corrupt activities by Dalian officials such as Bo Xilai as well as scandalous doings in

other parts of northeastern China. The reports attracted intense interest overseas and put the Chinese authorities under pressure, with the result that former Shenyang vice-mayor Ma Xiangdong was sentenced to death, and former Daqing mayor Qian Dihua was imprisoned for six years. Bo Xilai, however, continued to be promoted with the support of President Jiang Zemin; in 1999 Bo was appointed CPC secretary and major of Dalian, and the following year he became deputy secretary of the CPC Committee and acting governor of Liaoning Province.

On December 4, 2000, Jiang Weiping was secretly detained by the Bo Xilai-controlled Dalian National Security Bureau, and he was formally arrested on allegations of “endangering state security” on January 3, 2001. When his wife, Li Yanling, appealed for help on behalf of her husband, she was also taken into custody for 28 days. The Dalian Municipal People’s Procuratorate subsequently indicted Jiang on charges of “illegally providing state secrets overseas”, “inciting subversion of state power” and “illegally possessing state secrets”. On January 25, 2002, a closed session of the Dalian Municipal Intermediate People’s Court found Jiang Weiping guilty of the first two charges and sentenced him to eight years’ imprisonment and an additional five years’ deprivation of political rights. Jiang appealed against the verdict, and under international pressure the Liaoning Provincial Higher People’s Court delayed its verdict for nearly a year until finally reducing Jiang’s sentence to six years’ imprisonment and three years’ deprivation of political rights.

Jiang Weiping was held in a series of prisons and detention centers. When not engaging in forced labor, he studied *The Twenty-four Dynastic Histories* and taught himself English, while also keeping a diary and writing poetry, all of which were smuggled out of prison. His existing atrophic gastritis worsened, and he suffered from the skin pigment disorder vitiligo and arthritis.

Shortly before a visit to the United States by China’s new president Hu Jintao in January 2006, Jiang Weiping was released from prison 11 months early. By then, Jiang’s wife had immigrated to Canada with their daughter on a skilled worker visa, but because Jiang was still deprived of his political rights for three years, he remained under police surveillance and was repeatedly denied a passport. During this time, he supported himself by selling his calligraphy and left Dalian at the end of 2006 to live a vagrant life.

With the help of Takanori Kato, the head of the Shanghai branch of *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Jiang had a successful exhibition of more than 100 of his calligraphic works in Tokyo in spring 2008. He also wrote a 500,000-word memoir of his prison life and another book describing his life since leaving prison.

PEN International and other international rights organizations consider Jiang Weiping a typical case of infringement of press freedom, and he was adopted as an honorary member of several PEN centers. He received the International Press Freedom Award from the U.S.-based Committee to Project Journalists in 2001, and the One Humanity Award from Canadian PEN in 2006.

After Jiang Weiping completed his three years' deprivation of political rights, he was given permission to leave China, and with the special permission of Canada's Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, he joined his wife and daughter in Toronto on February 4, 2009. He has resumed publishing reports and commentary in Hong Kong and overseas media, and is a regular commentator for Radio Free Asia.

Jiang Weiping joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in June 2009. His book *The Story of Bo Xilai* was published in Hong Kong in October 2010, and he became a visiting scholar at Massey College at the University of Toronto in 2011.

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## **Case No. 57 (2003): Du Daobin**

### **Jailed for Internet Writings**



*Du Daobin (born Du Daohui, December 18, 1963-), a government official, Internet writer and freelancer, was arrested in 2003 for Internet writings and a year later was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for "inciting subversion of state power".*

#### **Member of the Xiaogan Prefectural Writers' Association**

Du Daobin was born in Hubei's Huangpi County (now the Huangpi District of Wuhan City), a son of two primary school teachers (a twin brother died at birth). His father was labeled a Rightist in 1957, and during the Cultural Revolution, the family went to live in a rural village, where his parents were sent to teach.

Du was admitted to the Hubei Provincial School of Light Industry in 1980, and after graduating in 1983, he was assigned a job with the Yingcheng City Environmental Protection Bureau, serving as a technician, engineer, secretary, Youth League secretary and office head in succession. In 1985, he began to take distance-learning courses in his spare time, and published verse and prose in a variety of publications and newspapers. He became a member of the Xiaogan Prefectural Writers' Association in 1987.

In 1988, Du Daobin was awarded a diploma in biological environmentalism from Huanggang Normal School. During the 1989 Democracy Movement, he

wrote many poems sympathizing with the student movement, and although the poems were never published, they were used as evidence against Du when he was later arrested.

### **Famous Internet Writer**

In 1997, Du was transferred to the System Reform Office of Yingcheng City, later becoming deputy section head of the Policy and Regulation Section of the Health Insurance Management Office. In 1999, he antagonized local officials by publishing an open letter to the CPC municipal committee complaining about excessive local revenue collection. He began publishing prolifically on several domestic websites in 2000.

On New Year's Day 2001, Du Daobin wrote a long letter to Jiang Zemin targeting Jiang's speech on New Year's Day and pointing out the need to address injustices in urban and rural tax policies. In July that year, he wrote another essay on Jiang's "utterly worthless" speech on July 1, the first essay to openly criticize Jiang's theory of "Three Represents". This essay was subsequently used as evidence against him. He went on to write several more articles on media and public policy issues that made him one of the most prominent writers on the Internet's Tianya Forum.

As the government began cracking down on online media in 2002, Du began publishing essays on overseas websites such as *New Century*, *Epoch Times*, *Observe China*, *Human and Human Rights* and *Beijing Spring*, as well as in print media in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

On June 27, 2002, the General Administration of Press and Publication and the Ministry of Information Industry jointly issued "Temporary Provisions for Internet Publication Management", which came into force on August 1 that year. On July 21, the lawyer Chen Yongmiao posted an appeal entitled "Defend Personal Websites" on the Guantian Teahouse website he ran, and Du Daobin responded on July 23 with a proposal to collect signatures for a letter condemning the GAPP and MII's violation of citizen's constitutional rights. After gaining widespread Netizen support, Chen and Du on July 26 jointly issued an "Open Letter to Defend Personal Websites and Challenge the Temporary Provisions for Internet Publication Management" that collected

nearly 200 signatures, and on August 6, they followed up with a new signature campaign condemning the government's violation of citizens' constitutional rights.

On August 30, 2002, Taiwan's *Central Daily News* reported, "Mainland political commentator Du Daobin has been silenced for criticizing the Chinese government", quoting two essays that Du had published that day:

*I am not loyal to the CPC regime; not only am I not loyal, but I am firmly opposed to it, and strongly oppose CPC sophistry and heresy.*

*Today's Communist Party is a stray dog that has lost its theoretical homeland. The only thing left for it to do is make a last-ditch attempt to extend the life of its vested interests.*

On November 7, 2002, Liu Di,<sup>a</sup> student at Beijing Normal University who posted comments under the name "Stainless Steel Rat" on the Internet, went missing after being detained by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, creating uproar in China and abroad. In February 2003, Du Daobin drafted an open letter to the NPC and CPPCC, which was signed by Wang Yi, Liu Xiaobo and more than ten others and published on November 28. From then on, Du Daobin came under investigation and harassment by the authorities. He published an essay entitled "Five Days under House Arrest" on March 9, and another on June 4 in which he wrote:

*Starting on May 15, Du Daobin has 'honored the agreement' by not publishing a single word overseas. I will continue to honor the agreement from today onward.*

However, Du went on to publish several more essays from June 15 onward targeting the increasing acclaim enjoyed by the Hu Jintao-Wen Jiabao regime at home and abroad:

*The honeymoon period that the "new Hu-Wen regime" has been enjoying for more than 100 days has been accompanied by unprecedented persecution of Internet freedom: Yang Zili and three others have been sentenced to lengthy prison terms, Huang Qi has been put on trial again, Liu Di remains in unlawful detention, and influential websites such as Beida Triangle, Century China,*

*Sleepless Nights Forum, and Democracy and Freedom have been shut down, further constricting the domestic discussion space.*

On June 30, 2003, Du Daobin drafted an open letter calling on the central government to suspend Hong Kong's controversial Article 23 legislation, which would impose harsher restrictions on activities deemed subversive; Liu Xiaobo and others joined Du in signing and publishing the open letter on July 3. Du also continued publishing articles condemning Liu Di's detention and the persecution of the Falun Gong spiritual movement. These rare examples of open protest in the political environment of that time were later used as evidence against Du. In his essay "Why Are Most of My Essays Published Overseas: A Discussion with a Certain National Security Bureau and a Certain CPC Committee", published on August 4, Du wrote, "I had friendly contact with you on July 23 and 28. I thank you for that, because you 'kindly' gave me an opportunity' (I'm using quotation marks to show these are your own words, not for satirical intent)", but Du then added, "I do not agree that *Epoch Times*, *Yibao*, *Democracy Forum* and *Beijing Spring*, where my essays are published, are hostile publications".

