

在堅持中推進自由 (Moving Persistently Toward Freedom)

By Li Datong (李大同)

尊敬的各位評委、尊敬的各位來賓：
晚上好！

Distinguished committee of judges, esteemed guests:
I wish you a goodnight!

儘管我已經被解除編輯職務一年有餘，但還是十分榮幸地接到參加今年“亞洲卓越編輯獎”盛會的邀請，並在這個晚宴上獲得發言的機會。

It has been more than a year now since I was stripped of my editorial position at *China Youth Daily*, so it's a great honor for me to be invited to take part in the SOPA Awards ceremony this year, and to have the opportunity to speak tonight.

也許，這表明中國大陸新聞媒體的現狀和發展，正受到亞洲同行們更多的關注。在很大程度上，中國的變化就是亞洲的變化，也是世界的變化。我願意在這個場合就中國傳媒的現狀向大家做一個簡要的報告。

Perhaps this means developments in Chinese journalism are now of greater interest to our colleagues across Asia. To a large extent, changes in China are changes for Asia, and changes for the world. So if I may, I would like to give a report tonight on the current state of the media in China.

中國大陸有著龐大的傳媒產業，有 13 億人民，而國家正處在一個高速變化的歷史轉折時期，傳媒與中國社會的發展開始建立起越來越密切的互動關係。

China has a vast media industry. We are a country of 1.3 billion people in the midst of an historic period of transition, and the relationship between media and China's social development is growing ever closer.

不言而喻，這種發展是在一個專制體制下得以實現的，因此不可避免地會取得成就，也會遇到挫折，其中充滿媒體與體制之間的博弈。

That this is happening under an autocratic system goes without saying. Unavoidably, progress is punctuated by setbacks. It is a game of wits between the media and the system.

在某些特定的時刻，這種博弈會變得相當激烈並且表面化，譬如去年受到全球媒體關注的“冰點事件”。如果我們只是看到挫折，那就會對中國傳媒的前景感

到絕望，而實際上，堅冰正在解凍，冰層開始融化、破裂，在不斷破碎的專制冰面下，中國人民要求民主、自由的洪流正在湧動。

At certain times, this game of wits is exposed for all to see – as was the case with the shutdown of Freezing Point and the ensuing controversy last year. If we dwell on the setbacks, we are sure to despair at the prospects for Chinese media. And yet, the solid ice is melting, the layers are beginning to soften and split apart, and beneath the crushing of this ice of autocracy, the Chinese people are demanding democracy and freedom.

我是在 1979 年進入媒體工作的，正是中國開始改革開放的那一年。29 年來，我們親身投入並目睹了中國新聞界的變革，從報導的廣度和深度上來衡量，中國媒體已經獲得了時代性的進步。可以有根據地說，這種變化已經深入人心，很難逆轉了。

I began working as a journalist in 1979, just as China began its path of opening and reform. Over the course of 29 years, we have poured our energy into changing Chinese journalism, and seen it for ourselves. Judging from the depth and breadth of news reports today, Chinese media have already made epochal progress. We're not remiss in saying these changes have already lodged in the hearts of the people, that they cannot be reversed.

“冰點事件”以來，香港、臺灣以及外國新聞同行們問我最多的一個問題是，當局對中國新聞的管制是否更加嚴厲了？

Ever since the Freezing Point affair, the question my colleagues in Greater China and overseas have asked most often is: Are controls on the media stricter now than they once were, or not?

實際情況是，當局對新聞的管制從來就沒有“寬鬆”過，管制體制從未發生過任何實質性的變化，管制手段甚至更加精細和隱蔽，然而即便如此，變化還是不可避免地發生。

In point of fact, there has never been a “loosening” of controls. The censorship system has never undergone substantive change, even if its methods have become more nuanced and concealed. But in spite of this fact, change is unavoidable.

一個形象的比喻是：傳統的新聞管制體制就像一個氣球，力圖將媒體的出口包裹起來，這個氣球正越脹越大，而氣球的膠皮卻越來越薄弱，當這個過程持續下去時，最終會發生什麼是不難想像的。

Imagine the traditional news control system as a balloon seeking to encompass the media and prevent their escape. This balloon swells up bigger and bigger, so that its skin

becomes thinner and thinner. As this process continues, I leave it to your imagination to picture what will happen.

