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December 10
2012
British Council
Japan



University Reputation Management
in an Asian and Political Context

Katherine Ma, Director of Communications
The University of Hong Kong



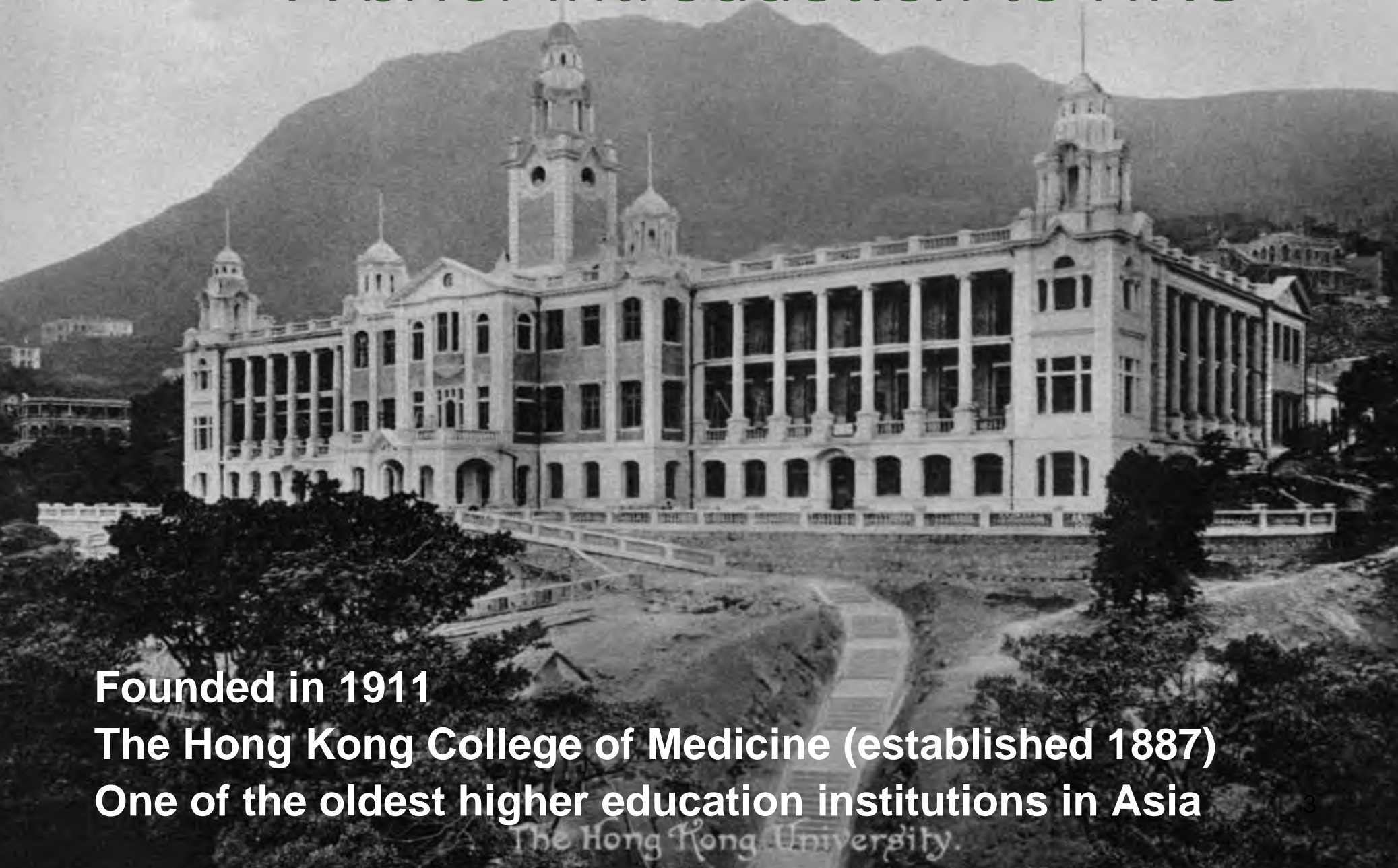
Agenda

1. HKU: Past and Present
2. HKU: An International University in Asia
3. University reputation management in a political and Asian context

Case study:

*Building Ties with Nobel Peace Laureate
Aung San Suu Kyi*

A brief introduction to HKU



Founded in 1911

The Hong Kong College of Medicine (established 1887)

One of the oldest higher education institutions in Asia

The Hong Kong University.



***“I feel
as though
I have
returned home
because
Hong Kong
and
The University
of Hong Kong
is my
intellectual
birthplace”***

Dr Sun Yat Sen, Founder of Modern China,
one of the first medical students of the University
Made a speech at the invitation of the Students' Union
in the Great Hall of HKU in 1923



The Past 100 Years (1)

- **Founded in 1911**
 - As a university for China, providing British-style education
 - ‘Internationalised’ from the start
 - ‘Foreign’ faculty
 - English as medium of teaching
 - The only university in Hong Kong until 1963
- **Up to 1950s**
 - Many students from China and Southeast Asia



The Past 100 Years (2)

- **After 1950s**
 - Training generations of leaders for Hong Kong, in civil service, business, academia, various professional disciplines
- **Late 1980s – 1990s**
 - Massive expansion of higher education in HK
 - Competition for resources
- **From late 1990s**
 - Growing internationalisation – recruiting students from Mainland China and rest of world



HKU Today

10 Faculties

Architecture

Arts

Business & Economics

Dentistry

Education

Engineering

Law

Medicine

Science

Social Sciences

22,000+ Students

- 11,400+ Undergrad programmes
- 3,600+ Research and Taught RPgs (UGC-funded)
- 7,800+ Research and Taught RPgs (Self-funded)

Staff

- 6,500+ regular staff
- 1,000+ are professors (teaching & research)



A Green & Vibrant Campus







Some performance indicators

- Ranked 1st in Hong Kong, 1st in Asia, 23rd in the world (2012 Quacquarelli Symonds QS World University Rankings)
- Ranked 1st in Hong Kong, 3rd in Asia, 35th in the world (2012 Times Higher Education World University Rankings)



Some performance indicators

- **Highest** number of **refereed outputs** (4.4 per staff 2010-2011)
- **Highest** number of **citations** (301,000+) in 22,000+ papers published in journals tracked by ISI based on 19 fields (2002-2012)
- **110** HKU staff: **ISI top 1% scientists** (2012)
- **11** staff elected to the **Chinese Academy** of Sciences, **4** elected to the Chinese Academy of Engineering



Internationalisation

- **English-medium** university in Hong Kong
- **International academic staff:**
 - 56% overseas
- **International student** (non-local) body
 - 22% Undergraduate,
 - 45% Research and Taught Postgraduates
 - **Exchange** with 180 institutions
 - 1,000+ incoming exchange students



An International University in Asia

- We have been international from the beginning (colonial context)
- Students were from
 - local Hong Kong
 - China
 - South East Asia
- We are now among the most international University in Asia
 - For attracting the best talents – faculty and students
 - For creating the most vibrant and lively campus environment
 - Fostering inter-cultural tolerance, understanding and appreciation



Internationalisation

Origins of non-local students

Canada

USA

Mexico

Brazil

Argentina

Venezuela

**Other Central &
South America
countries**



UK

France

Germany

Portugal

Spain

Italy

Austria

Belgium

Netherlands

Switzerland

Denmark

Norway

Sweden

Finland

Turkey

Greece

Russia

Ukraine

Czech Republic

Romania

Hungary

Poland

Slovakia

Estonia

Lithuania

Egypt

Tanzania

Uganda

Kenya

South Africa

Nigeria

Ghana

Australia

New Zealand

The Mainland of China

Macao SAR

Taiwan

Japan

Korea, Republic of

Mongolia

India

Sri Lanka

Pakistan

Bangladesh

Nepal

Malaysia

The Philippines

Singapore

Thailand

Vietnam

Cambodia

Myanmar

Indonesia

Israel

Iran





Internationalisation

Our global partners

- Collaboration with >300 universities & academic / research institutes
- Joint degree programmes
 - e.g. LLB-JD with UBC, PhD with King's College London
- Joint laboratories and research institutes
 - e.g. Influenza Centre (WHO), Pasteur Institute (Paris), Aaron Diamond AIDS Institute (New York), The Centre for Applied Genomics (Toronto), East-West Alliance (Cambridge, UC Berkeley, U Toronto)
- EMBA programmes with London Business School, and Columbia University
- Asia/Pacific Regional Centre for WTO Trade Policy



Internationalisation

International Membership

- Member of Universitas 21 (U21)
- Member of Association of Pacific Rim Universities (APRU)
- Networks with US-based Council of Graduate Schools (CGS) and the Association of Chinese Graduate Schools (ACGS)
- East-West Alliance (Cambridge, UC Berkeley, UT)
- Joint laboratories and research institutes
- Germany or France/Hong Kong Joint Research Schemes



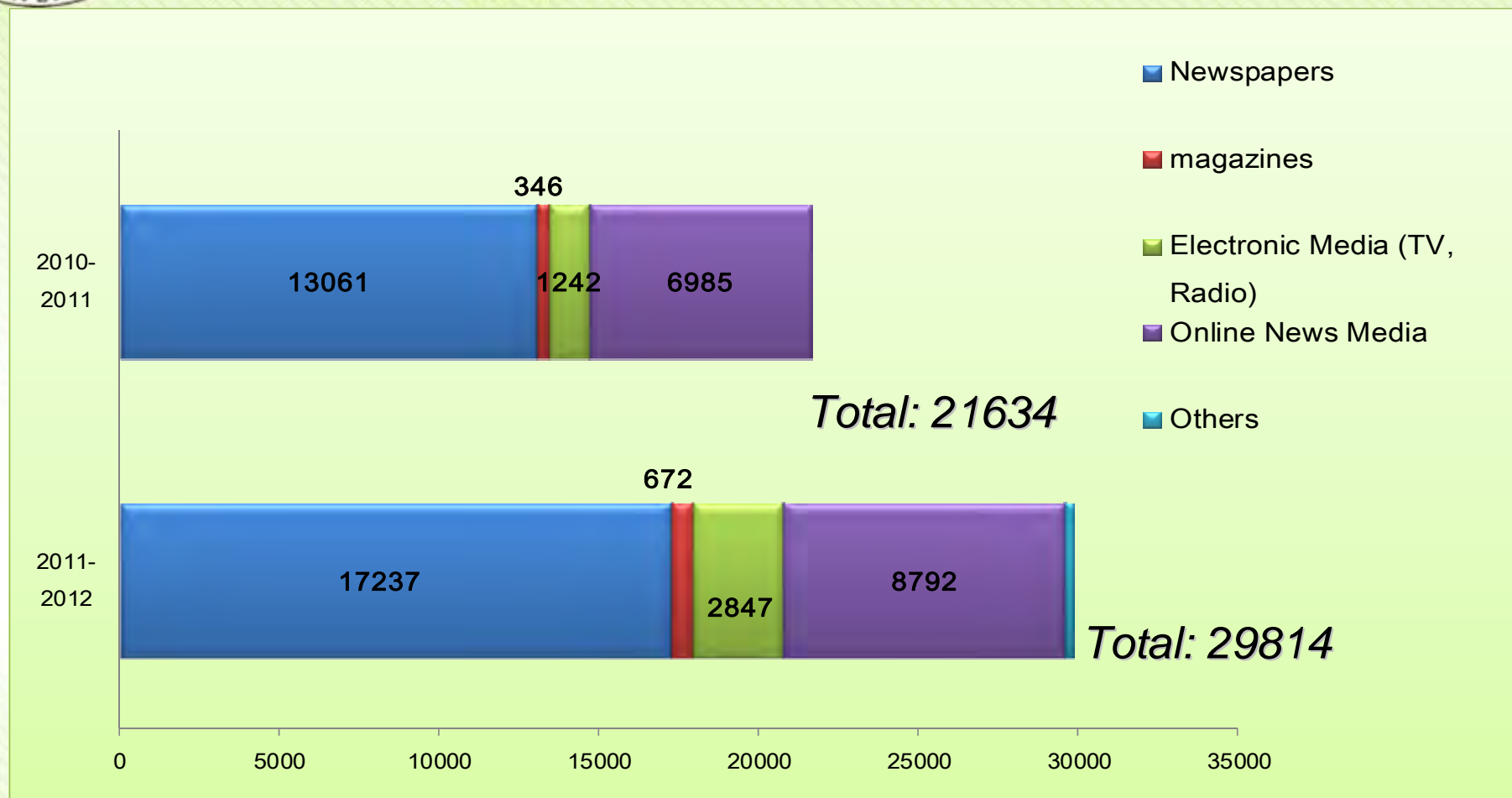
Internationalisation

Our Mainland China partners

- Teaching and research collaborations with the leading universities
- 10 joint laboratories in Mainland with Chinese Academy of Sciences & leading universities
- 4 China's State Key Laboratories at HKU:
- MBA programme with Fudan University
- Binhai Hospital in Shenzhen, funded by Shenzhen Government
- Shenzhen Virtual University Park – the HKU-Shenzhen Institute of Research and Innovations (HKU-SIRI) in the Park
- Zhejiang Institute of Research and Innovations (HKU-ZIRI)

