



CHINA RIGHTS FORUM

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A SPECIAL RESOURCE PACKET

Poetry by Liu Nianchun
and Meng Lang

FAQ on June Fourth

**A Chronology of the June Fourth
Crackdown**

Tiananmen Reflections

Appeals for Justice

**Expanding Space
for Chinese Voices**

Tiananmen: 2008 and Beyond

Resource List

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CHINA RIGHTS FORUM

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INTRODUCTION

As the 100-day countdown proceeds toward the opening of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, the Chinese authorities continue a hard-line freedom of expression crackdown on journalists, lawyers, independent intellectuals, and other rights activists. Under the full glare of an international spotlight, Chinese nationalism at home and abroad, domestic and international human rights activism, and core Olympics Movement values such as human dignity, are being advanced and challenged. What was to have been the big 2008 Olympics coming-out party has been marred by high profile domestic and international human rights criticisms and concerns about China's policies and actions. Despite the billions of dollars spent to build the impressive Olympics venues and infrastructure (complete with state-of-the-art security systems), and to mount extensive public relations campaigns, the last two months before the opening of the Games may not run smoothly. Past human rights abuses must be addressed before China can move toward a truly "harmonious society" and the "One World, One Dream" vision of the 2008 Olympics slogan.

The past matters for the future.

June 4, 2008, marks the 19th anniversary of the Chinese government's violent crackdown on student, democracy, and worker activists in Tiananmen Square. Nineteen years later, the Chinese government has yet to respond to the numerous domestic calls, by the Tiananmen Mothers and others, for full investigation and official accountability, compensation for victims and their families, and reassessment of the 1989 Democracy Movement and crackdown. Nineteen years later, the total number of deaths, as well as the total number of individuals imprisoned or still in prison for June Fourth-related activities, is unknown. Only nineteen years later, there is now an entire generation of young Chinese that do not know or believe that a violent crackdown even occurred.

This dangerous historical amnesia about June Fourth is the product of the Chinese authorities' censorship and ideological control of what can be known about the past, about history. Chinese authorities have harassed, censored, prosecuted, or imprisoned Chinese activists who document, investigate, or disseminate any information the authorities deem sensitive or a threat to political control. Yet, the Tiananmen Mothers and others continue their persistent and courageous work to preserve and compile evidence for a future accounting.

This special issue of the *China Rights Forum* is a modest effort to support domestic Chinese voices and efforts to keep the truth alive, and to encourage the international community to take action. This CRF June Fourth background and resource issue includes: a timeline of events of the 1989 Democracy Movement, personal accounts of and poetry related to the Tiananmen crackdown, excerpts from Chinese citizens' open letters calling for official accountability, and a resource list of print and multimedia information and sources. Finally, this issue's Take Action focuses on the Chinese government, and the actions it (and the international community) can take to support domestic voices for social justice and reforms.

As significant Chinese historical markers, *fengwu fengshi* (逢五逢十) are moments for refusing historical amnesia, healing the wounds of the past, and building social justice in the present. June 4, 2008, can be reclaimed with hope as the 19th anniversary foundation for the road to 2009.



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THE PAST IS NOT ANOTHER COUNTRY



Photo credits: REUTERS / Paul Yeung.

POETRY | 诗

Meng Lang

IN OUR BODIES

History travels through our bodies,
That is our life.

Life travels through our bodies,
That is our glory.

Glory travels through our bodies,
That is our blood.

Blood travels through our bodies,
That is our road.

The road travels through our bodies,
That journey ends in our bodies.

In our bodies
Just, their pure white bones (unyielding),
Just, their wide open eyes (hope).

Liu Nianchun

TREE-RINGS

What times are these, today
That overlap times past
So that one can't distinguish
Like rings on an old pagoda tree
The past written, the present laid bare
But no road
To the future

Where evil comes from
No one knows
Like yellow earth, layer compacting layer
Like years shrouded in cobwebs and dust
Numb, or devoid of feeling

孟浪

我们身体里的

历史在我们的身体里旅行，
那就是我们的生命。

生命在我们的身体里旅行，
那就是我们的光荣。

光荣在我们的身体里旅行，
那就是我们的鲜血。

鲜血在我们的身体里旅行，
那就是我们的道路。

道路在我们的身体里旅行，
旅行就在我们的身体里结束。

在我们身体里的
只是，他们洁白的骨头（不屈），
只是，他们圆睁的眼睛（希冀）。

刘念春

年轮

今天，是什么年代
却和以往年代重合
以致分不清
老槐树似的年轮
书写过去，坦呈现在
却没有一条路
通向未来

邪恶从那条路走来
没有人知道
象黄土地一层压着一层
象蛛网尘封的年代
是麻木还是冷酷

Like breakers crashing in river, lake or sea
 Like sun and moonlight crushing yesterday into today
 Yellow leaves swaying in the breeze
 Finally someone knows
 The road circles and begins again
 Indifferent, no attempt to hide it

象江河海一浪击碎一浪
 象日月光昨天击碎今天
 黄叶在风中摇摆
 终于有人知道
 路在周而复始
 冷漠而不掩盖

Seek light in the midst of evil
 Pray for hope in the face of indifference
 Finally the day comes
 When you reap hopelessness on that muddy road

在邪恶中寻找光明
 在冷漠中祈求希望
 终于有一天
 却在泥泞的道路上收获无奈

Samsara¹ is open and completely bare
 5,000 years of hurrying back and forth
 80,000 *li*² of birth and rebirth
 Chasing history
 Tracking the present
 Avenging the future

轮回坦荡一丝不挂
 五千年匆匆往来
 八万里生生不息
 追讨历史
 跟踪当代
 报应将来

Samsara hurries
 Along the road
 But it is hard to recognize an instance of deception in the present
 Today, history is forgotten
 Because of deception the forgotten is beyond the bright blue sky

轮回匆匆
 走在路上
 却难以认清一次当代的欺诈
 今天，历史的遗忘
 遗忘因欺诈而在朗朗青天外

Today one wants to tell again
 Of the evil that lurks beneath willow branches in the spring breeze
 Not knowing when it acquired that patina of sanctity
 Yet not allowed to speak of it freely
 What times are these

今天，又想告诉
 春风杨柳枝条下的罪恶
 却不知何时披上一层圣洁的光泽
 还不准自由表达
 这是什么年代

Translated by J. Latourelle

About the poets

Meng Lang was working at Shenzhen University in 1989 as the editor for the university press. He served time in prison following June Fourth for his participation in the editing of underground publications. He is a poet and an author in the United States and is co-founder of the Independent Chinese PEN Center.

Liu Nianchun is a dissident writer from Beijing. He was a major participant in the Democracy Wall movement in 1979 and an editor of the underground publication *Today*. Beginning in 1981, Liu served three years in prison for transferring manuscripts written by his imprisoned brother. In 1989, he participated in the Tiananmen Democracy Movement. He currently resides in the United States.

Notes

1. Buddhist cycle of death and rebirth.
2. A Chinese unit of measurement, equal to approximately 0.5 kilometers.

FAQ ON JUNE FOURTH

- What is June Fourth?
- What triggered the Democracy Movement?
- Where did the demonstrations take place?
- How did the government react to the demonstrations?
- How many people were killed or wounded in the crackdown?
- How many people were arrested?
- What have foreign governments done in past years to call attention to June Fourth?
- What have the exile community and Chinese activists done in past years to commemorate June Fourth?
- Who is Ding Zilin?
- Who are the Tiananmen Mothers?
- Will any Olympic events take place on Tiananmen Square?
- Why is June Fourth important today?
- What can YOU do?



Photo credits: REUTERS / Alfred Cheng Jin.

→ What is June Fourth?

June Fourth refers to the violent crackdown on the 1989 Democracy Movement by the Chinese authorities on June 4, 1989. The 1989 Democracy Movement demonstrations centered on Beijing's sprawling Tiananmen Square, where tens of thousands of students and workers began gathering in mid-April 1989 to press their demands for political reform. The demonstrations soon spread to hundreds of cities across China. But on the night of June 3, 1989, the government ordered the square cleared, moving in tanks and troops which began firing on the unarmed protesters. While no official list of the victims has ever been made public, estimates are that hundreds and possibly thousands were killed, and additional hundreds and perhaps thousands arrested.

→ What triggered the Democracy Movement?

The protests in Tiananmen Square began on a small scale when students and others began meeting in the area to mourn the death on April 15, 1989, of Hu Yaobang. Hu, a reformer, was forced out of Deng Xiaoping's government in 1987 amid harsh criticism from Deng. The public mourning sparked calls for an official reassessment of Hu, which grew into widespread demands for reform. The students were soon joined by workers and intellectuals. Ultimately, more than one million people marched in the square, carrying banners, shouting slogans, and calling for a dialogue with the government.

→ Where did the demonstrations take place?

While the largest demonstrations took place in Beijing, in and around Tiananmen Square, large-scale protests also took place in over 400 other Chinese cities. Support movements also sprouted up in Hong Kong, the United States, and elsewhere outside of China.

→ How did the government react to the demonstrations?

The government initially released statements opposing the demonstrations, but students continued to occupy the square and march through the city. On May 19, Zhao Ziyang, a former premier and Communist Party General Secretary, went to the square and urged students to end their hunger strike. It was his last public appearance, and martial law was declared the next day. Zhao was placed under house arrest, where he remained until his death. As the hunger strike progressed into its third week, the government began to move troops into the city, and checkpoints were established, blocking off the university district. On June 3, the government ordered the People's Liberation Army to clear the square. Following the crackdown, large-scale protests continued in several cities outside of Beijing, but only for a few days before the authorities regained control.

→ How many people were killed or wounded in the crackdown?

No official list of the wounded or killed was ever released, and there are conflicting estimates. According to an internal Chinese document, more than 2,000 people died in various Chinese cities from June 3-4 and the days immediately following. Other estimates range from 188 to 800. One reason for the uncertainty is suspicion that Chinese troops may have quickly removed and disposed of bodies. Following the crackdown, additional deaths occurred when an unknown number of workers and students were executed for their participation in the protests.

→ How many people were arrested?

After the crackdown, more than 500 people were imprisoned in Beijing's No. 2 Prison, and an unknown number were detained in other Chinese cities. Hundreds were tried and sentenced to lengthy or life sentences. Most life sentences

FOREIGN GOVERNMENT ACTION ON JUNE FOURTH

United States

Foreign Relations Authorization Act, FY 1990 and 1991, Public Law 101-246, U.S. Statutes at Large 104 (1990): 15, § 902 (the “Tiananmen Square Legislation”).

Condemning the crackdown on democracy protestors in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, in the People's Republic of China on the 15th anniversary of that tragic massacre, HR Res. 655, 108th Cong., 2d Sess., June 1, 2004, http://thomas.loc.gov/home/gpoxmlc108/hr655_jh.xml.

U.S. Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 15 Years After Tiananmen: Is Democracy in China's Future?, CECC Hearing, June 3, 2004, <http://www.cecc.gov/pages/hearings/060304/index.php>.

Urging the European Union to maintain its arms embargo on the People's Republic of China, HR Res. 57, 109th Cong., 1st Sess., February 2, 2005, <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d109:h.res.57:>.

A resolution urging the European Union to maintain its arms export embargo on the People's Republic of China, S Res. 59, 109th Cong., 1st Sess., February 17, 2005, <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d109:sr59:>.

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, The Lifting of the EU Arms Embargo on China, 109th Cong., 1st Session, March 16, 2005, <http://www.senate.gov/foreign/hearings/2005/hrg050316p2.html>.

European Union

European Council, EU Declaration on China, Madrid, June 26–27, 1989, available at <http://www.sipri.org/contents/expcon/euchidec.html>.

European Parliament, European Parliament resolution on EU-China Relations, INI/2005/2161, adopted September 7, 2006, available at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/FindByProcnum.do?lang=2&procnum=INI/2005/2161>.

were later commuted to 18 years in prison, and many individuals were released after serving their sentences in the summer of 2007. However, it is believed that 20 to 200 people are still imprisoned for June Fourth-related offenses.

→ What have foreign governments done in past years to call attention to June Fourth?

Foreign governments, including the United States and the European Union, have taken steps to pressure China to account for its June Fourth actions. These steps include legislative hearings, imposition of an arms embargo, and statements.

→ What have the exile community and Chinese activists done in past years to commemorate June Fourth?

Many different groups, coalitions, and organizations have conducted commemoration activities, including: Beijing Spring Society [北京之春杂志社], China Democracy Party [中国民主党], China Democracy Party World Union [中国民主党世界同盟], Chinese Democratic Society [中华民主学社], Chinese Social Democratic Party [中国社会民主党], Chinese Student Federation in Germany [全德学联], The Committee for Global Commemoration of June Fourth [全球纪念六四委员会], The Epoch Times [大纪元], Federation for a Democratic China [民主中国阵线], Hong Kong Alliance [香港支联会], Hong Kong Forum [香港论坛], Independent Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars in the US [全美中国学生学者自治联合会], Liberal Intellectual Association of Australia [澳大利亚自由文化人协会], and New China Society [新中国学社]. Human Rights in China participated over the years in commemoration events in Hong Kong, Europe, and North America.

→ Who is Ding Zilin?

In 1989, Ding Zilin (丁子霖) was a professor of philosophy at People's University. Her 17-year-old son, Jiang Jielian (蒋捷连), was one of the first killed when the army cleared Tiananmen Square. In August 1989, she met another bereaved mother, and formed a network with some 150 other families who had lost children in the crackdown. This group became known as the Tiananmen Mothers. Professor Ding is now the spokesperson for the group. She has been interrogated, persecuted, threatened, detained and subject to frequent house arrest.

→ Who are the Tiananmen Mothers?

The Tiananmen Mothers are a rights defense group that has worked to challenge the official accounts of June 3–4, 1989, to document the deaths and those individuals still imprisoned, and present demands for full investigation, accountability, compensation, and dialogue with the authorities. Members of the group have been persecuted by the government, and their pleas for a reassessment of the 1989 events have been met with silence.

→ Will any Olympic events take place on Tiananmen Square?

China has already used the square as a symbolic backdrop during preparations for the Games. It held a controlled ceremony there, in front of invited guests, on March 31, 2008, to send the Olympic torch on a 130-day journey around the world. Another ceremony will be held on the square when the torch arrives back in Beijing at the end of the relay. Tiananmen Square will be the last leg of the relay before the torch enters the National Stadium. It will also be the starting point for the Games' marathon event. No live coverage of Tiananmen Square will be allowed during the Olympics, the Associated Press reported in March 2008.

→ Why is June Fourth important today?

Past human rights abuses are not erased by the passage of time. Nineteen years later, family members still remember and mourn their missing and dead loved ones. June Fourth remains a painful injustice for the victims and their families when the Chinese authorities fail to respond to their repeated calls for official accountability, reassessment, compensation, and most recently for dialogue. June Fourth also remains a societal wound that must be healed before a truly harmonious society and a rule of law can be built. Dr. Jiang Yanyong, a People's Liberation Army surgeon, asks in an open letter: "Who among us does not have parents, children, brothers and sisters? Who would have an innocent family member killed and not voice the same demand?"

→ What can YOU do?

Support the Tiananmen Mothers, and sign the *Fill the Square* petition at <http://www.fillthesquare.org>.

Learn more about the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown at HRIC's website.

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The "Monthly Brief" contains information collected by HRIC regarding trends of dissent and repression in China. It provides a summary of arrests, detentions, trials, sentences, and releases for the month.

