

Translator's Note:

As requested by the Justice Select Committee¹ I have translated the Chinese section of an anonymous letter I received on February 13, 2018, which I provided as a supplementary submission to the Committee. The letter is relevant to the Justice Select Committee's Inquiry on Foreign Interference Activities in New Zealand as it provides concrete examples of how the Chinese government directs New Zealand's Chinese language media. The model of control for the diaspora media is similar to that in the Chinese Mainland, it does not matter who owns the media outlet, they must work within CCP censorship guidelines or be forced out of business.² The only exceptions are Falungong papers and a few other hardy dissident media platforms. The diaspora commercial media--like the PRC media—operates “between the Party line and the bottom line”.³

The anonymous letter alleges that the Chinese government is behind an “evil and obscene attack” on Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern in the New Zealand Chinese media (as well as against the Right Hon Winston Peters). This translation translates an example from the New Zealand Chinese media of that slander against the New Zealand Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Peters. This translated section is from a post on the HouGarden website in January 2018⁴ and screenshots of user posts in response to the original story. HouGarden is a Chinese language, New Zealand-based news and property website.⁵ The letter outlines how the Chinese government is allegedly directing and controlling the New Zealand media Chinese-language platforms via a combination of incentives and punishments. The letter provides photographic evidence to back up these claims.

Translated by Professor Anne-Marie Brady, University of Canterbury, New Zealand⁶

Warning: the translation, as well as the Chinese original, contains vulgar language that may offend some readers.

炸了！总理 JACINDA 自曝：**老皮**是宝宝的干爹！

ORIGINAL 2018-01-24 RANGIPAPA

（后花园房地厂在线）

【W E I X I N A D】

[以下是正文]

祝福共责难一色，鲜花与诅咒齐飞。“总理怀孕”无疑是新西兰人上周末茶余饭后的最热话题。这才刚消停没多久，JACINDA ARDERN 又曝出一剂猛料：原来宝宝的 GODFATHER（干爹）早已“钦定”——副总理 WINSTON PETERS

高.潮.来了！

有如段子手附身的 JACINDA 接下来又说，“我还收到了一些希望**皮**副总理当我孩子教父的建议“，”不过我必须指出的是，**他已经是了**。”

什么是教父（GODFATHER）？

[COMMENTS]

- “青“

一对狗男女

- REPLY BY AUTHOR

请注意文明用语（是红牌，不是红包）

- “梁 JUNE 耀 “

怀孕新闻出来到现在老皮选择啥也不说，登位一个只有 11% 选票的总理。而 47% 选票的国家党领袖却为啊登说了好话。这样的逃避真的好吗？

- “任之—RON “

对于那些污言秽语，人身攻击的评论，楼主应该删除，根本不应该公开。

- “JENNY 子颐 “——H A R

老皮都可以给孩子当爷爷了，当干爹，有点扯。。。好吧，总理和老皮他两个人的想法很难懂，只能恭喜老皮“老来得子“了。

- “胡老师要扯蛋 “

现在政治斗争都玩出这种花样了？？为了扳到国家党另外两个垃圾党早就预谋好了：你支持我们工党上位，我就把总理

的位置给你。放心过一阵子那个工党的总理就会在产假期间发生身体不适，老皮继续干吧，怎么 HIGH 怎么折腾。

- 小乔

本来就没抱什么希望，现在更失望，是不是少根筋。

LIFE POWER MESSAGE

认：“干爹“，”教父“，当然要找精明能干的人啦！老皮的精明，在纽西兰政坛无人匹敌！

老皮太精明，很多想移民，有希望落空的人，以及那些人的家人，恨死老皮，所以，留言充满了谩骂，污蔑。。

有了这层关系，下届大选，工党，优先党成了铁杆同盟，只要绿党不作反，再加上绿党的信心支持，工党连任的几率达到 95%以上，赢定了！

English translation:

Explosive! Prime Minister JACINDA reveals: “Old P”⁷ is bubbie’s⁸ sugar daddy!⁹

ORIGINAL 2018-01-24 posted by RANGIPAPA

(Hou Garden Real Estate Online)

[WEIXIN AD]

[The text is below]

Blessings and responsibilities mingle together; flowers and curses fly out.¹⁰ At the end of last week the "Prime Minister's pregnancy" was undoubtedly New Zealanders' hottest after-dinner topic. It wasn't long after this news came out that JACINDA ARDERN had another revelation: the baby's GODFATHER (foster) has already been "decreed"¹¹ –it is Deputy Prime Minister WINSTON PETERS

O.R.G.A.S.M!