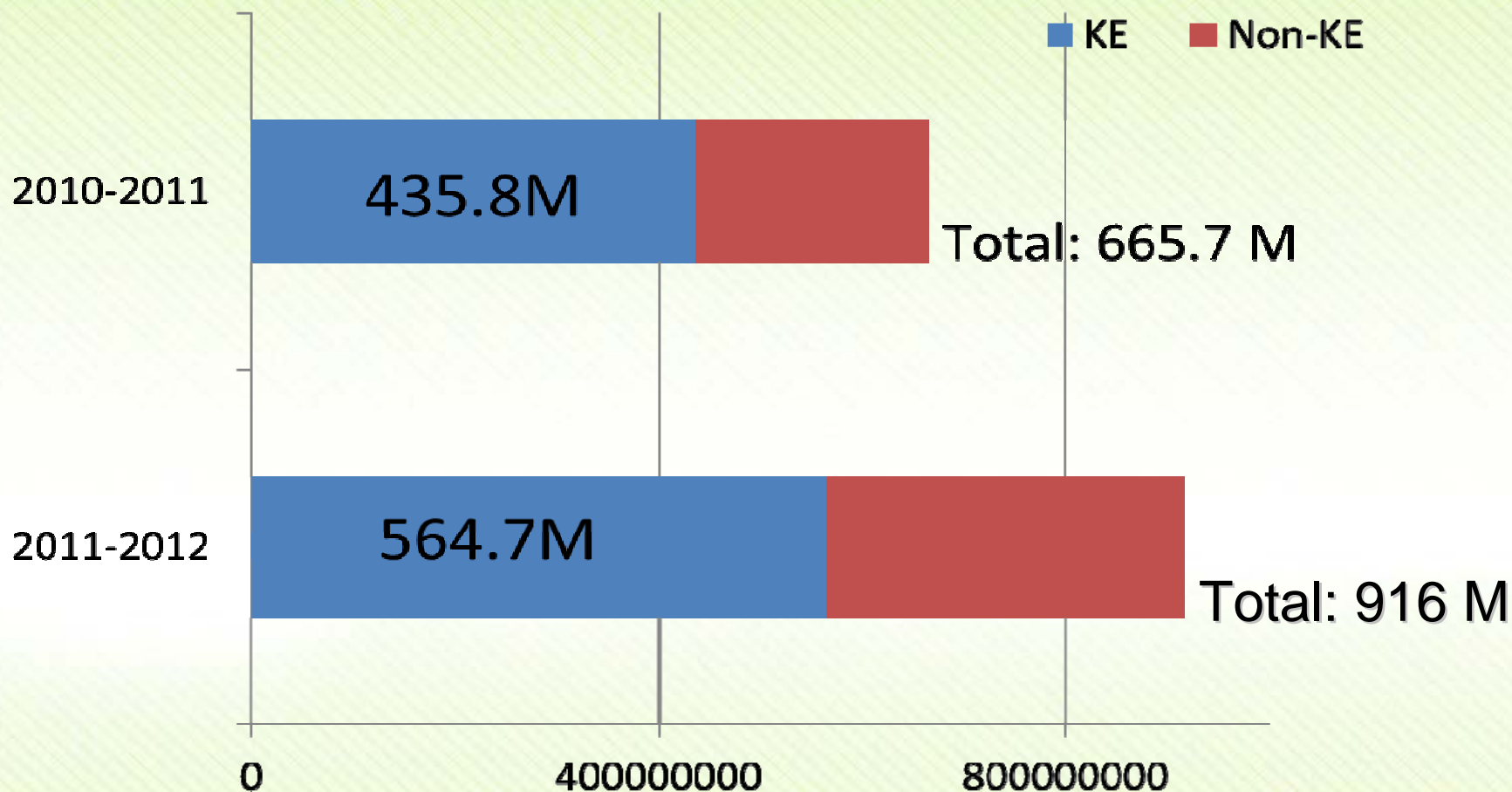


HKU Media Coverage (local news)





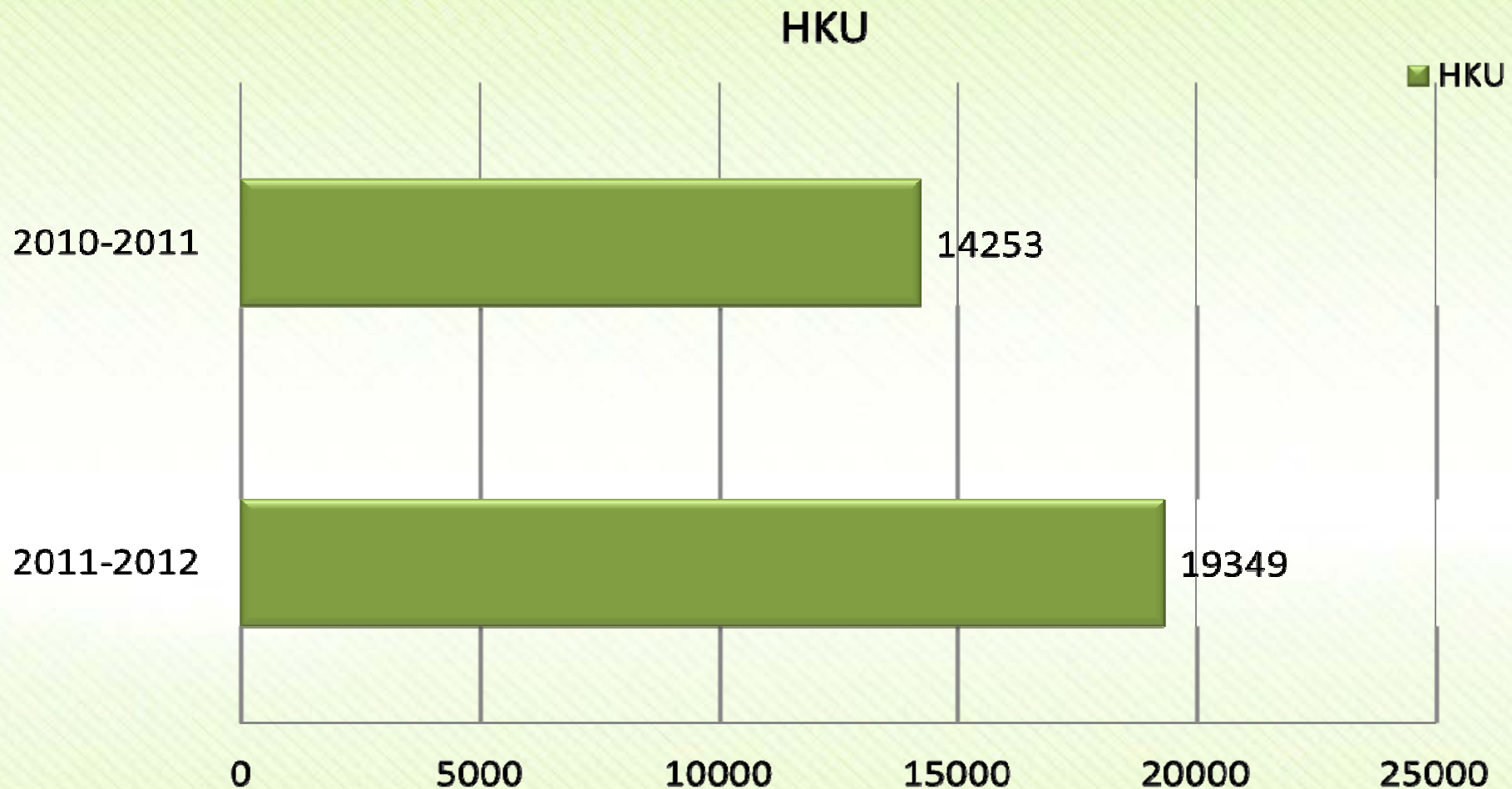
Adv Value (local news)



In Hong Kong Dollars



HKU media coverage (International)





Motivating faculty to achieve international media coverage

The screenshot displays the official website of The University of Hong Kong. The browser's address bar shows the URL <http://www4.hku.hk/hongrads/index.php>. The website features a green navigation bar with links to various university departments and a search bar. Below the navigation bar, there are several featured sections:

- HKU in the Media**: A section highlighting recent media coverage, including articles from BBC News, The Lancet, and PLoS One. It lists dates and topics such as 'Meet the 'tutor kings and queens'', 'Health, Medical, and Science Updates - Type 2 diabetes ups death risk after MI', and 'How Accurate Are the Fusion of Cone-Beam CT and 3-D Stereophotographic Images?'.
- Centenary Celebrations**: A section dedicated to the university's 100th anniversary, featuring links to the HKU 100 Facebook page, highlights, key ceremonies, and a photo gallery.
- Research**: A section showcasing research achievements, including strategic research areas, expertise and collaboration, support for researchers, and the RAE 2014 results.
- All standing tall**: A prominent headline announcing that HKU has conferred honorary degrees upon three outstanding individuals. This section includes a photograph of the graduates in their academic regalia.

The website also features a sidebar on the right with a search bar and a vertical navigation menu. The overall design is clean and professional, with a focus on academic and research achievements.



Prominent Display of faculty coverage in international news (HKU homepage)

The University of Hong Kong - Windows Internet Explorer

http://hku.hk/

Google Willy lam

The University of Hong Kong

Home | HKU100 | Multimedia | Facilities | Employment | Contact Us | 中文

About HKU Teaching & Learning Research Knowledge Exchange Faculties & Departments Publications Maps Libraries

Prospective Students Current Students Staff Alumni Media Visitors Giving to HKU Login to HKU Portal

Research

- Research at HKU
- Strategic Research Areas
- Expertise and Collaboration
- Support for Researchers
- RAE 2014

Teaching and Learning

- 4-Year Undergraduate Curriculum
- Common Core
- Academic Advising
- Experiential Learning

HKU in the Media

- Associated Press - At Mao-style leadership conclave, China's Communists embrace microblogging, drawing Web Jeers - Nov 14, 2012
- The Nation - Lessons from Chinese education - Nov 12, 2012
- Otago Daily Times - Freshwater conference - Nov 10, 2012
- Albuquerque Express - China's Media Blackout on Leadership Change Sharply Contrasts US Election Transparency- Nov 7, 2012

Centenary Celebrations

- HKU 100 Facebook
- Highlights
- Key Ceremonies
- A Picture to Remember

Multimedia

- U-Vision
- Photo Gallery
- Wallpaper Gallery
- Interactive Corner

Events

- Major Issues in Unit Action Law
- A Seminar - Lance A Warming and Influenza: Why glycans matter
- Seminar on "A dimension to Yanyuan"
- Philosophy's November 15
- Department of History the Humanities and Research Seminar
- HKUL Centenary Book November 2012 (The)
- The PGA's Great Le...

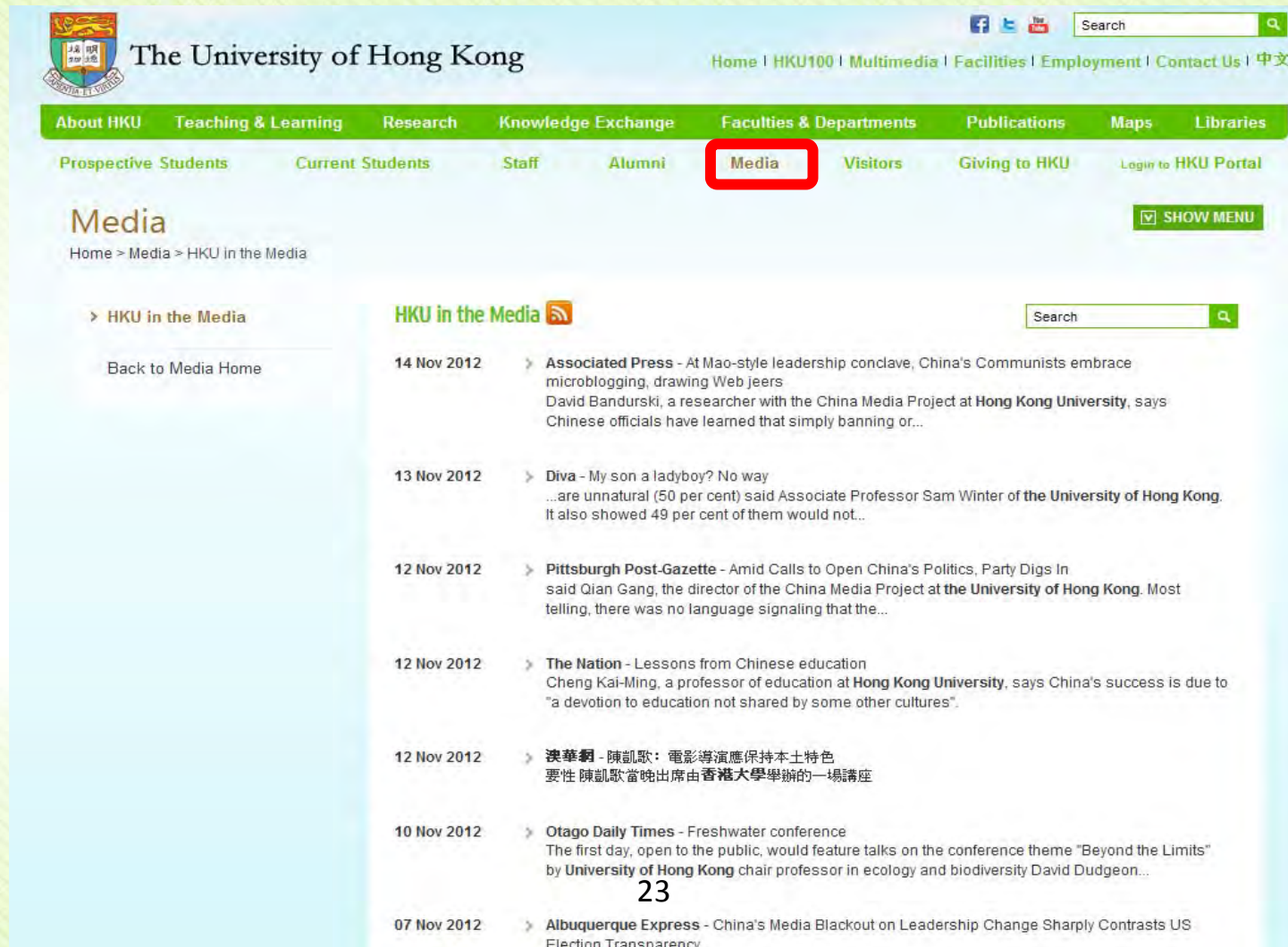
A big welcome to all at HKU's Information Day 2012

Getting into the spirit at the opening ceremony held on Centennial Campus

22



HKU in the Media (Media homepage)



The screenshot shows the HKU Media homepage. At the top is the HKU logo and the text 'The University of Hong Kong'. To the right are social media icons and a search bar. Below this is a green navigation bar with links: 'About HKU', 'Teaching & Learning', 'Research', 'Knowledge Exchange', 'Faculties & Departments' (highlighted with a red box), 'Publications', 'Maps', and 'Libraries'. Underneath is a secondary navigation bar with links: 'Prospective Students', 'Current Students', 'Staff', 'Alumni', 'Media' (highlighted with a red box), 'Visitors', 'Giving to HKU', and 'Login to HKU Portal'. The main content area is titled 'Media' and includes a breadcrumb trail 'Home > Media > HKU in the Media'. On the left is a sidebar with a link to 'HKU in the Media' and a 'Back to Media Home' button. The main content area features a section titled 'HKU in the Media' with a search bar and a list of media mentions. Each entry includes a date, a media outlet name, and a brief description of the article.