### **Willing to join Liu Di in prison**

From mid-August to early September 2003, Du Daobin continued to publish essays in which he exposed and protested attempts by local police to obstruct gatherings by himself and other Netizens and to prevent him from publishing essays overseas. Du said that the police had even used a carrot-and-stick approach on his wife, and on August 23 had prevented Du from taking his son on a trip to Beijing, keeping him under house arrest from then on.

Du Daobin drafted a statement entitled "We Are Willing to Join Liu Di in Prison", which was signed by Liu Xiaobo, Zhao Dagong, Liao Yiwu and 20 others and issued on September 20. One month later, on October 28, Du was detained on suspicion of inciting subversion of state power. He was formally arrested on November 10, and later that month, Liu Di and two others detained with her, Wu Yiran and Li Yibing, were released "on bail pending trial".

As concern and protest over Du Daobin's case reached a new high, the Independent Chinese PEN Center held its first general assembly, and on November 4 released a statement condemning Du's arrest:

*Mr. Du Daobin is an active member of this PEN Center. It is therefore a matter of course that we should express special concern regarding his safety. We immediately informed the PEN International headquarters and have actively solicited the support of fraternal PEN Centers all over the world. ICPC will spare no effort in securing Mr. Du Daobin's release and the restoration of his good name.*

At its 69<sup>th</sup> Congress in Mexico City at the end of November, PEN International passed a resolution condemning the Chinese government's persecution of Internet writer Du Daobin and others, and PEN leaders and hundreds of famous writers from all over the world signed a joint statement, while human rights organizations honored Du for his heroic contribution to freedom of expression.

On June 11, 2004, the Xiaogan Municipal Intermediate People's Court handed down its verdict against Du Daobin:

*Du Daobin published 26 essays... on domestic and overseas websites such as Epoch Times and New Century, adopting slanderous methods to brazenly incite subversion of state power. Since being brought to justice, Du Daobin has made a factual deposition of his crimes, and in the course of trial acknowledged that his behavior was a violation of criminal law that brought harm to society; he expressed admission of guilt and submission to the law, and his attitude was good. The Court of First Instance finds the defendant Du Daobin guilty of inciting subversion of state power and sentences him to three years' imprisonment, suspended for four years, and two years' deprivation of political rights, as well as confiscation of the Tianlin 1110 computer that he used as a tool to commit his crimes.*

Du Daobin was released on bail that day. After his appeal of his guilty verdict was rejected by the Hubei Provincial Higher People's Court, Du continued to appeal:

*The court of first instance verdict is based mainly on seven sentences totaling 125 words, merely a few isolated words and phrases out of the more than 1.5 million characters that the appellant has written, and inadequate to prove the appellant's intent to incite subversion of state power. The verdict of the court of first instance quotes out of context in a classic example of a Cultural Revolution-style frame-up.*

Du Daobin also applied to the NPC Standing Committee and its Legal System Work Committee to investigate his case as a violation of the Constitution, and recommended scrapping crimes such as inciting subversion of state power that result in literary inquisition.

On July 21, 2008, 18 days before the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics and 12 days before the end of his suspended sentence, the authorities withdrew Du Daobin's reprieve and took him into custody again. The official website CNHubei.com reported the following day:

*During the suspended sentence trial period, Du Daobin refused to show penitence or submit to supervision, on multiple occasions violated the law and the supervision and management stipulations of the law enforcement organs, and did not repent and reform following education; the circumstances are serious. In recent days, based on recommendations by the law enforcement organs, the Hubei Province Xiaogan Intermediate People's Court made a criminal adjudication in accordance with law to rescind the suspension of the sentence declared against the criminal offender Du Daobin and to execute the original sentence of three years' imprisonment and two years' deprivation of political rights.*

After being sent back to prison, Du Daobin refused to admit guilt, and stated in writing to the police:

*I am a free citizen; I am not bound by the Prison Law, and the prison has no authority over me.*

*I have not come to accept education and remolding, but to educate and remold the CPC Central Committee and the police.*

Du used regular exchanges with prison supervisors as an opportunity to expound his political viewpoints. For that reason, he was managed strictly and was often punished by being deprived of exercise in the prison yard.

PEN International and other international human rights organizations consider Du Daobin a typical case of the Chinese government violating its commitments as a host of the Olympics through the continued deterioration of freedom of expression. The ICPC awarded Du its 2008 Writers in Prison Award in honor of his heroic struggle against the evil laws of literary inquisition.

Du Daobin was released upon completion of his sentence on December 8, 2010, and has resumed his writing.

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## **Case No. 58 (2004): Shi Tao Sentenced for Sending an Email**



*Shi Tao (July 25, 1968-), a poet, journalist, editor and writer, was arrested in 2004 after sending an email to the editor of an overseas website summarizing instructions from the General Office of the CPC Central Committee to the newspaper where Shi was employed. He was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for "illegally providing state secrets overseas".*

### **From poet to journalist**

Shi Tao was born in Yanchi City in the Ningxia Hui Minority Autonomous Region, the eldest of three sons. Shi began his literary activities in middle school, establishing the Zhuxi (Bamboo Rivulet) Literary Society in 1982. He began studying political economy at East China Normal University in Shanghai in 1986, but switched to political education the following year. Active in student poetry associations, he edited three issues of a poetry journal and was elected executive director of the Shanghai Federation of College and University Poets, while publishing works in local literary journals. After graduating in 1991, Shi Tao was assigned a job teaching political science at a school for the children of employees of the Qing-An Astronavigation Equipment Corporation in Xi'an.

In September 1992, Shi Tao changed professions, becoming a journalist for *Overseas Chinese Voice Times (Qiaosheng Shibao)*, a newspaper published by the Shaanxi Provincial Overseas Chinese Association. A series of other journalistic and editing positions followed over the next ten years.

By 2003, Shi Tao was a deputy chief editor of *Taiyuan Water Daily (Taiyuan Shuibao)* in Shanxi Province, and had joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center.

### **From editor to Internet writer**

In February 2004, Shi Tao went to live in Changsha, Hunan Province, as assistant to the chief editor and head of the editorial board at *Contemporary Business News (Dangdai Shangbao)*.

Since the late 1990s, Shi Tao had begun using pen names to publishing articles on the Internet that could not be published in the official media. As official controls over Internet communications tightened from 2000 onward, Shi Tao joined other dissidents in publishing his articles on overseas websites. On April 6, 2001, Guo Qinghai, a bank clerk in Botou City, Hebei Province, became the first person in China convicted of publishing essays on overseas websites. Guo was imprisoned for four years on charges of inciting subversion of state power for publishing and accepting payment for six essays under the pen name Qingsong on the US-based website *Democracy Forum*. On that same day, Shi Tao posted his first essay on *Democracy Forum*, a short article he'd written half a year earlier entitled "Rascal Blocking the Road", which ended with these words:

*We are not Buddha, nor do we have a way. What we can do is patiently wait, wait for the Buddha to come and strike down this rascal blocking the road to China's modernization.*

From April 6, 2001, to April 20, 2004, Shi Tao published more than 100 political commentaries, essays and poems, the most prolific of all contributors to *Democracy Forum*. Many of his articles directly denounce the various generations of CPC leadership, from Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai to Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng and Jiang Zemin. He also voiced his

agreement with and support for the articles by those at home and abroad who had been incriminated by their words, including Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan, Wei Jingsheng, Bei Dao, Su Xiaokang, Kong Jiesheng, Liu Xiaobo, Liu Di and Du Daobin. This drew special attention from the Chinese authorities.

On April 20, 2004, at a routine editorial meeting, the deputy chief editor of *Dangdai Shangbao* orally transmitted a notice issued by the general offices of the CPC Central Committee and State Council warning newspapers against attempts by overseas democracy activists to enter China for the upcoming 15th anniversary of the June 4th Incident, as well as attempts by “hostile elements” to engage in Internet activism or other destabilizing activities. Shi Tao took notes at the meeting, and late that evening, while still at work, he emailed a summary of the notice through his personal Yahoo email account to the editor of *Democracy Forum*, Cary Hung, who published the summary under the byline “198964”. It was quickly picked up by other overseas websites.

On April 22, the Beijing National Security Bureau issued a “notice to obtain evidence” to the Beijing office of Yahoo’s Hong Kong subsidiary, requesting the registration information for the Yahoo account used for “suspected illegal provision of state secrets overseas”. The Yahoo office immediately provided the requested information. As it happened, this was Shi Tao’s last day working at *Dangdai Shangbao* before he returned to Taiyuan, where on May 1 he began working as editor of the weekly *Old News (Lao Xinwen)*. He also continued publishing essays and poetry on *Democracy Forum*, including several pieces commemorating the June 4th Massacre and another honoring the jailed dissident Liu Xiaobo.