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE JUNE FOURTH CRACKDOWN

- April 15** **Death of Hu Yaobang:** Party General Secretary from 1981 to 1987, Hu was accused of being too liberal with intellectuals and students and of promoting “bourgeois liberalization” during the 1986–1987 protests. Forced to resign in January 1987, he was replaced as Party General Secretary by Zhao Ziyang.
- April 15–April 17** **Protests begin:** Students begin to gather on Tiananmen Square to mourn the death of Hu Yaobang.
- April 18** **Petition to the government:** Students issue a petition to the National People’s Congress mourning Hu’s death and calling for reforms and greater openness.
- April 20** **Government reacts:** At a Politburo meeting, Premier Li Peng states that the movement was instigated by “a small group of people.” Workers come out in support of the students’ demands.
- April 21** **Intellectuals join the demonstrations:** A group of intellectuals try to deliver an open letter to the government, the first statement from intellectuals in support of the student movement. That night, 100,000 students and intellectuals enter Tiananmen Square to prevent the authorities from cordoning it off in preparation for Hu’s state funeral.
- April 22** **Hu Yaobang’s funeral:** On the morning of Hu’s funeral, 100,000 Beijing residents defy the ban on demonstrations and converge on the square in support of the students. Kneeling on the steps of the Great Hall of the People, in the manner of petitions to the emperor, three students appeal to Li Peng to listen to their requests.
- April 24** **Boycott of classes:** In an internal report, Beijing Party Secretary Li Ximing and Mayor Chen Xitong label the demonstrations an “anti-Party and anti-socialist political struggle” and advocate a crackdown. Students begin a mass boycott of classes in an attempt to pressure Party and government leaders into hearing their requests.
- April 26** **People’s Daily editorial:** Deng Xiaoping’s speech in which he labeled the student movement as an anti-party, anti-socialist upheaval is printed in a *People’s Daily* editorial, which also proclaims that all further demonstrations are illegal. In a rare challenge, the official Chinese Democratic League calls on the government to refrain from using force.
- April 27** **Demonstrations grow in size:** Students from the Beijing No. 54 High School disregard Party warnings and take to the streets to protest the April 26 *People’s Daily* editorial. In reaction to Deng’s condemnation, some 150,000 students peacefully break through police cordons on Chang’an Avenue and make their way to Tiananmen Square.
- April 28** **The Beijing Students’ Autonomous Federation is founded formally:** Wu’er Kaixi, the student representative from Beijing Normal University, is elected chairman.
- April 29** **Politburo discussion:** At a Politburo meeting, Zhao Ziyang makes suggestions to address official corruption in response to popular discontent. Li Peng opposes them.
- May 3** **Journalists petition:** Journalists draft a petition to the Party Central Committee asking for a dialogue with the government. They collect more than 1,000 signatures and resolve to demonstrate on the next day to call for press freedom.

- May 4** **70th anniversary of the 1919 May Fourth Movement:** Initiated by students, more than 100,000 march through Beijing. In collaboration with the students, workers and journalists express their demands. Similar rallies are held in cities across the country.
- In the following days, students are divided on questions of strategy, with some advocating a return to classes and the establishment of a Dialogue Delegation to press for debate with the government that would be broadcast live, while others opt for a more radical course of action.
- May 11** **Zhao Ziyang advocates acceding to demands:** Zhao suggests in a Politburo meeting that the Party accede to students' demands on corruption and that press freedom be expanded.
- May 12** **Hunger strike debates:** In the evening, at Peking University, Chai Ling joins the efforts of students Wang Dan, Wu'er Kaixi, and six others to advocate a hunger strike as a strategy to force the government to listen to the students' pleas. Students at Peking University in favor of a hunger strike rapidly increase in number from 40 to over 200.
- May 13** **Hunger strike begins:** As a result of the delay in response from the government, hundreds of thousands of students converge on the square to stage a sit-in and hunger strike. The hunger strike begins, eventually drawing over 3,000 participants. Party leaders eventually agree to a dialogue with the students' Dialogue Delegation on May 14.
- May 14** **Meeting with government representatives:** A meeting between government officials and the student representatives breaks down with no result.
- May 15** **Foreign dignitary visit to Beijing:** Mikhail Gorbachev comes to Beijing for a summit meeting with Deng Xiaoping. Instead of an official welcome on Tiananmen Square, Gorbachev enters the Great Hall of the People by a back entrance. Thousands of intellectuals, teachers and scientists march to Tiananmen Square.
- May 17** **Intellectuals' response:** A declaration drafted by prominent intellectuals including Yan Jiaqi and Bao Zunxin urges the government to recognize the legitimacy of the Students' Autonomous Federation, to promote political reform and eliminate corruption, and to respect freedom of the press, of thought, and of assembly.
- May 17** **March of over one million:** More than one million people march in the capital, including workers, All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) officials, journalists, doctors, and nurses.
- May 18** **Government talks to students:** Li Peng holds inconclusive talks with some students in the Great Hall of the People at noon. Again, more than one million people demonstrate their support for the student movement. Bus and taxi drivers, railroad employees, factory and construction workers, and peasants from the outskirts roam through the capital.
- May 19** **Visit of Zhao Ziyang to the square:** During a surprise visit to the students on the square, Zhao says tearfully, "We have come too late. We deserve your criticism." Wen Jiabao accompanies him. In the early evening, the students call off the hunger strike. In a late night television address, Li Peng blames conspirators behind the students for instigating turmoil. The workers organize the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation (BWAF). The government gets ready to announce martial law, while students abandon the hunger strike to engage in a massive, large-scale demonstration.

Photo credits: Chris Niedenthal/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

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- May 20** **Martial law takes effect at 10:00 a.m.:** “Demonstrations, petitioning, class boycotts, strikes . . . are prohibited . . . [A]rmed police and People’s Liberation Army (PLA) soldiers have the right to exercise any force necessary to stop or prevent any violation of martial law orders.” PLA units are ordered to clear Tiananmen Square and return order to the city.
- May 21** **One million march:** More than one million people defy martial law and successfully block soldiers from entering central Beijing.
- May 23** **Defacing of Mao portrait:** Mao Zedong’s portrait on the Tiananmen Gate is defaced by Yu Zhijian, Yu Dongyue, and Lu Decheng who throw paint-filled eggs at it. It is soon removed and replaced with another, identical one. Students hand over the individuals who defaced the portrait to the authorities.
- May 27** **Debates on whether to stay in the Square:** The Capital Joint Liaison Group, a group consisting of workers, students, and intellectuals, states that the students should stay on the square until May 30. A few student representatives refuse to agree to retreat on May 30, believing that a withdrawal without any concession from the government is tantamount to surrender. The Capital Joint Liaison Group agrees.
- May 28** **Arrests begin:** Bao Tong, Zhao Ziyang’s former aide, is arrested in one of the first of tens of thousands of arrests in which protest leaders, participants, and sympathizers are detained across the country.
- May 29** **Goddess of Democracy erected:** During the night, students of the Central Academy of Fine Arts assemble the 37-foot-high statue of the Goddess of Democracy, built in two days out of plaster and styrofoam. It stands opposite the giant portrait of Mao Zedong.
- May 30** **Three leading members of the BWAF detained:** The students are detained by the Beijing Public Security Bureau (PSB), which had ordered the workers to vacate the place they were occupying the night before. The BWAF moves its headquarters to the northwest of the square.
- June 2** **Hunger strike by Capital Joint Liaison Group:** The Liaison Group, now composed solely of intellectuals, decides to stage a series of 72-hour hunger strikes to show the students that others too are ready to put their lives at risk. Literary critic Liu Xiaobo, rock star Hou Dejian, and economist Zhou Duo are among the first to start fasting.
- June 3** **Violent confrontations begin:** In the afternoon, violent clashes occur between soldiers and Beijing residents. In the evening, PLA troops force their way into the capital and converge on Tiananmen Square. An unknown number of Beijing citizens die, succumbing to gun shots—sometimes at point blank—or crushed by tanks and armored personnel carriers. In angry retaliation, civilians throw stones at the soldiers, who shoot back. Some soldiers are attacked and beaten up. Buses and cars are set on fire.
- June 4** **1:00 a.m.** The troops have blocked off all approaches to Tiananmen Square. Various people who witnessed the killings of civilians report to the BWAF and to the students’ Command Headquarters, urging them to withdraw.

2:00 a.m. The first troop transport trucks enter the square. Chai Ling and Li Lu call on those remaining on the square to gather around the Monument to the People's Heroes.

3:00 a.m. Hou Dejian and Zhou Duo negotiate with army officials to give the students time to vacate the square. Withdrawal will be unconditional, officials reply, adding that it must take place before daybreak. They indicate the southeast as the safest way to exit.

4:00 a.m. On the square the lights go off. The statue of the Goddess of Democracy is toppled by a tank.

4:30 a.m. The tanks and the troops stationed in the north corner of the Square begin to move forward. Students vote and eventually agree to leave. The soldiers shoot out the students' loud speakers. Led by the Command Headquarters, the students walk away from the Monument to the People's Heroes toward the southeast part of the square. A row of armored vehicles moves slowly toward the monument. Other troops arrive from the west, squeezing the crowd. As the students leave, army tanks crush tents on their way. The student guards are the last to leave, with soldiers about 18 feet behind them firing warning shots.

5:00 a.m. As the students pass Qianmen, residents line the streets and applaud. The army throws tear gas and shoots at students and citizens near the square and in other areas of the capital. Some people are crushed under tanks. The number of victims is not known.

6:20 a.m. Tanks crush retreating students.

June 5

Tank Man appears: A lone man stops a tank convoy heading for Tiananmen Square.

June 9

A "counterrevolutionary rebellion": In a speech, Deng Xiaoping states that the government has suppressed a "counterrevolutionary rebellion . . . determined by the international and domestic climate" where the "dregs of society" had sought to "establish a bourgeois republic entirely dependent on the West."

June 13

Most wanted: The Chinese authorities broadcast the list of the 21 most wanted student leaders.

June 15

Death sentences imposed: A court in Shanghai sentences three residents to death for involvement in the protests. Soon after, people in Beijing, Shandong, Sichuan, Hebei, and Hubei are sentenced to death. Throughout the country, there are tens of thousands of detentions and arrests. Approximately one thousand people are executed, and many others are investigated and harassed.

September 19

Official denial: "There were no deaths in the square," reads an article in the *People's Daily*.

January 11, 1990

Martial law ends in Beijing.

Chronology compiled by Human Rights in China.

POETRY | 诗

Liu Nianchun

MEMORY

When white clouds left footprints on the azure shores
When freedom and the wind walked together
We chose the dark of night
There was a song popular in the dark night
“I found a coin beside the road
and gave it to that uncle policeman”
Like a dream, an illusion
Collectively lost in
Mao’s power-stuffed brain

No blue skies
No open land
In Cell 24 of the Beijing Detention Center
There was a man, then,
Who scrawled his name,
Rusty nail gripped in trembling fingers,
On the weathered wall of the death row cell

The death row yard was a desolate place
Time seemed to have stopped there
But for one big vigorous tree
Where magpies multiplied
How many springs have gone and autumns come
Under the searching gaze of their progeny
All this has disappeared

Yet his name¹
His “On Family Background”
And that stagnant time
Are, generation upon generation,
Etched in the people’s memory

Translated by J. Latourelle

Notes

1. Lu Luohe (b. 1942) is best known for his 1966 essay, “On Family Background,” in which he argues forcefully against the idea that family background is the main factor which determines one’s attitude to the Party. He was arrested in 1968 for counter-revolutionary crimes and executed in 1970, at the age of 27.

刘念春

记忆

当白云在蓝色沙滩上留下一串脚印
当自由与风作伴而行
我们选择黑夜
黑夜里流行一首歌
“我在马路边捡到一分钱
交给警察叔叔”
如梦如幻
集体迷失在
毛泽东充满权力的大脑里

没有蓝天
没有大地
在北京市看守所二十四筒里
此时，有一个人
颤抖的手指捏紧生锈的铁钉
在死筒监号斑驳的墙壁上
歪歪斜斜刻下自己的名字

死筒院落冷冷清清
时间也似乎停止
一棵生机勃勃的大树
大树上喜鹊繁衍子孙
多少次春去秋来
喜鹊后代寻觅的目光里
这一切已经消失

然而，他的名字
和他写的《出身论》
与那停止不前的时间
已经一代
一代刻在民族记忆里

SPEAKING OUT



Tiananmen Square, May 14, 1989. Photo credits: Chris Niedenthal/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

POETRY | 诗

Liu Nianchun

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

Night's curtain fell softly, like an iron net, that day
So freedom might withdraw from history's memory
Life that day became a theatrical prop for dictators
For prying wide the bloodied eyes of corpses

To one side, history¹
Tiananmen records one bloody event after another
On the other side, the mausoleum²
Dictators celebrate their grand, repeated massacres

The Goddess of Democracy lifts high her torch
Stands tall and unafraid between history and the present
Blood pulsing hot in their veins, the Chinese people
Are at a loss, all around them
A place they do not know

The Army is deployed throughout Tiananmen Square
A forest of tombstones in neat array
Pander to death in the darkness
Already the death bugles ring out
Faint green ghostly lights
Play over grave-like faces

History will never forget
[June 4, 1989]
This day
The Goddess of Democracy's noble countenance
Gazing into the distance
Students workers city folk hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder
Standing guard beside her

On one side, an invitation from hell
On the other, the splendid dreams of youth

When the moment finally came
It seemed 40 years in the waiting
The people's souls woven into a wreath of rainbow brilliance
[June 4, 1989]

刘念春

自由的代价

那一天铁笼似的夜幕悄悄降临
为了让自由退出历史的记忆
那一天生命成为独裁者的舞台道具
为了让僵尸睁开嗜血的目光

一边是历史
天安门记述一次次吸血经历
一边是陵堂
独裁者庆贺一回回残杀盛况

自由女神高举火炬
昂然屹立在历史与现实之间
中华民族热血激荡的脉搏上
茫然四顾
陌生的地方

军队已经布满天安门广场
森林般的墓碑整整齐齐
黑暗中迎合死亡
杀人的号角已经奏响
绿幽幽的鬼火
游走于墓碑似的脸庞

历史将永志不忘
[八九六四]
这一天
自由女神高贵的面孔
凝视远方
学生工人市民手挽手肩并肩
护卫在自由女神身旁

一边来自地狱的请柬
一边青春绚丽的梦想

终于等到那一刻
象是等了四十年
中国人的灵魂编织成彩虹绚烂的花环
[八九六四]

That day
The Goddess of Democracy wore it lightly on her brow

Bullets rain down like hail
Slowly rose the eternal heavens

This day
The hot-blood of the Chinese people
Was in full bloom on Tiananmen Square
There were green petals
And a green hope
Looking haughtily down at the solid black bricks
At the wickedness spreading over them
And the imperial thinking sprouting there

The day will surely come
The Goddess of Democracy's gaze will sweep over time and space
Here comes Lin Zhao³
And here comes Zhang Zhixin⁴
And there, Yu Luoke⁵
Here come the countless brave souls of victims
Transformed into a huge banner of freedom and democracy
Rising slowly in the sky
Above the motherland
Here, in the East

这一天
自由女神轻轻戴在额上

冰雹密集的枪林弹雨
冉冉升起永恒的天堂

这一天
中国人的一腔热血
盛开在天安门广场
那是绿色的花瓣
那是绿色的希望
高傲地俯视坚硬的青砖地
宛延在青砖地上的邪恶
邪恶中滋生的帝王思想

一定会有这一天
自由女神穿越时空的目光
走来林昭
走来张志新
走来遇罗克
走来无数死难者的英灵
化成一面自由民主的大旗
在大地母亲的天空
冉冉升起
在东方

Translated by J. Latourelle

Notes

1. The Museum of the Revolution and Chinese History stands on the east side of Tiananmen Square.
2. Mao's Mausoleum stands on the south side of Tiananmen Square.
3. Born in 1932, penname of Peng Lingzhao. A student of Peking University, she was labeled a rightist after publicly showing sympathy toward rightist schoolmates. Lin was imprisoned in 1960 for being a counterrevolutionary and killed in secret by authorities in 1968.
4. Born in 1930 in Tianjin, Zhang Zhixin was a Communist Party member who believed Mao had corrupted true Marxist ideals. She was a fierce critic of Mao's personality cult during the Cultural Revolution. Imprisoned in 1969 and executed in 1975.
5. Buddhist cycle of death and rebirth.

Meng Lang

DON'T LET GRIEF OUT

Wind fills a piece or two of clothing that is not my own,
I've had the breath blown out of me.

All around, people reach out to touch me,
Asking each other,
What miracle is this?

Somehow all form has slipped from me
As if I'm just soul and the crowd so near
There is hardly any separation between us,
Each one holds the grief inside, won't let it out.