Media
Home > Media > HKU in the Media

[SHOW MENU](#)

[HKU in the Media](#)

[Back to Media Home](#)

HKU in the Media

Search

- 14 Nov 2012 > **Associated Press** - At Mao-style leadership conclave, China's Communists embrace microblogging, drawing Web jeers
David Bandurski, a researcher with the China Media Project at **Hong Kong University**, says Chinese officials have learned that simply banning or...
- 13 Nov 2012 > **Diva** - My son a ladyboy? No way
...are unnatural (50 per cent) said Associate Professor Sam Winter of **the University of Hong Kong**. It also showed 49 per cent of them would not...
- 12 Nov 2012 > **Pittsburgh Post-Gazette** - Amid Calls to Open China's Politics, Party Digs In
said Qian Gang, the director of the China Media Project at **the University of Hong Kong**. Most telling, there was no language signaling that the...
- 12 Nov 2012 > **The Nation** - Lessons from Chinese education
Cheng Kai-Ming, a professor of education at **Hong Kong University**, says China's success is due to "a devotion to education not shared by some other cultures".
- 12 Nov 2012 > **澳華網** - 陳凱歌：電影導演應保持本土特色
要性 陳凱歌當晚出席由香港大學舉辦的一場講座
- 10 Nov 2012 > **Otago Daily Times** - Freshwater conference
The first day, open to the public, would feature talks on the conference theme "Beyond the Limits" by **University of Hong Kong** chair professor in ecology and biodiversity David Dudgeon...
- 07 Nov 2012 > **Albuquerque Express** - China's Media Blackout on Leadership Change Sharply Contrasts US Election Transparency



University Reputation Management In a political and Asian context

Case study:
*Building Ties with Nobel Peace Laureate
Aung San Suu Kyi*



My Proposition

- University reputation management has to be examined in the social, political context
- University 'apolitical' or 'politically neutral'?
- Politics is on our daily agenda
- Politics presents both **OPPORTUNITIES & RISKS** to universities
- Especially for universities with an international profile



Hong Kong & HKU

historical & political context

- HKU among the oldest universities on Chinese soil (Peking U, Tsinghua, HKU)
- Universities in HK / China are looked upon for moral / political advocacy & leadership
 - People expect universities to protect and advocate for certain Core Values
- Hong Kong: the freest place on Chinese soil
 - But freedom is perceived to be eroded due to pressure and self censorship



Building Ties with Nobel Peace Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi

A Centenary Dialogue
with Aung San Suu Kyi
May 30, 2011





You are
whom you associate with

Some of the HKU Honorary Graduates



Bill Clinton



**Nelson
Mandela**



Lee Kuan Yew

**Mother
Teresa**



**Chris
Patten**





How did the idea start?

It all started with a midnight email. On the day of the release of the Lady from house arrest on November 15, 2010:

Prof Tam,

Just a thought...should we try to invite Aung San Suu Kyi to deliver a Centenary Distinguished Lecture?... I know it's unlikely to materialize, but this is very symbolic and **will leave a mark in HKU's history...**

Dear Katherine,

I would dearly love to...It may be that with her release, the decision makers ...I feel that it's not so politically unacceptable. By the fact that HKU issues the first invitation, it should place HKU on **the moral high ground.**



Building Ties with Nobel Peace Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi

OPPORTUNITY

- International attention
- The Lady's popularity in the HK / HKU community
- Exemplification of HKU's core values

RISK

- HK / China factor
- Uncertainty in Burma and safety of HKU staff



The Preparation

- 6 months from plan to realization
- Only possible option: HK-Burma LIVE dialogue online
- Extensive research : nobody has succeeded yet
- Huge political and technological obstacles
- Operation pretty secretive



The Preparation (2)

- Struggled but finally decided not to inform any government parties (rationale: it's our freedom of speech and association)
- Open registration for all staff, students and alumni (more than full house, spilt over to breakout rooms, despite term break)
- 90% time devoted to Questions from floor
- Qs Gathered and selected before event to ensure diversity and quality



Live Broadcast between Rangoon & Hong Kong



視像交流

諾貝爾和平獎得主、緬甸政治領袖昂山素姬（榮幕中人）昨日與2000名港大師生和公眾透過視像會議交流，大談





A Centenary Dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi

"Hong Kong University is very special for me. The very first video conference by Skype I ever experienced was with you.

"I hope that in the near future, it will be possible for me to travel out of Burma, and that then I will be able to come to you, and be part of your campus life, for perhaps just a very short period. But even a short period, even a matter of days, or even a matter of hours, would mean a great deal to me, as you have done so much to help the cause of democracy in Burma, simply by your interest and your enthusiastic support.



A Centenary Dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi

Subsequently:

- The Lady accepted HKU's Honorary Degree in Laws, in absentia, on March 16, 2012, and delivered another message



Further Ties with Aung San Suu Kyi

Finally :

- HKU Delegation presented her, in a visit to Burma on November 20, 2012
- 1.Honorary Degree in Laws
 - 2.Honorary Professorship in Social Sciences
 - 3.Honorary Advisorship in HKU Service 100



Further Ties with Aung San Suu Kyi

“(The honor) is an acknowledgement not of me personally, but of what we have been trying to achieve in Burma.”

She hopes to continue strengthening ties with friends all over the world to strive for reforms in her country, which should be based on hopes that the future will always be better.





Further Ties with Aung San Suu Kyi

“My experiences
have borne out
the truth of this
very simple
motto: No hope
without
endeavour.”





Further Ties with Aung San Suu Kyi

“I would like to come to Hong Kong as soon as possible to meet students... I like meeting young people because that young people have given me hope.”





Media Coverage on Aung San Suu Kyi & HKU

	Local	International*
2011 dialogue	30	301
2012 honorary degree	26	77
2012 Delegation visit	19	4

**including Mainland China coverage*



Media Coverage on Aung San Suu Kyi & HKU

Hong Kong University Delivers Awards to Aun...

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AFRICA AMERICAS ASIA PACIFIC EUROPE MIDDLE EAST

BRIEFLY: EDUCATION

Hong Kong University Delivers Awards to Aung San Suu Kyi

By JOYCE LAU
Published: November 25, 2012

Representatives from the University of Hong Kong visited [Daw Aung San Suu Kyi](#), the pro-democracy opposition leader in Myanmar at her home in Naypyidaw, to present her with an honorary degree and two honorary posts.

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World

Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi was initially given the honors in absentia in March "in recognition of her commitment to nonviolent struggle for democracy and human rights," the university said in a statement.

At the time, she was campaigning for parliamentary elections.

In June, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi was presented with an honorary degree at her alma mater, the University of Oxford, where she also made an address. That honorary doctorate in civil law had been awarded in absentia in 1993 but had remained uncollected during the many years that the Nobel Peace Prize laureate was held under house arrest.

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What's Popular Now

Hector Camacho, 50, Boxer Who Lived Dangerously, Dies **Is This the End?**

Samsung GALAXY Note II

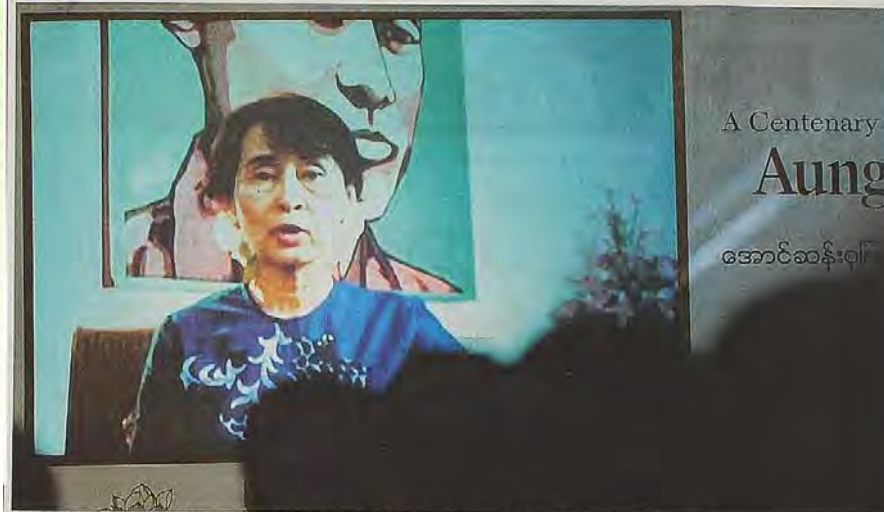
LIFE of PI NOVEMBER 21

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Front Page coverage

MYANMAR



Aung San Suu Kyi speaks to University of Hong Kong students via a videolink between the campus and her home in Yangon. Photo: K.Y. Cheng

Speak to us, Suu Kyi tells Beijing

'Chinese diplomats in Burma' should engage with leaders of opposition NLD, says Nobel laureate

Greg Torode

Myanmarese pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi yesterday urged talks between Chinese officials and her opposition National League for Democracy (NLD) about the evolving Sino-Myanmarese relationship.

Addressing a packed hall at the University of Hong Kong via a shaky video link from her home in Yangon, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate also urged Beijing to match its stellar economic development with openness.

"We try very hard but somehow they seem to evade us quite successfully," Suu Kyi said when asked by the *South China Morning Post* about her contacts with China, which is involved in strategic infrastructure developments with Myanmar, its neighbour.

"I wish they would talk to us. I

wish that the Chinese diplomats in Burma could get closer to the NLD," she said, later adding that China's rapid growth was causing cross-border social problems, such as the trafficking of Myanmarese women.

NLD officials have previously outlined a variety of links with Beijing, with China's officials quietly wanting to ensure its oil pipeline through the country will be respected under any future government change.

Suu Kyi, currently free after spending 15 of the past 21 years under house arrest, told an audience of students, academics and community representatives that she saw her country in the future as a free, open and educated society backed by the rule of law – and some version of market economics mapped out at its own pace.

She said she did not want to take sides between China and the West,

saying there was room for both in Myanmar's future development.

"If I had to take sides, I would take the side of human rights ... our relationship with China will be the special one of neighbours whereas our relationship with Western countries that have been trying to help us to achieve democracy will be a different kind of relationship, a friendship based on shared values."

Suu Kyi said her message for China's leaders was very simple.

"China is a great country, the Chinese people are a great people with a marvellous and long history ... They can afford to take more steps, they can afford to be daring, they can afford to allow room for all kinds of opinions," she said to applause.

► I AM NOT AN ICON CL



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

WSJ.com

MAY 31, 2011, 2:31 A.M. ET

Suu Kyi Plans Tour of Myanmar Countryside

A Wall Street Journal Roundup

HONG KONG—Pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi said Monday she plans to tour rural Myanmar next month in her first trip into the provinces since a 2003 political tour ended in her lengthy house arrest.

"I hope to be able to travel out of Rangoon in the month of June, as soon as I have got rid of all the using an commercial

If Ms. Suu Kyi follows through on the plans, it would signify a significant scaling up of her political activities—and a serious test of authorities' willingness to let her move freely after years of house arrest.

The Nobel Peace Prize laureate drew large crowds when she toured northern Myanmar in the past, and her popularity rattled the military government. Exactly eight years ago Monday, supporters of the ruling junta ambushed her entourage. Several of her followers were killed, but she escaped, only to be arrested.

She was unconditionally released in N after Myanmar held a general election party didn't participate, calling the vote Since then, her supporters—and many analysts—have been watching closely whether she would be willing to go on outside of Yangon again, with many fe doing so would be considered provocal Myanmar's military-backed regime, w choose to put her under house arrest ag

Many of her supporters have hoped she take the risk, however, since traveling Yangon could help bring attention to n and other issues and give her a chance pro-democracy advocates who haven't chance to see her for years, if ever.