造成這種變化的主要原因，是人的權利意識的變化、新聞觀念的變化，也依託於中國互聯網爆炸性的普及。我想分幾個方面來談一下。

The principle factors behind this change are a growing consciousness of rights among the people, changes in ideas about journalism – and the explosion in China of the Internet as a universal medium. I'd like to talk just a bit about each of these.

有效控制傳媒需要一個先決條件，即多數被控制者因缺乏其他管道的資訊，同意控制者大力宣揚的意識形態。

Effective control of the media comes with a number of preconditions. Firstly, those controlled must not have access to alternate sources of information, and they must agree with the ideology of the controller.

如今在中國，這個條件已經基本喪失。1949年後，當局在意識形態上，培養了一批“理論專家”和寫手，著名的，如張春橋、姚文元、胡喬木以及大大小小的“筆桿子”，這些人的功能，在於一有政治上的風吹草動，就可以主動或秉承指令寫出大塊“批判”文章，因缺乏其他資訊的比較，這些文章曾經很有蠱惑力和欺騙性。

In China today, this condition is essentially impossible to fulfill. After the Party came to power in 1949, a core group of “theorists” grew up in the ideological sphere. Their strength lay in their ability to compose articles to suit any change in the political winds. These works existed in a vacuum, and so they bewitched and cheated the people.

現在，中國已經很難再找出這樣的意識形態“打手”了，依託陳舊、僵化的教條寫出的東西，無不遭到受眾的嘲笑和譏諷。

Today, you would be hard pressed to find ideological mercenaries of this sort in China. Anyone employing the dogmas of old in their writing would be mocked and laughed at.

事實上，當局對新聞媒體的控制手段，只剩下了依託強權，只能靠內部會議、電話通知來執行，還生怕留下文字記錄。這種控制只有自我安慰、自我麻痹的功能，對面是哈哈大笑的人群。

In fact, the only thing left for control of the media is power. Authorities hold internal meetings, or carry out orders by telephone. But they even fear leaving a written record. Their tactics comfort and anaesthetize themselves. And on the other side are the laughing masses.

二·控制傳媒的另一個條件是，新聞的從業者普遍相信，“新聞就是宣傳”、“新聞是黨的喉舌和工具”。這樣的媒體人，現在打著燈籠也難找到了。我們這一代新聞人，從進入這個行當的那天起，就檢索和反省了 1949 年以後的中國媒體的歷史。

2. Another precondition of effective media control is that media workers believe the idea that “journalism is propaganda,” that “news is the tool and mouthpiece of the party.” You can send out a search party if you like, but this sort of journalist is tough to find. News people of this generation are self-aware, and reflect back on their own press history since 1949 from the moment they take up the gauntlet.

我們看到，在“反右”、“大躍進”、“文化大革命”等等這些給中國人民造成深重災難的運動中，媒體無一例外充當了先鋒和幫兇。中國老一代新聞工作者中的有識之士，痛定思痛，呼籲“新聞決不能再講假話”。

We saw how the media, without exception, were accomplices in the great tragedies of the Anti-Rightist Movement, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The older generation of journalists is determined never again to speak such falsehoods.

經過廣泛的獨立閱讀，至上世紀八十年代中期，我們這一代新聞人已經從傳統新聞禁錮中掙脫出來，開始意識明確地拒絕空洞宣傳，力求按新聞規律從業。

We threw off our shackles in the 1980s, reading broadly and independently, renouncing empty propaganda and seeking journalistic professionalism.

在我們之後，至少已經有四、五代新人補充進來，他們從一開始，就接受了西方新聞理念的薰陶。如今在中國大學的新聞教育中，世界新聞共同體遵循的價值觀、規則和技術均得到廣泛的介紹，國外的傑出新聞作品被當作“範本”在教授，新聞專業精神得到很大普及。

Four or five generations of news people have come after my own. Their starting point is a respect for the press principles of the West. Today, in journalism schools across China, the common values, principles and techniques shared by journalists across the world are taught widely, so that the spirit of professionalism is spreading.

