

**WITNESS REPORTS**  
**ON**  
**THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT OF CHINA '89**

On the occasion of 4<sup>th</sup> June 2006

## Give the Chinese students their history back!

This document can be downloaded for free at

<http://www.aidoh.dk/4june89>

It is a part of a comprehensive documentation about the Tiananmen massacre collected by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China.

The Internet edition and the campaign for world distribution of the documents is a co-operation between the HK Alliance and Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot who has put up an 8 metre high Pillar of Shame in Hong Kong to commemorate the Tiananmen massacre.

We call on everybody to support this initiative and to mail this appeal to institutions of education where there are Chinese students or others who might be interested in preserving and distributing the knowledge about the Tiananmen massacre.

So we can make a common effort to give the Chinese students their history back!

### For more information

**The documents about Tiananmen:** <http://www.aidoh.dk/4june89>

**The democracy movement in Hong Kong:**

[HK Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China](http://www.aidoh.dk/China)

Inquiry phone number: 852-2782-6111, Fax number: 852-2770-6083

E-mail address: [contact@alliance.org.hk](mailto:contact@alliance.org.hk)

Website: <http://www.alliance.org.hk>

**About human Rights in China:**

<http://www.aidoh.dk/China>

**Contact to Jens Galschiot:**

E-mail: [aidoh@aidoh.dk](mailto:aidoh@aidoh.dk), Internet: <http://www.aidoh.dk>, tel. +45 6618 4058

Banevaenget 22, DK-5270 Odense N, Denmark

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1.

**UNITED  
NATIONS  
DOCUMENTS**



## QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES

### Situation in China

#### Note by the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities resolution 1989/5

1. At its forty-first session, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopted, on 31 August 1989, resolution 1989/5 entitled "Situation in China", as follows:

"The Sub-Commission on Prevention on Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

"Concerned about the events which took place recently in China and about their consequences in the field of human rights,

"1. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Commission on Human Rights information provided by the Government of China and by other reliable sources;

"2. Makes an appeal for clemency, in particular in favor of persons deprived of their liberty as a result of the above-mentioned events."

2. In accordance with operative paragraph 1 of the above-mentioned resolution, the Secretary-General sent, on 30 October 1989, a note verbale to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of China in which he referred to Sub-Commission resolution 1989/5 of 31 August 1989 and requested the Government of China, should it wish to submit information pursuant to operative paragraph 1 of the resolution, to do so before 1 January 1990.

3. On 1 December 1989, the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations Office at Geneva replied as follows:

"Last June, there occurred in Beijing a rebellion which was supported by hostile forces abroad and constituted an attempt to overthrow the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of China and subvert the socialist system set forth in the Constitution through violent means. The Chinese Government took resolute measures to quell the rebellion in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. This is entirely China's internal affairs and is a matter different in nature from the ques-

tion of human rights. However, with the plotting and encouragement of some Western members, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopted resolution 1989/5 at its forty-first session. This is a brutal interference in China's internal affairs while hurting the feeling of the Chinese people. The Spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China issued a statement on 2 September 1989, solemnly declaring the firm objection of the Chinese Government to the resolution and deeming it to be illegal and null and void."

4. On 12 January 1990, the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations addressed a letter to the Secretary-General with reference to Sub-Commission resolution 1989/5. At the request of the Permanent Representative this letter was circulated as a document of the Commission on Human Rights at its forty-sixth session (E/CN.4/1990/55).

5. In the report presented by the Special Rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions to the Commission at its forty-sixth session (E/CN.4/1990/22), paragraphs 85 and 97 and 100 to 113 contain relevant communications of the Special Rapporteur to the Government of China as well as the Government's replies thereto. The report of the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture (E/CN.4/1990/17) also contains, in paragraph 43, a relevant appeal which the Special Rapporteur addressed to the Government of China.

6. In accordance with operative paragraph 1 of Sub-Commission resolution 1989/5, the Secretary-General also wishes to transmit, in the annexes to the present note, information which non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council have provided with reference to the above-mentioned resolution.



# **Annex I**

## **INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN CONSULTATIVE STATUS (CATEGORY II)**

### **Violations of human rights in China**

#### **Introduction**

1. In this document Amnesty International describes its concerns about recent human rights violations in China. It is believed to be important that the recent events be considered in the light of the overall human rights situation in the country.
2. In August 1989, Amnesty International published a report entitled "Preliminary Findings on Killings of Unarmed Civilians, Arbitrary Arrests and Summary Executions since 3 June 1989" which described Amnesty International's concerns about human rights violations in China since early June 1989, when heavily armed troops moved into the centre of Beijing to suppress pro-democracy protests, killing many unarmed protesters and bystanders.
3. Serious violations of human rights continue to occur in China and Amnesty International has not recorded any significant improvement since August 1989. Though releases have occurred, thousands of people continue to be imprisoned throughout China for their participation in the pro-democracy protests of 1989. There have been further arbitrary arrests and prisoners continue to be detained incommunicado without charge or trial, imprisoned or executed after unfair trials. Martial law was lifted in Beijing on 10 January 1990, but no measures of clemency or redress have been announced for those imprisoned as prisoners of conscience, subjected to prolonged detention without charge or trial for political reasons, or sentenced to imprisonment or to death after unfair trials. Indeed, the laws which permit such violations to take place remain in force.
4. Amnesty International estimates that at least 1,000 people were killed and thousands more injured in Beijing in early June 1989 when troops fired into crowds of protesters and bystanders – the vast majority of them unarmed. Amnesty International believes that many of these killings were extrajudicial executions, the result of a deliberate decision by those in authority to suppress the peaceful protests even if this meant widespread killings. The atmosphere of terror which followed the military operation made it impossible to determine the true death toll. Thousands of people were subsequently detained throughout China in connection with the protests, including many prisoners of conscience, and most were held incommunicado for long periods. Some were reported to have been severely beaten or tortured by soldiers or police. Dozens were officially reported to have been sentenced to death or to terms of imprisonment after trials which were summary and unfair, and secret executions were also reported.

5. In March 1989, three months before the killings in Beijing, martial law was imposed in Lhasa, capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Over 1,000 people were subsequently reported to have been arrested there, including prisoners of conscience, and there were reports of torture and summary executions. Some protesters were brought to trial and sentenced. Others against whom no formal charges were brought were assigned to labour camps for up to three years without any form of trial under legislation providing for administrative detention.

6. Prisoners of conscience arrested in previous years continued to be imprisoned in China throughout 1989 and are still held. During 1989, other cases were reported of people arrested on account of their religious beliefs or political activities which were not connected with the pro-democracy protests. Torture and ill-treatment also continued to be reported in criminal cases and the death penalty continues to be used extensively.

#### **Events in Beijing in early June 1989**

7. On 20 May 1989, following five weeks of peaceful student-led demonstration, martial law was imposed in Beijing. The order was issued in the name of the State Council and signed by Prime Minister Li Peng. Its stated aim was to "firmly stop the unrest", to safeguard public order and to "ensure the normal function" of government.
8. The student protests, which started in Beijing in mid-April 1989 and soon spread to most major cities, received wide popular support and developed into a pro-democracy movement. On 18 May 1989, an estimated one million people demonstrated in Beijing in support of students on hunger-strike and on 23 May 1989 a similar number again took to the streets to protest the imposition of martial law, the largest known popular demonstration of discontent in the history of the People's Republic of China.
9. On the night of 3 to 4 June 1989 hundreds of armoured military vehicles escorted by tens of thousands of troops moved into the centre of Beijing to enforce martial law, firing both at random and deliberately into crowds of protesters and bystanders – the vast majority of them unarmed. Further shootings of unarmed civilians occurred in the next few days. The numerous incidents in which civilians were deliberately shot by soldiers or crushed by military vehicles have been amply

documented by the eyewitness testimonies and documents published or broadcast since then. Amnesty International described some of these incidents in its August 1989 report "Preliminary Findings on Killings of Unarmed Civilians, Arbitrary Arrests and Summary Executions Since 3 June 1989". Amnesty International concluded in that report that:

(a) From mid-April until the military operations of 3 and 4 June in Beijing, the popular protest movement started by Beijing students was peaceful. There is no indication that leaders of the protest movement at any point advocated violence or attempted to overthrow the Government by violent means.