As JACINDA says in the excerpt here, "I have also received some suggestions hoping that Deputy Prime Minister P [Mr Peters] will be my child's godfather...however I must point out that **he already is.**"

What is a godfather (GODFATHER)?

[COMMENTS]

- "Qing"

"They are a pair of mating dogs."¹²

- REPLY BY AUTHOR

Please pay attention to civilized language (Note: this is a red card, not a red envelope)¹³

- "Liang JUNE Yao"

The pregnancy news has only now come out; and **Old P** chose not to say anything. He'll become the Prime Minister with only 11% of the vote. And the leader of the National Party with 47% of the vote said nice things to **Ah Deng** [Ardern]¹⁴. Is this sort of cop out really ok?

- "Renzhi – RON"

With regard to the [above] use of swear words and personal attacks, the author of the post should delete the post, it should definitely not be on an open page.

- "JENNY Son" – HAR

Old P could be the child's grandfather, but a "Sugar Daddy/Foster Father", what a w..¹⁵ Oh well, the idea of the Prime Minister and **Old P** together is altogether too difficult to understand. I can only congratulate the **Old P** for becoming "a father in old age".¹⁶

- “Teacher Hu Talks Nonsense”

And now the political battle plays us this kind of trick?? The two other garbage parties have long plotted to overthrow the National Party: You support the Labour Party, and I will give you the position of the Prime Minister. Rest assured before long the Labour Party Prime Minister will be unwell during her maternity leave. **Old P**, stay on in the role, why not take it as high as you can.

- Xiao Qiao

I didn't have any hope to start with, but now I'm even more disappointed. Are they crazy?

LIFE POWER MESSAGE

Finding a: "Sugar Daddy/Foster Father", "Godfather", of course, one would want to find a clever and capable person! Old P's cleverness is unmatched in New Zealand politics!

Old P is just too clever, and lots of people who want to immigrate here, all those whose hopes have faded along with their family members, they hate the Old P, so the posts are full of curses and slander.

With a relationship such as [the above described], in the next general election, the Labour Party and NZ First will become hard-core allies. As long as the Green Party do not rebel, adding

in a confidence and supply agreement with the Greens¹⁷ the chances of a re-election of the Labor Party is likely to reach 95% or more, and victory will be assured!

¹ **From:** Justice Committee <Justice@parliament.govt.nz>
Sent: Thursday, 9 May 2019 2:28 PM
To: Anne-Marie Brady <anne-marie.brady@canterbury.ac.nz>
Subject: today's supplementary submission

Kia ora Professor Brady

At the Justice Committee meeting today, you handed the committee a supplementary submission.

The committee has requested that you please provide a translation.

Thanks.

Kind regards

 [redacted]

Deputy Clerk of Justice Committee

² As discussed in Anne-Marie Brady, "Magic Weapons: China's Political Influence Activities Under Xi Jinping," conference paper presented at the conference on "The Corrosion of democracy under China's global influence," September, 16-17 2017,

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/magic-weapons-chinas-political-influence-activities-under-xi-jinping>.

³ Zhao Yuezhi, *Between the Party Line and the Bottom Line: Media, Market, and Democracy in China*, Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

⁴ The original post is here: <https://nz.hougarden.com/news/winston-peters-godfather-24012018>, but the comments section has now been removed.

⁵ <https://nz.hougarden.com/news/local>; <https://nz.hougarden.com/>.

⁶ I am a specialist in the politics of the People's Republic of China (PRC, China) and the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) Party-State system; as well as polar issues, Pacific politics, and New Zealand foreign policy. I have published ten books and close to fifty scholarly papers on these topics. I was educated in Auckland, Shanghai, and Canberra. I am a fluent Mandarin Chinese speaker with dual degrees up to PhD level in Chinese Studies and Political Science and International Relations. I am a Professor in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Canterbury, as well as a Global Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington DC, a non-resident Senior Fellow at the China Policy Institute at the University of Nottingham, and a member of the Council on Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (New Zealand). I have taught graduate and undergraduate courses at East China Normal University, Tsinghua University, Wuhan University, Beijing University, and Renmin University.