An attempt late Monday to reach the N

チャリティーオークションで被災地を支援しよう

YAHOO! ニュース

キーワードを入力

ニュース検索 条件を指定して検索

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主要 速報 国内 海外 経済 エンターテインメント スポーツ テクノロジー ニュース提供社

[PR] みんなで防ごう土砂災害！～6月は土砂災害防止月間です

海外 海外基金 中国 韓国

スー・チャー氏が中国指導部に呼び掛け、「寛容になれるはず」

ロイター 5月31日(火)12時30分配信



拡大写真
5月30日、ミャンマーの民主化運動指導者スー・チャー氏は、香港大学で開催された国際対話集会上にインターネットを通じて参加。中国共産党の指導部に対し、より寛容になれるはずだと訴えた(2011年ロイター/Tyrone Su)

中東や北アフリカでの民主化要求デモの拡大を受け、中国当局はこのところ、国内の反体制派の動きに神経を尖らせており、現代芸術家の艾未未(アイ・ウェイウェイ)氏など、政府に批判的な活動家を複数拘束している。

また、来月4日には天安門事件から22年を迎えるが、追悼集会の開催は一切禁じられている。

昨年11月に自宅軟禁を解かれたスー・チャー氏はこの日、香港大学で開催された国際対話集会上にミャンマーからインターネットを通じて参加。「中国指導部への私のメッセージは極めてシンプルだ。中国は偉大な国であり、中国人は素晴らしい長い歴史を持つ偉大な人々だ」と述べ、あらゆる意見に対して寛容になれるはずだと訴えた。

スー・チャー氏はまた、来月から来月にミャンマー国内で地方遊説を行う計画を明らかにした。ただ具体的な時期や場所など詳細については言及を差し控えた。

【関連記事】

中国の内モンゴル自治区で警戒強化、デモ封じ込めを図る
コラム:中国経済の未来、「緑故資本主義」からの脱却が鍵に
再選:米国民、中国の百度公司と中国政府をネット検索めぐり提訴
スー・チャー氏、10年ぶりに次男との再会果たす
スー・チャー氏の有罪が確定、近く軟禁解除か

最終更新:5月31日(火)12時58分

REUTERS

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Myanmar's Suu Kyi calls for China openness amid clampdown

Mon May 30, 2011 12:47pm GMT

Print Single Page

Test



HONG KONG (Reuters) - Myanmar pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi urged China's Communist leaders Monday to be more open and tolerant amidst a heavy clampdown on dissidents and government critics in recent months.

"My message to China's leaders will be very simple," said Suu Kyi who was released after years of house arrest last November by Myanmar's military junta and is widely seen as a voice against political repression worldwide.

"China is a great country, the Chinese people are a great people with a marvellous and long history behind them. They can afford to take more steps, they can afford to be daring, they can afford to allow room for all kinds of opinions," said Suu Kyi during a video conference with an international audience at the University of Hong Kong.

With Myanmar subject to widespread international sanctions, China has remained its biggest economic and political ally and has maintained a no strings investment policy.

Myanmar, a former British colony also known as Burma, is widely considered to have one of the world's most autocratic governments despite releasing Suu Kyi and holding elections last year that were widely criticised as a sham.

Uprisings across the Arab world have made Chinese authorities jittery about any sign of instability and several prominent dissidents have been detained in recent months.

Suu Kyi's comments come days before the 22nd anniversary of a bloody crackdown in and around Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989, when Chinese troops were ordered to fire on pro-democracy demonstrators.

The previous year, the military in Myanmar crushed a student-led protest movement.

While any public commemoration of June 4 is banned in mainland China, pro-democracy groups in Hong Kong are gearing up for a candlelight vigil that organisers expect to draw an especially large turnout given the ongoing clampdown. Continued...

AFRICA BLOGS

Will 2012 see more strong men of Africa leave office?

There are many reasons for being angry with Africa's strong men, whose autocratic ways have thrust some African countries back into the eye of the storm and threatened to undo the democratic gains in other parts of the continent of the past decades. Blog

Operation Somalia: The U.S., Ethiopia and now Kenya

Ethiopia did it five years ago, the Americans a while back. Now Kenya has rolled tanks and troops across its arid frontier into lawless Somalia, in another campaign to stamp out a rag-tag militia of Islamist rebels that has stoked terror throughout the region with threats of strikes. Blog

Could Islamist rebels undermine change in Africa?

Creeping from the periphery in Africa's east and west, Islamist militant groups now pose serious security challenges to key countries and potentially even a threat to the continent's new success. Blog

The children of Dadaab: Life through the lens

Through my video "The children of Dadaab: Life through the Lens" I wanted to tell the story of the Somali children living in Kenya's Dadaab. Living in the world's largest refugee camp, they are the ones bearing the brunt of Africa's worst famine in sixty years. Blog

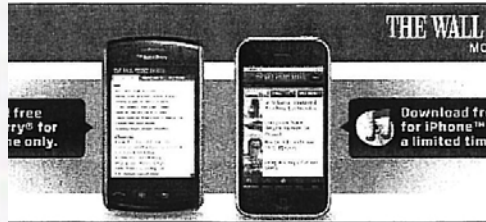
Who among the seven longest serving African leaders will be deposed next?

Several African leaders watching news of the death of Africa's longest serving leader are wondering who among them is next and how they will leave office. Blog



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31 MAY 2011

S.C.M. Post

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Learning curve

Aung San Suu Kyi believes Burma's universities will one day rejoin the ranks of establishments like HKU that encourage students to think independently and use their knowledge in the service of humanity

One of my favourite dicta is that people should not be categorised as good or evil, wise or stupid. It would be much more sensible to divide them simply into learners and non-learners. In between the two extremes would be a broad spectrum graded on the degree to which individuals are capable of correct assessment and understanding of the learning material at their disposal.

Here, of course, I'm giving a very broad definition to learning. It would involve much more than what could be acquired from any one institution or from any one formal teacher. It would mean a process of gaining such knowledge and experience as would help us to cope with the challenges that life throws at us and to find ways of enhancing our own existence, as well as that of as great a portion as possible of all the other occupants of our planet.

To put it in another way, the highest form of learning would be that which makes us caring and responsible citizens of this world, and equips us with the intellectual means necessary to translate our concerns into specific deeds.

Surely such a view of learning is in harmony with the idea of education as conceived in the motto of Hong Kong University – Wisdom and Virtue. One hundred years of furnishing the world with young people who have been provided with the capacity to think independently, to express those thoughts cogently, and to use them for the betterment of our world is an achievement of which this university can be justly proud. The hopes of its founding fathers have been more than realised.

At the foundation-laying ceremony, Sir Frederick Lugard hoped that the graduates of the University of Hong Kong would exert an influence which will be immeasurable in the future among the 400 million of China's population. Little could he have envisaged such an institution as this one of today, internationally renowned and one that attracts students from all over the world, who will one day exert an ever-widening influence on the future of more than just one country.

As I contemplate the achievements of Hong Kong University, I am filled with deep admiration and also, it has to be admitted, with wistfulness. Whenever I consider the educational progress that has been made in other countries, I think with sadness of the deplorable state of education in my own.

There was a time when educational standards and institutions in Burma were viewed with respect and envy by many countries in Asia and elsewhere. Rangoon University, 10 years younger than Hong Kong University, is the outcome of the amalgam of Rangoon College and Judson College, the Baptist college. The university rapidly became the breeding ground not only of bright young intellectuals, but also of dedicated nationalists determined

to free their country from colonial rule. As academic standards grew robustly and gained the recognition of long-established institutions in the Western world, so the patriotic fervour of the students gained new momentum.

Rangoon University became the vanguard of movements demanding equality and justice and, eventually, these movements were supported and joined by students from Mandalay University, and from schools all over the country.

The close link between political movements and universities became an established tradition in Burma. When the country fell under military rule, students were among the first

There was a time when educational standards in Burma were viewed with respect and envy



protesters calling for the restoration of democratic rights. As authoritarian rule tightened its grip on the country, the position of universities as institutions aimed at fostering freedom of thought, expression and association was steadily eroded.

Yet, after more than two decades of totalitarian governance, it was again the students of Rangoon University who led the movement to free the country from military administration. This was the famous public uprising of 1988.

Now, more than 20 years on, the aims of democracy and human rights, for which many students sacrificed liberty and life, have not yet been realised. In the meantime, the standard of education at all levels has fallen and Burma is a country crying out for the potential of its people, especially its young people, to be realised.

I might mention here that many leaders of the 1988 student movement still remain in prison today, serving unbelievably long sentences.

Education should be available to all, not just to a privileged few. Education should foster values that will promote human dignity and guide human progress in a positive direction.

Education should be a true learning process, not a machine for churning out meek, obedient people incapable of reasoning why justice and liberty should not be the birthright of all human beings.

I congratulate the University of Hong Kong on its achievements on the human front as well as its solid academic credentials, which have made it one of the most respected institutions in Asia. I look forward to a closer co-operation with both the faculty of the university, as well as with the student body.

I am confident that the day will come when we in Burma will be able to enjoy the fruits of real education and to share them with the rest of the world. This will be the day when wisdom and virtue will triumph.

Aung San Suu Kyi is a Burmese opposition politician and a Nobel Peace Prize winner. This is an edited version of a transcript of her speech yesterday to the University of Hong Kong



DEMOCRACY ICON NEVER STRAYS FROM BELIEFS

Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi remains fiercely committed to freedom, despite 15 years under house arrest, maintaining her humour and humility

by Greg Torode

When the word "icon" becomes affixed to a figure on the international stage, it is inevitably accompanied by a growing sense of unknowability. It denotes an aura, a separation from normal existence. It seems harder to get a feel for what they are really like, what makes them tick.

Myanmar's democracy icon and Nobel peace laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, is a case in point. In fact, her long years - 15 out of the past 20 - under arrest in her decaying colonial mansion on Yangon's Inya Lake have only added to that aura. For all her higher motives and fierce commitment to freedom, she has at times been portrayed as austere and aloof.

In the darker years of the past decade when the jackboots of the country's military junta stomped louder and hopes of reform appeared non-existent, even some of her supporters privately questioned her relevance to a new generation of activists in a desperately poor nation.

They worried, too, for her health and state of mind as she endured year after year without seeing her two sons, or her late husband as he battled against the cancer that would kill him. She felt she could never leave to see them, knowing the junta would never let her return. And they could not get permission to see her.

In the city of whispers that is Yangon, the crumbling former capital, the junta's stooges seem to delight in propagating such talk across the tea shops and noodle stalls.

Yet in the months of relative freedom since her release in November last year, not only has Suu Kyi impressed many with her good spirits, she has shown glimpses of her warmth and humour as well. "If she

was a racehorse, you'd say she looks good in herself," said one Yangon-based envoy who has met her recently. "It's a wonderful thing to see."

Intense focus is now on Suu Kyi as she leads her party, the National League for Democracy, into talks with the recently installed civilian government. A string of events has suddenly brought optimism that change to Southeast Asia's most recalcitrant state could be on the way.

Some 200 political prisoners have been released from the notorious Insein Prison, and media and internet censorship is being eased. Then there is the stopping of construction of a controversial Chinese-built dam, which would have been built where the Mali and Nmai rivers join to become the Irrawaddy. Pressure to halt the project had come from Suu Kyi among others.

The nature of Myanmar's troubles, however, means there are grounds for considerable caution. Few would be surprised if there was military backlash, particularly if there is little sign of long-standing Western sanctions being eased.

While Suu Kyi is in the awkward position of having to tell her supporters less about the highly sensitive talks with President Thein Sein than she and they would like, she remains

If she was a racehorse, you'd say she looks good in herself. It's a wonderful thing

AN ENVOY IN YANGON

in no mood to give ground on her core beliefs.

Last week she told a University of Michigan audience in a recorded speech how freedom from fear is the "master key" that could clear a path for other liberties.

"Fear renders us dumb and passive. Fear paralyses," she said in the address to accept the university's annual Wallenberg Medal. "If we are too frightened to speak out, we can do nothing to promote freedom of speech."

"If we are too frightened to challenge injustices, we will not be able to defend our right to freedom of belief. Neither will we dare to ask for the rectification of the social ills that make our lives a misery."

Then, addressing questions about whether she felt different after her house arrest, she sought to inspire with her answer: "My mind had always been free."

In an appearance via video link at the University of Hong Kong in May as part of its centenary celebrations, Suu Kyi elaborated on the mental disciplines that kept her going during house arrest - a time that, by the end, left her without access to a computer or television and with very few visitors allowed in to see her. Maids were her only companions.

When one woman asked her "from the heart" what made her happy, Suu Kyi said: "Very small things make me happy. I've learned to treasure the very small things in life ... that is something I've learnt living the life I've led." It was a poignant understatement that moved some in a packed Loke Yew Hall to tears.

She also spoke of the importance of other Buddhist faith and meditation, of being able to stay engaged by following world events on radio and of listening to Mozart and Bach.



Suu Kyi ... is not so much a politician but a true idealist. She keeps to her visions

KATHERINE MA, OF UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

"Some people would simply say that is naive, it will never happen ... but that is one of the amazing things about Suu Kyi, she is not so much a politician but a true idealist. She keeps to her visions through all the adversity ... she knows the importance of not letting go of those hopes. That is what makes her so different."

While Suu Kyi looked a little underweight, Ma was struck by her bearing and ramrod-straight back. "I got the sense her health was good, and she was strong."

Some NLD officials admitted their concerns about her periods of fasting and to fears that she was not getting enough medical treatment. "Her ongoing strength has surprised us all," one official said from Yangon. "That in itself is inspiring ... she's looked after herself so well, she wants to keep going, she doesn't want to let go of the cause."

