

一党| one party 多党| multiple parties 民主| democracy
 专政| dictatorship 大法| dafa 弟子| disciple 大纪元| dajiyuan
 真善忍| truthful, goodness and tolerant 明慧| minghui
 大法| great law 洪志| hongzhi 红志| hongzhi 洪智| hongzhi
 红智| hongzhi 法轮| falun 法论| falun 发论| lungong 轮公| beat
 down 民运| democratic movement 六四| june forth
 台独| Taiwan independence 王丹| Wang Dan 柴玲| Chai Ling
 李鹏| Li Peng 天安门| Tiananmen 江泽民| Jiang Zemin
 朱容基| Zhu Rongji 朱镕基| Li Changchun 李瑞环| Li Ruihuan
 胡锦涛| Hu Jintao 魏京生| Wei Jingsheng 台湾独立| Tibetan
 independence 西藏独立| Xinjiang independence

Source: Program Files\Tencent\QQGame\COMToolKit.dll

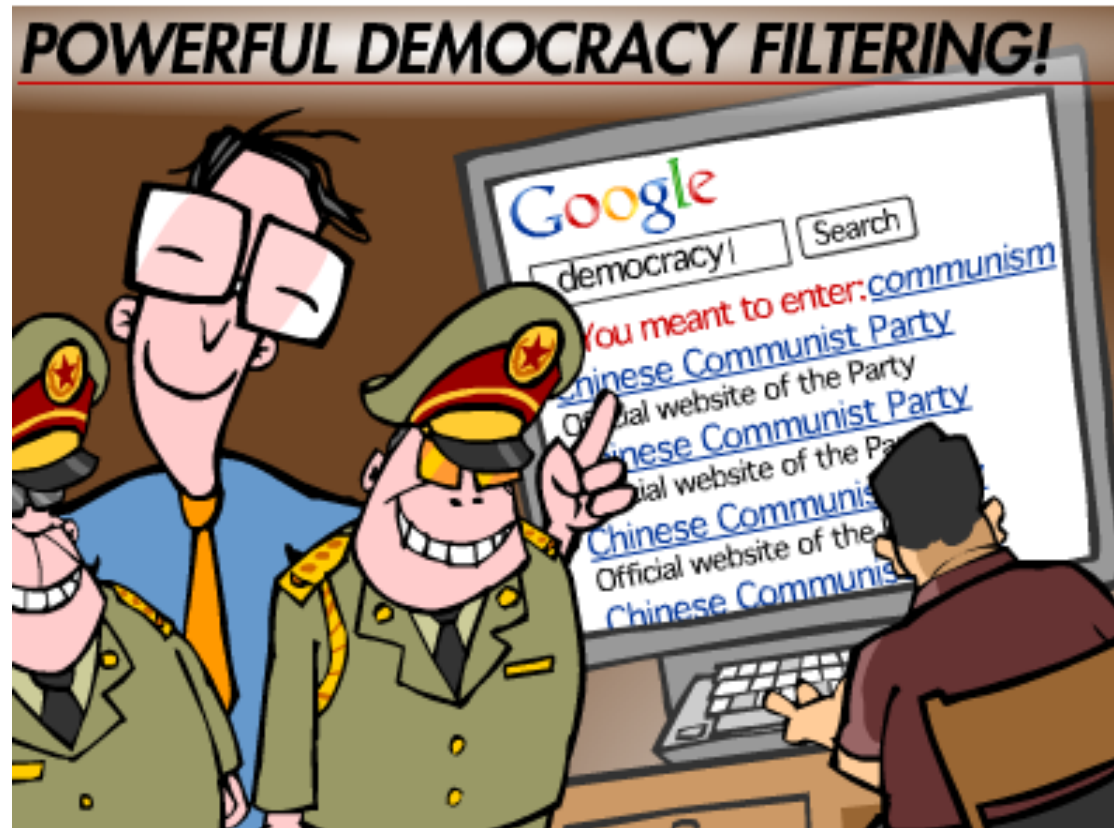
LIFT06



Can China *Really* Control the Internet?

Marc Laperrouza
February 2-3, 2006
Geneva, Switzerland

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MARK FLORE

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- Internet in China
- Microsoft, Yahoo, Google and other « villains »
- Can China *Really* Control the Internet and other questions?

Internet in China 101: I am a dance girl, and I am a party member...