中國媒體對來自政府部門的資訊，已經有意識地從對公眾有何影響、利益所得是哪些社會集團來審視和解讀；以揭露內幕、真相為目的的“調查性報導”也已經成為媒體的常用手段，產生了相當一批與國際同行比較毫不遜色的新聞作品。

Already, journalists in China today view information from the government with a determination to understand what its impact will be, and who stands to benefit. The investigative report has already become routine, and there is now a body of Chinese works to stand up with the finest journalism internationally.

可以說，當代中國新聞人，已經具有與國際同行共同的職業價值觀念。這是一個決定性的變化。

It can be said that journalists in China today already share common professional values with their colleagues around the world. This change is decisive.

三·中國傳媒的影響力格局已經發生根本性逆轉。從上世紀 80 年代中期開始，中國各主要城市均出現了以市場接受為取向的城市報，形成了主要面對特定城市和地區受眾發行的城市報群。

3. The pattern of influence of the Chinese media has already undergone a fundamental reversal. Since the mid-1980s, a whole class of metropolitan newspapers has sprung up in major cities across China. They take their cues from the market, targeting specific cities and regional areas.

這類報紙的特徵是，報導內容以讀者是否關心、是否喜聞樂見為主要取捨標準；因完全不依賴財政支持，這類報紙能否生存、發展下去並保障自己員工的工資和福利，完全取決於市場的接受程度。

These newspapers depend for acceptance on whether readers enjoy them or care about them. They receive no government support, and their development, employee salaries and benefits, all depend on their level of acceptance at the newsstand.

經過 20 多年的發展，中國城市報顯示出強大的生命力。這類報紙不僅在發行量和廣告收入上，遠遠超過了傳統的主流大報，報導領域也遠遠超出了地域限制，已經承載起為中國公眾提供資訊的主管道的使命。

Through 20 years of development, metropolitan newspapers in China have shown incredible vitality. Not only have they far surpassed the traditional Party newspapers in terms of circulation and advertising, but the scope of their news reports has broken through regional barriers. Already, they have become the primary source of information for the Chinese public.

相比之下，傳統的中央主流大報“一統天下”的格局早已被打破，發行量逐年縮減，影響力日漸式微，經營入不敷出，連年虧損，如果不靠行政強制訂閱和國家財政撥款，恐怕早已倒閉了。

In contrast, the pattern of uniformity and dominance by central Party media has been broken. Their circulations have faltered. Their influence has waned. They would have faced extinction long ago were they not supported by state funding.

“主流媒體邊緣化，邊緣媒體主流化。”正是今天中國傳媒格局的生動寫照。

The mainstream media, by which we mean the Party media, are being marginalized. The marginal media – that is, the commercial media – are being mainstreamed. THIS is the portrait of Chinese media today.

四·互聯網的作用。自上世紀 90 年代中期以來，中國的互聯網有了爆炸性擴展，短短十年多的時間裏，互聯網用戶已達 1.3 億，僅次於美國居世界第二；另外還有近 2000 萬個個人博客，比較活躍的也有一百多萬。從理論上說，每一個博客都可能成爲一個新聞發佈口。

4. The influence of the Internet. Since the mid-1990s, Web media in China have expanded exponentially. In just 10 years, the number of Web users in China has climbed to 130 million, second only to America. We have 20 million bloggers, of which more than one million could be described as “active.” Theoretically, every blogger is a potential source of news.

對傳統媒體而言，互聯網的作用是可以將任何一條地方新聞，一夜之間擴展爲全國性新聞，成爲全國矚目的熱點。互聯網上看起來支離破碎的原生資訊，隨時可能被媒體發現並通過職業手段使之構成重要新聞。

The Internet has the power to take any local news story and make it national news overnight. The fragments of information surfacing on the Internet could at any time be snatched up by journalists and be turned into major professional news stories.

最近發生的重慶“釘子戶”事件，就是由一張首先發表在線民個人博客上的圖片最終繁衍成世界級新聞的。大量公開媒體上因受控制不能發表的新聞、文章，幾乎都可以通過互聯網得到傳播。

The recent “nail house” affair in Chongqing, [in which Chinese homeowners defended their right to adequate compensation for the demolition of their property], was started by the posting of photographs on a personal Weblog and eventually became international news. The vast majority of news stories and commentaries killed by the press control system can be disseminated one way or another on the Web.