The daughter of the late independence hero General Aung San, Suu Kyi has the courage that is backed by a strong sense of destiny. As Suu Kyi knows better than anyone, there are no guarantees in Myanmar's politics and the generals can be notoriously fickle. While she has expressed a cautious confidence at recent developments, a sudden shift in mood could see excuses found to lock the gates once more at 54 University Avenue.

The 66-year-old is going to need all the inner strength she can muster to bring her visions to reality in the months and years ahead.

Asked what message she had for jailed fellow Nobel peace laureate Liu Xiaobo (劉曉波) and other detainees, she spoke of the importance of personal philosophy. "If you cannot keep faith in yourself, you cannot achieve inner peace ... that is the most important thing if you are going to keep going."

One of the many people moved was Katherine Ma, director of communications at HKU, who was part of the team in Yangon running the broadcast from Suu Kyi's lounge. Ma described being worried that somehow Suu Kyi would simply be too

aloof, or that the years of isolation had affected her sense of reality or her state of mind.

"All those fears were ruled out as she walked in and introduced herself. She seemed very polite, decent and sophisticated, yet straightforward and accommodating as well ... she really wanted to get her message out and talk to people," Ma said.

"She wasn't like a worn-out politician at all, with a fixed smile and stock answers. She listened to the questions and really tried to answer in way that would touch people. Even though the tick was cutting in and

out, I think people really responded to her ... and realised she was trying to speak to the individuals asking her questions"

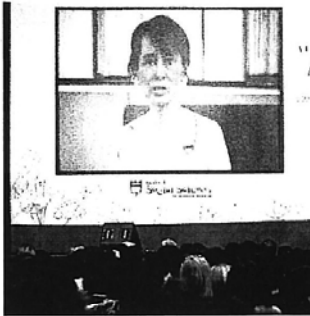
Ma said she was surprised Suu Kyi realised the importance of speaking to a wider Hong Kong audience via the university, and of grasping its importance to China. During the breaks in transmission, she spoke of the importance of education to help people build their capacity to cope with the challenges of life, and expressed the hope that one day she will be able to speak to students in mainland China via HKU.



The Telegraph

Aung San Suu Kyi anno

Burma's pro-democracy leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, announced her first tour of the country next month in her first tour ended in her lengthy house arrest.



She announced her tour yesterday in a videolink to a

3:05PM BST 30 May 2011

The Nobel Peace Prize laureate drew large crowds when she popularity rattled the military government. Exactly eight years ruling junta ambushed her entourage. Several of her followers be arrested.

She was released last November after Burma held general election, calling the vote unfair. Miss Suu Kyi's party won the right to govern.

She announced her tour yesterday in a videolink to an audience "I hope to be able to travel out of Rangoon in the month of June work that has piled up."

She said the authorities have not given her any "particular assurance."

Miss Suu Kyi She has been jailed or under house arrest for 15 brief periods of freedom she has not travelled outside Burma, in order to return.

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Aung San Suu Kyi to tour Burma

Last Updated: Tue, 31 May 2011 02:50:00 +1000

Burmese democracy icon Aung San Suu Kyi says she is planning a political

The tour is likely to measure her popularity and test the limits of her freedom after seven years in detention.

She announced the tour in a videoconference with the University of Hong

Pr

Herald Sun

Suu Kyi plans landmark political tour

- From: NewsCore
- May 31, 2011 9:59AM

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DEMOCRACY icon Aung San Suu Kyi said today she is planning a political tour of Burma, a move likely to measure her popularity and test the limits of her freedom after being released from house arrest six months ago.

Suu Kyi, who spent seven years in detention until last November, was asked at a video conference in Hong Kong to confirm reports she will launch political rallies across the nation, her first tour since being freed.

"I hope to travel ... in the month of June," the Nobel Peace Prize winner told more than 1000 academics, students and members of the public gathered at the University of Hong Kong.

"Where I will be going I can't tell you yet. We are trying to work out the itinerary," said Suu Kyi, who was freed less than a week after a widely criticised election that cemented the military regime's decades-long grip on power.

Suu Kyi's travels around the country have landed her in trouble with the Burmese authorities several times in the past, and the 65-year-old said she had not been given any security guarantees for the trip.

"I have not been given any safety assurance," she said, but added that it was the "duty of the government" to

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May 31, 2011

Suu Kyi says plans landmark Myanmar political tour



Democracy icon Aung San Suu Kyi says she is planning a political tour of Myanmar next month.

HONG KONG - DEMOCRACY icon Aung San Suu Kyi says she is planning a political tour of Myanmar next month.

Ms Suu Kyi, who was released from house arrest last November, said she will launch political rallies across the nation, her first tour since being freed.

"I hope to travel ... in the month of June," the Nobel Peace Prize winner told more than 1000 academics, students and members of the public gathered at the University of Hong Kong.

"Where I will be going I can't tell you yet. We are trying to work out the itinerary," said Suu Kyi, who was freed less than a week after a widely criticised election that cemented the military regime's decades-long grip on power.

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Opinion - News Analysis

Suu Kyi plans tour of rural Myanmar in June

Myanmar's pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi plans to tour the countryside next month in her first trip into the provinces since a 2003 political tour ended in her house arrest.

Suu Kyi said she hoped to travel outside of Yangon in June but didn't provide further details. She spoke on May 30 via videolink to an audience at Hong Kong University. The Nobel Peace Prize laureate drew large crowds when she toured northern Myanmar, and her popularity rattled the military government. Exactly eight years ago this day, supporters of the ruling junta ambushed her entourage. Several of her followers were killed, but she escaped, only to be arrested. — AP

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ASIA PACIFIC NEWS

Suu Kyi says plans landmark Myanmar political tour

Posted: 30 May 2011 10:02 hrs

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HONG KONG: Democracy icon Aung San Suu Kyi is of Myanmar, a move likely to measure her popular being freed six months ago.

Suu Kyi, who spent seven years in detention until a conference in Hong Kong to confirm reports she will first since her freedom.

"I hope to travel... in the month of June," the Nobel traditional top, told more than 1,000 academics, at gathered at the University of Hong Kong.

"Where I will be going I can't tell you yet. We are 1 Kyi, who was freed less than a week after a widely regime's decades-long grip on power.

Suu Kyi's travels around the country have landed 1 authorities several times in the past, and the 65-year citizen.

"I have not been given any safety assurance," she citizen.

Suu Kyi's most recent stint in detention came after organised by a regime frightened by her popularity

She was arrested along with many party activists 1 decades in detention - and placed under house arrest

The junta said four people were killed in that attack

The tour will be a test of both Suu Kyi's popularity around the country unhindered by the authorities.

The move is likely to go down well with her support nation since her release six months ago.

Suu Kyi's party was disbanded for opting to boycott and it has no voice in the new parliament.

Thousands of exuberant supporters greeted her in also attached to her release.

During the lively 90-minute session, Suu Kyi also c Nobel peace laureate Liu Xiaobo and Ai-Qiada lead

On China, Suu Kyi called for greater openness in 11 February, arresting scores of lawyers and activists.

"China is a great country, the Chinese people are s allow for all kinds of opinions".

Suu Kyi said resistance to change was "not surpris that has swept the Middle East and north Africa, to

On Liu, who remains in a Chinese prison, the Myan - urged him and other imprisoned political activists

Asked about the recent killing of terror kingpin bin just shows violence ends with violence."

- AFP/cc

Burmese Language

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Monday, 13 June 2011

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BURMA'S NUCLEAR AMBITIONS

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Suu Kyi planning nationwide tour

By AFP
Published: 30 May 2011



Democracy icon Aung San Suu Kyi said in a videoconference on Monday that a detention six months ago.

Suu Kyi, who was released from house arrest last November, was asked to confirm reports she will launch political rallies across the nation - a move likely to test both her popularity and the limits of her freedom.

"I hope to travel... in the month of June," the Nobel Peace Prize winner told over 1,000 academics, students and public attending the videoconference at the University of Hong Kong.

"Where I will be going I can't tell you yet. We are trying to work out the itinerary," she said.

Tags: [aung san suu kyi](#), [burma](#), [myanmar](#)

Author: AFP Category: News, Politics

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WORLD

Updated : May 31, 2011

SEARCH

Around the World 05/31 - Mom Ed



[Reporter :] When it comes to enduring injustice and overcoming obstacles, the name of one woman in Myanmar springs to mind. Aung San Suu Kyi. She was in Hong Kong recently, to ask China's communist leaders to be more open and tolerant.

Knowing full well how the change in government in Burma happened through years of violence, Suu Kyi wants to make sure such vicious cycles will not occur in any part of the world. Asking the government and those who are seeking change in the regime to take one step back and not resort to violent means was the first step. The Myanmar pro-democracy leader also asked those who are imprisoned for their belief to keep the faith and find inner peace. Having been under house arrest for decades, she knows what it feels like to be a victim of clampdowns on dissidents and government critics. Even though the need for political change in various countries is urgent, the campaigner wants to remind both sides to approach the subject in a non-violent manner.

For almost 3 years, the worst drought in Cuba in half a century has been ongoing. The situation is such that in various parts of the country, tap water has dried up. These days, many Cubans rely on water delivered in trucks from the government. The people are careful not to waste water, and that involves not taking frequent showers. Farmers are severely affected by the drought as well. Production in a number of regions including Guantanamo has been on a dramatic decline, and livestock continue to die as well. Vultures hover menacingly over various livestock farms, expecting more corpses. There have been a number of showers this year, but it's nowhere near enough. Everyone in the country is praying hard for a few more drops from the heavens to put an end to the deadly drought.

Over in Shatt al-Arab, budding entrepreneurs are opening up floating cafes and casinos. These boats were once used for smuggling and other illegal activities. But gone are the days of chaos in the region. A sense of normalcy has returned thanks in no small part to a government security campaign in 2008. The beautiful view of the region can be enjoyed while onboard the ferry. The floating cafes are where friends and families can sit and enjoy evenings. A classy way to sit by the water and enjoy a great meal or smoke some water pipe. Elsewhere in the Middle East, nightclubs are reopening in Baghdad, public pools and other amenities are also receiving more visitors in Arbil as well.

MAY 31, 2011



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Suu Kyi planning tour of Myanmar

Democracy icon Aung San Suu Kyi said yesterday political tour of Myanmar, a move likely to measure 1 after being freed six mc

AP News

May 30, 8:33 AM EDT

Suu Kyi plans tour of Myanmar countryside in Jur

By KELVIN CHAN

Associated Press



AP Photo/Khin Maung Win

HONG KONG (AP) -- Myanmar pro-democracy leader plans to tour the country next month in her first political tour ended in her lengthy house arrest.

"I hope to be able to travel out of Rangoon in the of all the work that has piled up," she said in a vi University. Rangoon is the old name for Yangon.

She said the authorities have not given her any "p did not provide further details.

The Nobel Peace Prize laureate drew large crowd Myanmar, and her popularity rattled the military Monday, supporters of the ruling junta ambushed were killed, but she escaped, only to be arrested

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Burmese Opposition Leader to Tour Provinces

Posted 1 week ago

Monday, May 30th, 2011 at 1:45 pm

Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi says she is planning to tour the country next month, in her first foray into the provinces since 2003, when a similar trip ended with her arrest.

The Nobel laureate announced her intentions Monday in a video presentation to more than 100 academics and students at the University of Hong Kong. She did not provide a full itinerary, saying the itinerary has not yet been completed, and said she has not received official assurances from the government.

Two years ago Monday, while touring upper Burma, Aung San Suu Kyi and her husband were ambushed by supporters of the ruling military junta near the city of Yangon. U.S. analysts at the time said as many as 70 people may have been killed. Suu Kyi escaped, but was later captured and placed under house arrest, where she remained until November 2010.

Suu Kyi told her Hong Kong audience Monday that the state of education in her country is "deplorable" and that her country is crying out for the potential of its young people to be realized.

When universities once were viewed with respect, she recalled, and helped build the independence movement that was to free the country from colonial rule.

Suu Kyi said that same spirit inspired students at Rangoon University to lead the 1988 uprising aimed at freeing the country from military government. More than 20 years later, she said, many of those same students are still in prison and the standard of living at all levels in Burma has fallen.