- **100 million+** Internet users, more than half have broadband access
- Between **1 and 8 million blogs** in China...
- Heavy promotion of China's **informatisation** through a **centralised infrastructure** for controlling the Internet
- **30,000 state security personnel** are reportedly monitoring websites, chat rooms and private e-mail messages
- Content that is **illegal**: information that undermines the state's policy for **religions...and superstitious beliefs**; information that **disturbs social order**, or **undermines social stability**
- Of 62 "cyber dissidents" imprisoned around the world for their activities online, **54 are in China**



The Internet sector is in many ways like any other industry in China

China's Methods of Censorship and Content Control

- Regulations, surveillance and punitive action
 - Legal regulations (10+ government agencies, operating license and content providers)
 - Internet users (individuals/groups)
- Technology and human monitoring
 - Website blocking and filtering (router level)
 - Cyberpolice (30'000 human monitors via police departments in 700 cities)
 - Help from citizens (online reporting centers)
 - Help from MNCs technology providers (Cisco)
 - Establishing powerful propaganda presence online



A lot of Chinese Control, a little bit of Western technology = SELF-CENSORSHIP

Meet Jingjing and Chacha: This is no Jojoke!



<http://66110.qzone.qq.com>

- Starting in January, netizens visiting all the main portals of Shenzhen see two cartoon figures: **Jingjing** and **Chacha** (JingCha = Police)

- Officially, both police officers have the following functions: resource, blog, photo album and interactive section



The main function of Jingjing and Chacha is to **intimidate**, not to answer questions, which is the same strategy as traditional media control

Countering Censorship

- Every day in China an **underground economy of proxy server addresses** comes alive
 - Usually connecting to servers made available by volunteers around the globe
 - Addresses are passed along and traded, using elaborately coded language, on electronic BBS or chat channels
- Anoniblogging Group and the Committee to Protect Bloggers
 - Cheat the switches on MSN Spaces China
- Circumventor software (Peacefire), Electronic Frontier Foundation (EFF)
- Many bloggers outside China began a campaign to '**Adopt a Chinese Blog**' by making the hosting of Chinese blogs a distributed, collaborative process (<http://www.voy.com/195650/>)


In Other Words...

- A sophisticated system of control made of technology and human intervention but....
- The Chinese government faces two problems:
 - reluctance to realize the full potential of some modern technologies in terms of technical value and moral-political or cultural value
 - difficulty of segregating business information from political information



China has not succeeded in finding an appropriate formula to deal with the Internet

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The usual *suspects*: Microsoft, Cisco, etc...

« The internet is contributing to **Chinese political engagement** as access to the outside world is preventing more censorship »

Bill Gates,
World Economic Forum, Davos 2006

« While different countries have different standards, Microsoft and other multinational companies have to ensure that our products and services comply with local laws, norms and industry practices »

Brooke Richardson, group
product manager for the MSN division

Google in China: Careful balancing act or double standard?

- Reached an agreement with the Chinese authorities that allows it to disclose to users, at the bottom of a list of search results, **whether information has been withheld**
- Tiptoeing into the country with only a handful of services (not offering e-mail, blogging or social-networking services) due to **privacy** worries
- Keeping its options open, the company is continuing to develop the **Chinese-language version of Google.com**
- Agreed to omit Web content that the country's government finds objectionable
- Won't offer its Gmail e-mail service, Web log publishing services or chat rooms – tools of self-expression that could be used for political or social protest
- Self-censored version of Google's popular search system that restricts access to thousands of terms and Web sites

