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**4 PUZZLES PEACE**  
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**FREE THE CHILDREN**  
children helping children through education  
PUZZLE ON P2

# The rising of provincial political power in China

By HENG HE  
Epoch Times Staff

Most Chinese would agree that the political campaigns launched in 2009 in Chongqing were among the most important political events in China last year.

The history of communist rule in China can be told in the record of the Party's political campaigns. The most notorious of these exercises in state violence and indoctrination are the anti-rightist struggle of 1957, the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976, and the persecution of Falun Gong beginning in 1999. All of the political campaigns have been nationwide and initiated at the center by the paramount leader—that is, until this year.

Chongqing, a municipality of 31 million people in central, western China, is one of four provincial-level municipalities in China (Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin are the others). Chongqing has been ruled for the past two years by Mr. Bo Xilai, the secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Chongqing Committee.

Bo Xilai launched two campaigns, "promoting red culture" and "hitting the black," which together are often referred to as "singing Red, hitting Black."

"Promoting red culture" began in June 2008 with singing revolutionary songs and also included reading revolutionary classics and retelling revolutionary stories. In April 2009, it added sending text messages that promote the Party. Bo himself launched the text messaging part of the campaign with

a text message sent to 13 million phones.

In spite of the use of text messaging, the campaign has the feel of something from an earlier era. Most of the "red songs" were written and sung 30 years ago. They represent the Mao era and promote the idea of "continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." This was the theory used by the CCP for the first 30 years of its rule to maintain its legitimacy. Beginning in 1979, however, the CCP officially abandoned that theory and switched its focus to the economy. The red songs were no longer considered appropriate.

The "black" in "hitting the black" usually refers to gangsters, and this campaign began in June 2009. The targets of this campaign are of two different types, the so-called gangsters, including the organizers of a protest by taxi drivers, and corrupt Party and state officials. Recently, the lawyers who took the cases of those who have been accused have been included in those swept up.

This campaign obviously has the effect of killing two birds with one stone: winning the support of the people who are tired of rising crime, while defaming Bo's predecessor, Mr. Wang Yang, now secretary of the CCP Guangdong Committee. The accused are mostly Wang Yang's trusted officials.

The arrests and trials in this campaign don't go through the regular legal process, but instead through political channels. Lawyers in China believe the campaign is a political event, not a law-enforcement action.

**HIGH STAKES**

In starting these two campaigns, Bo has done what no local official has ever done. In a system in which the Party's monopolies on violence and propaganda are the mainstays of its power, he has broken ranks. He seems to be gambling his career.

There are two explanations: Bo may have acted on his own, or someone in the top leadership instructed him to do this.

Bo had reasons for taking a bold step. He may think he has been rapidly losing the chance to join China's top leadership. Bo is one of a cohort of three officials who became acting governors around the same time. Bo became governor of Liaoning Province in 2000, Mr. Xi Jinping of Fujian Province in 1999, and Mr. Li Keqiang of Henan Province in 1998. All three were born around 1950 and so are almost the same age.

Bo stepped up from Liaoning Province to become the minister of commerce, which seemed to give him more power in booming economic times. But then in 2007, his political career stalled, compared to the careers of Xi and Li, who joined the standing committee of the politburo of the CCP Central Committee, the most powerful decision-making body in China.

With this promotion, the road is open for them to become the next generation of China's leaders. At the same time, Bo became the party leader of Chongqing, a post not associated with being a candidate for the future leadership. He needed a miracle to change his fortunes and put himself back on center stage.

His two campaigns can be seen as a noisy way of raising his profile nationally by showing that he can lead.

At the same time, analysts believe his ambition is given an edge by a sense of entitlement and a feeling of resentment. Bo is a "princeling," the son of one of the Communist Party members who first took power in China. He and others of his generation feel the rule of China belongs to them, and they look jealously on figures like Hu Jintao, China's current paramount leader, and Li Keqiang, who achieved power without such a family background.

**FROM THE TOP**

Another possibility is that someone in the top leadership instructed Bo to launch these campaigns as part of the ongoing power struggle for the rule of China.

Analysts differ on who would have most likely used Bo as a cat's-paw. Some say that it was Zhou Yongkang, the former minister of Public Security and current secretary of the Central Political and Law Committee, which oversees the whole legal system in China for the Party.