My comments in this translation and in my submission to the Inquiry on Foreign Interference in New Zealand are based on conclusions in my research published over the last thirty years. In researching these papers and books I referred to many thousands of Chinese language CCP materials and the comments I make here are based on those sources, as well as secondary sources on the CCP's united front work.

⁷ 老皮, *Lǎo Pí* which can be translated as "Old P", "Old Skin", "Old Pi", "Old Leather", "Old Fur", "Old Naughty", "Old Rascal" and potentially also interpreted to mean "Old Fart", "Old Bum", plus many other dialect interpretations listed below, is the colloquial nickname commonly used in the New Zealand Chinese language media to refer to the Right Hon

Winston Peters, Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister in the Coalition government (2017-). The phrase could be interpreted as insulting and pejorative. It is certainly not the correct transliteration of Mr Peters' name in Chinese and it is unusual to see media outlets using a potentially derogatory nickname in reference to a person's actual name. The following remarks are based on consultations with colleagues and native speakers of Chinese of different age groups and linguistic backgrounds. Thanks to the many who assisted with this translation; more than can be listed.

The official translation of Mr Peters name is: 温斯顿·彼得斯, is phonetic, using standard non-offensive characters for transliteration of the common English names "Winston" and "Peters" [the characters used mean: Warm. This. Pause –That. Obtain. Those]. It is the norm in Chinese translations to use non-offensive characters to transliterate foreigners' names. Chinese dictionaries list standard transliterations of common foreign names. Xinhua News Service sets the norms on how foreign political leaders' names should be transliterated and there is an official translation available. Yet in the New Zealand Chinese language media, the Right Hon Winston Peters' name appears frequently as 老皮, or else as "皮特斯" a transliteration using the character 皮 (as discussed above, the surname Pi, skin, leather, fur, naughty, raffish, rascal, along with other meanings) as the choice of first character for his name.

In 2017, the CCP formalised its efforts to implement censorship controls over the Chinese diaspora media, see "The 2nd Overseas Chinese New Media Summit Forum," Sina, August 30, 2017, <http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2017-08-30/doc-ifykpuuh9583106.shtml>. This policy has been the unwritten rule for at least 20 years. As the anonymous letter I submitted to the Justice Select Committee illustrates, regardless of who owns a foreign Chinese language media outlet or China-focused media outlet, it must now conform to CCP censorship guidelines or it will be forced to close by means of intimidation such as removal of advertising or vexatious court cases. Thus, given that New Zealand's Chinese language media are under pressure to closely follow the "Xinhua line" in their reporting of China-related issues, it is unusual and significant that they are using the 老皮 phrase to denote Mr Peters.

A NZ-based website has discussed the significance of the New Zealand Chinese language media using 老皮 to transliterate Mr Peters' name. This

analysis concludes that the term is pejorative and it is meant to insult, see <https://www.kannz.com/winston-peters/>.

According to University of Pennsylvania Sinologist Professor Victor Mair, in Dongbei topolect the term 老皮子 indicates people who are raffish or disrespectful. In Shaanxi 陝西 topolect "老皮" has a complex and essentially disapproving meaning: it could mean “老油條” (sic, "slippery customers", "devious geezers"), people who are considered "很二" (reckless), and those who behave like scoundrels. The term "老皮" may also have an ironic meaning. For example in Shaanxi topolect, Tom cat in Tom and Jerry is referred to as "老皮". (Victor Mair, email communication, 16 May 2019). The term also appears in a variant form in Wuhan topolect as 老耶皮 nao3ye1pi, a derogatory term for an older person. See *Dictionary of Wuhan Dialect*, Jiangsu Publishing House, 1995, and an example of the term in use here <http://bbs.cnhan.com/thread-20983041-4-1.html> (Jichang Lulu, email communication, May 21, 2019).