孟浪

不放走悲痛

一件或两件异己的衣裳灌满了风，
我被吹得透不过气来。

更多的人从各个方向上伸手摸我，
互相问了问，
这是什么奇迹？

无形之中我已失去了形体
仿佛仅有灵魂在众人面前那么近
几乎也失去了距离，
每个人都护住胸口不放走悲痛。

Translated by J. Latourelle

TIANANMEN REFLECTIONS

In 2006, HRIC conducted interviews with individuals involved in the 1989 Tiananmen Square movement. Released in an audio podcast series, these oral histories explore the role of democracy and independent movements as China moves into the future. This podcast series is also a new media contribution to amplifying and disseminating voices from inside China today. A reflection from Ding Zilin introduces the podcast excerpts.



DING ZILIN: RECOVERING TRUTH

Ding Zilin's son was killed during the June Fourth crackdown. She subsequently established the Tiananmen Mothers with other victims of the crackdown and family members of victims. For the past 19 years she has been working to aid victims and families, establish the facts regarding who was killed and injured, and call for accountability from the Chinese government. This is an excerpt from a statement she wrote in 2007.

I often think that there is a lot for us to do regarding the 1989 Tiananmen Square Movement and the “June Fourth” incident, and that the first thing we must do is recover the truth of what happened. I say “recover” because over the years [since 1989], the Communist authorities have carried out a policy of forced amnesia, which means that every soul-searing, gut-wrenching scene of that tragedy has been scoured and corroded by the pitiless passage of years, gradually weakened and obscured, such that by now all this has nearly disappeared. In recent years, I have become even more strongly aware that recovery of the truth about June Fourth has become a source of anxiety for our current government. Thinking back to the 1980s and 1990s, when the talk among both Chinese and foreigners turned to the important issues of China's direction and the arrangement of its future system, June Fourth still hovered in the background, unresolved. In those days people often said, “If we want to solve China's problems, we can't get around June Fourth.” There are few who still say that, and even fewer who still believe it. For a lot of people now, the Tiananmen Square Movement of 1989 and June

Fourth have greatly receded, becoming more and more insignificant. And for some young people, the mention of 1989, or June Fourth, is like a folk legend. There are a lot of reasons for this situation, but there is no denying the fact that in China, one can seldom find an accurate and credible historical record related to June Fourth and 1989.

On the 15th anniversary of June Fourth in 2004, in a book meant for our compatriots at home and overseas, the Tiananmen Mothers used the slogan, “Speak the truth, refuse to forget, seek justice, call upon conscience.”

During the National People's Congress (NPC) and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) meetings in 2007, the Tiananmen Mothers called upon the NPC delegates and the members of the CPPCC in the hope that they would urge the government authorities to lift their censorship of June Fourth and make the truth about it public.

Our aim in using this slogan and presenting this

Photo credits: (backdrop) REUTERS/David Gray; (Ding Zilin) REUTERS/Guang Niu.

demand is the preservation of historical truth. For as we see it, “A system that depends on lies and deceit is absurd. . . . The most effective way to deal with such a system is to have more and more people step forward and ‘speak the truth.’ ‘Truth’ is a kind of force and ‘speaking the truth’ is the power of the powerless. Without truth, there is no historical memory, no justice, and no conscience.”¹

We earnestly hope that all Chinese people, wherever they may be—at home or abroad—can courageously break through and cast off the lies fabricated by the Communist Party, and live proudly in truth and reality. This will mean that all will receive just treatment and that everyone’s freedom and integrity will be respected equally—whether they are living or dead.

ORAL HISTORIES

CHANG JING

A fourth-year student in the Geophysics Department of Peking University during the 1989 Democracy Movement, Chang Jing served as a standing member of the Preparatory Committee of the Peking University Autonomous Students’ Union and then as its vice chairperson. After June Fourth, he organized an inquiry at all Beijing-area hospitals into the number of fatalities resulting from the crackdown. He is currently living in the United States.

ON THE SURVEY OF BEIJING HOSPITALS SHORTLY AFTER JUNE FOURTH

At that time, the students were all extremely indignant. When our Peking University Preparatory Committee met, one student proposed that we should record [the facts of] this historic event, specifically the exact number of those who had died. People were estimating and guessing at the number and all sorts of statistics [were being given], but none of the data was firsthand.

On June 5 or 6, we sent students out. Most of the students were those who were affiliated with the Red Cross. At that time on campus, there were many Red Cross liaisons and they had contact with all the large hospitals.

I remember very, very clearly that there was a classmate of mine, a student who had graduated from our geophysics department. When he came back, he completely broke down. When he saw me, he started crying uncontrollably, saying that he had never seen anything so terrible. They had gone to Fuxingmen

Hospital, and just at that one hospital, there were over 240 who had died. They said that the morgue was already overflowing and couldn’t accommodate so many dead. Many of the bodies were tossed into the corridors of the hospital. I clearly remember this incident.

I took a look at overall numbers from the survey.... Fuxingmen had the most, over 200 corpses. Some others had over 50. Added together, there were maybe over 1,000. My memories of these numbers are not terribly accurate. At the time, I myself was in an extreme state of shock. But my classmate, and his reaction when he came back to report—that is something that I’ll probably never forget as long as I live.

At the time, we had fairly good connections with the Peking University Campus Clinic and the university administration. The drivers and doctors who worked at the Peking University Campus Clinic risked their lives on the evening of June 4 by venturing into areas where the situation was tense and trying to help the students there. I was directly involved in the situation on the ground, so I am more familiar with those

details. I'm not sure if students used the university's buses when conducting the investigation, but what I do know is that at the time, there were many Beijing residents, ones with Jeeps and other types of motorized vehicles, who offered to let us use their vehicles. I remember Beijing citizens offering us their vehicles on the morning of June 4.

ON THE NUMBER OF CASUALTIES

On June 5, prior to sending out the survey teams, we received word that the Red Cross was calling. I took these few calls myself, and at the time, they reported over 1,000 [had died]. Then later—it must have been on June 6—another phone call came, again report-

edly from the Red Cross. The statistic they gave that time was a little different, and they felt it was a more comprehensive number. What they said then was this: over 3,000 fatalities and what seemed like several tens of thousands wounded—though I'm not sure if there were actually that many wounded since my memory is no longer clear on this.

I think it must have been the Beijing [City] Red Cross [that contacted us], because the Red Cross liaisons who were on campus must have belonged to the Beijing [City] Red Cross. At the time, every single university seemed to have someone who was in touch with the Red Cross. Students would serve as a liaison with them, and would collaborate on educational and welfare work.



MA SHAOFANG

In 1989, Ma Shaofang was 25 and a student at the Beijing Film Academy. He was one of the founders of the Beijing Independent Students' Union, and a member of its standing committee. Ma was one of the organizers of the hunger strike, and he remained in Tiananmen Square until the early morning hours of June Fourth. On June 12, a nationwide warrant was issued for his arrest; he gave himself up on the following day. In October 1990, Ma was sentenced to three years in prison on charges of "counterrevolutionary incitement." Following

his release from prison in June 1992, he has continued to advocate for civic consciousness in China.

ON LEAVING TIANANMEN SQUARE ON JUNE FOURTH

At nine or ten o'clock on the night of June 3, I was at the Democracy University in Tiananmen Square, of all places. Wu'er Kaixi² was supposed to be speaking. When they couldn't find him, they got me to speak. After I finished speaking, we left for the Beijing Hotel.³ There were 60,000 people at the National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall [in Taiwan] singing "Children of the Dragon"⁴ in support of the Democracy Movement. When I came out from the hotel, I saw the first tank set on fire.

When I went to report this incident, there were two loudspeakers on [Tiananmen] Square: one was at the monument [to the People's Heroes],⁵ and the other

was the one Feng Congde⁶ had left behind—the hunger strikers' loudspeaker. I had just finished speaking on the telephone with someone from Taiwan. That night, those who were on location with us were Lin Yaoqiang and Li Lanju, in addition to a Hong Kong reporter who wanted to take photos. Three of us, Liang Er, Zhao Hui, and I, lined up on the first step of the monument, facing north. . . .

The first bullet [I heard] . . . landed on the square, right in our midst, did you know that? And they were saying they were rubber bullets, at that time . . . they were already saying we had to get to the monument, but the Film Academy contingent wouldn't leave immediately. The Film Academy's banner was set up right under the national flag [halfway across the square]. We heard a bullet land with a thud. Somebody said it was a rubber

Photo credits: MANUEL CENETA/AFP/Getty Images.

bullet, and picked it up to examine it, exclaiming: “Wow. It’s real!” At that moment, a whole bunch of people took off running. I just sat there; I was really feeling like I was ready to die like a hero. I said: “What are you running for? It’s just a bullet. Life and death are up to fate.” And then I said, “All the Film Academy marshals have a duty to protect their female classmates. I’m telling you to get right over to the monument. Once the command post over there announces a withdrawal, you leave with them.” It was already the middle of the night then, around one o’clock in the morning on June Fourth.

When the Film Academy contingent was getting ready to leave and the bullet had landed, a wounded person was carried through the square. That was the first time I saw blood that night. And then I, along with others, made announcements. I was one of the last to speak. When my speech was done, I went up to the front with Liang Er. At the end [of the speeches], I heard Feng Congde say: “Retreat or stay?” Then he said, “‘Retreat’ was louder, let’s retreat!” That megaphone was the megaphone on the square; they had already started to open fire. Then Feng Congde shouted, “Retreat or stay?”

“Retreat!”

Feng said, “It sounds like the two responses are almost equally as loud. But still, the sound of ‘retreat’ is just a bit louder. We now announce what time we’ll retreat.” After that, no one spoke again [through the megaphone].

We milled around for a bit, and then the lights [in the square] started flashing on and off. It must have been five o’clock when the withdrawal started. When it began, I was in the first rank, on the periphery. I stood up, and as we retreated, the inner ranks fell into total chaos. People in the middle started singing the national anthem in loud voices, and shouting, “Sit down! Sit down! Time for us to show what we’re made of!”⁷⁷ Then we joined them in shouting, “Sit down! Sit down! Time for us to show what we’re made of!”

The soldiers retreated and we sat back down. Then those on the inside of the crowd gathered around their banners and began to withdraw. When everyone had just about left, when there were only about ten

rows left, my glasses somehow fell off. We were at the north front at that time; we had all joined hands, and the whole group began moving toward the southeast. A breach opened at the monument, with the monument dividing the one long file of people into two sections. When we had withdrawn to the east side, our classmates behind pushed us over. There was a little pine tree on the square. We fell into that pine tree, one row—ten of us—fell over. I was holding my head in my hands. My glasses were on a small chain. When I got up, both the lenses were gone from my glasses and my shoes were gone too.

LOOKING BACK ON JUNE FOURTH AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR THE FUTURE

First, it shows all future Chinese what the Communist Party and the government are [made of]. Second, all Chinese intellectuals—those who experienced China’s policy of reform and openness, and the purging of the so-called anti-bourgeois liberalization—now understand that an intellectual is something other people call you, not something independent. As a result of this [realization], there are some Chinese intellectuals who are pursuing their independence. No other democracy movement before 1989 achieved this. Third, what sort of method of struggle is necessary to move Chinese totalitarian politics toward . . . at least toward the mainstream of world civilization? [As a result of June Fourth], [p]eople say it’s possible to enter the mainstream of world civilization, and this is something people never thought before.

I don’t really agree with people who say that 1989 is one heap of questions after another. I’ve met with a lot of people in China and spoken with them about this event. 1989 wasn’t really a political movement. . . . I prefer to see it as a movement for civil rights. Since 1949, China has not had civil rights. In 1989, really and truly, Chinese people suddenly became very aware. The only difference [between this and a civil rights movement] was that those two words—civil rights—were never explicitly mentioned.

Another question is that of the movement’s general plan and methods. I feel that we are all products of a Communist Party education. If [someone] says we were wrong, then that is truly because we’ve been

fooled for too long—that could no longer happen today. Of course I’m being a bit too optimistic here. Could it really not happen?

The 1989 Democracy Movement actually hastened the Communist Party’s recognition of itself as a totalitarian government. In the end, 1989 was a litmus test. Even though the blood of so many lives was spilled, because this litmus paper was blood-soaked, weighed down with those lives, it brought home a truth, both to rulers and to those who were ruled. The truth was that there needed to be an

accurate picture, or an accurate picture of government control. As for whether they see it this way, that’s a different matter. But new exhortations to struggle to the end for communism, new exhortations to wild applause for communist-ruled countries—I’ll bet that all the slogans and applause are insincere and forced. This, too, is probably one of the contributions of 1989.

I feel that, in 5,000 years of Chinese history, the 1989 Democracy Movement was the first time the people woke up.



HAN DONGFANG⁸

In 1989, Han Dongfang convened the Beijing Autonomous Workers Federation, an independent labor organization. After June Fourth, Han was imprisoned for 22 months. He is founder and director of *China Labour Bulletin* and is currently living in Hong Kong.

THOUGHTS ON THE ROLE OF LABOR UNIONS

At that time, the thing I felt most was that I didn’t know how to go about organizing the workers. I was a worker too, a railway worker, but I didn’t know what a labor union was, what the relationship should be between a labor union and the workers, or between a labor union and politics or the regime, and what people a labor union should communicate with. Now, after years of working in the international labor movement, including visiting and communicating with other groups, considering the rights and benefits of workers and providing legal assistance to workers in individual cases, I know what’s involved. The labor union is actually a special interest group for workers that has no direct relationship with the regime. Its main target is the boss, the employer, and its daily concerns are pay, welfare, working hours, and working conditions.

But even though the labor union’s direct counterpart is not the government, this doesn’t mean

unions don’t deal with the government. A labor union needs the government to serve as a referee or intermediary between the boss and the union.

Another issue is official legislation. A government is never completely neutral, and always takes its own interests into account, but a labor union can use its lobbying capacity to influence legislation and enforcement by the government to make it more neutral and even favor the workers. This is a feature of special interest groups, and labor unions are no exception.

[L]abor unions should be able to play an important role in resolving current social crises and avoiding the eruption of future social crises, because in principle labor unions resolve conflicts through peaceful organization and rational negotiation rather than by striking down or annihilating the opposition.

Nowadays you have taxi drivers going on strike, and in Heze, Shandong Province, in February, thousands of textile factory workers went on strike for more

than a week without anyone being arrested. They were fighting for something very simple, a raise in pay, and they got it. These situations show us that society is advancing, and that social and economic relations are changing, and behind the scenes government policy is changing as well. That's why we shouldn't use the terrible events of years ago to anticipate what's going to happen today or in the future or allow them to intimidate us into forfeiting our rights. By defending their rights through association, negotiation, and litigation if necessary, workers actually provide a very good model for solving China's future crises. That is to say, citizens defend their own rights through awareness, concrete intervention, peaceful negotiation, and legal channels rather than waiting until the last minute, when they have borne too much too long and society explodes.

HOW TO MOVE BEYOND JUNE FOURTH

That's why my preference is not for radical action, but rather for a gradual process in which citizens build up their own society, and establishment of the

legal system is propelled by civil society. But this is just my hope. Today when I look at the declining trends and rapid escalation of social problems in China, especially at the corruption of officials and of the elite, and the increasing disregard for the common people, I believe that another June Fourth scenario in China is likely; in reality, it could very well happen again. However, if it does happen, the workers and rural residents will not be as complacent as they were in 1989, when they acted solely in support of the students. What will it look like if another June Fourth scenario arises? Which social class will be the catalyst? Will it be the rural residents who have lost their land, or the hundreds of millions of migrants who leave their homes to work in the cities and are unable to obtain any security? Who will it be? Regardless of which social class might be the catalyst, the possibility of another June Fourth still exists. This realization should give us even more of an impetus, given our available resources and capabilities, to promote civil and social consciousness, and to find a way to resolve these feelings of anger and resentment through rule of law.



MENG LANG

In 1989, Meng Lang was working at Shenzhen University as the editor for the university press. Today, he is a poet and an author in the United States and serves on the board of the Independent Chinese PEN Center.