Aung San Suu Kyi, St, Suu, Upd
in East Asia Pacific



Asia Week (Chinese version)

亞洲焦點

昂山素姬與香港大學師生對話

素姬港大視頻演講幕前幕後

緬甸民主領袖昂山素姬通過視頻會議，在香港大學千多名觀眾前談民主，未受干擾的連線間接顯示緬甸政府轉向寬容，也顯示緬甸反對黨有新的空間。 · 沈達明

光昂山素姬家中，與她一起坐在鏡頭前，視聽講座由港大政治與公共行政學系系主任陳祖為和評論員秦家駒主持。

港大傳訊總監馬妙華告訴亞洲週刊，校方從十一月就開始籌備這次活動，並通過第三方聯繫到昂山素姬領



昂山素姬小檔案

昂山素姬 (Aung San Suu Kyi) 一九四五年生於緬甸仰光，是緬甸獨立運動英雄昂山將軍的女兒，在牛津大學畢業後定居英國。八八年昂山素姬回國發表了第一篇政治演說，要求民主改革。八九年緬甸軍政府將她軟禁，九零年五月，軍政府在國際壓力下進行全國大選，昂山素姬領導的反對黨獲得大勝，但軍政府拒絕交出政權。九一年昂山素姬獲諾貝爾和平獎。在過去廿一年內，她被政府非法軟禁長達十五年，直到二零一零年十一月重獲自由。

切換至電話訪問，以防萬一。

昂山素姬在去年獲釋時，政府未阻止群眾在她住宅門前聚會聲援，現在她在家中又可以通過網絡與世界其他地區的人們交流，未受到當局直接干預，可見緬甸當局對她的限制比較寬鬆，

今仍被囚禁」。昂山素姬在發言中完全沒有提及自己遭遇長達十五年的軟禁，卻為了那些素不相識的大學生而呼喊。

昂山素姬說：「教育應當是真正的學習過程，並非純粹一部生產機器，製造溫馴服從、不懂思考為何公義

與自由不是與生俱來權利的人民……學習的最高境界是將我們變成關心別人、和負責任的世界公民，以知識裝備自己，用實際行動表達我們所關心的事。」在她看來，「履行和肩負起一個公民應盡的義務和責任，就是最大的美德」。她意識到開啟民智的重要性，曾為教育慈善捐出諾貝爾獎一百萬美元獎金。實現「民主」關鍵在「民」，只有人民受到良好的教育，才會意識到什麼才是自己作為公民的基本權利，在受到侵犯時如何來維護它，為它抗爭。昂山素姬也表示，緬甸未來的發展最重要的，是自由市場經濟和司法的獨立，這將會是人權和民主的保障。

昂山素姬談到中國，稱讚「中國是偉大的國家，中國人民是偉大的人民」，可惜在政治改革停滯不前，而中國完全有條件有空間讓人民自由的表達意見，她相信中國人必定會找到自己的方法和出路。她還透露她的黨派多次試圖聯繫中國政府，卻得不到任何回音。

昂山素姬最後為中國的知識分子打氣，鼓勵另一位諾貝爾和平獎得主劉曉波「堅持信念」。人們在為自由和人權奮鬥的過程中，不必灰心，不必氣餒，因為在世界的其他角落，「許多人都在做同樣的事」，爭取民主之路並不孤單。

已對民主、人權和教育的理念。港大主務當局表示，這次座談是幾年來昂山素姬在亞洲、乃至全世界規模最大、歷時最長、面對人數最多的一次公開視頻談話。講座由港大社會科學院籌辦，院長何立仁 (Craig Holliday) 教授親赴緬甸仰

導的反對黨，然後港大派出三人小組飛赴緬甸提前踩點，並且盡可能保持低調，方還雇用三人攝製小組，專門處理技術問題。即使如此，由於緬甸設施很差，網絡信號時常中斷，校方準備了四至五套預備方案，包括

比較人性。相比過去及其他動輒對異見人士判處重刑的威權政府，今天的緬甸政府顯得更加大度和寬容。

在開始的發言中，昂山素姬讚揚香港大學的成就：「創校百年，港大一直為社會培育具備獨立思考，並能充份表達自己藉以改善世界的年輕人。」接

著她話鋒一轉，表示對緬甸的教育狀況痛心疾首，特別想到當年的仰光大學受到西方學府的認可，培養出不少「追求平等和正義的先驅」。但是在軍政府掌權之後，「大學教育培養思想、言論和結社的自由之根本意義慢慢失去」。她提醒大家，當年發起著名的愛國「八八運動」的仰光大學學生領袖「被判處不合理之長期徒刑，至今仍被囚禁」。

二零一一年五月三十一日，緬甸反對黨領袖昂山素姬應邀擔任香港大學「百週年傑出學人講座」嘉賓，通過網絡與觀眾暢談自



Full Page in popular papers

多番測試 突破封鎖 對話逾句鐘好好彩

【本報訊】一部電話可以網通世界的香港人，很難想像昂山素姬與世界接軌是如何困難。軍政府極權治下，緬甸的互聯網通訊比中國更多局限。港大這次衝出重圍，成功安排昂山素姬在仰光大宅與港人對話，持續超過一小時沒有間斷，港大職員都暗叫「好好彩」。

過去緬甸的人都知道，當地互聯網只是聊勝於無，多網站被政府過濾無法登入，網絡基建也很落後，速度與流暢度屬90年代初香港水平。港大為確保講座進行，事前多次測試，先後試用五、六種視像對話軟件。

電話收音確保清晰暢順

舉辦講座之前，港大在仰光採排期間，視像通訊暢順，有時完全不通，昨日超過一小時對話幾乎沒有。一旦視像中斷，就用電話對話，早前歐美一些大學以電話形式為昂山素姬舉行講座。事實上，昨日現場聲音，都是透過電話收音，才如此清晰及暢順。

結果，這位國際政治巨星沒叫大家失望，掌聲一次響徹陸佑堂。昨日觀眾坐滿陸佑堂，港大還要開兩個演講室容納師生及公眾。在座觀眾，包括行政人員胡紅玉。她會後這樣評價昂山素姬：「佢為好多人一種希望，今日好多人都覺得分享到呢種希望，好支持佢。」記者再追問她對昂山素姬有關中國民主論法，胡紅玉則拒絕置評。

盛裝亮相 開朗風趣 能夠早睡已經快樂

【本報訊】昂山素姬昨穿上隆重的緬甸傳統服飾隔空亮相，她不時展現開朗、風趣一面，又與在場人士分享自己的快樂泉源是點點滴滴的小事，包括能夠早睡已快樂。

將生命獻給民主的昂山素姬，向來衣着樸素，昨日明顯經過悉心打扮，穿上綉花的民族服裝，與港人對話。昂山追求民主的路上充滿悲傷，她個人被軟禁15年，錯過兩名兒子的成長路，丈夫阿里斯(Michael Aris)1999年病逝時也無法到英國見最後一面，但她一直保持樂觀。

一名從事教育和藝術工作的女士問昂山素姬，有甚麼事可以令她快樂？她答道：「我會為微小的事而高興，我學習去快樂。」對她來說，能夠早睡，已是快樂之源。

有紀律生活克服困難

有母親問她軟禁期間怎堅持信念、保持清醒頭腦，昂山素姬說是靠「很有紀律的生活，捱過被孤立的年頭和堅持信念」。她相信，有紀律的生活，可助年輕一代克服困難。

昂山素姬致港大的演詞還提到她喜歡的格言：「不應以好壞善惡、智愚賢劣來把人分類」，反之將人分為「為學者」和「非為學者」更為合理。主持對話的港大政治與公共行政學系系主任陳祖為教授隨即提問：她既然認為不應以好壞善惡判斷人，那麼她對因禁她的軍方領袖有甚麼看法？她幽默答道，軍方領袖「並非學習迅速的人」，現場響起一陣笑聲。她接著說，所以人們「要很有耐性」，幫助軍方「學習得快一點，為我們國家作出好的貢獻。」

昂山素姬 呼籲中國

隔空對話 勉勵港人堅持民主信念

勇敢開放政權

【本報訊】你可以走得多遠，你可以更加勇敢，你可以以言納所有不同聲音，使你想像中更偉大，所以，請開你的心扉去擁抱所有人。人權自由的象徵人物昂山素姬公開呼籲，中國政府應撤出西藏軍隊，這位議員和平獲得支持，昨日首次與香港人對話，多番勉勵港人奮鬥的中國內地及香港人，必須堅持信念。

昂山素姬在會後接受訪問時表示，她對中國民主的未來充滿信心，她相信中國人民最終會贏得自由和民主。她呼籲中國政府撤出西藏軍隊，並呼籲中國人民堅持信念，為自由而鬥爭。

不能只看中國經濟進步
「雖然很多中國人對民主有熱情，但他們對民主的理解還很膚淺。他們只看到中國的經濟進步，而忽略了中國的民主問題。他們需要更多的教育和啟蒙。」

「為自由奮鬥不會孤單」
「在中國，為自由奮鬥的人很多，但他們需要更多的支持和鼓勵。我們不能孤軍奮戰，我們需要更多的人加入我們的行列。」

「自由是每個人的權利」
「自由是每個人的權利，也是每個人的責任。我們不能只享受自由，而不承担責任。我們需要為自由而奮鬥，為自由而犧牲。」

「民主是每個人的選擇」
「民主是每個人的選擇，也是每個人的責任。我們不能只享受民主，而不承担責任。我們需要為民主而奮鬥，為民主而犧牲。」

「和平是每個人的追求」
「和平是每個人的追求，也是每個人的責任。我們不能只享受和平，而不承担責任。我們需要為和平而奮鬥，為和平而犧牲。」

「希望是每個人的動力」
「希望是每個人的動力，也是每個人的責任。我們不能只享受希望，而不承担責任。我們需要為希望而奮鬥，為希望而犧牲。」

「信念是每個人的支柱」
「信念是每個人的支柱，也是每個人的責任。我們不能只享受信念，而不承担責任。我們需要為信念而奮鬥，為信念而犧牲。」

「勇氣是每個人的武器」
「勇氣是每個人的武器，也是每個人的責任。我們不能只享受勇氣，而不承担責任。我們需要為勇氣而奮鬥，為勇氣而犧牲。」

「堅持是每個人的力量」
「堅持是每個人的力量，也是每個人的責任。我們不能只享受堅持，而不承担責任。我們需要為堅持而奮鬥，為堅持而犧牲。」

「奮鬥是每個人的道路」
「奮鬥是每個人的道路，也是每個人的責任。我們不能只享受奮鬥，而不承担責任。我們需要為奮鬥而奮鬥，為奮鬥而犧牲。」





The Lady's message for people in China

昂山素姬：中國人爭自由不孤單

【明報專訊】1991年諾貝爾和平獎得主、緬甸反對派領袖昂山素姬，自去年11月軟禁獲釋後，昨日首次以視像對話形式與港大師生和公眾對話。被問及對平反「六四」和中國民主發展的看法時，她說相信終有一日中國會有民主，認為中國是偉大民族，有空間接納不同政見，她又鼓勵劉曉波等在囚異見人士，堅持自己信念，在追求自由道路上絕不孤單（You're not alone）。

與港大師生視像對話

過去20多年多次被緬甸軍政府軟禁的昂山，昨透過視像形式與本港各界接觸。逾1小時的對談中，她就中國民主發展多次發表意見，包括「六四」發生快22周年，人民是否依然無能力作出改

變。昂山認同中國的經濟發展令人鼓舞，但在政制改變則較慢。不過，她勉勵追求民主的人不要灰心，因為市民有一定經濟能力時，便會追求更大的人權保障和民主，相信這樣的國家才有安全感，故終有一天中國會有更大民主。

勉劉曉波堅持信念

昂山寄語當權者，指「中國是偉大民族，應有能力更開放和包容，接納不同意見」。而對於仍然在囚、同樣是諾貝爾和平獎得主的中國異見人士劉曉波，昂山鼓勵對方要堅持信念，「要是不能堅持信念，就不能過完整與平和的人生」。

她坦言，看到很多中國人已努力尋找言論自由的方法，亦相信

在尋找自由的過程「中國人絕不孤單」，「因為世界上很多人民也在做同樣的事」，但她直言，在參與民主鬥爭過程中，應先問清楚自己，「我在爭取什麼」。昂山認為，在思考過後，每人自能找到追求民主的方法。

信中國終會民主

早前昂山素姬被指會在緬甸各地再次發起政治集會，在昨日逾1小時的問答環節中，昂山亦作出回應。她表示已計劃在下月出訪緬甸各城市，但拒絕透露地點和詳情。以往每次昂山設法離開仰光都遇到阻力，不是有軍警包圍，便是被人襲擊，昂山昨指出，政府現未有給予她任何安全保證，但她認為「政府有責任保障每個緬甸市民安全」。



The Lady's comment on Chinese Nobel Peace Laureate Liu Xiaobo

◆逾千師生及市民雲集港大，與昂山素姬隔空對話。(袁志豪攝)

港大視像演說
籲青年爭人權

水在夢運如

◆港大社科院院長何立仁代表大學致送給昂山素姬「如蓮華在水」給昂山素姬。

昂山撐劉曉波：你並不孤獨

先後被緬甸軍政府軟禁長達十五年的緬甸反對派領袖昂山素姬，昨日在仰光透過視像會議，與一千二百名港大師生及公眾對話。在軟禁期間獲頒諾貝爾和平獎的昂山素姬，寄語與她遭遇相近的另一和平獎得主、在囚內地異見分子劉曉波，要保持信念，並呼籲中國應該包容不同政見。談及六四事件，她呼籲中港兩地年輕人，應繼續為爭取民主人權奮鬥。

昂山素姬應港大邀請出席「百年對話」講座，是地去年十一月獲釋後首次透過講座與公眾對話。她在近兩小時演講中談及多項世界重大議題，質疑阿拉伯領袖拉登被殺是以暴易暴，慨嘆世界充斥太多暴力，相信非暴力方法也可解決問題。

促華不應害怕異見

問及劉曉波與其他異見人士仍被內地拘禁，昂山素姬寄語他們要保持信念，強調中國是具有悠長歷史的強大國家，應該包容不同政見，不要害怕異見。她強調自己被扣留及軟禁期間一直保持信念，不覺得是為民主犧牲，只是盡一己之責任，並感性地向劉曉波喊話：「你並不孤獨！」

問及六四事件已過去逾二十年，為何內地仍害怕民眾爭取自由，至今民運集會及言論自由欠奉，她批評六四事件後，中國將發展集中在經濟，政治改革較少着墨，呼籲年輕人繼續為爭取民主人權奮鬥。她指儘管內地有諸多限制，但民運仍找到表達意見的渠道，問及中國與印度一向對立，如今印度與西方合力拉攏中國，她會站在哪邊？她堅定地答：「站在人權那一邊！」贏得全場觀眾鼓掌近三十秒，場面激動。

劉曉波

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“You must keep faith in yourself. That is the most important thing, and if you cannot keep faith in yourself, you will not be able to live full and peaceful life.”