(b) During the night of 3 to 4 June, some troops opened fire either at random or deliberately at crowds whenever they met obstructions or large groups of people. No warnings were given before troops opened fire. Conventional methods for the dispersal or control of crowds without resort to firearms or other use of lethal force were not used.

(c) The vast majority of civilians were unarmed. Some were killed in residential buildings due to random or intentional shooting by troops. Some were shot in the back among crowds of people running away from troops firing at them; some were crushed to death by military vehicles. Those killed included children and old people.

(d) After the army took control of central Beijing there were still, for several days, incidents during which troops opened fire on unarmed civilians without warning or provocation.

(e) Many of the killings of unarmed civilians were extrajudicial executions: deliberate killings by government forces acting outside the limits of the law. Troops deliberately shot and killed individuals even when there was no immediate threat of violence by them, in violation of international standards that lethal force should only be used when absolutely necessary and in direct proportion to the legitimate objective it is intended to achieve.

10. In the past few months, the Chinese authorities have publicized their official version of what happened in Beijing on 3 and 4 June. They have produced videotapes and testimonies from individuals suggesting that the army not only exercised "great restraint", but also that many soldiers were victims of violence provoked by "rioters". Testimonies have been used to support official claims that no one was killed during the final evacuation of Tiananmen Square, but these and other documentation provide only a partial version of what occurred. The authorities have failed to take account of the well-attested incidents in which civilians were deliberately shot by soldiers. They still have not explained why a decision was taken to use lethal force against unarmed civilians, and why conventional crowd control methods were not used to disperse protesters before 3 June. They continue to maintain that some 200 civilians only, as well as "several dozen" soldiers, were killed during the military operation in Beijing; but this represents a gross underestimate. Information received by Amnesty International indicated that at least a thousand civilians and, according to reports, about 16 soldiers were killed.

11. Amnesty International has continued to receive reports and eye witness testimonies about events in Beijing during the night of 3 to 4 June, which generally confirm the description given in its August 1989 report. Some contain new information. One eye witness who stayed in Tiananmen Square until dawn on 4 June reported to Amnesty International that he saw several young women crushed in a tent by an armoured personnel carrier (APC) during the final "clearing" of the square early that morning. Together with members of a medical team, he was one of the last civilians to leave the Square. Extracts from his testimony are given below:

"Meanwhile, I had gone to a tent northeast of the Monument to the People's Heroes where I met two friends ... By that time, soldiers had come right across to the Monument, students were leaving the Square by the southeast corner, and APCs were moving down slowly from the north. About half way between the Monument and the tent where I met my friends, a bit further to the north, was one of the temporary tents erected by students with posts and canvas over. The tent was open towards the south. There were about seven girls inside. The APCs were moving down very slowly but without stopping. I rushed to the tent and told the girls to leave, but they refused. I dragged one of them towards the west. I don't know what happened to her later. I rushed back to the tent. There were three other people trying to

persuade the girls to leave. By that time, one of the APCs had come very close to the tent. I could see two soldiers sitting on the metal covering of the APC. I ran in front, shouting at them to stop. They told me to get out of the way. I was shouting and crying, but the APC continued to move ahead. The tent collapsed, trapping the girls inside. The APC went straight over it. I stood to one side, dazed ... I heard the medical team loudspeaker calling for evacuation. I ran towards them, at the edge of the APCs. Twenty to 30 APCs were coming down slowly, followed by soldiers and armed police. By that time, most of the students had left through the southeast. The medical team was still on the side of the History Museum. A large number of soldiers had been sitting for hours on the steps of the Museum and were still sitting there. They did not move. Fifteen to 20 wounded people had been brought in by students and were lying on the ground at the medical point. There were volleys of shots coming from the southwest side of the Monument. After one volley, three wounded students were brought to the medical point. They had been shot in the back. The soldiers on the steps of the Museum shouted their approval at each volley of firing. The medical team shouted back at them. It was by then impossible to get through to see whether anyone was wounded. A large number of armed police came from the north after the APCs. They picked up broken bricks on the ground and threw them towards the medical team who stood around the wounded. Some people were hurt by the bricks. One soldier ran from the west, stood on top of the metal railings on the side and shouted at police to stop. They stopped. Then a group of officers and soldiers came to the medical team and ordered us to evacuate. We took the wounded on stretchers and went down the Square towards the lane on the southeast side. As we went down the side of the Square, we saw soldiers with large plastic bags, north of the Monument. They were putting people in the bags. I could not tell how many people. ... There were also people surrounded by soldiers, being kicked by them. I could hear shouts and the odd gun shot. I thought there were around 200 young people. They were pushed to the north side of the Square, towards the Forbidden City ... In early July, I heard from Public Security (police) sources that they had all been executed on 9 June in a rural district near Beijing. They included students and residents of Beijing."

#### Events in Chengdu on 4 and 5 June 1989

12. Killings of civilians are also reported to have occurred on 4 and 5 June 1989 in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province, where violent confrontations between security forces and protesters took place after news of the Beijing massacre spread. In Chengdu, as in many other cities, students had organized peaceful demonstrations and sit-ins in the centre of the city in May and early June. According to reports, on 4 June, as news of events in Beijing was received, crowds of people converged on the Sichuan Government Offices in central Chengdu and attacked the building with stones. Security forces then attacked the crowds with tear gas and truncheons, reportedly also using knives and bayonets. Gunfire was also heard intermittently during the violent confrontations which continued for two days, resulting in widespread damage to buildings in the centre of the city and many casualties.

13. According to official sources, eight civilians – including two students – were killed on 4 June during the clashes and 1,800 people were injured, including 700 civilians and 1,100 members of the security forces. Unofficial estimates of the number of civilian casualties are much higher, ranging from about 30 to over 300 for the number of those killed, with many more injured. One source reported that 27 people had died in one of Chengdu's four major hospitals as a result of the 4 June clashes. The total number of casualties recorded in hospitals is not known. Further violent confrontations occurred during the night of 5 and 6 June in various parts of central Chengdu.

14. While Amnesty International has been unable to ascertain the total number of people killed in Chengdu on 4 and 5 June 1989, it has received detailed testimonies indicating that the security forces used extreme brutality against unarmed protesters and bystanders. One foreigner who was in Chengdu at the time has described as follows the action of the security forces:

"Most of the action consisted of isolating groups of demonstrators and stabbing them and beating them to the ground. There is no question about the fact that none of the demonstrators were armed. The work of the security forces, on the other hand, was brutal in the extreme. Even after they had beaten demonstrators down, they would continue hitting them with truncheons and knives until they were motionless. There was a pattern to it: with males, the preferred area of attack was the head, with females it was the abdomen. Numerous individual acts of brutality occurred ... The police and army violence was random. Even people who lay on the ground and pleaded for mercy were clubbed. There was no age discrimination."

15. An Italian businessman, interviewed in Hong Kong on 7 June after returning from Chengdu, stated that he saw a girl, 15 to 16 years old, being bayoneted in the stomach by a soldier in the morning of 4 June in central Chengdu. He said the girl was about 18 metres away from him at the time; the soldier then bayoneted her twice more in the chest and left the body in the street (Reuter, Hong Kong, 7 June 1989).