ON MENG LANG'S EXPERIENCES IN 1989 FROM THE CITY OF SHENZHEN

In 1989, I was at Shenzhen University in Shenzhen, which is separated from Hong Kong by a mere strip of water. I started work there in 1986 at the university press. During the 1989 student strike, I was in the editorial department of the university directing the production of the *Shenzhen University Press Correspondence*, the official publication of the school.

So in April [1989], the student movement erupted during this process, and as the editor of this publication, I was present during the whole event.

Shenzhen is a city very different from most other places in mainland China; our close proximity to Hong Kong granted us certain freedoms. For one thing, we were able to watch Hong Kong television, and thus were able to keep up-to-date with the situation in Beijing. We were able to see the most current

information because members of the Hong Kong media were on-site in Beijing. This means that we knew everything that happened, from the first student strike to the tragedy of June Fourth. As a teacher, I was naturally very concerned.

Since the situation in Shenzhen is unique from that of other areas of mainland China, I'm reflecting on this history from a rather unusual perspective; I think it would be difficult for other people to really understand what it was like.

The university established a Student Emergency Situation Committee, and the student strike originated from the administrators of the school—from the university president and the Party Committee Secretary Luo Chenqi. The fact that the university president and Party officials openly supported the school's joining in the movement of the Beijing universities may have been an exception to the rule among university strikes throughout China. All the way up until June Fourth, from the hunger strike to the announcement of martial law on May 19,⁹ the school continued to encourage our participation.

I participated in several demonstrations, including the silent protest in front of the Shenzhen capitol building. After June Fourth and during the so-called inspections, the Shenzhen police department interrogated us about our roles during these events. That was because we were publishing a "Quick News" paper, which reported on events at Shenzhen University, as well as in the cities of Shenzhen and Beijing. I was an editor of the publication, so the participants of the student strike asked me to look over their drafts. I also joined and offered guidance at several of their editorial meetings.

June Fourth is a tragedy of our people—that the government would use the military to crush their own students and citizens. In retrospect, the Communist Party caused a very unfortunate tragedy. We should reflect on this tragedy because, even though we speak of the ordinary and normal, the political system that allowed something like this to happen is still in power. The environment in China today is very discouraging regarding the development of democracy. The government has without a doubt failed to uphold its promise to rule by law. In some cases, the government has become increasingly fierce

in suppressing the people's ability to freely express their opinions on politics and society.

ON MENG LANG'S LIFE AFTER JUNE FOURTH AND LEAVING CHINA

I continued living in China for six more years [after June Fourth]. I am primarily a writer, so in my main area of work, I was not involved in anything political. Though I suppose in a way I *am* similar to those involved in political activities, because I was expressing my freedom through my work—literature, just like politics, is a way of expressing freedom.

Even without June Fourth, we—independent writers—would still have been on the police watch-list. Beginning in 1984 or 1985, we were under the observation of the Shanghai police department. After June Fourth, the political atmosphere was uncertain. Then in the spring of 1991, underground poets and independent critics of mainland China, about 30 or so people from across the country, published a magazine called *Modern Chinese Poetry*. The publication of this underground magazine drew the attention of officials. In the spring of the following year, the Shanghai police department's Political Security Subdivision put us under what can be called a "secret arrest." In April of 1992, a colleague—a notable poet from Shanghai named Muo Muo—and I were secretly arrested and held in the police department's hospital for 36 days for our participation in the editing of underground publications.

Soon after June Fourth, donations came from overseas and from among students and citizens to help people like Zhou Duo¹⁰ and Liu Xiaopei. Although they had already been released, they had both lost their jobs. In another case, Wang Dan was in prison and his family was going through a difficult time. Overseas Chinese people, students studying abroad, and donations from among people in China helped these three, including Wang Dan's family. There was one donation that I personally helped Zhou Duo obtain. I remember, at that time Zhou Duo was in Baiyang Marsh (which is now a vacation resort), pondering how to restart his life. This one incident gave the Shanghai police the excuse to monitor us. Of course, I believed that what we did was simply an act

of kindness, and though they spent a lot of time investigating, they did not find anything, because we had not done anything illegal.

With regards to my own detention, I was eventually released. Of course, this was due to human rights organizations, foreign writers' associations, and associations of poets, playwrights, editors, and novelists in the United States, exerting pressure on the Chinese government. But even afterwards, I continued to be monitored. During the three year period from my release on May 23, 1992, to my departure from China

on September 5, 1995, I was continually under the surveillance of the Shanghai police. They regularly conducted interviews about my cultural activities in the community, and investigated my social interactions. This is part of why I was willing to accept Brown University's invitation¹¹ and leave China. I need a place where I can be free. I wished to be able to think and write in a place where I was not under constant surveillance.

Meng Lang's poetry on June Fourth is featured in this issue.

MORE RESOURCES ONLINE

Additional Excerpts

In the *China Rights Forum 2* (2007) issue on "Legal Reform and Accountability," HRIC published several translated excerpts from the podcasts, including Cheng Zhen's account of the early morning hours of June Fourth, Zhai Weimin's description of his escape from Beijing, and Li Hai's account of his time in detention in 1990. These accounts and more can be found online in the "Voices from Tiananmen: The HRIC Podcast Series" article at <http://hrichina.org/public/contents/44202>.

Translated by J. Latourelle, C. Wang, and Wei Liu

Notes

1. Excerpted from "For the Integrity of the Living and of the Dead—June Fourth," a letter from the Tiananmen Mothers to compatriots at home and abroad on the 15th anniversary of China's Tiananmen Square crackdown.
2. A Uyghur student leader from Beijing Normal University, Wu'er Kaixi, was named on June 13, 1989, by the Beijing Public Security Bureau as one of the 21 leaders sought for arrest. He evaded capture and escaped from China through Hong Kong.
3. The Beijing Hotel (北京饭店) is located adjacent to The Forbidden City and a short walk from Tiananmen Square.
4. "Children of the Dragon" is a song from 1979 by Hou Dejian, a popular Taiwanese singer-songwriter who was active in the 1989 Tiananmen Square Movement. The song was widely adopted as an anthem for the movement.
5. The Monument to the People's Heroes is an obelisk located on the southern edge of Tiananmen Square.
6. A student at Beijing University, Feng Congde was one of the student leaders.
7. Translator's note: Lit: "'Sit down! Sit down!' We put our chests to the bayonets. And when we joined them in shouting, 'Sit down! Sit down!' We had to put our chests forward into the bayonets and push the bayonets back."
8. For Han Dongfang's full interview, see: Human Rights in China, "Off Topic: June 4th's Long-Term Legacy," *China Rights Forum 2* (2006), http://hrichina.org/public/PDFs/CRF2.2006/CRF-2006-2_June4.pdf.
9. Martial law actually began on May 20, 1989, at 10:00 a.m.
10. Zhou Dou was a well-known economist who was one of the first individuals to start the June 2 hunger strike.
11. Meng Lang was a Writer-in-Residence at Brown University from 1995 to 1998.

LISTEN TO THE JUNE FOURTH AUDIO PODCAST SERIES

The following Chinese-language audio podcasts are available online at <http://hrichina.org/public/june4podcasts>. One English-language audio recording provides translated selections from several of the interviews.

Introduction: Voices from June 4th

This English podcast gives an overview of the events surrounding June Fourth and provides translated clips from the full interviews of Cheng Zhen, Chang Jing, Wang Zhixin, Zhai Weimin, and Han Dongfang.

Anonymous: Hong Kong student

A high school student in Hong Kong in 1989, this individual traveled to Beijing that summer to support the Tiananmen Square movement.

Chang Jing (常劲)

In 1989, Chang was vice-president of the Peking University independent student union. He conducted surveys of the wounded and dead in Beijing hospitals following the June Fourth crackdown.

Cheng Zhen (程真)

One of the organizers of the hunger strike in Tiananmen Square, Cheng provides a rare eyewitness account of two deaths in the square during the early hours of June 4.

Ding Zilin (丁子霖)

Spokesperson of the Tiananmen Mothers, a rights defenders group. Her son was killed during the crackdown.

Han Dongfang (韩东方)

A 1989 labor activist, Han is currently the head of China Labour Bulletin in Hong Kong.

Lu Decheng (鲁德成)

One of the individuals who splattered paint on the portrait of Mao Zedong that hangs over Tiananmen Square, Lu was sentenced to 16 years on charges of counterrevolutionary incitement and sabotage.

Ma Shaofang (马少方)

A student at the Beijing Film Academy in 1989, Ma was one of the organizers of the hunger strike in Tiananmen Square. He was imprisoned for three years on charges of counterrevolutionary incitement.

Meng Lang (孟浪)

Meng is the former editor of the *Shenzhen University Journal*. He is now a poet living overseas.

Peng Rong (彭嵘)

An organizer at Peking University, Peng was imprisoned for two years after organizing a commemoration on the first anniversary of June Fourth at Peking University.

Xiong Yan (熊焱)

A graduate student of law at Peking University and a leader of the Students' Dialogue Group, Xiong was arrested on June 15, 1989, and held for 18 months without due process.

Wang Lei (王磊)

A student at Northwest University in Xi'an, Wang participated in a Truth Committee investigation of the violence that erupted in Xi'an on April 22, 1989, shortly after Hu Yaobang's death. Wang was arrested in Xi'an on March 23, 1990, and was imprisoned for 21 months.

Wang Youcai (王有才)

An organizer at Peking University, Wang Youcai was imprisoned for four years, then sentenced to 11 years in 1998 for helping to organize the China Democracy Party. He was forced into exile in 2004.

Wang Zhixin (王志新)

A student organizer at the University of Political Science and Law in 1989, Wang was detained in December 1990 and held for more than two years.

Zhai Weimin (翟伟民)

A student at the Beijing Institute of Economics in 1989, Zhai was detained in May 1990 while preparing to mark the first anniversary of June Fourth.

Zhang Bin (张斌)

Zhang participated in the 1989 protests while employed at a travel agency. He was wounded during June Fourth.

Zhou Fengsuo (周锋锁)

A physics student at Tsinghua University, and a member of the Standing Committee of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation, Zhou was arrested in Xi'an on June 13, 1989, and was imprisoned for one year.

APPEALS FOR JUSTICE

Despite official surveillance, harassment, and detention, Chinese voices have continued courageously to raise appeals for accountability and justice over the past 19 years. These voices include the Tiananmen Mothers, a group of June Fourth victims and their families; Dr. Jiang Yanyong, a People's Liberation Army (PLA) surgeon who treated the wounded in 1989; intellectuals, scholars, and hundreds of ordinary Chinese citizens. Below are excerpts selected from some of the countless petitions, open letters and appeals to the Chinese authorities. They are testaments to the spirit, courage, and conscience of the Chinese people.

TIANANMEN MOTHERS' OPEN LETTERS

“Speak the truth, refuse to forget, seek justice, call upon conscience.”

Under the banner of the rights defender group Tiananmen Mothers, those wounded during the crackdown and the families of those who were killed or disappeared have come together to contest official claims about what really happened in 1989. The Tiananmen Mothers provide support to each other and work together to gather information. They have made several demands over the past 12 years, including:

- 1) A full investigation into the crackdown;
- 2) A public accounting and appropriate restitution;
- 3) Prosecution of those responsible;
- 4) Reassessment of the 1989 Democracy Movement; and, most recently,
- 5) Dialogue with the authorities.

Below are a few excerpts from their recent public statements:

[W]e are disappointed that our requests, year after year, have come to nothing . . . [T]he government has repeatedly refused dialogue with the victims' family members, how can [it] face the whole world? Is it really possible that, as the host of the 2008 Olympic Games, the government can be at ease allowing athletes from all over the world to tread on this piece of blood-stained soil and participate in the Olympics?¹ (Open letter, February 2008)

令我们失望的是，时间一年又一年过去，我们的要求却照例一年又一年落空……一再拒绝同受害者亲属进行对话的政府，将何以面对全世界的众目睽睽！作为本届奥运会的东道主，难道能够如此心安理得地让全世界的体育健儿们踩着一块血迹未干的土地参加赛事吗？！（公开信，2008年2月）

In the model plays of the Cultural Revolution, there is a song lyric that goes, “Hatred in the heart must send forth shoots.” For us, too, hatred sends forth shoots, but the shoots growing from us are not those of revenge, but rather those that seek peace, justice, and tranquility.² (Roundtable, May 2007)

文革样板戏中有句唱词：“仇恨入心要发芽”；对于我们来说，同样是“仇恨入心”，同样要“发芽”，但是这个“芽”长出来的不是偏狭的报复心，而应该是寻求公平、正义的平常心。（讨论会，2007年5月）

A just and reasonable resolution of the June Fourth question is an inevitable trend, and is what the people desire.³ (Open letter, February 2007)

公正、合理解决“六四”问题，是大势所趋，人心所向……（公开信，2007年2月）

We ask the French—you who have consciences, who have the glorious tradition of democracy: Please open your eyes. Use the freedom of expression that you enjoy as citizens. Protest the disgraceful behavior of politicians who serve as accomplices in evil. If you do so, you will be friends, worthy of respect in the hearts and minds of the Chinese people.⁴ (Open letter in *Le Figaro*, March 2005)

有良知的法国人民，有光荣的民主传统的法国人民，请你们睁开眼睛，利用你们已经享有的公民的言论自由，反对政客们助纣为虐的可耻行为。如果你们这样做了，在中国人民的心目中你们将是值得尊敬的朋友。（公开信，2005年3月）

The June Fourth Incident, which has caused the Chinese people deep pain, happened almost seven years ago. Seven years ago, the People’s Congress Standing Committee, acting as the nation’s institution of highest authority, failed to listen to the voice of the people, and allowed the armed forces to drench Beijing in a bloodbath. After the incident, they also failed to face the aftermath squarely, and make prompt reparations. This disappoints us deeply.⁵ (Open letter, June 1996)

给中国人民带来巨大伤痛的“六四”事件过去快七年了。七年前，作为国家最高权力机构的人大常委会，未能顺应民意，阻止军队对首都学生和和平居民的血腥屠杀，事件发生后，又未能正视事件带来的惨重后果，及时处理善后事宜。这不能不令我们深感失望。（公开信，1996年6月）

SARS HERO'S CALL FOR REASSESSMENT OF JUNE FOURTH⁶

Dr. Jiang Yanyong, who became famous in 2003 for revealing the SARS epidemic cover-up, wrote an open letter to top government officials in 2004, explaining what he witnessed in June 1989 and calling for a reassessment. Parts of his letter are excerpted below.

To: Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the National People's Congress (NPC)
Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC)
Members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee Political Bureau
Premier and Vice-Premiers of the State Council

[...] I am a surgeon at the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Number 301 Hospital, and when June Fourth took place in 1989, I was the director of the hospital's general surgery department. . . . I have been a surgeon for more than 30 years, and while a member of the medical team of the PLA Railway Corps . . . , I had faced groups of injured workers, but those injuries had resulted from inevitable accidents. . . . Lying before my eyes now in the grand Chinese capital of Beijing were ordinary citizens killed by their own soldiers. . . .

[...] On the evening of June 3, not one of the medical workers in our hospital who took part in saving lives had imagined that such an inexplicable tragedy could occur.

[...] Recently, I read the book, *Sheng Zhe yu Si Zhe: Weile Zhongguo de Mingtian* [生者与死者：为了中国的明天], written by Ding Zilin of the Tiananmen Mothers. [Ding and other family members of the victims] have used a variety of means to express their wish—demanding that the government should seriously and responsibly explain to them the killing of their family members, which is an entirely reasonable request. Who among us does not have parents, children, brothers and sisters? Who would have an innocent family member killed and not voice the same demand? Any Party member, Chinese citizen, and human being must courageously support their just demand.

[...] Our party must address the errors it has made, and the earlier and more thoroughly these errors are resolved, the better. I believe that a correct assessment of June Fourth is what the people want, and that it will not cause unrest among the people.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter.

My address: No. 26, Zhuge Zhuang, Wanshou Road, 5-1204

[Signed] Jiang Yanyong, Department of Surgery, Beijing 301 Hospital

[Dated] February 24, 2004

全国人民代表大会常务委员会委员长及副委员长
 全国政协主席及副主席
 中共中央政治局各位委员
 国务院总理及副总理：

.....