### **Illegally providing state secrets overseas**

On November 24, 2004, National Security police grabbed Shi Tao outside his home in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, slipping a black hood over his head. Officers of the Hunan Provincial and Taiyuan Municipal National Security police then raid his home and seized his computer, communication records and notebooks, after which he was taken into custody in Changsha. On November 26, police issued a notice to Shi Tao’s wife that he had been detained on

suspicion of illegally providing state secrets overseas. Shi was formally indicted on the charge on January 23, 2005. One month later, lawyer Guo Guoting, a legal advisor to the Independent Chinese PEN Center who had publicly stated that he would provide a not-guilty defense to Shi Tao, had his law license rescinded by the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Justice, and the case was taken over by Guo's colleague, Tong Wenzhong. On April 30, a closed trial at the Changsha Municipal Intermediate People's Court delivered its verdict against Shi Tao:

*The state secrets that the defendant Shi Tao illegally provided overseas have been classified "top secret" by the State Secrecy Bureau, so the circumstances of his conducts should be considered especially serious... His defense counsel argued, "Given that the defendant Shi Tao's conducts did not result in causing extremely serious harm to national security or interests, and that his attitude in admitting guilt has been good, we ask for a leniency in his punishment". This has been investigated and found to conform to the facts; the defense recommendation has therefore been accepted by this court. On these grounds... the verdict is as follows:*

*The defendant Shi Tao is found guilty of illegally providing state secrets overseas, and is sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with an additional two years' deprivation of political rights.*

The Hunan Provincial Higher People's Court rejected Shi Tao's appeal on June 2.

Shi Tao's case raised widespread concern in China and abroad as a typical case of the Chinese authorities violating the basic rights of press freedom and freedom of communication. Many overseas PEN centers named Shi Tao an honorary member, and he was presented with the International Press Freedom Award of the Committee to Protect Journalists in 2005, the Vasyly Stus Freedom-to-Write Award of PEN New England in 2006, and the Golden Pen of Freedom Award of the World Association of Newspapers in 2007. In 2008, Shi Tao's poem "June" was selected for translation into 100 languages and recitations during a PEN International Poetry Relay carried out while the Olympic Torch was transported to Beijing for the summer Olympic Games.

On May 1, 2009, US President Barack Obama issued a statement on World Press Freedom Day in which he particularly noted, “In every corner of the globe, there are journalists in jail or being actively harassed.... Emblematic examples of this distressing reality are figures like J.S. Tissainayagam in Sri Lanka, or Shi Tao and Hu Jia in China.”

### **Compensation from Yahoo**

During this time, international concern built up over the role of Yahoo’s Hong Kong subsidiary in providing the Chinese authorities with the IP address and location of the email containing the “state secrets”. Shi Tao’s case came to be considered a typical example of multinational companies assisting autocratic governments in violating freedom of expression and other basic human rights.

In May 2007, Shi Tao’s mother joined the wife of another imprisoned writer, Wang Xiaoning, in launching a lawsuit against Yahoo! in the United States. In October that year, the House Foreign Affairs Committee of US Congress held a hearing to investigate false information that Yahoo!’s headquarters had previously provided to Congress (maintaining that Yahoo! had not been aware of how the information requested by the Beijing authorities would be used). At the hearing, Yahoo! founder and CEO Gerry Yang apologized to the victims and their family members, and in November Yahoo! reached an out-of-court settlement in which it agreed to pay compensation to Shi Tao, Wang Xiaoning and their families and to press for their early release. Yahoo! subsequently established a Yahoo! Human Rights Fund to provide aid to Chinese writers imprisoned for expressing their views through the Internet.

While in prison, Shi Tao continued writing poems, some of which he mailed to his friends. Although suffering from gastric illness, Shi Tao was repeatedly denied medical parole. His sentence was eventually reduced by 15 months, and he was released from prison on August 23, 2013.

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## Case No. 59 (2005): Yasin A Wild Pigeon's Separatism



*Nurmuhemmet Yasin (March 6, 1974 - ), a Uyghur poet and writer, was sentenced in 2005 to ten year's imprisonment on the charge of inciting separatism for publishing his short story "Wild Pigeon".*

Yasin was born in Bachu (Maralbexi) County in Kashgar (Kaxgar) Prefecture, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Demonstrating a love of literature from his youth, he had published hundreds of poems and essays in a large variety of Xinjiang newspapers and magazines since the age of 12. Among them, more than 40 works were included in various collections, more than 30 won literary prizes and a dozen or so were included in Uyghur-language secondary school text books. He published three collections of poetry: *First Love, Crying from the Heart* and *Come Along, Children*.

In March 2004, Yasin's short story "Wild Pigeon" (Yawa Kepter) was published in the bimonthly *Kashgar Literary Journal*. Narrated in the first person, the story is about a caged wild pigeon that would rather die than remain deprived of freedom:

*The poisoned strawberries became the voice of freedom in my body. I finally saw them as my opportunity to gain freedom through death. Leaping from me, my soul began to blaze. The sky was so clear, everything around me so peaceful and the world so beautiful. A group of pigeons huddled in the corner looked upon me in amazement.*

“Wild Pigeon” became wildly popular among the Uyghurs and was nominated for a Uyghur-language literary prize.

According to reports, the local government investigated “Wild Pigeon” as an allegory of Yasin’s father committing suicide under similar circumstances, and alleged that the story carried a political message inciting separatism. The magazine issue in which the story was printed was recalled, and on November 29, 2004, local National Security police detained Yasin and Korash Huseyin, the editor of *Kashgar Literary Journal*. Following a closed trial during which the defendants were not allowed to appoint their own lawyers or have family members present, the Bachu County People’s Court on February 2, 2005, found Yasin and Huseyin guilty of inciting separatism. Yasin was sentenced to ten years imprisonment and Huseyin to three years.

Yasin appealed against the verdict, and according to reports, the Kashgar Prefectural Intermediate People’s Court considered reducing his sentence to seven years, but due to pressure from the prefectural secretary of the CPC, the court upheld the original verdict and sentence.

Yasin’s computer, seized by the authorities, contained more than 1,600 poems, commentaries, short stories and an uncompleted novel.

PEN International and other international human rights organizations have consistently cited Yasin as a typical case of the Chinese authorities violating freedom of expression and ethnic linguistic rights, and PEN centers around the world have conferred awards on him. In 2008, Yasin was shortlisted for the inaugural Art Venture Freedom to Create Prize, which highlights artists defending their freedom of expression at great personal sacrifice.

Yasin has been held in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region No. 1 Prison in Urumqi without being allowed family visits. In 2009, his family received news that he was seriously ill, and in 2011 it was reported that he had died in prison. However, no confirmation has been obtained to date.

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## **Case No. 60 (2006): Yang Tongyan Captured for Velvet Action**



*Yang Tongyan (April 12, 1961), a famous dissident writer and social activist better known as Yang Tianshui, was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for "subverting state power" because of his critical essays on overseas websites, as well as his political activism.*

### **Establishing Chinese Democratic Alliance**

Yang Tongyan was born in Siyang County, Jiangsu Province. He began studying history at Beijing Normal University in 1978, and after graduating in 1982, he was assigned a job teaching at a school for the children of employees of No. 2 Construction and Installation Company of the Oil Industry Ministry in Nanjing. In September 1985, he was transferred to the provincial local gazette office of the Jiangsu Provincial Academy of Social Sciences, where he served as an assistant researcher. Starting in April 1986, he was sent down to a village in Dafeng County of Yancheng City to serve as assistant to the township head for two years, after which he returned to the gazette office in May 1988.

Yang took part in the 1989 Democracy Movement in Nanjing, and he resigned from his job in October. In May 1990, he joined Sun Zhongming, Feng Maocong, Wang Zhan, Zhang Yuxiang, Zhan Yuewei and Zhang Yanchun in establishing the underground Chinese Democratic Alliance, serving

as its executive chairman. The main points of the alliance's guiding principles were:

- 1) The system maintained by the CPC is a neo-feudalistic system.
- 2) The Chinese Democratic Alliance is willing to join forces with all lovers of democracy and freedom to bring about the democratization of mainland China. The essential points in this undertaking are scrapping one-party dictatorship, establishing a democratic system, popularizing market economy, and strengthening and enriching the Chinese Nation.
- 3) Advocate genuine freedom of speech, of association and of the press.
- 4) Endorse the Chinese people's freedom to develop and spread religious teachings.
- 5) Endorse the Chinese people's freedom of residence, and demand that the government scrap or reform the backward household registration system and border entry and exit system that fetter the movement of our people.
- 6) Implement a genuine compulsory education system.
- 7) Scrap the evil practice of parties and mass organizations (such as the Communist Youth League and Woman's Federation) being financially supported by the state.
- 8) Transform the state's function; abandon Marxism-Leninism's so-called repressive function, and restrict the state's responsibility to defending the people's safety, maintaining social order, providing public services and regulating national revenue.
- 9) Implement equal opportunities and other aspects of social equality and fairness.

The Chinese Democratic Alliance grew to more than 50 members in Jiangsu, Hunan, Hubei and Shanghai, but the authorities began cracking down on the organization at the end of May 1990, and Yang Tongyan was arrested on June 1. In July 1991, the Nanjing Municipal Intermediate People's Court sentenced him to ten years' imprisonment for "organizing and leading a counter-revolutionary clique". Sun Zhongming and four other co-defendants were handed sentences of one to four years' imprisonment.