16. Several foreigners also saw a group of protesters being systematically beaten unconscious by soldiers in the grounds of the Jin Jiang Hotel during the night of 5 to 6 June. The attack reportedly left between 30 and 50 people critically wounded – some possibly dead. They were later thrown into trucks and taken away by soldiers. One of the foreigners who witnessed the incident has described it to Amnesty International as follows:

"The following was witnessed from an eighth floor room overlooking the front of the hotel and the main street between about 0145 hours and 0600 hours on Tuesday 6 June. A line of soldiers was drawn up outside the gate. Two army trucks were parked in the hotel grounds to the right of the gate. Captured protesters were being held in a small guard house to the left of the gate. The grounds of the hotel appeared to be empty of protesters. The street outside was largely empty, there were small groups of people standing round, doing nothing. One by one protesters were dragged out of the guard house. Soldiers formed a ring around them, linking arms. Several soldiers in the centre of the ring then beat the protesters, using clubs. After the beating, the protesters were carried/dragged back inside. It was not possible to ascertain whether protesters were alive or dead. This continued for some time. Then groups of soldiers went out of the hotel gates. They charged the very small groups of protesters standing in the middle of the road, seized several, dragged them back into the hotel grounds and beat them. The rest of the protesters disappeared.

"The soldiers then concealed themselves in the bushes. People were still drifting down the road from the direction of the People's Square. On several occasions, people wandered up to the gates. Soldiers leapt from hiding, seized them, beat them and carried them into the guard house. This continued until about 0400 hours. At about 0400 hours, all the people held in the guard house were dragged out – none was able to walk and most appeared unconscious. They were thrown into the backs of the two army trucks. Soldiers then mounted the trucks and formed a wall with the protesters in the middle. The trucks then left. This left only the private hotel security guards, all armed with clubs, patrolling the grounds. I do not know how many people were arrested and beaten as I was not watching continuously and I was also in despair."

#### Human Rights Violations Since June 1989

17. The Chinese authorities have not disclosed the total number of people detained, tried or executed throughout the country since the June crackdown on pro-democracy protesters. At least 6,000 arrests have been officially reported throughout China; but the real number of those detained is believed to run into tens of thousands. Between 8,000 and 10,000 people are said to have been detained in Beijing alone – the majority in June and July – although some sources suggest that around 4,000 were released after various periods in detention for interrogation. Arbitrary arrests, however, have continued. Since September, Amnesty International has received numerous reports about students, academicians and others arrested in various places in China for their alleged activities in connection with the pro-democracy protests.

Few such arrests, however, have been confirmed by official sources.

18. The arbitrary detention or imprisonment of people involved in peaceful political or religious activities is facilitated by a number of provisions in Chinese law and by practices which, while contrary to the letter of the law, have become the norm in the People's Republic of China. It is common, for instance, for people to be detained by police for weeks or months without charge, in breach of the procedures for arrest and detention laid down in China's Criminal Procedure Law. A 1957 law, which was updated with new regulations in November 1979, also permits long-term detention without charge or trial: it provides for the detention of people considered to have "anti-socialist views" or to be "hooligans" in camps or prisons for up to four years for "re-education through labour". Detention orders for those subjected to "re-education through labour" are issued outside the judicial process by Public Security (police) officers. China's Criminal Law (1980) also includes provisions which are used to imprison people for the peaceful exercise of their basic human rights. Articles 98 and 102, in particular, provide punishments ranging from deprivation of political rights to life imprisonment for people charged with organizing or taking part in a "counter-revolutionary" group or with carrying out "counter-revolutionary propaganda and agitation". These two articles, as well as others, have often been used in the past to imprison people whom Amnesty International considers to be prisoners of conscience.

19. Those detained are believed to be held incommunicado. Chinese law does not permit access to lawyers until a few days before trial – or in some cases until the trial starts. It is also common for prisoners to be denied visits from their family until the trial. Some detainees are reported to have been severely beaten by soldiers or police after arrest, and many are feared to have been tortured or ill-treated to force them to confess to crimes or to denounce others.

20. Amnesty International has long been concerned about the occurrence of torture in China. In 1987 it published a report entitled "China: Torture and Ill-treatment of Prisoners", which documented the widespread use of torture in China and pointed out that the absence of sufficient safeguards for detainees' rights in Chinese law contributed to a pattern of abuse. It recommended the introduction of several safeguards, in particular that limits be placed on incommunicado detention, but none of these safeguards have yet been introduced in China.

21. Some of those arrested since June 1989 were sentenced to death or imprisonment after unfair trials. In June 1989, the Supreme People's Court called on local courts to "try quickly and punish severely" those involved in the "counter-revolutionary rebellion", using 1983 legislation that provides for swift and summary procedures with little opportunity for defence in the trials of "criminals who gravely endanger public security". This legislation allows the courts to bring defendants to trial without giving them a copy of the indictment in advance and without giving advance notice of the trial or issue summons in advance to all parties involved – including defence lawyers. Furthermore, trials are often a mere formality as the verdicts are usually decided in advance. The well-known practice of "verdict first, trial second" has been acknowledged by top Chinese legal officials in late 1988. This practice, as well as the use of torture to induce confessions and the extreme limitations on the role of defence lawyers, have been criticized by members of the Chinese legal profession in numerous articles published in the official legal press since 1987.

22. The following cases are a few examples of people officially reported to have been tried and sentenced in connection with the protests.

(a) Xiao Bin, a worker from Dalian in northeast China, was the first person known to be sentenced in connection with the protests for exercising his right to freedom of speech. He was arrested on 11 June 1989 after being shown on Chinese television speaking to an American ABC Television crew in Beijing earlier that month: on 13 July 1989 it was announced that he had been found guilty under Article 102 of the Criminal Law of "spreading rumours" and of "vilifying the righteous act of the martial law troops". He was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement".

(b) In late August 1989 the first student officially reported to have been tried in connection with the demonstrations was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment on the same charge. Zhang Weiping, an art student in Hangzhou, was accused of telling Voice of America radio in June that students in Hangzhou had successfully asked provincial gov-



ernment officials to fly the flag at half mast to mourn those killed in Beijing.

(c) In a recent case, Chen Zhixiang, a 26-year-old teacher in Guangzhou (Canton), was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on 11 January 1990 for displaying a poster attacking Chinese leaders three days after troops crushed the pro-democracy protests in Beijing on 4 June 1989.

23. Secret trials of students active in the protest movement were reported to have started in Beijing in November 1989. Four students from the Foreign Affairs College in Beijing were reported to have gone on trial that month for "counter-revolutionary" crimes, but their names and details of their cases were not known. The trials were reportedly held in secret and even the families of the accused were not allowed to attend. Trials of "counter-revolutionaries" are said to have continued, but only a few were officially reported. The fate, whereabouts and conditions of many intellectuals, students and workers involved in the protests remain unknown though they have now been imprisoned for several months. Leaders of the movement are known to be detained in Qincheng prison, north of Beijing, which has traditionally been used to hold prominent political prisoners.

24. Some of those arrested in connection with the protests were charged with ordinary criminal offences, such as blocking traffic, damaging vehicles, attacking soldiers or police, arson or looting – and faced summary trial and possible execution under the 1983 legislation. On 21 June three workers were shot in Shanghai after a "public sentencing rally" for allegedly setting fire to a train after it had ploughed through demonstrators blocking the track and killed at least six people. The next day seven "rioters" were executed in Beijing after being convicted of wounding troops and burning military vehicles in the capital on 4 June. Despite international appeals for clemency, all had their death sentences upheld by the courts.

25. Though only a few dozen executions have been publicly reported, some sources estimate that in Beijing alone several hundred people were executed secretly between June and August 1989. Various sources have reported that at least two execution grounds were used: one located in the north-west of Beijing, where groups of prisoners were reported to have been shot before dawn in June and July. One source said at least eight groups of up to 20 people had been shot near the bridge by mid-July 1989.

### The Situation in Tibet

26. In Tibet, martial law was imposed in the capital, Lhasa, on 7 March 1989 following two days of violent confrontations after police attempted to stop a peaceful demonstration by a small group of Tibetan monks and nuns calling for Tibet's independence. Eye-Witnesses described "ill-organized" police savagely beating Tibetans and "firing indiscriminately". By 9 March the official death toll was 16, but unofficial Tibetan sources estimated that over 60 people had died and more than 200 had been injured. Over 1,000 Tibetans were reportedly arrested, though the authorities acknowledged no more than a few hundred arrests, and there were reports of secret summary executions. Further arrests occurred in the following months.