我是解放军301医院的一位外科医生，89年六四时我是普通外科的主任……我当外科医生已30多年，到铁道兵修成昆铁路的医疗队参加抢救工作时，也曾遇到过成批的伤员，但那都是……不可避免的意外事故所造成的。而眼前，在堂堂的中国首都北京，在我面前躺着的，却是被中国人民子弟兵用人民给予的武器残杀了的自己的人民……

.....

在6月3日晚上，我们医院的每一位参加抢救的医护人员都万万没想到会出现这种使正常人无法理解的惨事……

.....

最近读了“天安门母亲”丁子霖写的《为了中国的明天——生者与死者》一书，使我清楚地知道了，她作为一个在六四事件中被残杀的17岁的热血青年的母亲，十多年来经受了各种压力，忍受了极大的痛苦。她和难属们千方百计寻找和联系了近二百位死难和致残者的家属，并以各种方式表达他们的愿望——要求政府对他们的亲属被无辜杀害作出认真负责的交代——这是一个十分合情合理的要求。谁没有父母、子女、兄弟姐妹？谁的亲人被这样无辜杀害，都会象他们一样提出这种要求。作为一个共产党员、一个中国人、一个人，都应该理直气壮地支持他们的正义要求……

.....

我们党犯的错误应该靠党自己来解决，解决得越早，越彻底越好。我相信，正确地评定六四是人心所向，绝不会造成人心紊乱。

.....

信如收到，请告我。

我的地址：万寿路朱各庄26号，5-1204

北京301医院外科 蒋彦永
 2004年2月24日

192 CHINESE CITIZENS OF CONSCIENCE

On November 5, 2002, HRIC received a copy of an open letter to the 16th Party Congress signed by 192 opposition activists from 17 provinces and cities, including Beijing and Shanghai, which called for a reassessment of June Fourth and rehabilitation of Zhao Ziyang.⁷ The signatories of the open letter include former political prisoner Pu Yong, who died on November 2. Informed sources say Pu Yong wished to participate in the open letter as his last opportunity to express his political demands. Below is an excerpt from this letter.

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: We are raising these ideas and suggestions because we firmly believe that the various problems embedded in China's society have all been caused by a single-party dictatorship. The only way to resolve contradictions and settle societal crisis is through systemic reform and political democratization. [...] Thus, as a collective body of Chinese citizens who abide by our consciences, we deeply hope that the ruling party will take on this historical task with both courage and reason: through reform, we can atone for past grievances, remold China's image, promote the modernization and globalization of China, and establish a China with a free, democratic, unified, and prosperous future.⁸ (Open letter, November 2002)

Citizens of China (192 Persons)

中共中央，我们之所以提出这些意见和建议，是因为我们确信中国社会目前所严重存在的种种问题归根结底都是由一党集权所造成的，唯有通过政体改革、实行政治民主化才是解决各种矛盾、化解社会危机的根本出路……因此，作为一群信守良知的中国公民，我们真切地希望执政党能够理智而勇敢地担当起这一历史重任，通过改革将功补过，通过改革重塑形象，通过改革推动中国的现代化和世界化，通过改革开创中华民族自由、民主、统一、繁荣的未来！（公开信，2002年11月）

中国公民（共计192人）

45 CHINESE SCHOLARS AND INTELLECTUALS

In May of 1995, the United Nations Year for Tolerance, a group of 45 prominent Chinese scholars and intellectuals issued a joint appeal letter calling for more tolerance in China.

Turning our gaze to our own ancient culture, a lack of tolerance for dissenting voices has persisted for thousands of years right down to the present day with no sign of weakening. In 1955, Hu Feng and several of his cohorts were charged with the crime of “forming a counterrevolutionary clique” after they submitted a letter stating their views on literature and art, and over 2,000 others were also implicated. In 1957, those intellectuals who blindly responded to the [Party’s] call for a “rectification of work style and an airing of views” were all branded as “Rightists.” Their numbers accounted for more than 11 percent (at least 550,000 people) of all the intellectuals in China. As for the ten-year calamity beginning in 1966 when a “revolution” in culture was staged, that was an even greater national disaster in which dissent was completely wiped out. After 1978, the situation changed somewhat. False accusations were largely redressed, a more relaxed situation began to appear and the economy began to develop rapidly. But due to a lack of the tolerance that is essential to modernization and “reform and opening up,” in the true sense of those terms, there resulted the events of June 4, 1989, that human tragedy that shocked the world, as well as subsequent incidents that violated citizens’ basic rights.

To mark the United Nations Year of Tolerance, we should do our utmost to propagate tolerance, which is necessary to modern civilization, and strive for the true implementation in our country of the United Nations’ goal to “promote and encourage respect for the human rights and basic freedoms of all mankind” as stipulated in the United Nations Charter.⁹ (Letter of appeal, May 1995)

反观我们这个文明古国，几千年来定于一尊，不容有第二种声音的遗风至今未衰。一九五五年，由于上书陈述自己的文艺观点，胡风及其同伴被作为“反革命集团”定罪，受牵连者二千余人。一九五七年，响应“整风鸣放”号召敢于直言的知识分子统统被打成“右派”，人数占全国知识分子的百分之十一以上（至少五十万人）。至于一九六六年开始的对文化进行“革命”的十年浩劫，更是一场消灭异己的民众大灾难。一九七八年以后情况有所改变，上述冤假错案基本上得到平反，初步出现了宽松局面，经济开始高速发展。可是，由于缺乏实现真正意义上的改革开放和现代化所必须的宽容精神，结果还是导致了一九八九年“六四”那场震惊世界的人间惨剧，以及随后一系列侵犯公民基本权利事件。

为迎接联合国宽容年，我们当尽力传播现代文明所不可缺少的宽容精神，促使“联合国宪章”所规定的“增进并激励对于全体人类的人权和基本自由的尊重”这一联合国宗旨在我国真正落实。（公开信，1995年5月）

CHINESE DISSIDENTS' SIXTH ANNIVERSARY APPEAL

On May 31, 1995, Wang Zhihong, Wang Dan, Bao Zunxin, Liu Nianchun, Liu Xiaobo, Jiang Qisheng and several other intellectuals issued a letter entitled: "Drawing from a Lesson Paid for in Blood, The Process of Promoting Democracy and Rule of Law—An Appeal on the Sixth Anniversary of June Fourth."

Reflecting on June Fourth, we believe that a major cause for the tragic bloodshed was the inability of the governing authorities to confront and adapt to global tides of openness, diversification, and democratization. They do not resolve China's social problems through democracy and rule of law. They still maintain an autocratic mentality, regarding politically-involved citizens as enemies. On the sixth anniversary of June Fourth, we implore every citizen of China, especially governing authorities who have implemented errors in their policy decisions, to rethink this tragedy with an attitude of repentance, reason, and responsibility. Learn from this—a lesson soaked in fresh blood—so that during this period of change, China can avoid getting stuck in a tragic rut.

The tragedy of June Fourth warns government leaders that they must not only abide by the constitution published in 1982, but even more importantly, they must formulate a series of laws on the basis of and in accordance with the constitution. This will create a government with laws for the people to follow, and allow for citizens' constitutional rights to be protected by feasible, detailed, and clear laws. It would also allow for all disputes involving citizens' rights to have an independent judicial system, with constitutional courts that make impartial decisions.

The Chinese people have met with many tribulations on their journey toward a modern democratic society. June Fourth is one instance of enormous suffering. Even so, if we have the awareness, wisdom, courage, faith, and will to examine our own bleeding wounds, suffering becomes precious wealth. A country that has experienced such hardship is rich, deep, and brimming with hope. (Open letter, May 1995)¹⁰

纵观“六四”的全过程，我们认为造成流血大悲剧的最主要的原因之一是：执政当局无法面对和适应开放、多元、民主化的世界潮流，没有通过民主和法治的程序解决中国的社会问题，仍然以敌人意识和专制心态看待公民的参政行为。值此“六四”六周年之际，我们吁请中华民族的每位公民、特别是做出错误决策的执政当局，以一种忏悔、理性、负责的态度来反思这场悲剧，汲取被鲜血浸透的教训，以避免处在转型期的中国重蹈类似悲剧的覆辙。

“六四”悲剧告诫执政者，政府不仅要遵守1982年颁行的宪法，更要在宪法的基础上制订一系列与之相配套的宪法性法律、基本法律、法律。使政府的行为有法可依，使公民的宪法权利得到切实、具体、明确的法律保障，使所有涉及公民权利的纠纷都能由独立的司法系统乃至宪法法院给予公正的解决。

中华民族在走向现代民主社会的过程中曾历经磨难，“六四”是又一次大磨难。然而，如果我们有足够的良知、智慧、勇气、信心和毅力面对泣血的伤口自省，那么苦难就是最宝贵的财富，一个历经磨难的民族就是富有的、深邃的、充满希望的。（公开信，1995年5月）

Notes

1. Human Rights in China, “Chinese Authorities Should Respond to Calls for Dialogue by the Tiananmen Mothers,” February 27, 2008, <http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/47439>.
2. Human Rights in China, “Tiananmen Mothers Roundtable Calls for Official Accountability,” May 31, 2007, <http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/39867>.
3. Human Rights in China, “Tiananmen Mothers Call for End to Censorship over June 4th Crackdown,” February 27, 2007, <http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/33852>.
4. Ding Zilin, Liu Xiaobo, Yu Jie [丁子霖、刘晓波、余杰], “An Open Letter to the People of France: The European Union’s Lifting of the Arms Embargo on China Will Only Encourage Tyranny” [致法国人民的公开信—欧盟解除对华武器禁运是对暴政的鼓励], Boxun [博讯论坛], March 21, 2005, <http://peacehall.com/forum/boxun2005a/224584.shtml>.
5. “An Open Letter from Ding Zilin and 31 June Fourth Victims and Family Members to the People’s Congress Standing Committee” [丁子霖等31位六四难属发表给全国人大常委会公开信], Chinese News Digest [中国新闻电脑网络], June 4, 1996, <http://museums.cnd.org/HXWZ/ZK96/zk90.hz8.html>.
6. For the full text of the open letter in English, see “SARS Hero’s Call For Reassessment of June 4th,” *China Rights Forum* 2 (2004), <http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/10029>.
7. A former premier of the People’s Republic of China, Zhao Ziyang was purged for his sympathetic stance toward the students involved in June Fourth. He spent the last 15 years of his life under house arrest.
8. Human Rights in China [中国人权], “192 Sign Joint Letter Urging 16th National Congress to Re-evaluate June 4” [十七省市反对派人士联署致十六大公开信促重新评价六四], November 5, 2002, <http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/15205>.
9. Human Rights in China, “Statement: Greeting the United Nations Year of Tolerance; Appealing for the Realization of Tolerance in China,” May 15, 1995, available at: <http://museums.cnd.org/CND-Global/CND-Global.95.2nd/CND-Global.95-06-02.html>.
10. “Learning from A Lesson Paid for in Blood, The Process of Promoting Democracy and Rule of Law—An Appeal on the Sixth Anniversary of June Fourth” [汲取血的教训, 推进民主与法治进程—“六·四”六周年呼吁书], May 31, 1995, *Chinese News Digest* [中国新闻电脑网络], <http://museums.cnd.org/HXWZ/ZK95/zk58.hz8.html>.

CHINESE PUBLICATION HIGHLIGHTS: EXPANDING SPACE FOR CHINESE VOICES

FROM THE PAGES OF *HUAXIA DIANZI BAO* AND *REN YU REN QUAN*

Huaxia Dianzi Bao and *Ren Yu Ren Quan* are HRIC's online Chinese-language publications. *Huaxia Dianzi Bao* is a weekly online newsletter sent to 250,000 subscribers in mainland China, providing uncensored and under-reported news on rights defenders, the environment, and other pressing issues. *Ren Yu Ren Quan* is a monthly online journal that publishes analysis, research, and commentary by independent scholars, writers, and activists. Additional translations can be found online at <http://www.hrichina.org>.

Translations by Victoria Kwan

HUAXIA DIANZI BAO

<http://www.huaxiabao.org>

Each issue of HRIC's weekly e-newsletter, *Huaxia Dianzi Bao*, includes several short articles and a series of news briefs. New installments, published each Thursday, and archived issues are available on the *Huaxia Dianzi Bao* website.

From Issue No. 240, published on April 17, 2008

ARTICLES

- **He Qinglian**, As Olympic Torch Passes Through San Francisco, Who Emerges the Real Winner?
[旧金山奥运火炬传递是谁的胜利?]
- **Dong Yuan**, Chen Liangyu Convicted of Taking Bribes, Pressure on Zheng Enchong Continues
[陈良宇受贿定罪 郑恩宠受打压未了]
- **Hu Kunming**, The Women Behind the "Shanghai Gang" [“上海帮”的女人们]
- **Zhang Cuiping**, Rights Defense (*Weiquan*) Petitioners Beaten Savagely, Detained and Imprisoned [维权上访遭毒打、拘留、牢狱之灾 (上)]
- **Anonymous**, The Eight Most Annoying, Overused Catchphrases in China Today
[当今中国最令人恶心的八大词汇]

NEWS IN BRIEF

- Famous Female Tibetan Singer Taken Away by Police, Still Missing
[西藏著名女歌手被警方带走下落不明]
- Hu Jia Prevented from Meeting with Lawyer, Swedish Prime Minister Calls for Hu's Release
[胡佳被剥夺与律师见面权利 瑞典首相要求释放胡佳]

- Tiananmen Mothers to Petition During Hong Kong Leg of Torch Relay [“天安门母亲运动”将在奥运火炬在香港传递期间请愿]
- International Olympic Committee President Jacques Rogge: Beijing Olympics Facing "Crisis" [国际奥委会主席罗格：北京奥运会陷入“危机”]
- CNN Apologizes: Reference Aimed at Chinese Government, Not Chinese Citizens [CNN道歉：指的是中国政府，而非中国人民]
- Japan, Australia, and India Reject Use of Chinese People's Liberation Army Police to Accompany Olympic Torch During Respective Relay Legs [日、澳、印拒绝中国特警护卫奥运火炬]
- Duke Student from China Threatened After Accusations of Taking Pro-Tibet Stance [大陆女留学生被指支持藏独遭威胁]
- Hu Jintao Once Again Labeled as Destroyer of Press Freedom [胡锦涛再度被评为新闻自由的杀手]
- Lü Gengsong's Conviction Upheld [吕耿松案维持原判]
- Imprisoned Author Yang Tianshui Wins 2008 PEN/Barbara Goldsmith Freedom to Write Award [狱中作家杨天水获“自由写作奖”]

REN YU REN QUAN

<http://www.renyurenquan.org>

New issues are available on *Ren Yu Ren Quan*'s website on the first of every month. Archived issues are also available on the website.

From the April 2008 issue on "A New Era of Freedom of Thought"

Weighing Maoist Ideology on the Scales of Truth

[把毛泽东思想放在真理的天平上]

By Li Changyu

Shandong writer Li Changyu sharply criticizes the absurdity of Mao's class struggle, citing the calamities that such ideas brought upon China. One important question that persists in Chinese academic circles is whether Maoist ideology should be denounced. Even today, Mao Zedong stands as a symbol of the Communist Party of China's autocratic rule—a fact which makes the thorough refutation of his theories all the more necessary.

Thirty-Year Impasse Difficult to Overcome with "Freedom of Thought"

[解放思想难破30年改革僵局]

By Liu Shui

Liu Shui examines the Communist Party of China's speeches on its so-called "steps towards liberation." Liu finds that the government has no problem talking the talk, but identifies its problem as actually walking the walk. He argues that when it comes to democracy and constitutional rule, the government needs to stop making empty promises and start taking action.

When Dealing with China, Will Ma Ying-Jeou Dare to Play the Democracy Card?

[当选的马英九还敢向中共打民主牌吗?]