Zhou represents in the Politburo the interests of Jiang Zemin, China's former paramount leader who contests with Hu Jintao and his faction for power.

On the other hand, according to a report in the Jamestown Foundation's China Brief that quotes Hong Kong newspaper reports, Bo's Chongqing "anti-triad tornado" was approved by Hu Jintao himself.

In either case, the situation reveals a power struggle at the top.

If Bo did it by himself, he has directly challenged the top authorities. In China, the important question is not whether a policy is right or wrong, it is who makes the policy.

If top leaders ordered Bo to take this step, then top leadership needs to use provincial-level resources to exercise its authority, which is a sign that the central CCP leaders are losing control, or their power is breaking down.

This has only happened in communist China once before. In 1965, Mao felt that he risked losing his power to Liu Shaoqi and other leaders and tried to strike first. But he encountered resistance in Beijing. He arranged for the review of a play that was understood to have strong political implications to be published in a Shanghai newspaper. This review is considered to be the launching of the Cultural Revolution.

History often repeats itself. Before the collapse of China's last dynasty, the Qing Dynasty, the Manchu rulers in Beijing lost the control of the provincial governors and military officials. When the Wuchang uprising started in 1911, more than a dozen provinces immediately joined. Many were led by the former provincial governors and military leaders, and many of these became warlords in the early Republic of China.

Bo Xilai's two campaigns signal the rising of provincial political power in China, which is a bad sign for the Chinese Communist regime.

# Bringing books and seeking peace in Colombia

By CÉSAR CHELALA  
Democracy Watch

A teacher, two donkeys, and a big pile of books are working to enrich the lives of the children in a small community in Colombia. Luis Soriano Boroquez hopes in doing so to help bring peace to his violence-prone country.

Since the 1930s, violence has been an inescapable component of Colombian society. From 1948 to 1957, the country went through a civil war known as "La Violencia," which left over 250,000 dead, the result of old rivalries between people from the Liberal and Conservative parties. These incidents created the framework for the extreme violence in Colombian society today.

As a consequence of waves of violence and political persecution, whole families left their homes to live in bigger cities. They usually

ended up living in the most marginal and poor areas, lacking basic health and social services.

In the 1980s, new factors contributed to the perpetuation of this culture of violence in the country. One of the most important was the dissemination of cocaine and the incorporation of youngsters into the drug trade. Other factors were the economic crisis and the proliferation of guerrilla groups whose activities continue today. Colombia thus became one of the most violent countries in the world.

Inevitably, violence has affected all activities of civilian life, such as education. According to some estimates, Colombia now has a 20 percent illiteracy rate, which can be much higher in rural areas affected by violence. In addition, functional illiteracy is also high, due in large measure to the lack of reading materials and libraries in those communities.

**DONKEY'S LIBRARY**

Ten years ago, Boroquez, a rural teacher, had what for many was a crazy idea: to bring books to children in the municipal department of Nueva Granada. He had two unusual allies, two donkeys called Alfa and Beto. It is from them that his adventure got his name: He called it "Biblioburro," or "Donkey's Library."

Every weekend, this elementary school teacher from the co-ed school of La Gloria loads his donkeys with 70 to 120 books (Alfa is the one that carries most of them) and travels distances from 3 to 11 kilometers (approximately 2 to 7 miles) each day, bringing books and culture to rural children. Every trip takes him up to eight hours each day.

The idea for his library, he explained to the New York Times, came to him after he saw the transformative power of reading among

children in an area in Colombia afflicted by conflicts. His aim is to fight illiteracy and to help children do research for their homework and provide them with reading materials that they don't have in their village.

As soon as the first child sees him coming, he rushes back to call his companions, who come and accompany the teacher as in a parade. When the teacher reaches a village, he chooses an empty space. There, he displays a makeshift table where some children do their homework while the rest sit in the grass reading and playing.

Initially, Soriano collected the books in his own house, where he lives with his wife Diana and three children, with the books piled up to the ceiling. But given the demand for books among rural children, and with the financial help of "Cajamag," a local financing institution, he recently finished building a small library that has almost 4,000 books.