27. Evidence of persistent human rights violations in Tibet since pro-independence demonstrations started in September 1987 includes reports of numerous arbitrary arrests, long-term detention without charge or trial and torture.

28. Amnesty International has received reports about the torture and ill-treatment of prisoners which include testimonies from political detainees who were released in late 1988 or early 1989 and others. They allege that many detainees were subjected torture, including severe beatings, shocks with electric batons and prolonged suspension by the arms. Some detainees are said to have died as a result of torture. One detainee, Tseten Norgye, a married book-keeper who was arrested in Lhasa in April or May 1989 reportedly suffered a severe eye injury as a result of torture. He was reported to have been arrested after police found a mimeograph machine in his house which they alleged was used to print literature advocating Tibetan independence. He is held in Lhasa's Chakpori detention centre and is not known to have been charged.

29. To Amnesty International's knowledge, the first trial of Tibetans involved in pro-independence activities since September 1987 took place in Lhasa in January 1989. The official New China News Agency announced at the time that 27 Tibetans had been publicly tried for

offences related to demonstrations in 1987 and 1988. One of these – Yulo Dawa Tsering, a senior monk from Ganden monastery detained in December 1987 – was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and three years' deprivation of political rights on charges of "collaborating with foreign reactionary elements".

30. In August 1989 the People's Daily announced that 10 Tibetans accused of offences related to the March 1988 protests in Lhasa had been sentenced. Others were tried and sentenced during the following months. One, named as Passang, was sentenced to life imprisonment for taking part in the protests.

31. Amnesty International has received other reports of arrests and trials of Tibetans in the past few months. At least 16 Tibetan nuns were reported to have been arrested for demonstrating in September and October 1989. Six of the nuns were subsequently sent to labour camps without charge or trial, after receiving administrative sentences of three years' "re-education through labour". Detention orders for "re-education through labour" are issued outside the judicial process by Public Security (police) officers and those thus punished cannot question the grounds for their detention or appeal against it in a court of law. Several other Tibetans, including four monks and one young student, were assigned to terms of up to three years' "re-education through labour" between September and December 1989 for their alleged participation in demonstrations. Others, including 10 monks from Drepung monastery, were tried on "counter-revolutionary" charges for alleged pro-independence activities. Those arrested recently include five students from Lhasa No. 1 Middle School who were arrested on 8 December 1989 for allegedly setting up in March 1989 a "counter-revolutionary" group called the Gangchen (Mountain Range) Youth Association and putting up posters in various places in Lhasa. No punishment against them has yet been announced.

### Other Concerns

32. Many prisoners of conscience arrested in previous years remain in detention throughout China and new arrests unrelated to the June crackdown were carried out during the past year. Xu Wenli is one of dozen of supporters of the democracy movement of the late 1970s who remain in prison. He was arrested in 1981 and later sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for "counter-revolutionary activities". Since 1986, he has been held in solitary confinement in harsh conditions in Beijing and is reportedly in poor health. Song Yude is one of several Protestant evangelists who also remain in prison. He was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in 1986 on charges of "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement".

33. Various charge groups continued to be harassed and some of their members were arrested during the past year for carrying out religious activities without official approval. Three Catholic seminarians detained in Hebei province in January 1989 were reportedly stripped naked, beaten, forced to lie on cold concrete and burned with cigarettes while in police custody.

34. In April 1989, several hundred Catholic villagers were severely beaten by police during a police raid on the village of Youtong, Luan-cheng district, Hebei province. Two youths were reported to have died as a result and over 300 villagers, including old people and children, were reportedly injured, 88 seriously. Police took away 32 people. Arrests of members of other religious groups were also reported during 1989. They included 165 Protestant leaders detained in Henan province in early October 1989 after police raided an "underground convention" of 500 church leaders in the province. By mid-October, all but 35 of those arrested had been released after paying fines. It is not known whether the 35 are still detained.

35. At least seven Catholic priests and bishops not affiliated to the officially recognized Patriotic Catholic Association are also reported to have been arrested between September and December 1989 in various places in North China. One of them is Joseph Li Side, Bishop of Tianjin Diocese, who is reported to have been arrested at his home during the night of 8 and 9 December 1989. According to information received, he was called to administer the last rites to a sick person in Hulu village, but as he opened the door of his house, he was met by a large contingent of Public Security personnel and arrested.

36. A large number of death sentences and executions of people charged with ordinary criminal offences unrelated to the pro-democracy protests were also reported during the second half of 1989. Many were executed for economic crimes such as corruption, fraud, smuggl-

ing or embezzlement. The number of executions recorded by Amnesty International in 1989 is the highest since 1983, when several thousand people are believed to have been executed after summary trials during the first few months of a campaign against crime launched in August

that year. Amnesty International concerns about the use of the death penalty in China are described in detail in two documents issued in 1989: "The Death Penalty in China" and "People's Republic of China: The Death Penalty Debate".

# **Annex II**

## **INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF HEALTH PROFESSIONALS FOR HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS, A NON- GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN CONSULTATIVE STATUS (CATEGORY II)**

### **HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHINA**

1. This overview of human rights violations in Beijing and elsewhere in China during and after the events 3-4 June 1989 is based on information supplied by eyewitnesses, both Chinese and foreign. Reference will also be made to official Chinese and Western publications.

#### **The assault on Tiananmen Square**

2. The following cases are presented in order to illustrate the contention that the official version of the events of 3-4 June 1989 does not truly reflect what actually occurred. The Government of the People's Republic of China asserts that the use of force by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was moderate, that the troops showed great restraint and that in the circumstances, it was an appropriate use of force.\*

3. An eyewitness reports that around 12:30 a.m., an armoured personnel carrier (APC) of the PLA charged at 40 miles per hour directly into a crowd of several thousand Chinese citizens who were grouped on top of an overpass directly east of the city (at Jianguomen). There was a double row of trucks laden with troops stationed across the overpass. The citizens were talking to the troops on the back of the trucks on the overpass, persuading them not to fire on the people. Some soldiers climbed out of the trucks and walked off into the crowd. The APC charged across the crowded overpass, smashing through its own trucks laden with troops, scattering them into the air and leaving behind a trail of injured and at least two dead people. The PLA was like a beast out of control, there was nothing moderate or measured about the way it behaved – it behaved with complete disregard for human life. The impact lifted the truck near the witness about 8 feet into the air. It crashed down, smashing a man's brains open right in front of him.

4. The Government of the People's Republic of China asserts that when Tiananmen Square was cleared in the early hours of 4 June, soldiers checked every single tent to make sure there was no one inside them before APCs and tanks were driven into the square.

5. According to a number of eyewitnesses, about 3,000 students sat in the square throughout the night, on and around the Monument to the People's Heroes, surrounded by thousands of heavily armed troops and dozens of armoured vehicles. At about 5 a.m., as the students were starting to leave in orderly fashion via the south-east corner, well before the 6 a.m. deadline agreed with the military authorities in the Square, an eyewitness saw a line of APCs and tanks driving down from the north straight through the tent encampment which covered an area of several square yards.

6. The APCs and tanks went straight over the tents. There were no troops in front of the APCs checking any of the tents. There was a dense column of troops following behind the APCs, but none in front. About five journalists had stayed to the end in the Square and a couple of them had looked into the tents earlier and found a small number of students asleep inside. There were not many, but there were some. The point is that the Chinese troops did not check whether there were people in the tents or not – the APCs just went straight over the tents.

7. The use of force in the assault on Tiananmen Square, and in particular during the PLA advance through the western suburbs, was

inappropriate and unjustified. The democratic movement had been entirely peaceful until the troops opened fire at random and indiscriminately on young and old, men and women alike. Tanks were used against unarmed civilians. A conservative estimate, incontrovertible in the eyes of various human rights organizations, places the total deaths between 500 and 1,000, with many more injured.