在互聯網上，重要新聞幾乎都會立即得到線民的評論，數以萬計的線民評論迅速形成輿論，成爲當局不可忽視的無形力量。

And on the Internet, perhaps all important news is discussed instantly by Web users, so that the words of tens of thousands of users swell into public opinion. They are a force authorities can no longer afford to ignore.

無疑，互聯網已經在很大程度上改變了中國傳媒甚至中國社會的生態環境，這種影響將持續下去。

The Internet has, without a doubt, already changed the ecology of Chinese media, even of Chinese society, and this trend will continue.

五·中國媒體開始建立起輿論功能。眾所周知，媒體具有兩大功能，一是新聞的發佈；二是意見的表達。1949年中共建政直至上世紀90年代中期，中國媒體基本上沒有任何的輿論功能，媒體社論或評論員文章所表達的“意見”，基本就是執政黨方針、政策的翻版，表達的是執政黨的意志。

5. Chinese media have begun to play a role in shaping public opinion. From 1949 to the mid-1990s, Chinese media had essentially no role in shaping public opinion. The “opinions” voiced by editorial writers were basically re-articulations of Party principles.

然而自上世紀90年代中期以來，中國媒體逐漸擺脫了這種模式，全國媒體在同一時間整齊劃一地轉載人民日報社論的景象基本已經絕跡，與此同時，媒體從相對獨立的言論欄目開始，逐漸發展到設置專頁評論版，如今已經成爲報紙不可或缺的重要組成部分，甚至成爲讀者最重視、閱讀率最高的版面。

Since the 1990s, Chinese media have gradually shaken off this legacy. Gone are the days when all media across the country would run the same main editorial from People's Daily. Beginning with columns of relative independence, newspapers have moved gradually toward whole sections devoted to commentary. These are now an indispensable part of a competitive newspaper, and often the part most welcomed by readers.

針對當代中國的事件、現象、政府政策、領導人言論等等，媒體現在一般都有及時的意見表達，其中既有報紙評論員的社論、評論，也有大量專家學者的時政專欄，還有許多聲音直接來自公眾。

Answering to contemporary events, trends, government policies, leadership speeches, etcetera, in China, the media now in most cases offer opinions in a timely fashion. This includes main editorials and commentaries by the newspaper's own writers as well as columns by experts and scholars, and voices from ordinary readers and members of the public.

一般而言，這些言論是多元的，有時甚至是對立的。而正是這種不同意見之間的交鋒，構成了正常的民間輿論，也起到了開啓民智、引導公眾尊重不同意見的作用。

Generally speaking, these views are pluralistic. They are often opposed, and it is this diversity that generates normal and healthy public opinion, creates an informed public, and encourages respect for different points of view.

六·國家領導人和相當一部分官員，觀念已經有所變化。中國國務院總理溫家寶不久前對外國記者談到：“民主、法制、自由、人權、平等、博愛，這不是資本主義所特有的，這是整個世界在漫長的歷史過程中共同形成的文明成果，也是人類共同追求的價值觀。”

6. The minds of national leaders and a fair number of officials have undergone a degree of change. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao said recently to foreign journalists: “Democracy, rule of law, freedom, human rights, equality, philanthropy, these are not exclusive to capitalism. Products of a deep world historical process, these are values sought in common by all humankind.”

這個表述承認民主、自由、人權具有普世價值，中國沒有例外。放在十多年前，這還屬於典型的“資產階級自由化”言論。

An exception was not made for China in Wen’s acknowledgement of the universal value of democracy, freedom and human rights. Uttered 10 years ago, such words would amount to classic “bourgeois liberalism.”

近日，中國公安部發言人公開發表文章《讓媒體說話，天塌不下來》，“不管你喜歡不喜歡，願意不願意，以媒體為代表的輿論監督都是符合憲法精神的一種制度性設計，也是表達公民意願、推行依法治國方略的應有之義。”

Not long ago, a spokesman for China’s Public Security Bureau published an essay supporting watchdog journalism, which he said was in the spirit of China’s constitution and an “appropriate way of expressing the will of Chinese citizens and promoting the goal of rule of law.”