Yang was sent to Nanjing's Longtan Prison, where he continued writing. Because he refused to admit guilt, he was subjected to physical abuse, and from

1998 to 1999, he staged six hunger strikes, while also suffering from heart disease, diabetes, arthritis and other ailments.

### **Gaining fame as Yang Tianshui**

Yang Tongyan was released upon completing his sentence on May 31, 2000. A friend helped him find a job managing a clothing factory in Dongguan, Guangdong Province, but because his sentence included four additional years' deprivation of political rights, the Jiangsu Provincial Public Security Bureau put pressure on the factory, and Yang was fired. At the end of April 2002, the Huangjiang Branch of Dongguan Public Security Bureau detained Yang for two days and then sent him back to Nanjing. After this, he spent most of his time at home writing and compiling his prison memoirs, while also writing commentaries that he published under the pen name Yang Tianshui (among others) on overseas websites such as *Democracy Forum*, *Epoch Times* and *Boxun*. The local authorities summoned him repeatedly and placed him under house arrest.

On May 28, 2004, Yang was placed under administrative detention for 15 days because he had posted “essays damaging to China’s honor and not conducive to social stability” on the Internet. He then joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center. By this time, he had published nearly 200 pieces of writings on the Internet, including essays, poems and fiction.

On December 24, 2004, while living temporarily in Hangzhou, Yang was given a “verbal summons” to the police station, where he was held for 15 hours. The following day, he was sent back to Nanjing, where he was detained on suspicion of inciting subversion of state power. The Writers in Prison Committee of PEN International issued a “Rapid Action Network” alert in early January 2005, and the President of PEN International, Jiri Grusa, made an official appeal and protest on Yang’s behalf, while ICPC legal advisor Guo Guoting began making representations on behalf of Yang’s family.

On January 24, 2005, Yang was released on bail pending trial for a year. He continued writing, but was taken away by the Nanjing police on December 23, 2005, and held in an undisclosed location until his formal arrest on January 20,

2006. Following a secret trial on May 16, the Zhenjiang Municipal Intermediate People's Court in Jiangsu Province issued a verdict:

*From May to December 2002, the defendant Yang Tongyan, using the pen names Yang Tianshui, Zhonghua Lei and others, posted a large number of essays on Epoch Times, Boxun and other overseas websites... which vilified the leadership of the Communist Party of China with the intent of overthrowing the current state regime and socialist system.*

*In March 2005, in an election for a "democratic transitional government" carried out on the overseas website Velvet Action of China, the defendant Yang Tongyan was elected a member of the secretariat of "First Provisional Transitional Government of Democratic China," and a Jiangsu member of the Work Committee for the Peaceful Handover of Provincial and City Governments. He also published essays on the Epoch Times website promoting the Velvet Action as "epoch-making in its use of a new form of democracy movement; the 'Democratic China Transitional Government' it generated through free elections on Internet is a legitimate government", and so on.*

*In April 2005, the defendant Yang Tongyan, in adherence to the program and constitution of the hostile organization the Chinese Democracy Party, secretly organized a "preparatory committee for the Jiangsu-Anhui branch of the China Democracy Party", and further developed its membership.*

*In February 2005, the defendant Yang Tongyan accepted 500 euros in funds from Sheng Xue, a vice-chairman of the overseas Federation for a Democratic China, and others. In December that year, he accepted 500 Australian dollars from Sun Liyong, based in Australia. Part of the funds he accepted were used to support Wang Wenjiang, a criminal imprisoned for endangering state security, and his immediate family.*

*... Yang Tongyan is therefore found guilty of subverting state power and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment, with an additional four years' deprivation of political rights.*

PEN International and other international rights organizations have expressed great concern for Yang Tongyan's welfare, and the ICPC has helped engage legal counsel for Yang. He has been adopted as an honorary member of several overseas PEN centers, and was awarded ICPC's Writers in Prison

Award in 2006 and the PEN American Center's Barbara Goldsmith Freedom to Write Award in 2008.

Yang is still imprisoned in Nanjing Prison, where he has suffered abuse due to his refusal to admit guilt. He has multiple physical ailments and has gone on hunger strike, but his repeated requests for medical parole have all been refused.

Yang is due for release on December 22, 2017.

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## **Case No. 61 (2007): Li Hong** **Sacrificing His Life to *Aegean Sea***



*Li Hong (born Zhang Jianhong, March 6, 1958 - December 31, 2010), a poet, editor, playwright and freelance writer, began posting critical articles on overseas websites after the Chinese government shut down his Aegean Sea website, and was subsequently sentenced in 2007 to six years' imprisonment for "inciting subversion of state power".*

### **From poet to playwright**

Li Hong was born in Yin County, Zhejiang Province, the son of Communist officials. After graduating from middle school in 1975, he was among the last batch of "educated youth" sent to the countryside to work as farmers. Once college admission exams were reinstated in 1977 after the Cultural Revolution, Li Hong was among the first group of students to resume their studies, gaining admission to the Ningbo campus of Zhejiang Normal School as a student of Chinese literature.

Li Hong began publishing his writings in 1980 and was active in campus literary magazines. However, the police regarded these as illegal publications and put him and his schoolmates under surveillance. After graduating from college in 1982, he was given a punitive work assignment as a language teacher

at a middle school in mountain area of Yin County. He was transferred to the Yin County Education Bureau in 1984, and married Dong Min that same year.

In 1985, Li Hong began working for the Ningbo Municipal Federation of Literature and Art Circles (NMFLAC), editing *Wenxue Gang* (Literary Harbor) magazine and taking charge of the Eastern Poetry World column, while also joining the Zhejiang Provincial Writers' Association. He joined the Youth Poetry Forum of the CWA in 1987, and began taking classes at the Lu Xun Academy of Literature. By 1988, he had become deputy secretary-general of the NMFLAC, and chaired its Poetry, Essay and Reportage Committee. His poems were published in several volumes from 1982 to 1988.

When the Democracy Movement broke out in May 1989, Li Hong helped organize protests in Ningbo's literary and journalistic circles in support of the students in Beijing. He eventually went to Beijing to join the protests in Tiananmen Square, returning to Ningbo on June 2, just before the government's violent crackdown. Upon learning of the Tiananmen Massacre, Li Hong openly protested the government's actions, bringing him under investigation by the CPC branch of the NMFLAC. While working at *Literary Harbor* on August 3, Li Hong was taken into custody, and in December, he was sentenced to three years of RTL for "counterrevolutionary incitement during the June 4th period".

While in RTL, Li Hong began writing an epic poem, "Pathetic in Four Chapters – Potato". He was released six months early in February 1991, but lost his job and remained under "surveillance and control", forcing him to spend six years adrift in poverty.

In 1998, Li Hong began to shift his creative efforts to fiction and drama, publishing the novel *Legends of the Red Gang* in serial form in *Ningbo Evening News*, and then adapting it for television in 2000.

In June 1999, local authorities cracked down on the newly-established Zhejiang Preparatory Committee for the China Democracy Party, arresting all its leaders and core members. Li Hong stepped into the vacuum by organizing a Ningbo Preparatory Committee and going to Beijing to contact the leaders of the CDP headquarters, as a result of which he was detained for more than a month.

Li Hong returned to Beijing in 2001 to engage in television production and book publishing, and some of his poems were included in anthologies of modern Chinese poetry. He became a writer-in-residence at the Zhejiang Institute of Literature in 2004, and in 2005, he completed his poem “Pathetic in Four Chapters –Potato”, as well as the novel *Heavenly Robe Short by an Inch*. In August that year, he founded the philosophical and literary website *Aegean Sea*. He continued adapting his fiction for television, and in 2006, he published *Li Hong’s Selected Poems of the Century*.

### **The *Aegean Sea* incident**

On March 9, 2006, the Zhejiang provincial government shut down the *Aegean Sea* website, raising protests in China and abroad and prompting a signature campaign against China’s Internet regulations. Li Hong began contributing essays to overseas websites, and he joined the Independent Chinese PEN Center in June.

Li Hong was detained in his home on the evening of September 6, 2006, and formally arrested on October 12. On January 12, 2007, the Ningbo Intermediate People’s Court tried Li Hong in secret, and delivered its verdict on March 19:

*Zhang Jianhong began nursing a grievance against state power and the socialist system after his Aegean Sea website was shut down in accordance with law and after he was subjected to administrative penalties for his unlawful actions. From May to September 2006, Zhang Jianhong used his IBM notebook computer to compose more than 110 essays under the pen name Li Hong, and emailed them for publication on overseas Chinese-language websites such as Democratic China, Democracy Forum, Observe China, Epoch Times, Independent Chinese PEN Center, Fire of Liberty and Boxun, for which he accepted payment. In more than 60 essays... he slandered and vilified our country’s state power as “the irreconcilably deadly enemy of mankind”, “CPC’s totalitarian, tyrannical and illegal regime”, “a post-totalitarian regime”, “incorrigibly and intrinsically opposed to freedom and natural rights”, “an all-out fascist dictatorship mutilating human rights, a blood-sucking addict, eternally unrepentant butcher, a regime that has committed and*

*continues to commit crimes against humanity and civilization even more heinous and appalling than those of the Nazis”, and stated “the necessity of bringing an end to this criminal rule as soon and as quickly as possible”, “bidding farewell to autocratic terror, and turning the world upside down”, constituting brazen inciting subversion of state power and overturn the socialist system.*

The court on this basis ruled that “Zhang Jianhong is guilty of inciting subversion of state power, and is sentenced to six years’ imprisonment and an additional one year’s deprivation of political rights”. Li Hong’s appeal was rejected by the Zhejiang Provincial Higher People’s Court on May 15.