#### **Violations of medical rights**

8. The People's Liberation Army committed gross violations of internationally-recognized norms relating to the activity of medical personnel and treatment of the injured. Ambulances and medical staff were explicitly forbidden by the troops to reach out to the wounded and the dying. An eyewitness was present at the medical tent manned by the Beijing United Medical College staff on the northern part of the Square after it had been sealed off by the troops. A continuous stream of gravely injured people was being brought to the tent. The doctors told the eyewitness that nothing could be done to save the injured as ambulances, plasma and medical supplies were not being allowed in. After daybreak on 4 June, troops searched hospitals looking for wounded students and civilians. They ordered doctors to stop treating injured students and workers. They took away some of the injured to unknown destinations. Reports state that a number of doctors were shot dead when they tried to resist this gross infringement of medical rights. This violated all of the most fundamental tenets of humanitarian law.

#### **Improper implementation of martial law**

9. The rules of martial law were never properly announced. People were shot and killed simply for being found outside after dark and in certain places where the government troops thought they should not be. The people were never told which places were off limits and no curfew was ever imposed. No military check-points were established. There were no signs posted, nor were there check-points to warn citizens that they should not go beyond a certain point. There were simply lines of heavily armed troops and when someone went too close, usually out of curiosity, they were simply gunned down. This applies particularly to Chang'an Boulevard between the Beijing Hotel and Tiananmen Square, where dozens were mowed down in the daylight hours of 4 June and thereafter.

#### **Continuing arrests and executions**

10. Since 4 June, Chinese authorities have publicized at least 40 executions and 6,000 arrests for offences relating to the democracy movement. Many unpublicized executions are said to have occurred. Arrests are unofficially estimated to range between 10,000 and 30,000 nationwide. Following adverse international reaction, as of late July, the authorities stopped publicizing executions and arrests in the national media, but local media and radio have continued to report executions in the provinces of Shandong and Sichuan; at least seven executions were reported in the past weeks. In most cases, capital punishment has been imposed on people for offences against property such as "obstructing and burning vehicles". Those executed were con-

victed after summary trials, with inadequate safeguards and completely meaningless appeal procedures. The majority of those arrested have been held incommunicado. Their families have not been allowed to visit them, and in most cases they are not even being told where their relatives are being held. Arrests continue, and reports of torture have appeared in the western media.

11. Although no first-hand accounts of torture in detention since 4 June are available, hundreds of such accounts were published in official Chinese publications from 1985 to early 1989. They provide irrefutable evidence of a clear, consistent and widespread pattern of physical abuse and torture by the Chinese authorities and police. Recent accounts of political repression and detention in the People's Republic of China over the last 40 years typically describe a combination of physical and psychological abuse and torture designed to extort "confessions" from prisoners in order to justify their arrest. Specifically, the physical abuses most widely reported involve severe beatings with steel rods and similar implements, prolonged use of handcuffs that results in permanent damage to the limbs, tying detainees into contorted positions and even hanging them in the air, and most notably, the use of electric batons and cattle prods.

12. The majority of those arrested, brought to trial and heavily sentenced are reported to be workers or unemployed. They are being kept in overcrowded temporary military camps, where conditions are harshest and legal supervision non-existent. It is the workers and not just the students and intellectuals who have borne the brunt of the repression. They are detained in military camps and not in police custody, to avoid public knowledge of and sympathy for their plight.

#### Lack of due process

13. The Chinese legal system explicitly rejects the principle that the accused should be presumed innocent until found guilty, in contravention of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It applies the principle of "lenience to those who confess, severity to anyone who resists".

14. The principle of the independence of the judiciary is not recognized in China. The Communist Party committees in the courts and throughout the whole judicial system are instructed to "review and approve" all criminal cases of any significance, and determine the final verdict and sentence in advance of the trial. This practice of "verdict first, trial second" is universally applied in China's judicial system.

15. In China, the accused is denied access to defence lawyers until one to three days at the earliest before the trial actually begins. The accused is usually detained for months or even a year or more before

being brought to trial, during which time nobody can advise him of his rights or determine whether he is being maltreated, beaten, tortured, etc. while in prison.

16. The Chinese press revealed last year that in a number of areas in China, the Party issues explicit instructions that any defence lawyer who wants to plead "not guilty" on behalf of his client must first obtain the Party's permission to do so. Conscientious defence lawyers are pressured to argue for leniency, and there are cases of defence lawyers being jailed, or punished or maltreated for insisting on the innocence of their client. These reports clearly indicate blatant interference by the political authorities in the independence of the judiciary, and make nonsense of any claim to fair judicial process in China.

#### Eyewitness account of massacre in Beijing

17. Qiao Gangliang, a native of Beijing, was a Ph.D. candidate at Purdue University this past summer when he returned to Beijing to visit his family during the months of May and June 1989. He witnessed the aftermath of the bloodbath of Beijing and took photographs and smuggled them out with him when he returned to the United States on 9 June 1989. Qiao Gangliang is now a first-year law student at Georgetown University.

18. Qiao visited Tiananmen Square every day during the peaceful student demonstration, taking notes and pictures. He noted that the students and citizens were voicing their grievances about the widespread corruption and nepotism within the Chinese Communist Party leadership, high inflation rate during the past several years, and the government control of the media. The demonstrations by the students and workers were peaceful and non-violent.

19. On the night of 3 June, around 10:30 p.m., Qiao was at home and heard gunshots which at first he thought were a barrage of firecrackers. Qiao lives two miles west of Tiananmen Square, and about 300 metres north of Chang'an Boulevard, which leads into the Square. At 2 a.m. early Sunday morning of 4 June, Qiao got out of his residential compound and talked to several groups of people congregated outside who were relating to him what they saw on the streets near Chang'an Boulevard: that soldiers were firing on innocent civilians on Chang'an Boulevard and in the alleys leading into Chang'an Boulevard. He continued to hear gunshots loud and clear on the street. At 2.30 a.m. Qiao went to the Beijing Children's Hospital three blocks away from his house and saw some wounded people taken to the hospital on bicycles and tricycles and there were no ambulances in sight. He visited several wards and saw some wounded in bed in bandages and some lying on the floor (See photo 1). At about 4 a.m. doctors at the hospital told