這代表了相當一部分新生代官員的認識。而此前在國內外媒體高度關注的重慶“釘子戶”搬遷事件中，重慶官方表現出坦誠面對中外媒體的開明態度，事件最終避免了暴力，在互相妥協中得到解決。

Many among China’s new generation of leaders share these sentiments. In the recent “nail house affair” in Chongqing, city officials were frank and open in dealing with domestic and overseas media, and the standoff was eventually settled through negotiation, avoiding a violent conclusion.

另外，解除外國記者在中國採訪的所有限制，以及剛剛頒佈的《中華人民共和國政府資訊公開條例》，都會對中國傳媒環境的改善產生長遠和實質性的推動。

Also, the elimination of restrictions on the activities of foreign journalists in China, and the recently issued national legislation mandating release of government information

(effective May 2008), will both have a real and lasting impact on the environment for Chinese media.

上述變化說明，中國傳媒的進化，正處在一個“滴水穿石”的過程中，這種進化也許不具有戲劇性，不那麼引人注目，然而我作為親身參與者和觀察者，深知這種變化是真實的，難以逆轉的。

These changes demonstrate that Chinese media are evolving, that they are in the process, as we say in Chinese, of “tunneling through stone drip by drip.” This evolution may, perhaps, lack dramatic action. It may not command attention. But as someone who has participated and observed this evolution, I know it is real, and that it could not easily be reversed.

值得特別指出的，是毗鄰香港的廣州媒體：十多年來，廣州媒體成為推動中國媒體變革的最顯著的一股力量，無論在重要新聞的採集和發佈上，還是在言論的大膽和尖銳上，廣州媒體都時有傑出的表現，....

The media of Guangzhou, right next to us here in Hong Kong, deserve to be singled out. Over the last 10 years, Guangzhou media have been an important force of change in Chinese media. They have excelled, breaking important news and daring to voice bold ideas.

同時也獲得了市場的成功，堪稱中國媒體的表率，這與一個言論自由的香港有密切的聯繫。香港媒體同行們對中國大陸的廣泛報導和評論，同樣為推進中國大陸的新聞自由起到了不可忽視的作用。

At the same time, they have enjoyed success in the marketplace, becoming a model for all Chinese media. This is closely connected with the climate of free speech in Hong Kong. The news reports and editorials by our colleagues in Hong Kong have also played an important role in promoting freedom of speech in China.

不錯，傳統的媒體管制體制仍在延續，當代中國許多最重要的政治問題仍然不能公開討論，許多被當局認為有損統治合法性的新聞被禁止報導，....

Don't get me wrong. The traditional system of media controls in China grinds on. Many of the most important political topics in contemporary China cannot be talked about openly. News that authorities deem harmful to the legitimacy of their rule is suppressed.

中國憲法所規定的公民言論自由的真正實現，還有很長的一段路要走，這段路註定是曲折和坎坷的。

In realizing their right to freedom of expression, as set down in the Constitution, Chinese citizens have a long road ahead. That road will be winding and cursed with setbacks.

然而新聞自由的種子已經播下，中國民眾依法維護自己權利的意識已經覺醒，恐懼正在消退，...

But the seed of freedom of speech has been planted already. Chinese have awakened to a consciousness of their legal rights and the need to defend them. Their fear is ebbing away.

媒體管制者權力來源的合法性已受到公開質疑，違反憲法的“封報”、“禁書”行為遭到前所未有的公開抗議並迫使當局妥協——這些都是令人鼓舞的。

The power and legitimacy of China's censors has already been questioned publicly, and actions to close newspapers or ban books have met with an unprecedented degree of public resistance, forcing compromise on the part of authorities. This should make us feel encouraged.

“自由活在每個人的心底。如果它在那兒死去，沒有一部憲法，沒有一條法律，沒有一個法庭，能讓它起死回生。”這是一位美國法官所說的話。

An American jurist once said: "Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it." [Learned Hand]

而我相信，在中國，對新聞自由的渴望，從未像今天這樣強烈。只要中國的新聞工作者不放棄職業良知，堅韌地持續擴大講真話的空間，中國人民依憲法享有言論自由的那天，就決不會遙遙無期。

I believe the yearning for freedom of speech in China has never been more powerful than it is today. If journalists in China persist in upholding their professional conscience, if they work tenaciously to expand the space for truth, I believe the day when we truly enjoy freedom of expression in China, as guaranteed in our Constitution, will not tarry too much longer.

謝謝大家!

Thank you everyone!

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