### **Paralysis and death in prison**

In May 2007, the prison hospital found that Li Hong had contracted a rare nervous system disorder that caused his arm muscles to wither and atrophy. The disease spread to his legs, and eventually to his entire body. He was eventually diagnosed with amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, also known as Lou Gehrig’s disease, and was admitted to the Zhejiang Provincial Prison General Hospital in Hangzhou City. His family’s repeatedly requests that Li Hong be released on medical parole were refused. By June 2010, Li Hong was completely paralyzed, unable to speak or breathe on his own and requiring a ventilator to stay alive. At that point, the authorities released him to his family, and he began receiving treatment at Ningbo’s Mingzhou Hospital.

PEN International and other international rights organizations repeatedly appealed to the Chinese government and the international community for assistance to Li Hong and contributed toward his medical expenses. The US National Endowment for Democracy awarded Li Hong its Democracy Award in 2008.

Li Hong died on December 31, 2010, at the age of 52.

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## **Case No. 62 (2008): Hu Jia**

### **Confined in Liberty City**



*Hu Jia (July 25, 1973-), an environmentalist, AIDS activist, human rights activist and freelance writer, was sentenced in 2008 to three-and-a-half years' imprisonment for "inciting subversion of state power" because of his criticism of the Chinese authorities on the Internet and in his interviews with journalists.*

### **From Friends of Nature to Loving Source**

Hu Jia was born in Beijing to parents who at the time of his birth were forced to live apart after being sent to Reform through Labor as Rightists in 1957. His father raised him until his parents were rehabilitated and the family could be reunited in 1978.

After graduating from the Beijing Institute of Economics (now known as Capital University of Economics and Business) with a degree in information engineering in 1996, Hu Jia began working for the environmental group Friends of Nature and directed a Beijing Television program called *Into Nature*. He became a formal convert to Buddhism after visiting the Tibetan Plateau.

From September 1999 to April 2000, Hu Jia served as Beijing representative for the Hong Kong-based environmental NGO Friends of the Earth, and he started an Internet campaign to protect the Tibetan Antelope. His environmental activism led to articles in official media such as *Beijing Youth*

*Daily* and the *Freezing Point* supplement of *China Youth Daily*. He went to Ahmadabad, India, in September 2001 for two months' training in environmental education.

Meanwhile, in June 2000, Hu Jia became acquainted with Wan Yanhai, leader of the AIZIBING Institute of Health Education, and became interested in the welfare of people living with HIV/AIDS. In the years that followed, his volunteer AIDS activism brought him into conflict with government bodies in Beijing and Henan Province.

When Wan Yanhai was secretly detained for nearly a month in August and September 2002, Hu Jia stepped in as project coordinator for the AIZIBING Institute. The organization was formally registered with the Beijing Commerce Department that September, and in June 2003, Hu Jia spent two months in the United States for a study visit on HIV/AIDS at the invitation of the National Committee on United States-China Relations.

In April 2004, Hu Jia joined with Cen Shuyuan and Zeng Jinyin to establish the AIDS advocacy group Loving Source. From then on, Hu Jia devoted himself full-time to AIDS activism and blogging on the Internet. The authorities repeatedly placed him under house arrest or made him disappear for periods of time. Hu Jia married Zeng Yinyin in January 2006, and around the same time resigned from Loving Source to prevent his difficulties with the authorities from affecting the organization's work.

### **The prisoners of Liberty City**

On the morning of February 16, 2006, Hu Jia disappeared while under close surveillance by the police, prompting concern from international organizations and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. The police and China's Foreign Affairs Ministry denied knowledge of Hu's whereabouts, but following his release 41 days later, Hu told reporters that he had been secretly detained by Beijing's National Security police. His activism on behalf of the blind legal activist Chen Guangcheng and rights defense lawyer Gao Zhisheng led to extended periods under house arrest in his apartment in a housing complex called Liberty City. In February 2007, Hu Jia and Zeng Jinyin produced a video

entitled *The Prisoners of Liberty City*, composed from video footage they had taken of the police officers guarding their door.

In March 2007, Hu Jia and Zeng Jinying were permitted a short visit to Hong Kong, but after returning to Beijing in April, they were placed under house arrest again. The international NGO Reporters without Borders awarded the couple its China Award in December 2007. On December 27, just a month after the birth of his daughter Qianci, Hu Jia was detained on suspicion of inciting subversion of state power, and was formally arrested on January 29, 2008.

The Beijing Municipal First Intermediate People's Court held a closed trial for Hu Jia on March 18, 2008. On that same day, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao made a statement on the Hu Jia case to foreign journalists:

*Regarding this case, I can make it very clear to you that China is a country under the rule of law, and such problems will be dealt with according to the law. As for the view that China is increasing its efforts to arrest dissidents ahead the Olympic Games, these accusations are unfounded.*

Half a month later, on April 3, the court delivered its verdict:

*Due to dissatisfaction with China's regime of people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system, Hu Jia from August 2006 to October 2007 posted articles on the Bowenshe website and accepted an interview from the overseas media organization Sound of Hope in which he repeatedly incited others to overthrow China's state regime and socialist system. In his essays... and interviews, he spread rumors and libel such as "China's human rights disasters erupt every day", "the existence of the autocratic system relies entirely on constant exploitation", the socialist system "on the soil of the autocratic system only breeds greed, corruption and abuse of power; fabricating the so-called 'harmonious society' and then repeatedly using lies, empty talk, clichés, nonsense and falsehood, is a toxic mixture that the ruling party uses as a makeshift remedy to bring all of society down with it". Hu Jia made the further inciting comment, "We issue a challenge to this kind of autocratic system"... Hu Jia's aforementioned inciting articles were posted and reposted on many websites, and recordings of his interview comments were used in audio or textual form by overseas media in articles such as "Hu Jia*

*Talks of the Situation Around the Time of Lawyer Gao's Abduction" and "Issuing a Peaceful Challenge to the Autocratic System", posted on Epoch Times and other overseas websites... However, the prosecuting organ's indictment of Hu Jia on the basis of a portion of the article "Catching Up with the Democracy Convoy: East Asia's Sleeping Lion Awakes", posted on the Internet, is inadequate for this court to accept as evidence... In accordance with the facts and circumstances of Hu Jia's crime, and given that during trial he pled guilty, showed penitence and expressed his willingness to be dealt with according to law, he can be dealt with leniently in accordance with law.*

The court then pronounced Hu Jia guilty of inciting subversion of state power and sentenced him to three years and six months' imprisonment, with an additional year's deprivation of political rights.

Because the authorities had made it plain in private conversation that they would not change the verdict, and Hu Jia felt that a truce should be called between the government and the people in order not to adversely affect the Beijing Olympic Games, he forfeited his opportunity to appeal, and on May 7, 2008, was delivered to Tianjin's Chaobai Prison to serve out his sentence. When he protested prison guards' unfair treatment of prisoners and actions that violated human rights, he was placed in solitary confinement and deprived of his right to family visits. He was transferred to Beijing Prison in Daxing District on October 10. Hu Jia suffered from liver disease and other chronic conditions, but his wife's repeated requests for him to be released on medical parole were rejected.

Hu Jia's case aroused deep concern throughout the world, with foreign governments and international human rights groups regularly advocating on his behalf. The Independent Chinese PEN Center adopted Hu Jia as an honorary member, the city of Paris made Hu Jia an honorary citizen (along with the Dalai Lama), and European Parliament awarded Hu Jia its Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought.

In his speech on World Press Freedom Day on May 1, 2009, US President Barack Obama named Hu Jia as an "emblematic example" of journalists in prison.

Hu Jia was released upon completion of his sentence on June 26, 2011, but he remains under close surveillance by the police, and regularly suffers harassment, unlawful detention and violent assaults.

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## Case No. 63 (2009): Tan Zuoren Incriminated for Reporting



*Tan Zuoren (May 15, 1954-), a doctor, environmentalist, editor and freelance writer, was arrested in 2009 for reporting on a commemoration of the June 4th Massacre after publishing a name list of children killed in the Sichuan earthquake, and was eventually sentenced to five years' imprisonment for "inciting subversion of state power".*

Tan Zuoren was born in the Sichuan megacity of Chengdu, the fourth of five children. His father, Tan Yinghua, was a professor of history at Sichuan University who was labeled a Rightist when Zuoren was three years old.