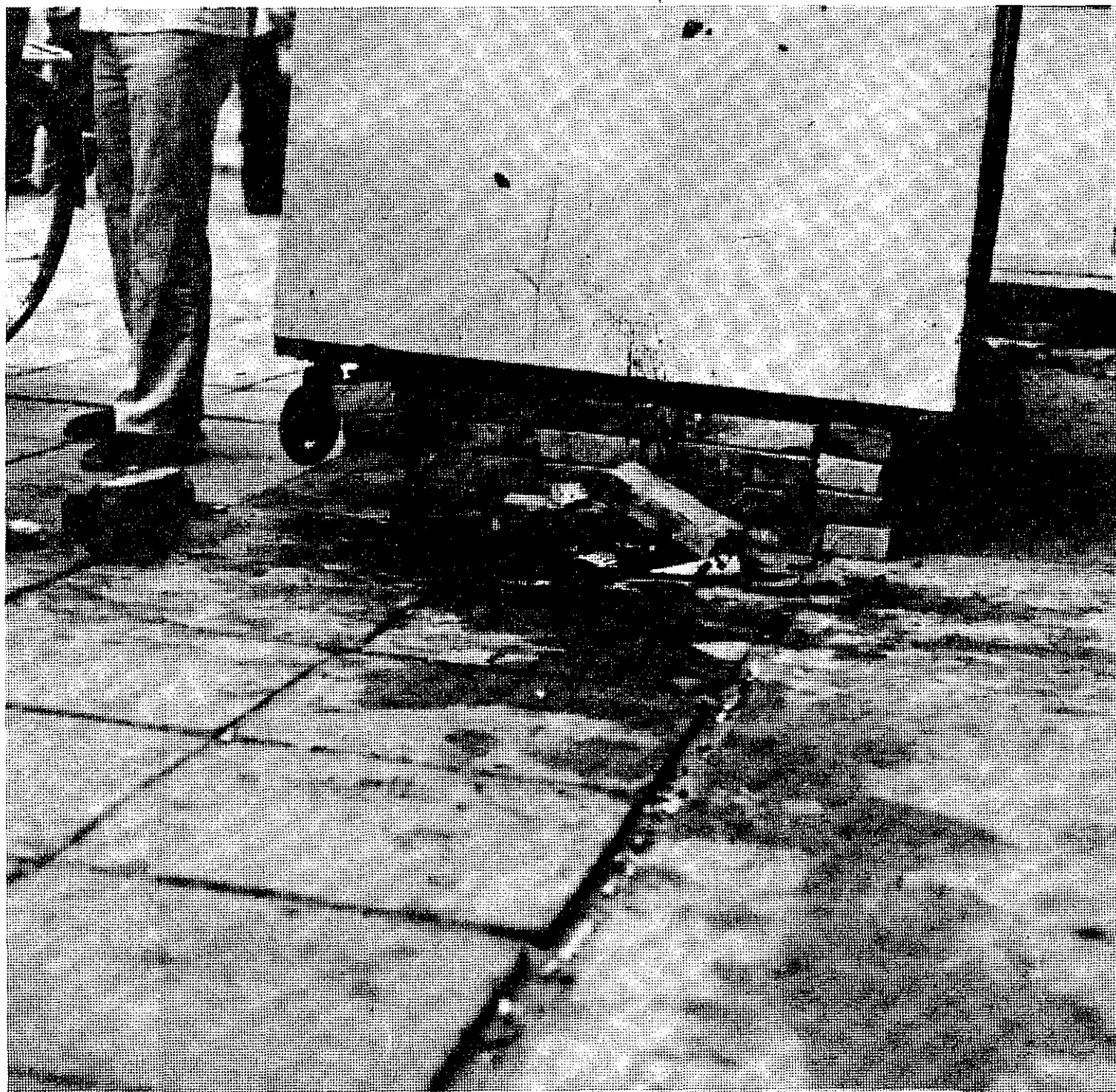
QIAO GANGLIANG, 24, June 4, Beijing Children's Hospital. Hours after soldiers opened fire on Chang'an Avenue.



him that they had already seen more than 100 wounded and about 10 per cent of the wounded had died. Qiao recounted that the doctors were actually crying while they were treating the patients, and that they could not believe how brutal the army had been.

20. The doctors told Qiao to take as many pictures as possible for evidence as the hospital administrators were under orders not to allow foreign journalists' coverage of the hospital. One doctor went upstairs and brought back a bullet to show Qiao that had been taken out of a wounded student.

21. At 6 a.m., Qiao left the hospital for Chang'an Boulevard. As he was taking a picture of a burning vehicle, an old man grabbed his hand, and said hurriedly, full of emotion, that he had been looking for people with cameras. The old man told him, "Don't take a picture of that, young man. Let me take you to where a three-year old kid was killed while he was standing with his mother behind a cigarette vendor" (See photos 2 and 3). The soldiers were opening fire into the crowd, indiscriminately killing innocent bystanders, men and woman, young and old.



@ G.L. QIAO 6 a.m. June 4,  
Changan Ave. a three-year-old  
killed by bullets coming through  
the vending cart, according to  
witnesses.





@ G.L.Qiao 6 a.m. June 4  
a close-up shot of the blood-pool  
by the vending cart

22. Right across from the spot where the child was killed was Fuxing Hospital. At 6.30 p.m. Qiao went to the hospital to check for casualties. He observed that the road leading to the hospital was stained with blood everywhere. People were filing into the hospital. On the left of the hospital was a bicycle parking lot. He climbed on top of a bicycle

and looked over the gate and saw about a dozen dead bodies on the ground covered with white sheets. Several people were there trying to locate the dead bodies of friends or relatives (See photo 11). Inside the hospital, in one of the rooms there were about a dozen more dead bodies on the floor (See photo 4 and 5).



@ G.L.Qiao 6:30 a.m. June 4  
killed students and citizens  
side Beijing Fuxing Hospital,  
reported 24 dead by 7 am



@ G.H. QIAO 6:30 a.m. June 4  
a morgue inside Beijing Fuxing  
Hospital. Among killed were  
students and one reporter for

23. At around 8.30 a.m., near the Chinese Military Museum, Qiao saw more tanks and armoured personnel carriers were moving into the Square. A truckload of soldiers were kept back by barricades set up by the citizens when they heard that more tanks and APCs were entering the Square. Some people captured a truck with a load of teargas and started throwing the teargas cans at the soldiers. The soldiers got out

of the APCs and stood around their vehicles protecting the weapons on the vehicles. These were newly arrived soldiers from Shanxi Province. Crowds of people, innocent citizens gathered around these soldiers, telling them what had happened last night, and with tears in their eyes, pleading with them not to shoot at the people again (See photo 6).



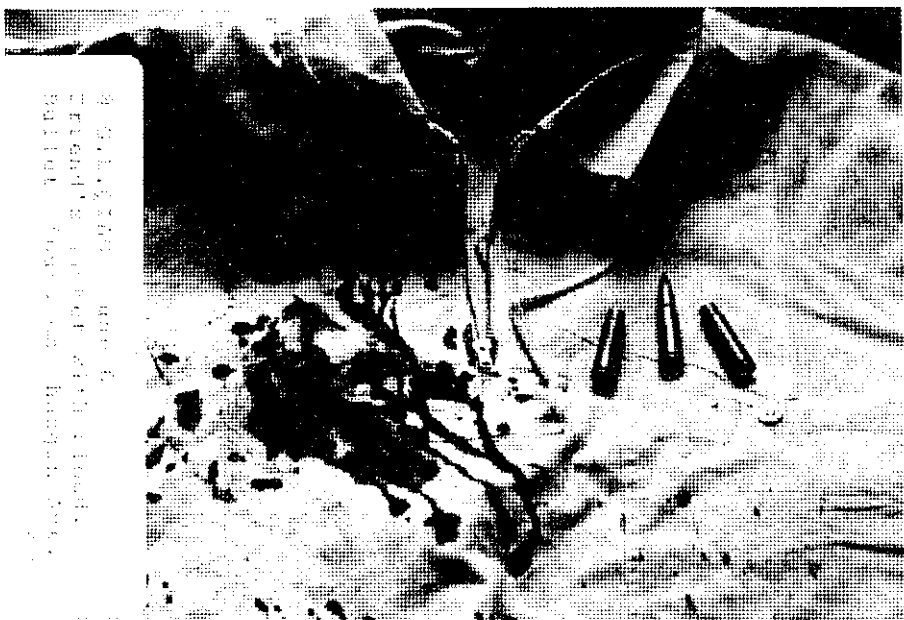
@ G.H. QIAO 8:30 a.m. June 4  
near Chinese Military Museum  
citizens: telling newly-arrived  
soldiers the atrocities committed

24. There were many rumours, and Qiao decided to get as much accurate information as possible and to record them with his camera. At great risk of being found with his camera, Qiao walked for four miles, heading west, to an area called Wukesong. The rumours were true: Qiao saw with his own eyes bodies crushed by tanks into a paste, with parts of the remaining bodies barely recognizable. At about 10.00 a.m., he took a picture of these bodies crushed by tanks into paste (See photo 7).