By Liu Xiaobo

Liu Xiaobo provides commentary on Ma Ying-Jeou's election to the Taiwanese presidency, observing that Ma's election has helped relieve cross-strait tensions. While the author sees this as a positive development, Liu does not believe that the Kuomintang Party should yield to China's autocratic regime. Rather, it should vigorously promote democratic development on mainland China, because

it is only under a democratic China that a true sense of security can exist.

All Style, No Substance: Administrative Reforms Superficial, Lacking Real Change

[大部制华而不实，行政改革乏善可陈]

By Yang Guang

Yang Guang analyzes the recent convening of the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, finding that the mergers and reforms that ministries and commissions underwent during the convening did not result in any real changes for human rights. Yang also discovers that the bureaucratic apparatus was not substantially reduced. If one-party rule is not ended in China, Yang writes, all administrative "reforms" will only involve the most superficial of changes, without bringing any meaningful progress to China.

Also featured in this issue:

- **Wen Fuluo** uses the Shi Tao-Yahoo! case as a starting point for discussing ways in which governments around the world can safeguard Internet freedom;
- **Liu Yiming** highlights recent media reports exposing a Harbin employer's abduction of 33 developmentally disabled people as slaves, pointing out that instances of slavery are not uncommon in China and that many slave-driven factories and organizations remain undiscovered;
- **Hu Ping** takes an in-depth look at why the Chinese peasantry did not engage in mass revolts during the Great Famine, pinpointing the ruthless rule of the Communist Party of China and the advances in weaponry at that time as reasons why a popular uprising would not have been successful.

DELIVERED TO YOUR INBOX

To receive the English-language highlights and original Chinese-language issues via e-mail:

- English-language highlights of *Ren Yu Ren Quan* and *Huaxia Dianzi Bao*: E-mail communications@hrchina.org with "HXB/RYRQ – SUBSCRIBE" in the subject heading.
- Chinese-language full issues of *Huaxia Dianzi Bao*: E-mail huaxiabao@hrchina.org with "HXB – SUBSCRIBE" in the subject heading.
- Notification of new Chinese-language issues of *Ren Yu Ren Quan*: E-mail communications@hrchina.org with "RYRQ – SUBSCRIBE" in the subject heading.

TRUTH AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN 2009



Photo credits: Reuters.

POETRY | 诗

Liu Nianchun

ROAD

I dreamed
I was a road
Stretching far into the distance

Ah road, road
There are my ideals
There is my hometown
But ideals have withered
Home is a wasteland

Ah road, road
There is my resting place
There my unrest
Rest was lost along the road
Unrest was kept in my heart

Ah road, road
I will never find my lost home again
Never be certain of my former ideals
Life is a dream no longer
Dreams are no longer life
Where my drifting may take me I know not

If I were a road, then
I would surely stretch far into the distance

No need then for ivy to wind around the old tree
No need for youth to maintain its ideals
To hold up the stars revolving round the moon
But I lost myself along the road

Wherever my drifting takes me
Wherever I wander
I am a road
Surely I will stretch far into the distance

Translated by J. Latourelle

刘念春

路

我梦见
我是一条路
象路一样伸向远方

路啊路
那里是我的理想
那里是我的家乡
理想已经枯黄
家乡一片凄凉

路啊路
那里是我的归宿
那里是我的彷徨
归宿丢失在路边
彷徨寄托在心上

路啊路
我再也找不到丢失的家乡
再也无法认清曾经的理想
生活已经不是梦
梦也不再是生活
我不知道漂流到何方

如果我是一条路
那么，一定伸向远方

无须青藤缠绕老树
无须青春维系理想
托起群星围绕月亮
自我却丢失在路上

无论漂泊在何处
无论流落到何方
我是路
一定伸向远方



IR2008

INCORPORATING
RESPONSIBILITY

BEIJING 2008

TAKE ACTION

TIANANMEN: 2008 AND BEYOND

In the final 100-day countdown to the 2008 Olympic Games, the Chinese government still has a valuable opportunity to demonstrate its commitment and respect for its international obligations, including international human rights and Olympics host promises of greater openness, social development, and environmental progress. The international community—media, foreign governments, professional organizations, and global citizens of conscience—all have a role to play. Join HRIC and support the Chinese rights defenders in this critical year and beyond to 2009.



RELEASE ALL INDIVIDUALS STILL IMPRISONED IN CONNECTION WITH THE 1989 PROTESTS

One year from the 20th anniversary of Tiananmen, numerous individuals in China remain imprisoned for participating in the nationwide protests that occurred from April to June 1989. While almost all of the well-known prisoners from the Tiananmen protests have been released, “hundreds if not thousands” of lesser-known prisoners continue to languish behind bars, many for offenses such as the destruction of property or participation in “counterrevolutionary activities,”¹ crimes that were abolished in the 1997 revision of the Criminal Law. The Dui Hua Foundation has estimated that, as of March 2008, 60 to 100

known Tiananmen protesters are still in prison,² while other estimates of this number by the U.S. Department of State, Amnesty International, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, and Human Rights in China range from 20 to 200.

WANG JUN

Scheduled for release on December 11, 2009

Wang was an 18-year-old worker from Shaanxi who was sentenced to death after participating in a “serious political disturbance” at the Xincheng Factory in Xi’an in April 1989. Upon appeal, Wang’s case was transferred to the Supreme People’s Court in Beijing, which recommended the death sentence with a two-year reprieve.³ His sentence was reduced another four times. Wang is now being held at the Fuping Prison in Shaanxi.

WEI YINGCHUN

Scheduled for release on January 24, 2010

Wei, a Shanghai factory worker, was 20 when he was accused of setting fire to a train that had run into protesters blocking the tracks while in protest of the crackdown in Beijing. Wei was sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1989 for participating in counterrevolutionary riots⁴ and damaging transportation equipment. His sentence has since been reduced, and Wei is currently scheduled to be released from Shanghai’s Baoshan Prison in 2010.

Photo credits: REUTERS/David Silverman.

HU SHIGEN

Scheduled for release on May 26, 2010

Hu, a lecturer at the Beijing Languages Institute who helped establish the China Freedom and Democracy Party and the China Free Trade Union, was active in planning June Fourth memorial activities and calling for a reassessment of the government's violent crackdown on the 1989 Democracy Movement. Hu was detained on May 27, 1992, and formally arrested on September 27 that same year. On December 16, 1994, he was convicted of organizing a counter-revolutionary group and counterrevolutionary propaganda, and was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, followed by five years' deprivation of political rights. Hu suffers from serious health problems and is currently being held at the Beijing No. 2 Prison. His sentence was reduced by seven months in December 2005 and by an additional 17 months in early 2007.

The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention determined that Hu's detention was arbitrary on November 25, 2005. In addition to Hu Shigen, other individuals in HRIC's Take Action campaign whose detentions have also been determined by the Working Group to be arbitrary include:

1) journalist **Shi Tao**, 2) barefoot lawyer **Chen Guangcheng**, 3) labor activist **Yao Fuxin**, and 4) religious activist **Li Chang**. The release of these individuals would demonstrate compliance with and respect for international human rights decision-making processes.

For additional information on Hu, visit HRIC's "Take Action for Hu Shigen," June 2008, <http://www.ir2008.org/06/action.php>.

LIU ZHIHUA

Scheduled for release on January 16, 2011

Liu was one of a group of workers that organized a June 1989 strike that led to the closure of the

Xiangtan Electrical Machinery plant in Hubei Province. He was sentenced to life in prison in June 1989 for "hooliganism" and inciting a mob to "beat, smash, and loot." This sentence was later reduced to 18 years' imprisonment. Liu is currently being held at the Hunan No. 6 Prison.⁵

GU XINGHUA

Scheduled for release on February 28, 2011

Gu, an ethnic Miao farmer from Guizhou Province, was 25 when he created the People's Solidarity Party in 1988. He was detained in June 1989 on suspicion of planning military activities after the Tiananmen crackdown, formally arrested in September 1990,⁶ and sentenced to life imprisonment for counterrevolutionary rebellion and gathering people to make weapons. His sentence was subsequently reduced four times. Gu is currently being held at Guiyang Prison.

MIAO DESHUN

Scheduled for release on September 15, 2018

Miao, a Beijing resident, was detained in June 1989, and convicted of counterrevolutionary arson.⁷ He was originally given a death sentence with a two-year reprieve, which was reduced to life in prison in 1991, and then reduced again to 20 years' imprisonment. According to the Dui Hua Foundation, by the time Miao is released in 2018, he will have served 29.5 years in prison for starting a fire. He is being held at the Beijing No. 2 Prison.

In addition to releasing individuals determined to be arbitrarily detained by the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, the Chinese authorities should release other individuals pursuant to the special pardon allowed under Article 64 of the PRC Constitution (2004); medical parole; or other remedial relief requested by the families or their lawyers.



RATIFY THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS (ICCPR)

Over the past 20 years, China has become an increasingly active and influential actor in the international human rights community. It is a member of the new UN Human Rights Council; it has signed and ratified core international human rights treaties (see chart below); and it signed in 1998, but has not yet ratified, the ICCPR. This growing engagement reflects greater sophistica-

tion regarding human rights concepts, language, processes, and mechanisms and demonstrates a recognition of the significance and relevance of international human rights discourse and practice.

At the same time, China has made limited progress in implementing recommendations issued by international human rights bodies and UN special procedures. These include the following: 1) China should respect and protect its citizens' right to form **independent trade unions**, 2) China should clarify the legal definition of **discrimination**, and 3) it should respect **freedom of expression**, including religious, cultural, and linguistic expressions of ethnic groups. (Review of the First Periodic Report of the PRC on Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 2005.)

China's recent signing of the new Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities demonstrates its ongoing integration into the international human rights framework. In the spirit of China's Olympics promises on freedom of expression and press freedom, China must now ratify the ICCPR signed ten years ago.

International Human Rights Treaties Ratified or Signed by China

TREATY	SIGNED	RATIFIED
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT)	December 12, 1986	October 4, 1988
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	July 17, 1980	November 4, 1980
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	August 29, 1990	March 2, 1992
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)	—	December 29, 1981 (accession)
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)	October 27, 1997	March 27, 2001
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)	October 5, 1998 ¹⁰	<i>Pending ratification</i>
Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities	March 30, 2007	<i>Pending ratification</i>

Photo credits: REUTERS/Denis Balibouse (SWITZERLAND).



ADDRESS THE APPEALS OF THE TIANANMEN MOTHERS

The Tiananmen Mothers group has repeatedly called on the government to review its official assessment of the Tiananmen crackdown and change its stance toward June Fourth victims and their families. The group has asked China to allow an independent inquiry into the events of spring 1989, give a

public account and appropriate restitution, and prosecute the persons responsible.

Over the years, the Chinese government has failed to respond to the requests of the Tiananmen Mothers and has subjected the group to harassment, surveillance, and detention. Yet the Tiananmen Mothers have refused to give up their fight against the cycle of impunity that has allowed perpetrators of violations of human rights in China to go unpunished again and again. As further public evidence of the tragic events of 1989, the Tiananmen Mothers have compiled two maps that indicate places and hospitals where individuals died. These maps, along with other resources, contribute to a more complete record of the deaths and will be available soon at a new Tiananmen Mothers website, as well as linked to from HRIC's website.

HRIC urges the Chinese government to publicly address these concerns and begin engaging in dialogue with the Tiananmen Mothers.



CONDUCT AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO THE EVENTS OF SPRING 1989

To this day, China has yet to permit an independent and impartial investigation into the events of spring 1989. Various groups have urged the Chinese government to allow such an inquiry, to no avail. In June 2004, the 15th anniversary of Tiananmen, the United States Congress passed a bill condemning the government crackdown and appealing to

China for the establishment of a "June Fourth Investigation Committee."¹¹ Domestic groups and international human rights organizations, such as the Tiananmen Mothers and Amnesty International, have also asked China to initiate an independent Tiananmen investigation. The Tiananmen Mothers have exhorted the government to find and punish those who were responsible for the crackdown.

HRIC joins the appeal of the Tiananmen Mothers and other human rights groups to China to allow a fair, independent inquiry into the events surrounding the Tiananmen crackdown. Names and numbers of those who perished should be disclosed, and the full process and results of this inquiry should be made available to the public to ensure government accountability.



ALLOW TIANANMEN EXILES TO RETURN

Exiled Tiananmen activists have repeatedly called for the Chinese government to allow them to return to China. The Chinese government has canceled or refused to renew passports, and barred Chinese citizens from returning home. There are also blacklists⁸ containing the names of these exiled activists, including all of the principal student leaders of the Tiananmen Square Democracy Movement who escaped from China, together with other intellectuals, writers, and former government officials who participated in the movement.

These exiled activists currently live in North America, Europe, and other Asian countries. While the authorities have recently allowed a few individuals to return, in the lead-up to the 20th anniversary of the 1989 Democracy Movement and violent crackdown on June Fourth, the Chinese authorities should allow the remaining majority to return, without conditions, to their homeland. This would demonstrate respect for humanitarian concerns, which would also contribute to a true harmonious society.

Notes

1. John Kamm, "China's June Fourth Prisoners: The Long Road to Justice, Remarks to the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Hong Kong for the 12th Annual Human Rights Press Awards," The Dui Hua Foundation, March 29, 2008.
2. John Kamm, "China's June Fourth Prisoners: The Long Road to Justice, Remarks to the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Hong Kong for the 12th Annual Human Rights Press Awards," The Dui Hua Foundation, March 29, 2008.
3. For more information on the death penalty in China, see: Human Rights in China, "China's Death Penalty Reforms," *China Rights Forum* 2 (2007), http://hrichina.org/public/PDFs/CRF.2.2007/CRF-2007-2_Penalty.pdf. When death sentences are handed down with a two-year reprieve (*sixing huangqi liangnian zhixing*), the death penalty is automatically commuted to life imprisonment if the convicted person does not willfully commit an additional crime during the two-year period.
4. Human Rights in China, "In Custody," *China Rights Forum* 2 (2004), http://www.hrichina.org/public/PDFs/CRF.2.2004/rf4_InCustody6.2004.pdf.
5. Human Rights in China, "In Custody," *China Rights Forum* 2 (2004), http://www.hrichina.org/public/PDFs/CRF.2.2004/rf4_InCustody6.2004.pdf.
6. Human Rights in China, "In Custody," *China Rights Forum* 2 (2004), http://www.hrichina.org/public/PDFs/CRF.2.2004/rf4_InCustody6.2004.pdf.
7. Human Rights in China, "In Custody," *China Rights Forum* 2 (2004), http://www.hrichina.org/public/PDFs/CRF.2.2004/rf4_InCustody6.2004.pdf.
8. Congressional-Executive Commission on China, "China: Enforced Exile of Dissidents, Government 'Re-entry Blacklist' Revealed," January 6, 1995, <http://www.cecc.gov/pages/roundtables/120902/blacklistFu.php>.
9. Human Rights in China, "HRIC Statement: Chinese Authorities Should Respond to Calls for Dialogue by the Tiananmen Mothers," February 27, 2008, <http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/press?revision%5fid=47515&item%5fid=47439>.
10. China has stated its intent to ratify the ICCPR on numerous occasions. See, e.g., Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the UN, *Aide Memoire*, April 13, 2006.
11. H. Res. 655, "Condemning the Crackdown on Democracy Protestors in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, in the People's Republic of China on the 15th Anniversary of the Tragic Massacre," 108th Congress, 2nd Session, June 1, 2004, <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?c108:2:./temp/~c108f3JDdf>.

MONITORING PROGRESS

Over the next 12 months, HRIC will track progress on these significant human rights benchmarks and monitor the PRC government's willingness to address the human rights situation, so that Chinese society can move forward onto a path of genuine stability and justice.

Look for additional suggestions for actions you can take on these cases and related issues on the IR2008 website, <http://www.ir2008.org>.

Write a Letter

- Write letters to relevant officials to call for the release of these imprisoned activists (templates available online).

Join a Campaign

- Join campaigns for the release of these individuals by nongovernmental organizations and on social networking sites like Facebook.

Are you a member of a business or professional association?

- If you are a member of your local business or professional association, encourage your organization and its committees to support Chinese activists in the same profession (such as journalists and lawyers) and learn more about restrictions on those individuals.