Aung San Suu Kyi
昂山素姬

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中國人民追求民主是無法阻止

此外，六四事件也成為中國人民追求民主的動力。六四事件發生後，中國人民對民主的追求更加堅定。昂山素姬認為，中國人民追求民主是無法阻止的。她指出，中國人民追求民主是基於對自由、人權和法治的渴望。她認為，中國人民追求民主是基於對自由、人權和法治的渴望。她認為，中國人民追求民主是基於對自由、人權和法治的渴望。

昂山素姬與港對話

昂山素姬在港期間，曾與多位香港人士進行對話。她認為，香港是中國的一部分，但擁有獨特的自由和民主。她認為，香港是中國的一部分，但擁有獨特的自由和民主。她認為，香港是中國的一部分，但擁有獨特的自由和民主。

備

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撐劉曉波 堅持信念

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Running The Lady's Full Speech

百年港大 昂山對話



■1990年，昂山素姬帶領全國民主聯盟贏得大選，卻遭軍政府宣布作廢；其後二十一年遭軍政府不斷繼續軟禁於其寓所，去年11月13日終於獲釋。（資料圖片）



編按：
香港大學為
慶祝建校百
周年，舉辦
一系列「百
周年傑出學
人講座」，邀請多位國際知名人士主
講——昂山素姬為系列講座的第八位
主講嘉賓。

昂山素姬為1991年諾貝爾和平獎得主，身在緬甸的她，昨天透過視像對話，與港大成員及公眾人士探討當今世界的重大議題。以下為昂山素姬對話的前言。

我最喜歡的其中一個格言是「不應以好壞善惡，智慧賢劣來把人分類」。如能將人分類為「為學者」與「非為學者」則更為合理。在「為學者」與「非為學者」之間，則根據那人能否作出適當評估，及了解學習內容的能力以作區分。

當然，以上談論的，乃是廣義的學習概念，並不只局限於從任何一家教育機構或老師所獲得的知識，而是獲得知識和經驗的過程。從中協助我們面對人生挑戰，尋找真實自己和他人的方法。換句話說，學習的範圍境界是讓我們成為關心世界，寬容仁慈的世界公民，並為自己裝備所需知識，能夠將想法轉化為實際行動。

為國家教育痛心

以上對學習的看法，正與香港大學對教育的熱忱及其校訓「明德格物」不謀而合。

創校百年，港大一直為社會培養具備獨立思考，並能充分表達自己藉以改善世界的年輕人。多年來，港大都以此為傲，其成就亦已超越當年創校者的願

望。

當年於奠基儀式，港督席丹期望港大畢業生將能為當時四億中國人發揮不能估計的影響。遙想當時應無法想像，時至今日，港大已躍升為世界知名的頂級學府，吸引世界各地學生踴躍，而港大畢業生在未来將不只對中國，甚至其他國家發揮更大的影響力。

當我看視港大的成就，除了深表欽佩，同時感到無限渴望。我當我想到其他國家在教育方面所達到的成就，無不對我國的教育情況感到痛心疾首。

曾經何時，緬甸的教育亦曾受到不少亞洲及其他國家的尊重及羨慕。仰光大學於港大創校十年後，由仰光學院及耶德連學院合併而成，自此成為培養年輕精英和決心推翻殖民統治的民族主義者的搖籃。

隨著仰光大學的學術水平逐步提升，獲得享負盛名的西方學院認同，加上學生愛國激情所注入的新動力，仰光大學成為推動進步平等和公眾運動的先驅。這些運動隨後亦得到曼德勒大學及國內其他大學的支持。

政治運動與大學之間密不可分的關係亦因而成為緬甸的傳統。當緬甸落入軍事統治，學生成為反抗要求恢復民主權利的旗幟者。而當軍政府加緊獨裁統治，大學教育培育思想、言論、結社自由的根本意義亦逐漸遭到侵犯。

帶領人類朝正確方向走

經過廿載獨裁統治，仰光大學的學生再次發起運動，希望從軍政府中解放緬甸，這正是著名的「八八學運」。

不少學生在「八八學運」中犧牲了性命和自由，但二十多年後的今天，民主和人權仍未實現。同時，緬甸各級的教育水平一直下降，令緬甸人民，尤其是年輕人，久久未能發揮他們的潛能。

我亦藉此一提，無數「八八學運」的領袖均判處長期徒刑，至今仍遭囚禁。

教育乃人人都應該享有的權利，而非少數人的特權。教育應培育有助推動人性尊嚴的價值，帶領人類朝着正確的方向發展。教育應當是真正的學習過程，並非純粹一部生產機器。只培育溫馴服從，不懂思考為何沒盡用自由不是與生俱來權利的人民。

我謹此希望香港大學在人權及學術發展的卓越成就，並且成為亞洲備受敬重的學府之一。

我熱切期望能與港大各學系以至學生團體有更密切的合作與交流。我有信心，假以時日，緬甸國民定能享受真正正的教育成果，並與全球共享，那時便「明德格物」得以彰顯之時。



Strong visuals

視像形式與港大師生對話

昂山素姬指華政治封閉

■何及Ian Holliday(左)到緬甸，並向昂山素姬送上賀信。



水在夢蓮如



■諾貝爾和平獎得主昂山素姬，昨午在仰光透過視像對話，與香港大學師生進行對話。

香港大學昨安排諾貝爾和平獎得主、緬甸反對派領袖昂山素姬，以視像會面形式與港大師生對話，吸引約千人到場。對於與自己同樣獲頒諾貝爾和平獎的內地異見人士劉曉波，昂山素姬寄語對方堅持信念，並認為中國歷史悠長，亦是一個偉大的國家，領導人應該勇於接納不同意見，做到更加開放，並相信隨着人民有一定經濟能力，會渴望成為一個有民主及人權的國家。

記者陳錦輝報道

昂山素姬的吸引力由緬甸伸延至香港，昨日有約千人出席會面。被問到對內地在囚人士劉曉波的寄語時，昂山素姬希望對方堅持信念，「我要向所有在囚人士說，要堅持信念，這是最重要的，如果你不能堅持信念，就不能過和平及完整的人生。」她指中國領導人應該勇於接納不同意見，認為中國是一個歷史悠長及偉大國家，有空間接受不同意見，以及做到更加開放。她又提到，中國經濟發展令人印象深刻，政治方面仍然封閉，相信未來情況會改變，因為當民眾

有一定經濟能力，就會希望見到一個有民主及人權的國家，民主的社會才能給人安全感，所以不需感到沒有希望。

讚中國偉大及經濟發展

對於緬甸局勢，昂山素姬認為當地面對最大的挑戰是司法獨立的問題，甚至影響民主及人權的進步，「除非有司法獨立及法治，否則我們在人權及民主方面不會進步，而我們亦不能營造一個促進人權的營商環境。」

今天的視像面談大約一個小時，是昂山素姬自去年11月獲緬甸軍政府解除軟禁後，首次接受亞洲大學的邀請跟公眾對話，港大社會科學院院長何立仁教授(Ian Holliday)專程飛赴仰光，並在面談結束後贈送了一幅由國學大師饒宗頤題字，寫有「如蓮華在水」的字畫給昂山素姬，意為修練後有清淨的心，如同蓮花從污泥中長出。

饒宗頤字畫送昂山素姬

近半年來，昂山素姬多次與海外學生對話，甚至主動聯絡國際院校，有消息指她在今年八月左右，會到位於中南部的伊洛瓦底巡迴演說，成事後將會是她重獲自由後，首次步出仰光以外地區，但這做法被視為試探政府的反應。



■港大師生與昂山素姬對話。



■昂山素姬與美國前總統卡特（左）及前副總統蒙托馬利（右）在華盛頓會晤。圖為昂山素姬在華盛頓會晤時，與美國前總統卡特（左）及前副總統蒙托馬利（右）在華盛頓會晤。圖為昂山素姬在華盛頓會晤時，與美國前總統卡特（左）及前副總統蒙托馬利（右）在華盛頓會晤。



水在蓮如

昂山素姬於仰光家中以視像會議形式，在約5分鐘演說中，她提到「學習的最高境界，是將我們變成關心別人，和富責任感的世界公民，以知識裝備自己，用實際行動表達我們所關心的事」。並稱讚香港大學校園「明德格物」不謀而合。她又讚嘆兩項各級教育水平，自八八學運後一直下降，令人久久未能發揮他們的潛能。

異見份子須堅持信念

其後，昂山素姬又逐一回答香港大陸僑胞，台下師生與公眾的如輪提問。昂山素姬被軟禁達15年之久，有傳媒問到：同是諾貝爾和平獎得主，但在囚的劉曉波，她會有甚麼說話給劉。昂山素姬稱會告訴所有在中國被囚禁的異見人士，「要堅持信念(keep the faith on his thought)，這是最重要的事；如不能堅持信念，便不能過完無與平穩的人生。」昂山素姬又稱，自己是中國領導人的訊息非常簡單，「中國是偉大的國家(China is a great country)，中國人是偉大的民族(great people)，中國有非凡

久遠的歷史，你們能夠無端端出更多步後，能夠學習(can afford to be daring)，能更包容(afford to the tolerance)，能更有空間包容各種不同意見(can afford to allow room for all kinds of opinions)。她讚中國擁有的人民比大家想像中偉大，故請你向世人展示你的偉大 (so please open up your greatness to everybody else)。昂山此番話語音未落，旋即獲得全場人士報以熱烈掌聲認同。

被問及會否感到1989年天安門發生的六四事件，與其爭取民主鬥爭的要求感到矛盾，她表示不感覺驚訝，一個建立已久的政權，被要求要求走向民主，「這與對中國的情況應不會感到陌生，因為我們也經歷過同樣的事，但我們必須而且有望克服已發生的事情，我們一定會得到我們想要的東西，過程中會有很多的艱苦，但我們必須為我們想得到的東西而努力 (we have to work for exactly what we want)。」她又認為，雖然現在中國只對經濟發展有興趣 (people are so interested in economic progress)，未觸及政治方面的改革 (not quite

reached the political side of the matters)，「但我相信事情會改變 (things will change)，全世界都在追求人權與民主，中國的政治改革必會來臨，到來的時間更可能超越大家的想像(perhaps sooner than people imagine，她強調大家不應氣餒。」

政治改革必會來臨

問到中國人怎爭取言論自由的空間，昂山素姬稱，相信中國人民必定會找到自己的方式，去創立屬於自己的言論自由及自由空間 (Chinese people will find ways of creating freedom of their own)。「你們並不孤單，全世界的人都在追求同樣的事情」，當被問到本身，有沒有與中國政府聯絡或建立關係時，她則稱「沒有，但一直都會努力嘗試，並渴望接觸他們。」

至於在緬甸爭取民主的過程中，昂山素姬回應稱自己遇到的最大挑戰，是要在緬甸建立司法獨立及法治社會，「除非有獨立的司法及法治，否則我們在人權及民主方面均不會有所進步，更不能建立一個可促進人權的善向環境。」

諾貝爾和平獎得主兼緬甸反對派領袖昂山素姬，昨日於香港大學的「港大·昂山素姬·百年對話」活動中，雖然透過視像形式，但屬首次與港人對話，吸引一萬八千人登記參與。昂山素姬在持續1小時的對話中，多次被問到對中國民主改革的想法，她表示中國是偉大的國家，應包容不同的意見，又希望在中國所有在囚異見人士能堅持自己信念。當被問及對於六四事件的看法時，她稱希望大家可以克服過去，繼續努力自己爭取想要的東西，中國的政治改革將會來臨，速度並可能超乎大家所想像。

採訪：政情組

人格純淨如蓮花在水

昂山素姬



昂山素姬與美國前總統卡特（左）及前副總統蒙托馬利（右）在華盛頓會晤。圖為昂山素姬在華盛頓會晤時，與美國前總統卡特（左）及前副總統蒙托馬利（右）在華盛頓會晤。



昂山素姬5月23日出席仰光一個攝影展，凝視着她與幼子的照片。



Speculation of Burmese interruption to the HKU LIVE cast

斷線停電疑遭干擾

【本報訊】昂山淑姬被緬甸軍政府先後拘禁長達十五年，去年底獲釋後活動亦屢受限制，昨日近兩小時的視像演講及問答，便頻頻發生斷線、收音不清，甚至一度停電等阻滯，未知是純粹因當地通訊欠佳，還是有人從中作梗？

講座於昨午三時半開始，身在仰光的昂山淑姬發表演講後接受提問，頭幾個問題都因通訊太差而聽不清楚，到結束前更發生停電事故，烏龍百出。所幸整個講座尚算順利，近兩小時內，昂山淑姬共回答了約三十個問題，滿足出席者對當今世上重大議題的探求。

講座結束前有一段小高潮，身在仰光的港大社會科學學院院長何立仁，代表港大致送國學大師饒宗頤墨寶「如蓮華在水」予昂山淑姬，寓意她有一顆不被世間污染的清淨心。中國國學大師與亞洲民主女神惺惺相惜，剎那間的感動，盡在不言中。



Turning the Lady's speech into an English lesson

Aung San Suu Kyi的幽默睿智

華洋書莊

文：林仕功

緬甸反對派領袖、1991年諾貝爾和平獎得主昂山素姬(Aung San Suu Kyi) 5月30日在仰光通過視像與港大師生及公眾人士對話，會上昂山素姬回答了一系列不同的問題，包括緬甸政治經濟、中緬關係、她的幽禁歲月、個人信念、教育與民主等。

香港媒體的報道集中在昂山素姬寄語中國異見分子堅持信念的一段，而國際媒體則較為注意她打算在一兩個月內作全國巡迴演講的想法。《紐約時報》(The New York Times)形容此舉將測試緬甸政府對她獲釋後行動自由的底線("a move that may test boundaries imposed on her since her release in November")。

讀者可以在網上重溫昂山素姬個多小時的對話，我個人認為其中的內容十

分值得細味。你不需要關心緬甸的政局，單是看昂山素姬回答問題時的幽默睿智，已經是獲益良多。

保持信念撐下去

幽默不是嬉笑、睿智也不是拋書包。對於一些嚴肅的問題，昂山素姬的回答可以令你會心微笑，但內容卻充滿智慧。例如有人問她對女性參政的看法，她說在她領導的緬甸全國民主聯盟中就有許多女性，而且她有時候覺得女成員(比男性)更「幫得手」。("Sometimes I think they are more helpful than men.")