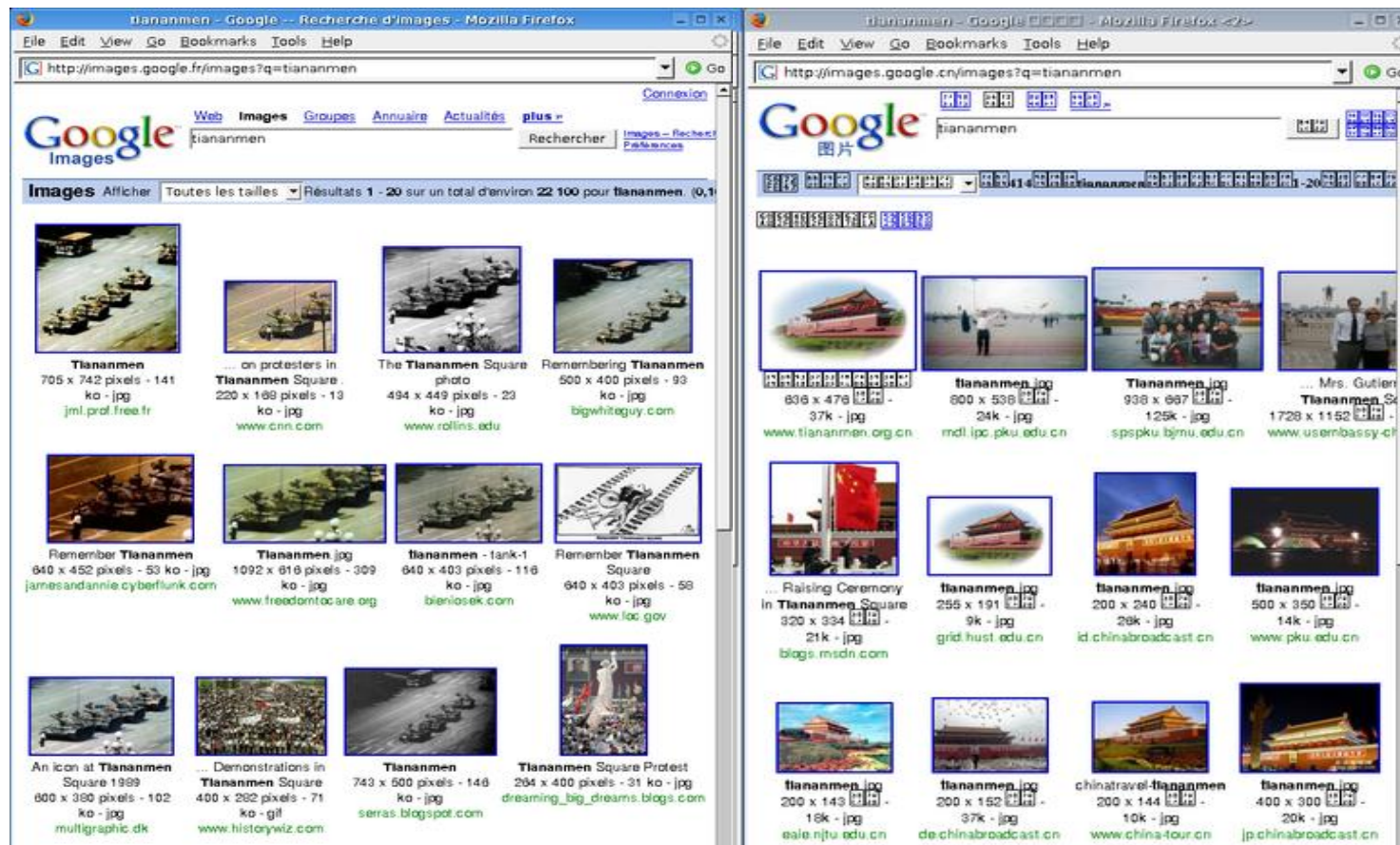


From “don't do evil” to “lesser of two evils”?

Can Google *Really* Control History?

"While removing search results is inconsistent with Google's mission, providing no information (or a heavily degraded user experience that amounts to no information) is more inconsistent with our mission."

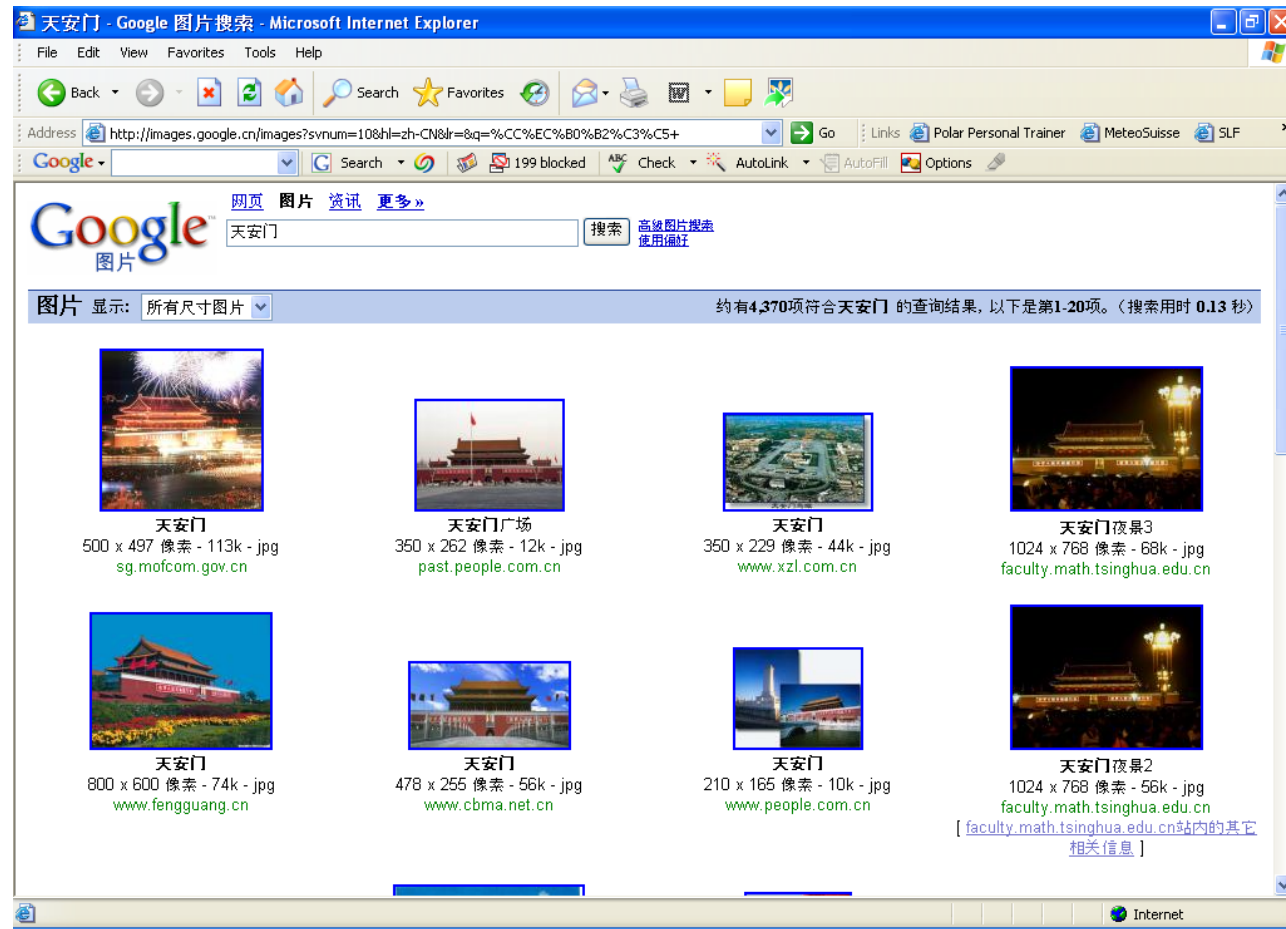
Google senior policy counsel Andrew McLaughlin