Do you write, publish or blog?

- If you blog, download the banners created by HRIC and link back to the Take Action website (<http://www.ir2008.org>) to encourage others to help make a difference.



Photo credits: MJ Kim/Getty Images.

RESOURCE LIST | THE 1989 DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

Following is a list of resources related to the 1989 Democracy Movement in China. This list includes NGO and news websites as well as selected multimedia materials and books on June Fourth. Please note that English titles for books with official title translations have been included; otherwise, the pinyin and characters are provided.

WEBSITES

BBC: Witnessing Tiananmen

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3763831.stm>
English

This website provides a compilation of interviews by the BBC from 2004, the 15th anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Democracy Movement. The interviews include eyewitness accounts of bystanders, protesters, and student leaders. The website also offers links to background on and analysis of the 1989 Democracy Movement.

Boxun.com: Tiananmen Feature

[博讯：六四图片资料]

http://www.boxun.com/my-cgi/post/display_all.cgi?cat=64
Chinese

A section of Boxun.com, this website is affiliated with the Falun Gong and is dedicated to articles and essays related to the 1989 Democracy Movement.

China News Digest: Virtual Museum of China '89

<http://museums.cnd.org/China89>
English

China News Digest (CND) is a U.S.-based nongovernmental organization operated by volunteers with a mandate to provide free, timely, and impartial news on China. The virtual museum has a collection of writings and audio-visual materials on the 1989

Democracy Movement. CND also operates related websites devoted to June Fourth.

China News Digest: Victims of Tiananmen Massacre

[六四屠杀受难者网页]

<http://www.cnd.org/HYPLAN/yawei/june4th/indexC.html> **(Chinese)**
<http://www.cnd.org/HYPLAN/yawei/june4th> **(English)**
Chinese and English

This website includes photographs of victims of the Tiananmen Square violence and provides a detailed account of the events that took place.

China News Digest: June Fourth 1989 Diary

http://www.cnd.org/June4th/1989_Today_TOC.hz8.html
English

This website provides a thorough day-by-day account of the Tiananmen Square protest. Excerpts from the diary of a Tsinghua University student who was at the protests are included, providing an insider's view of the events that took place. Some entries are in Chinese as well as English.

CNN: Tiananmen Revisited

<http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2001/tiananmen>
English

This website was established in 2001 by CNN to revisit the 1989 Democracy Movement. It provides accounts of the event, information on party leaders involved, interviews with those who have written extensively on the topic, and multimedia resources.

Epoch Times: June Fourth Essays

[大纪元：六四征文]

<http://epochtimes.com/gb/nf2976.htm>

Chinese

The Epoch Times website, a news service of the Falun Gong, posts a collection of essays solicited by the June Fourth Memorial Global Coalition, in which writers describe their experiences and views on the events of June Fourth.

Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China

[香港市民支援爱国民主运动联合会]

<http://www.alliance.org.hk> (Chinese)

<http://www.alliance.org.hk/english/index.html> (English)

Chinese and English

The Hong Kong Alliance is a nongovernmental organization that has organized large-scale commemorative activities related to June Fourth over the past 19 years. The website contains information about ongoing and upcoming campaigns in Hong Kong and around the world pertaining to democracy and the rights defense movement in China.

National Security Archive: Tiananmen Square, 1989: The Declassified History

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAE BB16/index.html>

English

Part of the National Security Archive, an independent nongovernmental research institute and library, this site includes detailed and previously classified U.S. government accounts of June Fourth, such as situation reports from the U.S. Embassy in Beijing as well as many of the Secretary of State's "Morning Summaries" from June 1989. The documents also cover student demonstrations in late 1985 and 1986, the period leading up to the use of force by the People's Liberation Army, and post-crackdown assessments of the events and their significance. The documents were obtained through the U.S. Freedom of Information Act.

Radio Free Asia: 18th Anniversary of June Fourth

[自由亚洲电台：纪念八九“六四”18周年专集]

http://www.rfa.org/mandarin/June4_07

Chinese

Run by Radio Free Asia, this website provides audio materials, pictures, poems, and essays compiled to mark the 18th anniversary of June Fourth. The materials were gathered from individuals who participated in the events of 1989.

Support Democracy in China & Christus Rex et Redemptor Mundi: Tiananmen April-June 1989

<http://www.christusrex.org/www1/sdc/tiananmen.html>

English

This website, assembled by Support Democracy in China, a volunteer community organization based in Silicon Valley, and Christus Rex, a non-profit organization, provides a series of photo galleries documenting the Democracy Movement and the consequent crackdown in Tiananmen Square. The photos are divided into five different stages: The Quest for Freedom, The Confrontation, The Repression, The Massacre, and The Worldwide Protest.

Tiananmen Mothers Campaign

[天安门母亲运动]

<http://tmc-hk.org>

Chinese

The Tiananmen Mothers Campaign website, run by a solidarity group in Hong Kong supporting the Tiananmen Mothers, contains an online petition calling for justice, a list of the victims, testimonials, news about the Tiananmen Mothers, and other advocacy issues. Some items have English translation.

HRIC RESOURCES

Human Rights in China [中国人权]

<http://gb.hrichina.org/gate/gb/big5.hrichina.org/public/contents/category?cid=4846>
(Chinese)

<http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/11004>
(English)
Chinese and English

Founded by Chinese students and scholars in March 1989, Human Rights in China (HRIC) is an international, Chinese, nongovernmental organization with a mission to promote international human rights and advance the institutional protection of these rights in the People's Republic of China. In addition to these websites regarding the 1989 Democracy Movement, HRIC has a number of other websites and online publications related to the crackdown, including:

Fill the Square: Support the Tiananmen Mothers

[网上献花, 支持“天安门母亲”]

<http://www.fillthesquare.org/chinese>
(Chinese)

<http://www.fillthesquare.org> (English)
Chinese and English

Fill the Square is an online campaign supporting the Tiananmen Mothers group. Visitors to this website may become virtual volunteers, sign an electronic petition, and place and view “bouquets” on a virtual Tiananmen Square.

Selected Maps of the Locations of June Fourth Victims' Deaths, compiled by the Tiananmen Mothers (2008)

[部分“六四”死难者罹难地点]

<http://www.hrichina.org>
Chinese and English

This is a selection of maps compiled by the Tiananmen Mothers that identifies the locations of hospitals and the locations of victims' deaths during the 1989 crackdown. The maps are also available on the Tiananmen Mothers' new website, launched in 2008.

June Fourth Podcast Series

<http://www.hrichina.org/public/june4podcasts>
Chinese and English

In order to preserve a historical record and support Chinese efforts promoting greater democracy and openness, the June Fourth Podcast Series contains a set of interviews with student leaders, protesters, journalists, activists, family members, and other parties connected with the Beijing protests. The interviews, which are in Chinese, are available to download in MP3 format.

64 Memo Virtual Archive

[六四档案]

<http://www.64memo.org>
Chinese

This website is a Chinese-language archive of documents, articles, and images documenting the history of the 1989 Democracy Movement.

“Tiananmen: The Once and Future China.” *China Rights Forum* 2 (2004).

<http://hrichina.org/public/contents/1809>
English

This CRF issue on the 15th anniversary of the suppression of the 1989 Democracy Movement in Beijing contains articles and poems commemorating the events, as well as reflections on and explorations of mechanisms to claim social justice contributed by scholars and Tiananmen witnesses.

“Searching for Social Justice.” *China Rights Forum* 4 (2005).

<http://hrichina.org/public/contents/26612>
English

This CRF issue focuses on the Chinese government's accountability in addressing massive human rights violations of the past, from the Anti-Rightist Movement and the Cultural Revolution to June Fourth.

MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES

The Gate of Heavenly Peace

[天安门]

<http://www.tsquare.tv/chinese> (Chinese)

<http://www.tsquare.tv> (English)

Chinese and English

The Gate of Heavenly Peace, a documentary produced by Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton, details the protest movement leading up to the crackdown. This related website provides information about the film, as well as background information on the June Fourth Tiananmen Square crackdown, including a chronology leading up to the events of that day, and links to related published works.

The Tank Man

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tankman>

English

Frontline, a program of the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), released *The Tank Man* in 2006. This documentary investigates the story of the man who stood in front of People's Liberation Army tanks and made international headlines. The documentary also provides an overview of the Beijing protests and the violent crackdown. The website provides additional information regarding the Democracy Movement, including a timeline of events during 1989.

Tiananmen Square Massacre April–June 1989

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XQTnWbrczlk>
Chinese

This 46-minute video is an extensive collection of footage from the events of April–June 1989. Clips include footage of the protests leading up to the crackdown, domestic media coverage, Zhao Ziyang's speech to the students, and troops marching into Beijing towards Tiananmen Square and firing on protesters.

Tiananmen Survivors Recall Massacre

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JBjPvV4yHfY>
English

This video, produced by New York-based New Tang Dynasty Television, tells the stories of Yu Dongyue, Lu Decheng, and Yu Zhijian, who threw paint-filled eggs at the portrait of Mao Zedong in Tiananmen Square on May 23, 1989. It outlines their role in the protests and their perspective on the events.

BOOKS

17 Exiled June Fourth Students

[六四流亡学生17人]. *Huigu yu fansi* [回顾与反思].

Germany: Deguo Laiyin Bihui, Deguo Yachen

Bajiu Xueshe, 1993 [德国：德国莱茵笔会、德国亚琛八九学社, 1993].

Chinese

This book reconstructs the events of the spring of 1989 as told by 17 leaders of the student movement, who later went into exile abroad. It is derived from the proceedings of an eight-day conference held in Paris in June 1991.

64 Hong Kong Journalists [六十四名香港记者].

Renmin buhui wangji: Bajiu minyun shilu (zengdingban) [人民不会忘记：八九民运实录(增订版)].

Hong Kong: Hong Kong Journalist Association, 1989 [香港：香港记者协会, 1989].

Chinese

This book collects the reflections of 64 Hong Kong journalists who witnessed the events of 1989.

Bao, Zunxin [包遵信]. *Liusi de neiqing:*

Weiwanheng de niepan [六四的内情：未完成的涅槃].

Taipei: Fengyun Shidai Chuban Gufen

Youxian Gongsi, 1997 [台北：风云时代出版股份有限公司, 1997].

Chinese

As a historian and public intellectual, Bao Zunxin had widespread influence on the democracy movement in China in the years leading up to 1989. In this book, he recalls the events of 1989.

Beijing City Communist Youth League, ed. [共青团北京市委编]. *70 tian dashi ji: Hu Yaobang bingshi dao Zhao Ziyang jiezh* [70天大事记——胡耀邦病逝到赵紫阳解职]. **Beijing: Beijing Chuban She, 1990** [北京：北京出版社, 1990].
Chinese

This book provides an official account of the changing situation of the Democracy Movement in Tiananmen Square and the government's reactions. The book covers the events from April 15 to June 22, 1989, in chronological order.

Black, George, and Robin Munro. *Black Hands of Beijing: Lives of Defiance in China's Democracy Movement*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1993.
English

Following the Tiananmen Square massacre, Chinese authorities targeted numerous individuals who were deemed to have manipulated the masses into the Democracy Movement. This book tells the stories of Wang Juntao, Chen Ziming, and Han Dongfang, who were treated as scapegoats and subsequently sent to prison as a result of their involvement in the Democracy Movement.

Brook, Timothy. *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; revised edition, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1998.
English

Drawing upon eyewitness reports, government documents, hospital records, and student accounts, this book provides a reconstruction of the events leading up to the crackdown.

Calhoun, Craig. *Neither Gods nor Emperors: Students and the Struggle for Democracy in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
English

This analysis of the 1980s student movement in China outlines the rationale behind the Democracy Move-

ment and examines its suppression following the events of 1989. Calhoun also provides a perspective on the continuing legacy of the 1989 Democracy Movement in China.

Chen, Xiaoya [陈小雅]. *Tiananmen zhibian: Bajiu minyun shi* [天安门之变：八九民运史]. Taipei: Fengyun Shidai Chuban Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1996 [台北：风云时代出版股份有限公司, 1996].
Chinese

Chen Xiaoya, a Beijing-based historian, relates a personal history of the 1989 Democracy Movement. The book attempts to provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of the intellectuals who participated in the events.

Chinese University of Hong Kong Students' Union, ed. [香港中文大学学生会编]. *Beijing jixing: Bajiu Zhongguo minyun zillaoce* [北京纪行：八九中国民运资料册]. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Students' Union, 1991 [香港：香港中文大学学生会, 1991].
Chinese

This book compiles documents and records pertaining to the events of the 1989 Democracy Movement. Sixteen of the articles included in the book were written by students who were in Beijing and Shanghai and had first-hand knowledge of the events.

Ding, Zilin [丁子霖]. *Liusi shounanzhe mingce* [六四受难者名册]. Hong Kong: 1990s Magazine Press, 1994 [香港：九十年代杂志社, 1994].
Chinese

After losing her 17-year-old son Jiang Jieliang on the streets of Beijing in the Tiananmen crackdown, Ding Zilin, founder of the Tiananmen Mothers, compiled this book that lists the dead and wounded from the events of June Fourth.

Ding, Zilin [丁子霖]. *In Search of the Victims of June Fourth* [寻访六四受难者]. Hong Kong: Kaifang Zazhi She, 2005 [香港：开放杂志社, 2005]. Chinese

This book contains 50 stories based on the testimonies of the families of June Fourth victims, as well as a list of 186 individuals who died or were wounded during the events of Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Feng, Congde [封从德]. *Tiananmen zhi zheng: Liusi de guanjian neiqing* [天安门之争：六四的关键内情]. Ontario: Mirror Books, 1998 [安大略省：明镜出版社, 1998]. Chinese

This book provides a series of articles dealing with the controversies that surround the documentary, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*. Feng also reveals some of the important internal dynamics within the student movement.

Han, Minzhu, and Sheng Hua. *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. English

This book offers a vast collection of translated materials regarding the 1989 Democracy Movement, such as speeches, flyers, “big character” posters, poems, government documents, transcriptions of tapes, and articles from non-official newspapers. All the documents are linked with commentary seeking to place them in the context of Chinese social and political life.

Harrison, Frank, and Yu Mok Chiu. *Voices from Tiananmen Square: Beijing Spring and the Democracy Movement*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990. English

One of the first books written after the Tiananmen Square Massacre, *Voices from Tiananmen Square* provides a summary of the events that took place. The book provides translated documents and interviews, including interviews with major student leaders. The book also details the formation and operation of the

Beijing Autonomous Workers’ Federation, the first independent labor union since 1949, which was formed in the midst of the protests.

Hu, Ping [胡平]. *Zhongguo minyun fansi* [中国民运反思]. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1992 [香港：牛津大学出版社, 1992]. Chinese

This book is a compilation of Hu’s influential reflections on the 1989 Democracy Movement.

Human Rights in China. *Children of the Dragon: The Story of Tiananmen Square*. New York: Collier Books, 1990. English

This is a series of accounts from eyewitnesses involved in the Beijing protests. With material from April 15 to June 4, 1989, it includes photographs and a variety of documents providing personal accounts of the events that took place. These accounts also explore the divisions between student leaders.

Human Rights in China [中国人权]. *June Fourth Massacre: Testimonials of the Wounded and the Families of the Dead* [见证屠杀，寻求正义——六四伤亡者和死难者家属证词]. New York: Human Rights in China, June 1999 [纽约：中国人权, 1999年6月]. Chinese and English

Published on the tenth anniversary of the violent crackdown on the peaceful protest movement in Beijing, this bilingual book documents testimonials from witnesses and the family members of those killed in the events. The book includes a list of 155 victims killed and wounded. This book is also available online:

<http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/category?cid=8304> (testimonies in English);

<http://www.hrichina.org/public/contents/category?cid=8305> (list of known victims in English).

Jiang, Peikun, and Ding Zilin [蒋培坤, 丁子霖]. *Shengzhe yu sizhe: Weile Zhongguo de mingtian* [生者与死者：为了中国的明天]. Hong Kong: Human Rights in China, 2000 [香港：中国人权, 2000].
Chinese

This book compiles the authors' writings from 1994 to 2000, including articles and open letters. Jiang and Ding are members of the Tiananmen Mothers.