談到15年長的幽禁歲月，她說是依賴個人的紀律堅持下去，保持信念。("Discipline. That's how I managed to live in isolation and keep my faith.") 甚麼事令她

快樂？昂山素姬說是微不足道的事情：

"I've learned to be happy with small things. You have to learn to be happy with small things."

昂山素姬說是微不足道足以令她快樂，顯示了她達觀謙和的包涵。在談到她的佛教信仰時，她說："I was born a Buddhist, but we were not born good Buddhists. We have to work at it."意思是她生下來就是佛教徒，但要做一個好的佛教徒，是要努力的，正如很多偉大的宗教一樣，目的都是要人認識自己，知道如何發揮自己的潛能("Learning to know yourself, what you are as a human being, what you are capable of")。

有一些媒體沒有篇幅報道，或者不感興趣的內容，其實十分有趣。例如談到印度，昂山

素姬說，印度與緬甸的友誼源遠流長，但近年印度不如以前般關心緬甸人的福祉了。這裏昂山素姬似乎是非常含蓄地說印度對緬甸的政策。緬甸反對派一直認為，印度為了政治上的利益、為了抗衡中國在地區的影響力，近年積極尋求與緬甸的軍政府建立關係。

緬甸與印中關係

談到中國，昂山素姬關注到中緬邊境的拐帶人口問題，中國男女比例失衡，導致大量男性找不到配偶，拐帶婦女問題由此產生，受影響的範圍包括緬甸北部地區。昂山素姬說，中國經濟雖然發展迅速，但衡量一個國家的發展，不能光看經濟，她直言："This is not the way we want the world to go."反觀美國，雖然很多人都說美國國力大不如前，但昂山素姬認為，因為美國實行民



主制度，美國民眾很有條件集合力量解決問題："There are many ways its people could get involved to solve its problems."

昂山素姬的著作 *Freedom From Fear*，很多年前已經看過，多年來一直放在我的書架上，偶爾重讀，仍然覺得有所領悟，聽她與港大師生的一席話，更加深了我對她的景仰，確實是心悅誠服。



從事新聞與傳訊工作多年，先後於香港及國際傳媒擔任要職，現為公共事務顧問



Editorial

周一至周六刊出

論評



敢於政改才能解開六四死結

香港大學選擇在昨天辦一場昂山素姬對話會也許跟六四悼念活動沒有甚麼關係，也許跟茉莉花革命或行為藝術家艾未未被拘禁的事件並不直接相關。但這場對話會實在來得合時，對話內容實在饒有意思，不但很值得香港市民細讀，更希望中國民眾及政府可以好好聽一聽昂山素姬不卑不亢、充滿善意的說話。

一如以往，諾貝爾和平獎得主昂山素姬在發言及回答香港學生、傳媒提問時沒有擺出一副先知或民主女神的樣子，沒有把她在緬甸的抗爭經驗說成是金科玉律，沒有嘗試對任何人指指點點。她還是像老朋友般分享她的看法，分享她的識見。有些話昂山素姬過往也曾說過，例如說法治及獨立的司法制度是推進民主人權不可或缺的前提；例如說以自由市場體系發展經濟；例如說她不是在支持西方的價值觀而是

堅定的站在捍衛人權的一方等。

不過，昂山素姬也就最新時局特別是中國的民主、人權狀況說了不少話。她勸勉被中國政府判處十一年監禁的諾貝爾和平獎得主劉曉波堅持信念，不要迷失。她強調以對話團結國家解決分歧。她希望二十二年來爭取平反六四及建設民主中國的人不要氣餒，因為中國最終將會走向民主。她又認為中國是歷史悠久又強大的國家，絕對有能力推動大膽的改革，絕對有能力容納各種各樣不同的意見。昂山素姬更說希望日後有機會跟北京的大學生及民眾交流。

昂山素姬甚麼時候可以跟北大學生交流只有天曉得，但她充滿善意的說話委實很值得北京當權者反思。中國在一九七八年啟動的開放改革是充滿想像力、勇氣與膽識的變革，當時的中國被共產主義教

條與階級鬥爭思想綁了幾十年，沒有人知道擺脫教條枷鎖後的情景將會如何，大家只能以摸着石頭過河的態度一步一步走下去。到現在這條改革開放的路走了超過三十年，帶來的成績是舉世矚目及艷羨的，是連啟動改革的人都難以想像的。有這樣的經驗，有這樣的基礎，中國政府實在沒有理由就此自滿，實在沒有理由不敢再拿出勇氣及決心，在政治上搞另一場開放改革，把中國從封建專權的桎梏中解放出來，成為政治經濟雙翼齊飛的大國。

事實上二十二年前的八九民主運動呼喚的正是這份勇氣，期望的正是這份膽識。若果當時的中國領導人能拿出搞經濟改革的魄力與膽識開始推動政改，改善法治與人權，六四的血債就可以避免，中國就可以少走冤枉路。可惜，中國政府膽怯退縮了，她

選擇了走回頭路，選擇了延續專權體制，令中國社會政治矛盾不斷深化。

更令人痛心的是，中國政府還藉經濟改革帶來的額外財富與資源加強箝制異見人士，加強打壓不同政見人士，甚至連說真話或維護弱者權利的人都不放過。趙連海、艾未未的可怕遭遇就說明了北京當權者膽怯退縮到甚麼地步。若果還不改變，若果繼續退縮下去，六四的結固然解不開，欠下的血債固然償不了，還會不斷欠下新的債，打下新的死結，最終進入無路可退、無處可走的死胡同。

中國政府願意聽聽昂山素姬充滿善意與理解的諍言，讓中國走上政治開放改革的大道嗎？

盧華



Commentary : ASSK & Obama

昂山素姬與奧巴馬



■昂山素姬雖然遭到軍政府軟禁十五年，但是長期的囚禁，讓她練成超越仇恨的世界觀，進入遠遠超越她「敵人」的境界。

(資料圖片)



教育評論
程介明

這個標題寫了以後，看來看不順眼。昂山素姬與奧巴馬怎麼能相提並論呢？然而，畢竟昂山素姬與奧巴馬都是諾貝爾和平獎得主。

上周提議，昂山素姬是軍政府的地下囚，遭軟禁十五年，完全可以說是深仇大恨。但是長期的囚禁，卻讓她練成超越仇恨的世界觀，進入遠遠超越她「敵人」的境界。對她來說，無理的政治者只不過是「學得不夠快」。為什麼？因為她尋求的不是統治，她受到折磨，但是她並不尋求折磨他人。她覺得，她學到的，統治者還沒有學到。

曼德拉沒想過報復

這與南非的曼德拉有點相似。曼德拉坐了二十八年的牢，獲出以後，也完全可以有理由報復對方的鎮壓。有一次聽南非的非洲教授（黑人，他的名字就是Africa）說，曼德拉深深認為，以前南非的種族隔離和種族災難，根源就是當時白人的報復心理。是由於這些報復心理，才出現種種隔離和壓迫行為。因此，不徹底打消這種報復心理，沒有平等的觀念，隔離和壓迫就會永遠存在下去。也因此，曼德拉可以寬恕的，不是黑人反過來壓迫白人的意識，而是世世代代隔閡背後深層的報復心理與壓迫哲學。

不過，不是每個人都會自然而然這樣想的。最近的一部電影 *Invictus*，講曼德拉當選總統以後，支持一支南非橄欖球隊在國際賽場。這支全白人的橄欖球隊信將疑，難以相信這白人監禁了二十八年的黑人總統會支持自己；他們以為，身為壓迫者下了台，一定是輪到黑人來壓迫他們了。另一方面，直到今天，還不時聽到有關南部非洲各國土生白人受收復的傳聞。到底不是每個人都受曼德拉。

又不斷地想起孫中山。那邊剛剛是「驅除鞑靼」、「推翻新清」叫得震天價響，孫中山卻提出了「漢、滿、蒙、回、藏五族共和」。與傳統的想法不一樣，孫中山沒有尋求漢族對其他「夷蠻」的統治，而還是中國修造西方列強散者，遍地開花，到處在唱「打倒列強」。孫中山講的是「世界土平等待我之民族」。孫中山也沒有尋求一個在世界上稱霸的中國。

這不是軟弱，不是讓步，而是境界。以怨報怨，不會產生什麼積極的結果，也不會嚐鮮各式各樣的威復、剝削、壓迫、鎮壓的意識。懷著仇恨之心，只有絕緣、割斷、隔離的意識不斷滋養和影響，社會問題得不到解決，社會得不到安寧，各方的心靈也得不到安寧。

毛澤東貫徹壓迫

於是想起教富農（Paulo Friere）的《被壓迫者的教育學》（*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1970）。豐富就是「解放神學」的思想領袖之一，天主教徒，卻信奉馬克思主義，但是不相信階級鬥爭。他說：「……在鬥爭的初期，被壓迫者，與其說是追求解放，往往卻想把自己變成壓迫者。……他們思想的結構，恰恰是受他們所處的矛盾的條件所塑造的。……他們不自覺地把壓迫者當作人類的榜樣。……他們對於自己的認識，局限於壓迫的現實。因此他們很難跳出壓迫的現實，……他們仍然生活在壓迫者的影子裏面」。

也就是說，壓迫是「被壓迫者」唯一的生活現實。他們想像不到沒有壓迫的社會；因此他們理想中的「解放」，就是有一天他們也能壓迫人。因此，豐富認為，被壓迫者要解放自己，首先要從「壓迫」這個意識裏面解放出來，才能得到真正的自由。這就是「被壓迫者的教育」。

洪清田從學習的角度，認為昂山素姬與毛澤東在跨時空對話。我的看法不太一樣，我的角度是「壓迫」。自從列寧開始，就把馬克思的階級矛盾的社會理

論，演化成階級鬥爭的革命行動。毛澤東基本上繼承了這種思路，因此有了「無產階級專政」。『人民民主專政』。是由以前的「階級鬥爭」向以前的「壓迫者」施以「專政」；也可以說是向「資產階級專政」的「報復」。是「以其人之道，還治其人之身」。

在文化大革命當中，毛澤東就把這個道理說得非常清楚（毛澤東是從不含糊的）。『剝削者和反革命者無論何時何地總是少數，被剝削者和革命者總是多數。因此，後者的專政就有充分的道理，而前者則總是退縮的』（《人民日報》1967年6月17日）；與費雷爾對比，分明是兩種截然相反的革命觀。

這種仇恨與報復的意識，也許是文化大革命的基調。雖然經常有人提出毛澤東關於區分「人民內部矛盾」與「敵我矛盾」的理論，但是由於不斷渲染「階級仇恨」，強烈推行「階級教育」，張開「階級覺悟」。而「階級界線」的隨意變更，弄得草木皆兵，「敵人」彷彿愈來愈多，因此彌漫全園的是「鬥爭哲學」。從費雷爾的看法，這其實是穩進了「壓迫者」的哲學，不自覺地帶著「壓迫者」的心態，反過來「壓迫」以前的「壓迫者」。

文化大革命中的仇恨與壓迫，愈演愈烈，幾乎無法收場。遍及全社會的、持久的仇恨思潮，讓中國人集體吃的這個虧，可以說是人類歷史上少有的。文化大革命的失敗，在實踐上證明社會不可能靠仇恨而生存，宣告了「壓迫者」哲學的失敗。這與今天中國提倡的「和諧社會」，對比何其遙遠！

奧巴馬隱進壓迫思維

不過，以壓迫者的意識，並不是中國文化大革命的專利，也沒有成為歷史。奧巴馬的刺殺拉登的行動，用費雷爾的框架分析，也是可以說是隱進「恐怖主義」的壓迫思維；帶著仇恨與報復的情感，不得不分析。也不須審判，用暗殺的、非法的手段，單方面「格殺勿論」，而且是在人家的國境，實際上是在實行一次「恐怖式」的課程，其心態，與恐怖主義者並無二致。

許多國家的政府這麼致電祝賀：實在是對海牙國際法庭的嘲諷和恥笑。陳文雄在他的專欄裏面，分析了這場刺殺的無法無天。但是大多數人的惡忍，默許甚至讚許，只會讓「恐怖主義」的意義更加強烈地傳播。

環顧今天的世界，幾乎每一個社會都面臨寬寬懸懸的挑戰。社會的不公平，有它深層的原因，看來只會愈趨激烈，一時難以看到轉轉的動因。

二十世紀，人類以為可以解決社會不公的「革命」，在世界各地大面積地宣布失敗。而且連明眼人類社會帶來了比社會不公更大的人為災難。但是，上世紀「革命」背後的意識，絕不會因為歷史教訓而減退。仇恨和報復的意識，正在尋找新的土壤萌發。



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