After graduating from middle school in 1972, Tan Zuoren was sent to farm in Sichuan's Shimian County as an "educated youth". His experiences qualified him for admission to the Sichuan Medical College (now West China University of Medical Sciences) as a "worker-peasant-soldier student" in 1975. After graduating in 1978, he was assigned work as an anesthesiologist at the college's affiliated hospital, and then became a surgeon.

In 1985, Tan Zuoren became involved in the entertainment industry, writing a television drama and then organizing a celebrity benefit performance to raise funds for the handicapped in 1987. He continued to work in the medical field, however, establishing a laser treatment center at his hospital.

When the 1989 Democracy Movement broke out, Tan supported protesting students, first in Chengdu and then in Beijing, where he witnessed the violent official crackdown on June 3 and 4. His involvement brought him to the attention of the Sichuan authorities, and he was forced to leave Chengdu for Shenzhen, Guangdong Province, where he sold electronic projects.

Tan became involved in environmentalism in 1994, and in 1998 helped establish the Green Rivers Association for the Promotion of Environmental Protection, serving as its deputy secretary general. The Chengdu media named him a “civilized citizen” in 2001, and the following year, his proposal for a “Great Panda Protection Management Ordinance” was adopted by the provincial people’s congress.

Tan helped establish the privately published *Cultured Person (Wenhuaren)* magazine in 2004, serving as executive editor while also involving himself in the Chengdu Reading Club’s book exchange activities. He also began publishing articles on environmental topics and other social issues, including a diary of his time at Tiananmen Square in 1989.

When Sichuan was struck by a massive earthquake on May 12, 2008, Tan Zuoren went several times to the disaster zones to help quake victims. He also collected data on the deaths of students and teachers in substandard school buildings that crumbled during the quake, publishing his findings in a number of articles. In February 2009, he drafted a “May 12th Student File”, which appealed for a non-governmental investigation of the structural factors behind the student deaths. Soon after that, the Chengdu police searched Tan’s home and seized his data and files. Tan was placed in criminal detention on March 28 on suspicion of inciting subversion of state power, and was formally arrested on April 30. He went on trial on August 12 in the Chengdu Intermediate People’s Court, which handed down its ruling on February 9, 2010:

*Tan Zuoren was dissatisfied with the PRC government’s handling of the June 4th Incident. On May 27, 2007, Tan Zuoren concocted a so-called “on-the-spot” article entitled “Diary on the Square”, which he published on the overseas Fire of Liberty website. This article disregarded objective facts, and with gross distortion framed and slandered the PRC government’s lawful handling of the June 4th Incident, inciting the masses inside and outside of China’s borders to oppose and resist the PRC government.*

On June 4, 2008, Tan and others, under the name “Donating Blood as a Duty”, commemorated the so-called June 4th Incident at Chengdu’s Tianfu Square, and he accepted a telephone interview from the overseas Sound of Hope radio program in which he openly declared a wish to “donate blood as a duty” to “carry on the spirit of June 4th”. The Sound of Hope website published the content of Tan Zuoren’s interview that same day.

On this basis, the court found Tan guilty of “inciting subversion of state power” and sentenced him to five years’ imprisonment. Tan’s appeal was rejected by the Sichuan Provincial Higher People’s Court on June 9.

Tan’s arrest and imprisonment raised concern in China and the international community, with foreign government and international rights organizations advocating on his behalf. The Independent Chinese PEN Center adopted Tan as an honorary member. On November 7, 2008, the US House of Representatives passed a motion to demand that the Chinese government release Tan Zuoren and another imprisoned dissident, Huang Qi. On June 11, 2009, the High Representative of the European Union, Catherine Ashton, issued a statement calling for Tan’s unconditional release: “The verdict against Tan Zuoren is entirely incompatible with his right to freedom of expression and does not meet international standards of fairness”.

Tan Zuoren was released on completion of his sentence on March 27, 2014.

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## **Case 64 (2010): Liu Xiaobo**

### **Winning a Prize with No Enemies**



*Liu Xiaobo (28 December 1955- ), a renowned Chinese literary critic, dissident writer and human rights activist, was sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment for "inciting subversion of state power" based on his writings criticizing the Chinese authorities and his participation in drafting and launching Charter 08. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2010.*

#### **A member of the "Innocent Hearts" poetry group**

Liu Xiaobo was born in Changchun City, in China's northeastern Jilin Province, the third of five brothers. His father, Liu Ling, was a teacher at Northeast Normal University and then a guest lecturer at Choibalsan University in Ulan Bator, the capital of the Mongolian People's Republic. The family lived in Mongolia for three years before returning to China in 1959.

In 1969, while Liu was still in middle school, China's universities closed down for the Cultural Revolution, and Liu's family moved to the Dashizhai People's Commune in the Horqin Right Front Banner of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Four years later, in 1973, Liu's family returned to Changchun as some universities resumed classes, and Liu continued his studies at the Attached Middle School of Northeast Normal University. After graduating in July 1974, he went to the countryside as an "educated youth" to

be reeducated at Shan'gang People's Commune in Nong'an County, Jilin Province. In November 1976, two months after Mao's death and one month after the arrest of Jiang Qing and her Gang of Four brought an end to the Cultural Revolution, Liu was assigned to do plastering for the Changchun City Construction Company.

Liu Xiaobo was admitted as a student of Chinese Literature at Jilin University in 1977, and two years later joined the Innocent Hearts (Chi Zi Xin), a poetry group created by six schoolmates. After graduating with a BA in literature in 1982, he began graduate studies in Chinese Literature at Beijing Normal University. He married his university classmate, Tao Li, who was teaching at the Beijing Language Institute, and their son Liu Tao was born the following year.

### **A literary dark horse**

In April 1984, Liu published his debut article, "On Artistic Intuition", in *The Journal of the University of International Relations*, followed by an essay on the ancient philosopher Zhuangzi (Chuang-tzu) in the bimonthly *Social Science Front*. That same year, he received his MA in literature and became a teacher of Chinese literature at Beijing Normal University. He continued publishing articles and reviews in various academic journals, expressing the rebellious spirit of "New Literature" against mainstream literature and its tolerance of humiliation. This "Liu Xiaobo Phenomenon" sent shockwaves through mainland China's literary circles.

In September 1986, the Institute of Literature at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences held a symposium in which Liu Xiaobo gave an impromptu speech entitled "The Crisis Facing New Era Literature". Liu referred to China's mainstream May Fourth Literature and Western Modernist Literature in terms considered shocking at the time, which he applied to Chinese cultural and intellectual circles generally:

*The national inertia of Chinese intellectuals is even more deeply entrenched than that of the general public! ... Chinese writers still lack a sense of individuality. At a deeper level, this lack of individuality is a withering of vitality, or a rationalization and dogmatism of vitality. The development of*

*Chinese culture has always restricted sensibility with rationality, and has framed the free development of individual consciousness within moral standards. ...Until we break through tradition, thoroughly negate traditional, classical culture as during the May Fourth era, and cast off the fetters of rationality and dogmatism, we will not be able to shake off this crisis.*

Liu's speech was published by *Shenzhen Youth Daily* in early October and quickly reproduced by many domestic and overseas presses, earning him the title of "literary dark horse". That same month, he published another article, "Dialogue with Li Zehou: The Sensate, the Individual, My Choice", showing his development from literary reviews to ideological and cultural criticism. Liu continued research for his PhD in literary theory while publishing literary, aesthetic and ideological critiques in various publications.

Liu's first book, *The Critique of Choice: Dialogue with Li Zehou*, was published in 1987 and soon became a bestseller for Liu's comprehensively criticism of Chinese tradition and his blunt challenge to Professor Li Zehou, a rising star exerting major ideological influence on China's young intellectuals.

In 1988, *The Hundred (Bai Jia)*, a new literary bimonthly, launched a special column, "One Hundred and One", which published Liu's article "On Loneliness" and essays by other young scholars discussing the Liu Xiaobo Phenomenon. In June, Liu published his doctoral thesis as his second book, *Aesthetics and Human Freedom*, defending it before a spontaneous audience of hundreds of college students and obtaining the unanimous approval of a panel of nine prominent literary critics and aestheticians to receive his PhD in literature. He then became a lecturer in the same department.

In August 1988, Liu was invited to serve as a visiting scholar at the University of Oslo, the University of Hawaii and Columbia University in New York City. At the same time, he began publishing groundbreaking political essays with titles such as "The Demon King of Chaos, Mao Zedong" in Hong Kong publications, in particular *Emancipation Monthly* (since renamed *Open Magazine*). In an interview entitled "Literary 'Dark Horse' Liu Xiaobo", he was quoted as saying:

*Marxism-Leninism in China is not so much a faith as a component of autocracy. Marxism-Leninism is not a faith but rather a tool for rulers to carry out ideological dictatorship.*

*China's cultural legacy has been to oppose only foolish monarchs and corrupt officials rather than the autocratic and imperial powers.... In terms of China's reality, all of these can be attributed to the inability to find a force for negating autocracy from within autocracy itself. Specifically, in politics, the inability to find any force within one-party dictatorship to oppose one-party dictatorship; in economics, the inability to find power from within public ownership and planned economy to reform the economy; in ideology, the inability to find new ideas within dogmatic Marxism; in culture, generally, the inability to find the so-called essence within the traditional Chinese culture. It is only possible to replace one-party dictatorship with the democracy that coexists with multiple parties; to replace public ownership and planned economy with private ownership and market economy; to replace unified ideology with diverse discussion and free thought; and to replace traditional Chinese culture with the modern culture of the world (the West).*

*It took a century of colonialism to make Hong Kong what it is today. Given China's size, it would need three centuries of colonialism to become what Hong Kong is today. I even wonder if three centuries would be enough.*

Such statements were documented by the Chinese authorities and later used in their media criticism campaigns and eventually to convict Liu in court.