Jieyan yi ri [戒严一日]. Beijing: Jiefangjun Wenyi Chubanshe, 1989 [北京：解放军文艺出版社, 1989].
Chinese

This book records the actions of the military unit that was delegated the responsibility of enforcing martial law (*jieyan budui*) in Beijing. Shortly after publication, the government took the work off the shelves, claiming it divulged "secrets," and released an edited version. This is the original version of the book.

Journalists at the China Times [中国时报报系记者群]. *Beijing xuesheng yundong 50 ri* [北京学生运动50日]. Taipei: China Times Publishing Co., 1989 [台北：时报出版公司, 1989].
Chinese

Written by Taiwanese journalists at the *China Times*, this book compiles their accounts of the events of 1989.

Kwan, Michael David. Broken Portraits: Personal Encounters with Chinese Students. San Francisco: China Books & Periodicals, 1990.
English

The personal account of a teacher, Kwan, who goes back to China in order to teach as a college professor. Written in journalistic style, Kwan's story is based on his experiences, including those with students, and documents the changing viewpoint of Chinese students searching for reform and democracy in the 1980s.

Li, Lu. Moving the Mountain: My Life in China from the Cultural Revolution to Tiananmen Square. London: Macmillan, 1990.
English

This memoir from Li, a student leader during the protests in Tiananmen Square, provides personal insights into the events of 1989 and a perspective on the rationale of some of the students.

Li, Marjorie H. Culture and Politics in China: An Anatomy of Tiananmen Square. Edited by Peter Li. Piscataway: Transaction Publishers, 2007.
English

This recent book explores the events and trends that led to the Beijing protests and June Fourth. It includes eyewitness accounts of student leaders, speeches of Communist Party leaders, and writings of young intellectuals.

Lin, Nan. The Struggle for Tiananmen: Anatomy of the 1989 Mass Movement. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1992.
English

A dissection of the events of 1989, Lin's book examines the background of the movement, its origins, and the reasons for its development. The 1989 Democracy Movement itself is also analyzed, from the initial protests to martial law, party struggles, and the end result.

Liu, Binyan, Xu Gang, and Ruan Ming. Tell the World: What Happened in China and Why. New York: Pantheon, 1989.
English

The three authors, former members of the Communist Party who joined the protests in Beijing, give a series of eyewitness accounts of the spring of 1989. The book also provides a detailed look into the workings of the Communist Party's inner circle in the lead-up to the massacre.

Liu, Xiaobo [刘晓波]. *Mori xingcunzhe de dubai: Guanyu wo he "liusi"* [末日幸存者的独白: 关于我和「六四」]. Taipei: Shibao Wenhua, 1992 [台北: 时报文化, 1992].

Chinese

Written by prominent Beijing intellectual Liu Xiaobo, this book recalls his repentance in prison and reflects on his involvement with the Democracy Movement. The book is notable for Liu's analysis of his innermost thoughts and feelings.

Lu, Chaoqi [陆超棋]. *Liusi neibu riji* [六四内部日记]. Hong Kong: Excellent Culture Press, 2006 [香港: 卓越文化出版社, 2006].

Chinese

This book by former assistant editor of the *People's Daily*, Lu Chaoqi, gives an insider's look into the events of the spring of 1989, particularly how the press and the *People's Daily* covered the events. The book also describes the political pressure journalists faced during that period.

Lum, Thomas. *Problems of Democratization in China*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

English

This study examines the competing theories as to why countries become democratic, and analyzes why China has failed to do so. It argues that China will never become democratic due to the Communist Party's fear that it will lose control and subsequently collapse. The Tiananmen Square crackdown is provided as a case study to illustrate these views.

Mingpao Journalists [明报记者]. *Beigaolian de sishi ri* [北高联的四十日]. Hong Kong: Mingpao Books, 1989 [香港: 明报出版社, 1989].

Chinese

This book provides reflections of Hong Kong journalists on the events of 1989.

Perry, Elizabeth, and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, eds. *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.

English

China's recent history is presented here in a series of essays on popular protests. The book attempts to provide a greater context for the 1989 protests and the effect they had on China by linking cultural movements and the push for democratic change in 1989.

Saich, Tony, ed. *Chinese People's Movement: Perspectives on Spring 1989*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1992.

English

This collection of articles on the Democracy Movement provides context for the events of 1989. The impetus for reform and development and the demand for change are widely analyzed. Additionally, the disorganized and often spontaneous nature of the protests is investigated.

Schell, Orville. *Mandate of Heaven: A New Generation of Entrepreneurs, Dissidents, Bohemians, and Technocrats Lays Claim to China's Future*. Markham: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

English

Mandate of Heaven examines the new social and cultural forces that emerged in the mid-1990s in the wake of June Fourth. It investigates how these forces have been influenced by the June Fourth events, and how the counterculture that emerged has been trying to test the Communist Party.

Spence, Jonathan. *The Search for Modern China*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.

English

Spence's highly regarded book gives a comprehensive history of China from the Ming Dynasty to 1999. It goes into the 1989 Democracy Movement and the subsequent crackdowns, including the widespread arrests, detentions, and executions of those involved.

Su, Xiaokang. *A Memoir of Misfortune*. New York: Knopf, 2001.
English

This is a personal account by Su, a prominent journalist, who was forced to flee China after being put on its most-wanted list following June Fourth. It details his life in exile and the struggles he has faced, including a devastating car accident in 1993 which left his wife paralyzed.

Tong, Shen, and Marianne Yen. *Almost a Revolution: The Story of a Chinese Student's Journey from Boyhood to Leadership in Tiananmen*. London: Harper Perennial Library, reissued 1998.
English

In the first half of this book, Shen Tong, a student leader in China's 1989 Democracy Movement, tells of his experiences as a leader of the "Dialogue Movement" and his transformation during his time at Beijing University. The second half of the book provides a day-by-day account of the Democracy Movement and the ultimately bloody events in Beijing in June 1989.

United Daily News Group Editor's Department, ed. [联合报编辑部编]. *Tiananmen 1989* [天安门一九八九]. Taipei: Linking Books, 1989 [台北：联经出版事业公司, 1989].
Chinese

This book about the events of Spring 1989, written by journalists at the *United Daily News Group* from Taiwan, was particularly influential due to its rich detail. It was one of the earliest accounts to be published.

Unger, Jonathan, ed. *The Pro-Democracy Protests in China: Reports from the Provinces*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., and Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991.
English

This book is a collection of papers by Western China experts who personally observed the events of 1989 in various cities around China. It provides a glimpse into the widespread nature of the spring 1989 protests, rather than focusing only on the events in Beijing.

Wang, Chaohua, ed. *One China, Many Paths*. New York: Verso, 2003.
English

This book is a collection of essays by leading Chinese intellectuals seeking to assess what lies ahead for China in the future. They draw upon their own experiences, including those of student leaders directly involved in the 1989 Democracy Movement.

Wong, Jan. *Red China Blues: My Long March from Mao to Now*. New York: Doubleday, 1997.
English

Canadian journalist Jan Wong describes her experiences during the Cultural Revolution as a Chinese-Canadian studying at Peking University. She describes her abandonment of Maoism in reaction to Chinese rule during the period and provides a detailed personal account of the Tiananmen crackdown.

Yang, Jisheng [杨继绳]. *Zhongguo gaige niandai de zhengzhi douzheng* [中国改革年代的政治斗争]. Hong Kong: Excellent Culture Press, 2004 [香港：香港卓越文化出版社, 2004].
Chinese

This book by veteran journalist Yang Jisheng details some of the behind-the-scenes political fights between different factions in the top leadership in the early years of "reform and opening." It includes an exclusive interview with former Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang discussing the events that led up to June Fourth and some of the divergent views among the top leaders.

Yazhou Zhoukan [亚洲周刊]. *Jingtian dongdi de yibai tian* [惊天动地的一百天]. Hong Kong: Yazhou Zhoukan, 1989 [香港：亚洲周刊, 1989].
Chinese

This book is a collection of accounts and pictures from Hong Kong journalists and photojournalists who witnessed the events at Tiananmen Square.

Zhang, Boli. *Escape from China: The Long Journey from Tiananmen to Freedom*. Mississauga: Atria Books, 2002.

English

Zhang Boli was a prominent student leader during the 1989 Democracy Movement, and as a result ended up on China's most-wanted list. This book is a first-hand account of his escape from China, including his time spent in hiding in Northern China and Russia. It includes tales of the people he met along the way who sheltered him and eased the way toward his escape to the United States two years later.

Zhang, Liang, comp. *The Tiananmen Papers: The Chinese Leadership's Decision to Use Force Against their Own People—In their Own Words*. Edited by Andrew J. Nathan and Perry Link. New York: Public Affairs, 2001.

English

The Tiananmen Papers is a massive collection of internal Chinese government and Communist Party documents relating to the 1989 Democracy Movement and crackdown. It offers insight into the Party leaders' determination to end the demonstrations at any cost.

Zhang, Liang [张良]. *June Fourth—The True Story* [中国「六四」真相]. Hong Kong: Mirror Books, 2001 [香港：明镜出版社, 2001].

Chinese

This is the Chinese edition of *The Tiananmen Papers*.

Zhao, Dingxin. *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

English

In this book, Zhao, an associate professor at the University of Chicago, explores in depth the 1989 student protests. In addition to grassroots stories and interviews with students, Zhao analyzes the parallel changes in China's state and social relations during the 1980s as a backdrop to the protests.

Zheng, Yi [郑义]. *Lishi de yi bufen* [历史的一部分]. Taipei: Wanxiang Books, 1993 [台北：万象图书, 1993].

Chinese

Author Zheng Yi offers a personal account of the events of 1989 as a high-profile participant in those events.

Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guojia Jiaowei Sixiang Zhengzhi Gongzuosi, ed. [中华人民共和国国家教委思想政治工作司编]. *Jingxindongpo de wushiliu tian: Yijiubajiu nian siyue shiwu ri zhi liuyue jiu ri meiri jishi (Xianggang zhuxi ben)* [惊心动魄的五十六天：一九八九年四月十五日至六月九日每日纪实 (香港注释本)]. Hong Kong: Tiananmen minzhu daxue haiwai fuxiao jihua Xianggang choubei chu, 1990 [香港：天安门民主大学海外复校计划香港筹备处, 1990].

Chinese

This book, published by the Education Department of the PRC government, contains many of the documents produced by the 1989 Democracy Movement, and records a vast quantity of information related to the situation in Beijing and other areas throughout China. The Hong Kong annotated version provides analysis of what might be considered pro-government bias in official documents and other inaccuracies.

Zong, Fengming [宗凤鸣]. Zhao Ziyang: *Captive Conversations* [赵紫阳：软禁中的谈话]. Hong Kong: Kaifang Chuban She, 2007 [香港：开放出版社, 2007].

Chinese

This book provides former Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang's account of the events that led to the military crackdown in Tiananmen Square. Compiled by long-time friend Zong Fengming, the book relates a series of discussions between Zong and Zhao. After the Tiananmen crackdown, Zhao was put under house arrest, effectively sealing him off from the outside world. Posing as Zhao's *tai chi* teacher, Zong was able to conduct a series of meandering discussions with Zhao from 1991 to 2004, right before Zhao's death. Zong and Zhao discuss Chinese political reform, Marxist theory, current politics, and the actions and events that resulted in the use of force by the military in 1989.



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BEIJING'S PROMISES



→ International Commitments

As an active and responsible member of the international community, China must implement its international human rights, environmental, and labor law commitments, including economic, social, and cultural, civil and political rights for Chinese citizens.

HRIC's IR2008 campaign promotes compliance with China's human rights obligations and with the promises laid out in the 2002 "Beijing Olympic Action Plan," to hold:

→ "Green Olympics"

Putting environmental protection first.

→ "High-Tech Olympics"

Making cost-effective, content-rich information services available to all.

→ "Free and Open Olympics"

Providing access for journalists, implementing "tight but friendly" security measures, running the Games openly and fairly.

→ "People's Olympics"

Promoting nationwide economic and social development, promoting Chinese culture and heritage, minimizing costs.

ARE YOU READY FOR THE OLYMPICS? A Quick Reference Guide to HRIC Olympic Resources

Since 2002, HRIC has published numerous resources looking at various issues surrounding the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Below is a selection of the most recent resources. These and additional materials can all be found online at <http://www.ir2008.org>.

PROMISES, PROMISES:

- **Take Action: 2008 and Beyond.** A closer look at the promises laid out as part of Beijing's preparations to be host city.
- **Where is the "Frugal Olympics"? Internet Voices Protest Extravagance.** An HRIC Brief exploring how public expressions of resentment are growing against costly publicity events promoting official prestige rather than the spirit of the Games.

PREPARING FOR THE GAMES:

- **Packaging China for the Olympics.** A look at the public relations, marketing, and legal firms that are helping to present and brand Beijing for the Games.
- **Ready, Set. . .** A report on the key preparatory activities of the Beijing hosts, the corporate community, and athletes.
- **FAQ: Reporting During the Olympics.** An FAQ for foreign journalists operating in China during the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

LOOKING BEYOND THE GAMES:

- **Shopping for the Holidays, Shopping at the Olympics: Who Pays the Price?** An update on issues surrounding the 2007 toy recalls and the Olympics merchandise market.
- **Security in Beijing 2008 and Beyond.** An article on security preparations for the Olympics, the human rights concerns, and the role of international corporations.

GRAPHICS, CHARTS, AND LISTS:

- **"Improve Manners and Foster New Attitudes": The Beijing Civility Campaign**
- **Who's Who in the 2008 Olympics**
- **Resource List: The 2008 Beijing Olympics.** An annotated list of online resources relating to the 2008 Beijing Olympics from a variety of official, news, academic and commercial websites.
- **Olympics Advocacy Campaigns.** A round-up of NGO campaigns that have been putting the heat on Beijing in the run-up to the Olympics and beyond.

AND MORE! ALL ON [IR2008.ORG](http://www.ir2008.org)

"The year 2008 should be a banner year for advancing human rights in China . . . Through our campaign *Incorporating Responsibility 2008: Playing for the Future*, Human Rights in China (HRIC) will promote compliance with both Olympics promises and international human rights obligations undertaken by the Chinese government towards the Olympics and beyond. We invite you to join in our effort."

Christine Loh Kung Wai
and Andrew J. Nathan, Co-Chairs
Human Rights in China

Founded by Chinese students and scholars in March 1989, Human Rights in China (HRIC) is an international, Chinese, nongovernmental organization with a mission to promote international human rights and advance the institutional protection of these rights in the People's Republic of China.

TAKE ACTION IN 2008!

HUMAN RIGHTS IN 2008 | CHINA'S OLYMPIC YEAR
Incorporating Responsibility 2008: Playing for the Future

Human Rights in China's Incorporating Responsibility 2008 Take Action Campaign highlights individuals in detention and systemic human rights challenges. Each month, the Take Action Campaign will focus on a selected case and identify human rights actions that the Chinese government and the international community can take.



JULY

Tenzin Delek Rinpoche (བསྟན་འཛིན་བདེ་ལེགས་)

Involved in supporting schools, monasteries, and orphanages in Tibet; opposing extensive logging in the region; and supporting the Dalai Lama. Sentenced to death in 2002. In 2005, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Currently held at the Chuandong Prison in Sichuan Province.



AUGUST

Shuang Shuying (双淑英)

The mother of activist Hua Huiqi, who was detained after petitioning over the forcible eviction from their home without adequate compensation. Arrested in 2007 for intentional damage of property after protesting her son's detention and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Currently held at Beijing's Public Security Bureau Chongwen Division Detention Center. Due for release in 2009.



SEPTEMBER

Yang Maodong (杨茂东) [aka Guo Feixiong (郭飞雄)]

A legal advisor in several prominent human rights defense cases, he was sentenced in 2007 to five years' imprisonment on charges of "illegal business activity" in connection with the publication of a book concerning a political scandal in Shenyang City, Liaoning Province.

Join us at <http://www.ir2008.org> to take action for Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, Shuang Shuying, Yang Maodong and other individuals.

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