What began as a need soon became an obligation on his part, then a custom, and now, with the construction of the library, an institution. "What I want to do is to teach children their rights, duties, and responsibilities. When they get to know them, every child we teach through Biblioburro becomes an informed citizen who can say no to war," Soriano says.

Although the new library now serves a small community of 200 children, Soriano still continues his outreach activities during weekends. "Doing this is my life commitment," he declared to Valentina Canavesio, an independent producer. "I want to be useful to the society I belong to." Soriano feels that his work contributes, in a small but significant way, to bringing peace to his beleaguered country.

César Chelala is a writer on human rights issues.

The 'Nine Commentaries' is the book that is disintegrating the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and changing China. This award-winning Epoch Times editorial series discloses the true history and nature of the CCP. Now it is serialized here.

# Nine Commentaries on the Communist Party

## Commentary Eight (cont.)

On the unscrupulous nature of the Chinese Communist Party

**USING ECONOMIC INTERESTS TO PRESSURE WESTERN COUNTRIES**  
Many people believe that trade with China will promote human rights, freedom of speech and democratic reform in China. After more than a decade, it is clear that this assumption is only wishful thinking.

A comparison of the principles for doing business in China and the West provides a common example. The fairness and transparency of Western societies are replaced by nepotism, bribery and embezzlement in China. Many Western corporations have become leading culprits by further exacerbating China's corruption. Some companies even help the CCP hide its human rights violations and persecution of its own people.

The CCP behaves like the Mafia by playing the economic card in foreign diplomacy. Whether China's aircraft manufacturing contract is given to France or the United States depends on which country keeps quiet on the CCP's human rights issues. Many Western businessmen and politicians are driven and controlled by economic profits from China.

Some information technology companies from North America have supplied specialized products to the CCP for blocking the Internet. In order to gain entry to the Chinese market, some Internet websites have agreed to censor themselves and filter out information disliked by the CCP.

According to data from China's Ministry of Commerce, by the end of April 2004, China has seen a total of US\$990 billion of foreign investment in various contracts. The huge "blood transfusion" to the CCP's economy from foreign capital is apparent. But investment has not brought democracy, freedom, and human rights as fundamental principles to the Chinese people.

## The CCP capitalizes in its propaganda on the unconditional cooperation by foreign investors and foreign governments and the flattery of some countries.

The CCP capitalizes in its propaganda on the unconditional cooperation by foreign investors and foreign governments and the flattery of some countries. By making use of China's superficial economic prosperity, CCP officials have become extremely adept at colluding with businesses to divide state wealth and block political reforms.

**III. THE CCP'S BRAINWASHING TECHNIQUES CHANGE**

People are often heard to say, "I know the CCP lied very often in

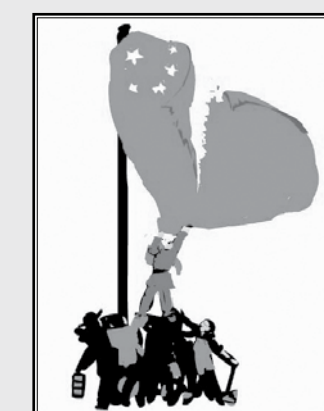
the past, but this time it is telling the truth." Ironically, in retrospect, this was what people would say each time the CCP made a grave mistake in the past. This reflects the ability the CCP has acquired over the decades to use lies to fool people.

People have developed some resistance to the CCP's tall tales. In response, the CCP's fabrication and propaganda have become more subtle and "professional." Evolving from the slogan-style propaganda of the past, the

CCP's lies have become more refined and subtle. Particularly under the conditions of the information blockade the CCP has erected around China, it makes up stories based on partial facts to mislead the public, which is even more detrimental and deceptive than tall tales.



# QUITTING THE CCP



Inspired by the 'Nine Commentaries,' as of January 6, at 8:15 p.m.

66,462,937

Chinese people have announced their intentions to quit the Chinese Communist Party and its affiliated organizations on a special Web site established by The Epoch Times. Many others, unable to break through the Chinese Internet blockade, have posted their withdrawal statements on poles or buildings. Others have written them on Chinese currency. Read recent statements of Chinese quitting the Party, the latest news on the "Nine Commentaries," and more at <http://www.NineCommentaries.com>

## Letters to the Editor



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