A google search of “老皮 Winston Peters” in the news media appeared 98 times. For example the NZME publication the *Chinese Herald*, sister paper to the *NZ Herald*, often uses the term. See for example:

“代总理老皮：国民品牌出售，对新西兰来说是“悲伤的一天”，
<https://www.chinesenzherald.co.nz/news/new-zealand/acting-prime-minister-winston-peters-says-the-sale-of-tip-top-is-a-sad-day-for-new-zealand/>

“因为一篇中国乌龙报道，老皮怒喷国家党前总理：出卖新西兰利益” <http://www.chinesenzherald.co.nz/news/new-zealand/winston-peters-slams-former-prime-minister-jenny-shibley/>

“职场霸凌？Simon Bridges 国会发言遭老皮当众调戏口音” <http://www.chinesenzherald.co.nz/news/new-zealand/frosty-reactions-to-winston-peters-mocking-simon-bridges/>

“老皮和他最后的倔强：别胡说，新中关系‘好得很’”
<http://www.chinesenzherald.co.nz/news/new-zealand/winston-peters-hits-back-saying-nz-china-relationship-excellent/>

“老皮 Winston Peters” also appears in Google searches covering the whole web, 2014 seems to be the earliest mention, in a *Chinese Herald* article: http://www.chnet.co.nz/html/2014-8-12/News_86387.html.

⁸ 宝宝 *Bǎobǎo*, is a pet name that could be translated as “bubbie”, “baby”, “bubs”, “darling”, “precious”. Here it appears to be used ironically.

⁹ 干爹, *gāndiē*, traditionally meant foster father, adopted father, or godfather. But in modern usage it has come to mean “Sugar Daddy”. It is used to describe the relationship between an older man and a much younger woman. An example of use by netizens is a China-based Wikihow page on: “How to fish for a sugar daddy” 如何钓到多金“干爹” <https://zh.wikihow.com/%E9%92%93%E5%88%B0%E5%A4%9A%E9%87%91%E2%80%9C%E5%B9%B2%E7%88%B9%E2%80%9D>

See also PRC state-media usage: China National Radio via People's Daily Online listing the heroines of Sugar-Daddy Culture. 细数“干爹文化”的女主角们(组图) <http://legal.people.com.cn/n/2013/0228/c188502-20629417.html>

And some New Zealand-relevant sources

<http://www.chinesenzherald.co.nz/news/socialmedia/this-is-us-20180523/>

新西兰一周收入 8000 纽币, “找干爹”网站毁三观!

<https://m.sohu.com/n/419626621/>

¹⁰ This sentence parodies a famous Tang dynasty couplet by Wang Bo 王勃, “落霞与孤鹜齐飞, 秋水共长天一色” from the poem “Preface on King Teng's Pavilion” (滕王阁序).

Victor Mair has translated the key phrase as “Evening clouds descend and fly along together with a single lonely wild duck/Autumn’s waters coalesce in a single shade with the outstretched heavens.” (Victor Mair, ed., *Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994, p. 550.) Email communication, Professor Olga Lomová, Charles University, May 21, 2019.

¹¹ 钦定 *qīndìng*, a term used when the imperial court issues a decree.

¹² 一对狗男女, *yīduì gǒu nǎnnǚ*. This is an extremely vulgar term in Chinese, as it is in English. An explanation of the meaning here: <https://zhidao.baidu.com/question/106417414.html>

¹³ In other words: a warning, not a reward.

¹⁴ 啊登 Ah Deng is a mildly disrespectful name for Prime Minister Ardern, see also 阿爾登, which commonly appears in Taiwanese reports on NZ. Ah Deng simply repeats the sound of Ms Ardern's name in Chinese characters without any particular meaning. However, the official translation of Jacinda Ardern's name in Chinese used by the PRC government and in the PRC media is: 杰辛达·阿德恩. In this translation of Ardern, the characters for her surname can be translated as "Ms Moral Empathy".

¹⁵ Commonly an abbreviation of the phrase 扯鸡巴蛋, a vulgar term which is equivalent to "what a wank".

¹⁶ 老来得子 Refers to a popular love story in Chinese of intrigues concerning the children of a young woman and her much older husband.
<https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E8%80%81%E6%9D%A5%E5%BE%97%E5%AD%90>

¹⁷ On the current Confidence and Supply Agreement of the Green Party to the Coalition government see
<https://www.greens.org.nz/sites/default/files/NZLP%20%26%20GP%20C%26S%20Agreement%20FINAL.PDF>