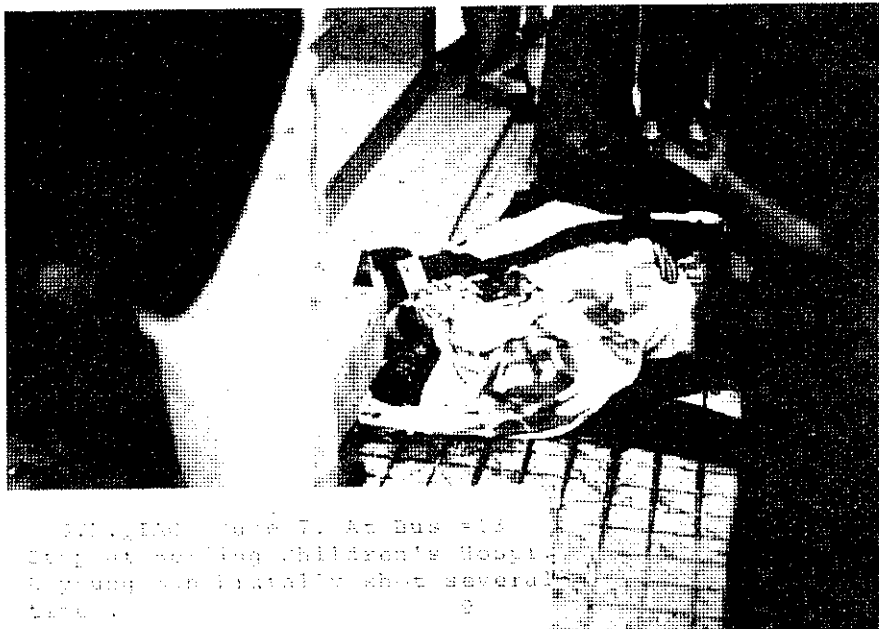


Qiao, June 4, 10:00 a.m. June 4  
near Wu Zesong-Peking's Children's Hos-  
pital. Bodies crushed by tank.

25. On 6 June, around 8 p.m. Qiao went to see a friend of his who was being hospitalized for gunshot wounds. Qiao took a photo of his friend's jacket which was stained with blood (See photo 8). At the hos-  
pital, he saw a college student whose legs were run over by a tank. He wanted to take a picture of him, but was warned by the doctor that there were secret security police around and he had better not.



26. On the morning of 7 June, when Qiao was getting ready to leave Beijing a young man was shot outside of his residential compound at Bus Stop 13 at Beijing Children's Hospital. The young man was shot several times in the head and legs; exploding dum-dum bullets were used. Qiao said, "One has to see the pictures to believe the extent of cruelty and brutality. The dead young man was the memory with which I left my hometown. The memory will never go away. I shall not allow it to fade from my mind either ... I want to express my deep mourning over those killed in cold blood. Keeping the issue alive is the least I can do for the dead and my fellow countrymen who are still being subjected to the reign of terror."



Qiao, June 7. At Bus #13  
stop at Beijing Children's Hospi-  
tal. Young man shot several  
times.



Qiao, June 7. At Bus #13  
stop at Beijing Children's Hospi-  
tal. Young man shot several  
times.





# **Annex III**

## **INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN CONSULTATIVE STATUS (CATEGORY II)**

### **I. Background and scope**

1. In August 1989, the International League for Human Rights (ILHR), along with the Ad hoc Study Group on Human Rights in China, issued report, *Massacre in Beijing*, documenting and analysing China's military crack-down in June 1989 to suppress the pro-democracy movement and the subsequent repression in China. That report was circulated publicly at the forty-first session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which subsequently adopted resolution 1989/5 calling for information on the events in China to be transmitted to the Commission on Human Rights.

2. In this document, the ILHR summarizes the information that it has since transmitted to the Secretary-General. The full text and supporting documentation submitted are available from the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva.

### **II. The military crack-down in June**

3. On 3 June 1989, the Chinese authorities ordered the army to clear pro-democracy demonstrators and supporters from the streets of Beijing, in particular from Tiananmen Square in the city's centre. During the operation, soldiers used lethal force unnecessarily and indiscriminately, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of innocent, unarmed citizens. The military crack-down was motivated by the Government's desire to crush the pro-democracy movement which had been flourishing since April throughout the country, most prominently in Beijing. University students played a leading role in the movement both at the outset and throughout, but by the beginning of June they had been joined by workers, intellectuals and other groups, showing broad support from other sectors of Chinese society.

#### **1. The demands of the pro-democracy movement were legitimate requests for political and social changes**

4. The movement's demands were advanced in newspapers, other publications, and public meetings. The demands won very broad support, resulting in massive, overwhelmingly peaceful public demonstrations in Beijing involving millions in Beijing and elsewhere. The students called for: re-evaluation of the achievements and errors of Hu Yaobang; repudiation of the previous campaigns against "spiritual pollution" and "bourgeois liberalization"; greater press freedom; the lifting of restrictions on the holding of demonstrations; public disclosure of the finances of senior officials; a crack-down on corruption in Government; greater expenditure on education; and higher salaries for intellectuals.

5. In late April, students began to demonstrate in Tiananmen Square in support of their demands. Other groups joined later. Despite the Government's denunciation of the students' demands and behaviour as creating "turmoil" and its refusal to enter into serious dialogue, the students remained in the Square.

6. On 19 May 1989, the Government declared martial law in parts of Beijing. Afterwards, local residents continued rallies in support of the students, as well as against martial law. Military attempts to enter the city were frustrated several times by largely peaceful resistance by workers and students, who were aided by the unwillingness of many troops to use force. Large crowds gathered on major roads and, by talking with soldiers and erecting barricades and "human walls", peacefully deterred the advance of troops into the city. On 28 May 1989 some 100,000 students remained in Tiananmen Square. Within a few days momentum was lost; by 2 June 1989 only a small fraction of

that number were left in the Square. At this time – not earlier – the Government decided to launch its major military operation to clear the Square. An initial foray was made early on 3 June, when unarmed soldiers proceeding on foot were stopped peacefully by local residents and army vehicles were blocked by crowds. Then, however, the Government sent the army in again, this time with orders to use lethal force.

#### **2. Troops used lethal weapons unrestrainedly against unarmed civilians**

7. On the night of 3 June, hundreds of tanks, armoured personnel vehicles and troops converged on central Beijing and Tiananmen Square from all directions. By the time the operation was completed, hundreds, perhaps thousands, were dead; many thousands were injured. Army troops employed unrestrained force in their use of lethal weapons against unarmed civilians. They did not attempt to restore order using non-lethal methods of crowd control. The troops made no attempt to arrest or detain people as they pressed to clear the streets and the Square.

8. Accounts of the progress of troops towards the city's centre tell of numerous encounters between troops moving towards Tiananmen Square from the outskirts of the city and civilians seeking to bar their progress, in most cases by erecting makeshift barricades. The civilians also attempted to persuade troops not to advance by explaining to them the students' cause. The numerous reports of these encounters (detailed in the Report) show a common pattern: the troops were faced with human barricades and sometimes also vehicles used by the crowd as barricades; the troops fired on the people both indiscriminately and deliberately; armoured vehicles and tanks drove blindly into crowds, crushing, killing and injuring members of the crowd; sometimes the crowds responded to the army's excesses by attacking and burning armoured vehicles. Army personnel fired shots not just to disperse the crowd but also to kill people escaping, retreating, or begging for restraint. People in buildings were also shot at.

9. According to available eyewitness accounts, most of the killing took place as the troops proceeded towards Tiananmen Square. In the Square itself first-hand accounts suggest that there was deliberate and indiscriminate killing on the outskirts of the Square and in the north of the Square, but there are conflicting accounts as to whether there was widespread killing in the main part of the Square itself.

#### **3. Large numbers of civilians were killed**

10. Estimates of the total number who were killed in the military crack-down have varied widely. Official Chinese Government figures have been considerably smaller than estimated by reputable independent sources. Official Government figures claimed that no more than 300 people, including soldiers and civilians, were killed. Other evidence puts the number killed in the thousands and the number injured over 10,000. Some independent sources claim that the number of dead and injured is much higher. After the massacre the Chinese Government took steps to frustrate any attempts by independent sources to ascertain the numbers of people killed and injured. The authorities instructed hospitals and crematoria not to issue any figures and strictly forbade journalists to visit hospitals. It was also reported by a number of sources that soldiers took over the four crematoria in Beijing. The Government has also failed to ensure that an investigation into the killings by an independent, publicly accountable body be carried out.