## **The Four Gentlemen of Tiananmen Square**

When public mourning for the death of ousted CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang developed into the 1989 Democracy Movement, Liu Xiaobo, then a visiting scholar at Columbia University, took part in solidarity activities by overseas Chinese students and scholars.

On 20 April, Hong Kong's *Ming Pao* reported, "Hu Ping, Liu Xiaobo, Chen Jun and seven others have jointly published 'Reform Suggestions' urging the CPC to reflect on and correct its errors... expressing concern about the current student movement in mainland China", demanding that the Chinese authorities

“reexamine... the 1983 Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign and the 1987 Anti-Bourgeois Liberalization Campaign and related issues”, and also to amend the constitution by abolishing the “Four Cardinal Principles” and inserting language safeguarding human rights, allowing private publications, ending the conviction of people based on their words, and implementing genuine freedom of speech and of the press.

On 22 April, Liu published his article “Reflections on the Phenomenon of Hu Yaobang’s Death” in the US-based *World Journal* (*Shijie Ribao*) in which he suggested:

*Abandon the reform model of seeking an enlightened monarch, and try the path of transforming China institutionally... If college students and intellectuals pursuing democracy in mainland China can openly support the liberal faction within the CPC while also openly helping Wei Jingsheng, Beijing Spring and others overseas, this will certainly speed up the democratization process.*

On the same day, Liu drafted “An Open Letter to College Students in China” with seven suggestions on how to carry out the student movement, which he distributed in China with the help of other overseas Chinese students and scholars, including Hu Ping, chairman of the overseas Chinese Alliance for Democracy (CAD).

Liu then changed his original plan to return home in 1990, and instead left the United States on April 26, arriving in Beijing the following day. He immediately joined the student movement, passing along thousands of dollars donated by overseas students and scholars to the Student Union of Beijing Normal University.

On May 13, hundreds of Beijing college students began a sit-in and hunger strike at Tiananmen Square, and Liu began helping them with publicity, writing, lectures and fundraising. On 2 June, Liu Xiaobo, Zhou Duo, Gao Xin and Taiwanese singer Hou Derchien declared a hunger strike, through which they earned the trust of the protesting students and came to be known as the Four Gentlemen of Tiananmen Square. Liu called on both the government and the students to abandon the ideology of class struggle and to adopt a new political culture of dialogue and compromise. Although unable to prevent the massacre

that began outside the square on the night of June 3, Liu and his colleagues successfully negotiated with the commanders of the martial law troops to allow the peaceful withdrawal of thousands of students from the square.

Liu was arrested on June 6 and accused in official media of being a “black hand” manipulating the student movement to overthrow the government and socialist system. In late June, the government published a critical anthology, *Liu Xiaobo, the Man and His Deeds*, and Liu was expelled from his university in September. His third book, *The Fog of Metaphysics*, a comprehensive review on Western philosophies, came out that year, but was immediately banned with his other published works and a fourth book in press, *Going Naked Toward God*, but many of his works were republished in Taiwan.

Liu and Tao Li divorced in August 1990, and Tao eventually immigrated with their son to the United States.

### **Endless struggle of a “doomsday survivor”**

In January 1991, the Beijing Intermediate People’s Court found Liu guilty of “counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement”, but he was exempted from further punishment due to his “major meritorious act” of persuading the students to leave the Tiananmen Square. After his release, he resumed writing as a freelancer in Beijing, and continued his involvement in human rights activities.

In January 1993, Liu Xiaobo was invited to Australia and the US for showings of a documentary film, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*. Although many friends advised him to seek political asylum abroad, he returned to China in May. On June 5, he published an essay entitled “We Were Knocked Out by Our ‘Justice’” in Taiwan’s *United Daily News*, and soon afterward published a confessional and critical memoir, *The Monologues of A Doomsday’s Survivor*, which caused considerable controversy among dissidents at home and abroad with its comments on the 1989 Democracy Movement.

On February 20, 1995, Liu Xiaobo joined 11 other intellectuals in issuing an “Anti-corruption Proposal to the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth National People’s Congress”, suggesting five short-term and seven long-term goals for reform. This was followed by another joint statement in May, “Learn the

Lessons of Blood and Promote the Process of Democracy and Rule of Law”, but Liu was detained before its formal publication and held under residential surveillance for nine months.

Following his release in February 1996, Liu married Liu Xia.

Later in 1996, Liu Xiaobo and the well-known dissident Wang Xizhe made plans for a joint statement to the CPC and Taiwan’s KMT on cross-strait relations and other cross-border issues as well as political reform. Two days before the declaration’s planned release on October 10, Liu was detained and sentenced to three years of RTL for “disturbing social order”. While at the Dalian RTL Center, Liu produced writings totaling hundreds of thousands of words.

Following his release in October 1999, Liu resumed his freelance writing, quickly publishing three volumes of political and cultural criticism and poetry in Taiwan, Hong Kong and mainland China. That same year, Liu helped found the Independent Chinese PEN Center (ICPC) and was elected its president in 2003 and 2005. In October 2006, he took over as chief editor of the US-based website *Democratic China*.

### **Harsh sentence for initiating Charter 08**

In 2008, Liu Xiaobo took part in drafting and launching Charter 08, a manifesto on political reform in the style of Czechoslovakia’s Charter 77, to be released on the 60th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10.

On December 8, two days before the launch, Liu was detained and held in an undisclosed location until formally arrested for inciting subversion of state power on June 23, 2009. Liu went on trial at the Beijing Municipal First Intermediate People’s Court on December 23, drawing massive interest from overseas diplomats and journalists. He was allowed to speak for only 15 minutes in his own defense, and the judge interrupted him before he could finish reading out his two prepared statements, “My Self-defense” and “I Have No Enemies: My Final Statement”. On December 25, the court delivered its verdict:

...during the period from October 2005 to August 2007, the defendant Liu Xiaobo, due to his dissatisfaction with state power and the socialist system of the people's democratic dictatorship of our country, repeatedly used his writings to incite others to subvert state power and the socialist system in our country... and publishing the articles on websites such as Observe China and BBC Chinese Language Net. In his published articles... Liu Xiaobo slanderously declared: "Since taking power, generations of CPC dictatorship have cared most about their own power and least about human lives"; "The official patriotism advocated by the CPC dictatorship fallaciously replaces the state with the CPC. The essence of this patriotism is to require people to love dictatorship, one-party rule and dictators, and to inflict disaster on the nation and its people in the name of patriotism"; "All of the CPC's methods are stop-gap measures to preserve the last powers of the dictators, and will not long prop up a dictatorial edifice that is already showing innumerable cracks". He also incited "regime change through social transformation"; "for the emergence of a free China, it is far better to place hopes in the continuous expansion of New Forces among the people than in the rulers' New Deal". During period from September to December 2008, the defendant Liu Xiaobo colluded with others to draft Charter 08, which put forward a number of subversive stands such as "abolish one-party monopolization of ruling privileges" and "establish a Chinese Federal Republic under a framework of democracy and constitutionalism". After collecting more than 300 signatures, Liu Xiaobo emailed Charter 08 to overseas websites such as Democratic China and The Independent Chinese PEN Center. The aforementioned articles published online by Liu Xiaobo were linked and reproduced on many other websites and viewed by many people...

...the defendant Liu Xiaobo, with a view to overthrowing state power and the socialist system of our people's democratic dictatorship, and using the Internet's rapid information transfer, widespread communication, massive social impact and high degree of public interest, used the writing and publishing of articles on the Internet to slander and incite the overthrow of state power and the socialist system of our country. His conduct constitutes the offence of inciting subversion of state power and has been carried out over an extended period with major subjective evil intent. The widespread linking,

*republishing and browsing of his writings has had an adverse effect that qualifies him as a major offender, and he must be severely punished in accordance with law.*

The court ruled: “The defendant Liu Xiaobo is guilty of the crime of inciting subversion of state power and sentenced to 11 years’ imprisonment and two years’ additional deprivation of political rights”. Liu’s appeal was dismissed by the Beijing Municipal High People’s Court in February 2010, and in May 2010 Liu was transferred to Jinzhou Prison in Liaoning Province to serve his sentence.

### **Nobel Peace Prize winner: “I have no enemies”**

Ever since 1989, human rights organizations worldwide had expressed concern and solidarity with Liu Xiaobo, and he had won many international awards. Starting in 2009, a number of groups and individuals, including Nobel laureates and national parliaments, joined in nominating Liu for the Nobel Peace Prize. On October 8, 2010, the Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Thorbjørn Jagland, announced that the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Liu Xiaobo “for his long and non-violent struggle for fundamental human rights in China”.