<http://images.google.com/images?q=tiananmen>

<http://images.google.cn/images?q=tiananmen>

Can Google *Really* Control History?




`http://images.google.cn/images?svnum=10&hl=zh-CN&lr=&q=%CC%EC%B0%B2%C3%C5+`

In Practice...

人权观察” (renquan guancha) or human rights

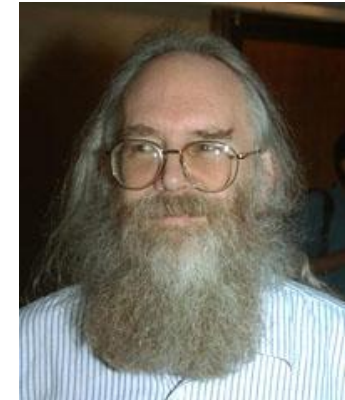
- Google.cn: Retrieves 920,000 results; hrw.org's Chinese site is the number one result, but all links to that URL are **blocked**
- Yahoo.com.cn: 32,300 results; number one is a foreign ministry "mention" of HRW in a People's Daily article from 2004. But, on page two of the search results is a link to humanrightswatch.org/chinese/, a mirror for HRW that works
- Baidu.com: 25,700 results; number one is a People's Daily criticism of HRW's 2000 report. But, a lot of blog links in the results

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Controlling the Internet: From Jon to IGO

- Political and economic liberalism led to openness on a **technical level**
- **Open infrastructure** (with non-proprietary standards) fostered free expression, low-cost access, and innovation
- Data flows kept it outside the scope of traditional domestic telecommunication **regulators**



Many governments are bothered that such a vital resource exists outside their control and, even worse, that it is under the thumb of an already dominant USA

China has called for the creation of a new **international treaty organisation**

For discussion

- How will the rise of Chinese standards – both technological (e.g. Chinese DNS or WAPI) and moral – impact the Internet?
- What will happen when the USA and Europe are **no longer** centers of innovation and have become niche markets?
- What about the days when most of the Web's content is in Chinese?

Take-away 1/2: Domestically

- China's leaders were savvy about their Internet strategy almost from the moment they began permitting global connections in 1994
- The Chinese government is **unmatched in its ability to censor and monitor its citizens online**
- From the perspective of the political elite, the Internet **cannot be renounced** because an information technology industry must be developed to ensure economic development



The government is still winning against the web... Will it last?

Take-away 2/2: Internationally

- Google, Microsoft and Yahoo will be subject of a US Congressional committee over agreements to censor internet services to Chinese citizens... but the leading US-based Internet companies are showing **little interest** in attending a Congressional briefing
- China's success in imposing information filters represents a truly **impressive projection of soft power** using the most potent weapon China's government has, market access
- When it comes to matters of Internet governance, **clashes of values exist just as in any other area of politics and law**



There is a difference between controlling THE Internet
and controlling **ONE** Network

Mark Their Words...

All of the big mistakes made in China since 1949 have had to do with a lack of information

Guo Liang, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing

China not only changed certain lifestyles of Westerners by providing inexpensive goods, but also used its enormous market to change Westerner's moral standards

Chiu Yung, Blogger, Southern China