

human rights definition is an essential first step. Only through such a debate can human rights become part of China's social reality and contribute

NOTES

1. Alain Clémence et al. "La représentation sociale des droits de l'homme: une recherche internationale sur l'étendue et les limites de l'universalité," (The Social Representation of Human Rights: An International Study on the Extent and Limits of Universality) *Journal Internationale de Psychologie* 30, no. 2. (1995): 181–212. The original list consisted of 21 items. I reduced the list to be able to fit in the questionnaire, and also because some items were not suitable to the Chinese context.
2. This notion is most obvious in Durkheim's work "Suicide", where he emphasizes the religious character of the cult of the individual in modern society. Other than archaic societies where altruistic suicide was socially accepted in certain cases, this form of suicide is despised in modern society. The human being has become 'a god,' to kill him therefore is blasphemy. Emile Durkheim, "Suicide. A Study in Sociology," (New York: Free Press, 1997 [1897]).
3. See Matthias König, *Menschenrechte bei Durkheim und Weber* [Human Rights in the Writings of Durkheim and Weber] (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Forschung, 2002: 143).
4. See Mary Douglas, "Cultural Bias" in: *In the Active Voice* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982).
5. Social representations describe "sense-giving systems" and tell us how people subjectively create their reality by defining abstract concepts. The founder of the theory of social representation, Serge Moscovici, points out that social representations are of major importance for behaving and communicating inside a specific society. See Serge Moscovici, "Attitudes and Opinions," *Annual Review of Psychology*, 14: 231–260.
6. See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (London: Penguin Classics 1968 [1762]).
7. This rather 'restricted' definition of rights as a simple instrument for upholding the ruling order was promoted by the Chinese legalist school: "The 'rule of law' advocated by the Chinese legalist school was basically instrumentalist in nature, namely the law was used as an instrument by the rulers to control the ruled." See Jianyi Xin, "The Fate of the Rule of Law in Chinese History" in: *The Rule of Law and the 21st Century* (Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Publishing House, 2004: 402–412).
8. Shi Yun, 1989, as quoted in Angle & Svensson 2001: 326.
9. Alain Clémence et al., op cit.
10. See Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Ed. Quintin Hoare and Georrfea Nowell Smith (New York: John Wiley, 1996).

SOLILOQUY AT THE GUARDED GATE

BY TAO JUN

Each night of moon and many stars,
I always stop my pacing here
Before the checkpoint
To watch with deep affection
The easy grace with which you walk away.
Laden with my earnest counsels,
You never looked back;
And if you feel embarrassment
You hide it well.
Through welling tears I see refracted
That soft white jacket, gradually receding.
Looking beyond the barred way out,
I crane my neck to scan the crowd
Until eyes blur.
Dogged by disappointment,
I have stored in this passageway
The bleakness of despondency.
And here they wait for me:
The accustomed parting,
The cozy closeness that I know so well,
The familiar soft white jacket.

In this moment the narrow pass
Cleaves flesh from spirit like a whirling blade,
Pries sadness from tenacity of purpose;
Staring past that steely light,
I just make out your glittering tears.
Once fits and starts of anxious, fond concern
Have passed in whispers through a microphone
As breezes graze our cheeks,
It's then the time for toughness, standing firm:
To him who traces with unflinching hand
The outline of the future,
That blueprint by itself brings solace, warmth;
Dispels the haze that hangs above
Such a constricted place, and bit by bit
Restores one's courage to
Await the hour of an exploding dawn
When little stars shall give way to the sun
Mantled in radiant clouds—
The buzzer calls the pigeons home.
It lasts a minute, far too long.
From our reunion comes a choked-up sob.

No. 1 Detention Center, Shenzhen, 2002

Rendered into English by A. E. Clark

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