Liu Xiaobo was unable to attend the Nobel Peace Prize Ceremony in Oslo on December 10, and the Chinese government also prevented his wife, Liu Xia, and others from leaving China to attend. On that day, Liu Xiaobo was represented by an empty chair on the podium while the Norwegian actress Liv Ullmann read out an English translation of his essay, “I Have No Enemies: My Final Statement”:

*I have no enemies and no hatred. None of the police who monitored, arrested, and interrogated me, none of the prosecutors who indicted me, and none of the judges who judged me are my enemies....*

*Hatred can rot away at a person’s intelligence and conscience. Enemy mentality will poison the spirit of a nation, incite cruel mortal struggles, destroy a society’s tolerance and humanity, and hinder a nation’s progress toward freedom and democracy. That is why I hope to be able to transcend my*

*personal experiences as I look upon our nation's development and social change, to counter the regime's hostility with utmost goodwill, and to dispel hatred with love.*

*...I look forward to the day when my country is a land with freedom of expression, where the speech of every citizen will be treated equally well; where different values, ideas, beliefs, and political views ... can both compete with each other and peacefully coexist; where both majority and minority views will be equally guaranteed, and where the political views that differ from those currently in power, in particular, will be fully respected and protected; where all political views will spread out under the sun for people to choose from, where every citizen can state political views without fear, and where no one can under any circumstances suffer political persecution for voicing divergent political views. I hope that I will be the last victim of China's endless literary inquisitions and that from now on no one will be incriminated because of speech.*

...

*In order to exercise the right to freedom of speech conferred by the Constitution, one should fulfil the social responsibility of a Chinese citizen. There is nothing criminal in anything I have done. But if charges are brought against me because of this, I have no complaints.*

Apart from publication in Hong Kong and Taiwan, Liu Xiaobo's works have been translated into English and other foreign languages for publication abroad.

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## Afterword

# Shocking Stories of Life and Death

*Liao Tienchi*

This shocking book of life and death depicts a floating world of personal tragedy, conscience gone adrift, the loss of reason, a people's shame and a nation's fall.

Over the past 60 years, China's best and brightest have been sacrificed on a man-made altar of absurdity and lies. This book makes heavy reading; what is hardest to bear is that the victims are our friends, colleagues or admired members of an earlier generation, and that this folly continues unabated to this day, openly but more splendidly packaged.

Literary inquisition has been carried from ancient times to the present and in every corner of the world, but China is distinguished by the brutality of the punishment it has meted out to its men and women of letters. In the West, early victims of literary inquisition include Ovid (43 BC - 17 AD), whose poem *Ars Amatoria* violated the moral code of his time and cause him to be sent into exile by Caesar Augustus. Although Ovid had written many poems, such as *Tristia*, for Augustus, he still fell out of favor and died in a foreign land. Subsequent instances of literary inquisition in Europe typically involved religion, and from the eleventh century onward, it became a tool of religious hegemony, often involving vicious torture. Even so, it pales in comparison to what has occurred in China, where even today, in the Internet age, Chinese are convicted of "inciting subversion of state power" and imprisoned for ten years or even more merely for posting a poem or essay on the Internet.

The compiler of this book, Zhang Yu, has served for many years as Secretary-general of the Independent Chinese PEN Center, and as Coordinator of its Writers in Prison Committee, he has devotedly followed the cases of individuals persecuted for their writings. Even so, it has been hard for him to

come to terms with this record of modern literary inquisition, the result of years of effort beginning in 2010.

The difficulty of this process lay in the sheer number of victims of China's literary inquisition. During the 1957 Anti-Rightist Campaign alone, more than half a million people were persecuted as Rightists, most of them intellectuals; which ones should be chosen as emblematic cases? The decision to adopt a framework of one person per year necessarily excludes the vast majority of victims, as the compiler states with regret. But this is only the first volume; the compiler has rigorously and meticulously sifted through data to produce concise and sober accounts in hopes that readers will appreciate his prodigious effort and anxiously await the next installment.

The first case in this book occurred in 1947, just before CPC took power, when it took the law in to its own hands by secretly executing the great writer Wang Shiwei, who was being held in a CPC military camp. As the compiler states in his Preface, during the Yan'an era, the CPC launched a Rectification Movement that effectively declared war on free thought and the spirit of criticism. Wang Shiwei's was only the first blood to be shed, symbolizing the scarlet splendor of the flag that would soon rise over the new republic. Even more horrifying is that other Leftist writers looked on in a complicity of cruelty, ignorance, blind allegiance or cowardice. Eventually they followed in Wang Shiwei's tragic footsteps, descending into disgrace and humiliation and ending their days as withered husks of their former selves.

As the new regime enacted its "new government" in the 1950s, criticism became anathema, and the government repeatedly meddled in cultural matters, smothering free thought through its criticism of the film *The Life of Wu Xun* and research on the classic *Dream of the Red Chamber*, its purging of Hu Shih and its "One Hundred Flowers" campaign. The most far-reaching campaign arose when Mao Zedong published three "editorial comments" in *People's Daily* indicting a "Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique", resulting in the persecution of more than 1,000 innocent people. Some survived banishment and torture to see themselves "rehabilitated" under the new leadership in 1979. Scholarly and refined as ever, the poet Lü Yuan and another "Hu Feng element", Niu Han, wrote in the preface to their poetry collection *Hundred Flowers*, "The writers wish to use this title of simplicity and purity in

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remembrance of what we encountered in the past: we suffered for our poetry, yet we were innocent!” This almost excessive magnanimity is irrelevant to the spirit of forgiveness, and makes one wonder if fear had eaten away the very marrow of these tormented victims.

In the 1960s, an alternate Politburo member and vice-chair of the Central Cultural and Education Committee, Kang Sheng, passed a slip of paper to Mao on which was written, “Using a novel to launch anti-Party activities is a great discovery”. The comment was aimed at Li Jiantong’s novel *Liu Zhidan*, which was considered an attempt to vindicate the purged official Gao Gang; eventually even vice-premier Xi Zhongxun (the father of China’s current president, Xi Jinping) was implicated. This was a prelude to criticism of the play *Hai Rui Dismissed from Office*, the author of which, Wu Han, became the first writer to be purged in the Cultural Revolution. Wu was soon tortured to death, and his wife and daughter also died of unnatural causes, the obliteration of entire families unfortunately becoming all too common in the tempestuous decade that followed.

The victims of literary inquisition suffered not only mental torment, but also physical annihilation. A 29-year-old worker named Liu Wenhui who wrote a long memorial refuting the principles of the Cultural Revolution was executed by firing squad in 1967. Lin Zhao, labeled a “Rightist” while a university student, was executed in 1968. Yu Luoke, the writer of “On Family Background”, was only 27 at the time of his execution. Even more astonishing is the case of 27-year-old university student Wang Shenyou, who during the last gasp of the Cultural Revolution, after Mao was dead, was executed for a “reactionary love letter”. This was just as dawn was beginning to break at the end of the 1970s. First came the April Fifth Movement, then Xidan Democracy Wall and Wei Jingshen’s “The Fifth Modernization” burst into the limelight. Yet even in the 1980s, known as the era of Reform and Opening, the literary inquisition’s Sword of Damocles continued to hang over China’s writers. Wei Jingsheng and Xu Wenli were imprisoned, and even a popular writer of literary reportage, Liu Binyan, was ejected from the CPC, along with Wang Ruowang and Fang Lizhi; all three eventually died in exile.

Many Chinese went into exile after 1989, while those who remained in China organizing political parties and writing articles found themselves in

prison. Over the past ten years, Internet writers have become favored targets of literary inquisition, from website administrators Huang Qi and Ouyang Yi to the four men of the New Youth Study Society, while journalists Shi Tao, Zhao Yan and Cheng Yizhong, scholar Xu Zerong, lawyers Yang Maodong and Li Boguang, and rights defenders Wang Lihong and Zheng Yichun have also ended up behind bars. As indicated by its subtitle, this book culminates with the former president of the Independent Chinese PEN Center, the poet, commentator and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo. Repeating the past, this government's contest with freedom is like a circle, the starting point of which can also be the ending point. In his last statement before he went to prison, Liu Xiaobo said he hoped he would be modern China's last victim of literary inquisition, but his wish has unfortunately not been granted. Since Xiaobo was imprisoned in 2008, many other idealists have been handed harsh sentences: Liu Xianbin, Chen Wei, Chen Xi, Zhu Yufu, Li Bifeng... not to mention a succession of Mongolian, Uyghur and Tibetan writers, and the writer Li Hong, who was persecuted to death... Looking back on all this is heartbreaking, but writing is our emotional and spiritual refuge. We can only keep walking down this bramble-infested road, extending a hand to friends and fellow-wayfarers who have fallen along the way, believing that the ending point is a starting point, and the starting point is an ending point; this rule also applies to all regimes.

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