#### **4. The massacre was a gross violation of the right to life and security of the person**

11. The military action by the Chinese Government was a clear violation of the right to life of its citizens. The operation's primary purpose was to prevent citizens from peacefully continuing to exercise their universally guaranteed human rights. It involved use of deadly force that was unnecessary as well as wanton. The killings were not justified by an emergency threatening the life of the nation, as required under international law. The use of lethal force against unarmed civilians contravened international standards, as defined in the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (art. 3 and official commentary), in that it was not used in pursuance of a legitimate objective, as well as being excessive, disproportionate to the situation, and not strictly necessary.

12. The Chinese Government has claimed that the army's action was a heroic effort to save the nation from the "turmoil" created by the student movement. The alleged "turmoil", however, was largely illusory, consisting mainly of a challenge to the legitimacy and practices of the current leaders. The Government has also sought to portray soldiers who were harmed by civilians as the heroic victims of unprovoked and vicious violence by ruffians and hooligans. It is clear that there were indeed some clashes between soldiers and citizens in which citizens hurled rocks, stones and fire-bombs at soldiers. However, in almost all such cases, it was the actions of the soldiers which amounted to provocation – in a general sense by invading the city in their armoured vehicles and tanks, and in many individual cases by attacking demonstrators or others with tear-gas, sticks or electric cattle prods, firing on them deliberately or indiscriminately, and running over them with tanks and APCs. To provoke a reaction by unjustifiable suppression of people's rights and then to rely on that reaction as the basis for further violent suppression is a wholly inadequate attempt to find justification under international law for the violations by the Chinese Government.

#### **III. The continuing campaign of repression since June 1989**

13. Since June the Chinese Government has engaged in a vigorous campaign of repression to punish, silence, or purge persons active in the pro-democracy movement or sympathetic to it. This campaign continues largely unabated. The campaign has involved the systematic terrorizing of much of Beijing's population, the arbitrary arrest, incommunicado detention and ill-treatment of tens of thousands, the summary or arbitrary execution of dozens of persons for crimes against public security, the systematic purging of people considered sympathetic to the pro-democracy movement, the dissolution of organizations supportive of the movement's demands, and widespread censorship, coupled with an intense propaganda campaign that attempts to justify Government actions and vilify the pro-democracy movement.

14. In the period since the massacre the Chinese authorities have engaged in the following human rights violations:

(a) The arbitrary arrest and detention of thousands of students, intellectuals, workers and others in the pro-democracy movement (some of whom have been subjected to torture, physical abuse or other degrading treatment).

(b) The trial and sentencing of individuals according to expedited or summary procedures, followed by the execution within days of individuals for capital crimes that are deemed "counter-revolutionary" or against "public security", in blatant violation of international human rights standards.

(c) The disbanding of many existing associations which are peaceful in their objectives and actions but which the Government has declared illegal.

(d) Severe censorship of news media and prevention of PRC citizens from having access to information from outside or independent sources.

#### **IV. Arbitrary arrests and detentions**

##### **1. Many thousands have been arrested and detained**

15. Since 3-4 June 1989 tens of thousands have been arrested and detained by the authorities. Many thousands of these appear still to be in detention, often held incommunicado and without criminal charges brought against them. Those arrested include students and workers involved in organizing autonomous unions, journalists, intellectuals and others who expressed views sympathetic to the student movement, and persons accused of using violence against police or soldiers in attempts to resist or protest the crack-down.

16. Arrests began shortly after 4 June. Official Chinese media initially gave extensive coverage to the campaign, featuring detailed reports of arrests. Since late June, official media coverage has been markedly reduced, apparently because intensive coverage aroused domestic and international opposition. The number of arrests has mounted steadily. On 11 June 1989, the Chinese Government reported that more than 400 people had been arrested for their role in the "turmoil", most of these apparently in Beijing. In December 1989, confirming earlier reports, the official Beijing Youth News, citing figures from the city's Reform-through-Labour Work Administration Bureau, disclosed that 2,578 persons described as "ruffians" were arrested in Beijing in the 24 days following 4 June. Only 190 of these had been released by December 1989.

17. On 17 July 1989, Ming Pao reported that, after 4 June, all persons in Beijing with previous criminal records – 30,000 in total – were detained and interrogated, and those among them who failed to account adequately for their activities during the pro-democracy movement were all formally arrested. Official Chinese sources reported over 4,000 arrests nationwide by 10 September, a figure which Amnesty International also cited in mid-August. Western diplomats reportedly cite 6,000 arrests in Beijing alone and estimate 10,000 – 30,000 arrests nationwide. In mid-September, security personnel started checking the identity papers of Beijing's 10 million citizens, making door-to-door searches, commonly at night. Reportedly, an additional 212 persons suspected of resisting the army on 3-4 June were arrested by 19 September as a result.

18. The Government has published new "most-wanted" lists, and instructed courts and procurators to deal harshly with arrested leaders of the pro-democracy demonstrations. On 10 October, the mayor of Beijing called for no relaxation in tracking down "counter-revolutionary forces". The campaign of arrests took place outside Beijing as well. In late July the Xinhua Daily of Jiangsu Province stated that more than 3,000 people had been arrested in the province between 13 and 15 July 1989 alone.

19. Official figures almost certainly give an inaccurate picture of the total number of persons arrested. The shift in policy in late June from giving maximum publicity to arrests to affording them relatively limited coverage, as well as allegations of secret arrests, suggests many more people were arrested than official sources have acknowledged. The full extent of the detentions is difficult to estimate, even taking into account unofficial reports.

20. The ILHR has compiled the names and known information about several hundred persons detained in connection with the pro-democracy movement. Lists of persons detained for the peaceful exercise of their human rights were appended to the material submitted to the Secretary-General.

##### **2. Most arrested persons were detained for non-violent reasons**

21. The vast majority of those arrested appear to have been detained for non-violent actions, such as "spreading rumours", "shouting reactionary slogans" or "distributing counter-revolutionary handbills". Some of those arrested have been charged with acts of violence against troops, security forces and Government property. In many cases the alleged acts took place in response to violent measures taken by troops and other security forces to suppress public demonstrations. It also appears that the official media, when reporting on arrests, have focused on cases in which violence is alleged or in which some of those arrested are alleged to have previous convictions.

##### **3. The legal basis for the arrests include punishment for peaceful exercising of human rights**

22. In many cases the exact criminal charges (if any) against detainees have not been published. However, according to the Hong Kong Standard (11 July 1989), the Chinese Government issued a circular on 9 July listing five categories under which individuals may be charged:

(a) "propagating and actively supporting the spread of bourgeois liberalization";

(b) "supporting, organizing and participating in the counter-revolutionary rebellion";

(c) leading illegal organizations formed during the April and May 1989 protests;

(d) working with "enemy organizations outside the country"; and

(e) committing violent crimes during the demonstrations such as "smashing, burning and killing".

23. These categories are based on the provisions of the Criminal Law defining "crimes of counter-revolution" and "crimes endangering public security", crimes for which the death penalty may be – and has been – imposed. Although for most of the arrests there has been no official indication of formal charges, many of the individuals detained appear to have been arrested in connection with one or more of these five types of offence.

#### **4. The arbitrary arrests and detentions are violations of rights**

24. The Chinese Government's extensive campaign of arrests and subsequent detention of many involved in the pro-democracy movement constitutes a serious violation of human rights norms. In many cases there was no adequate justification for the arrests – individuals were being (and continue to be) harassed and punished for the exercise of protected rights within the limits laid down by international law, a clear violation of international standards, even if Chinese law permits such arrests.

### **V. Torture and treatment of detainees**

25. The rights of many of those who have been arrested have been violated during detention, transgressing established international standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention Against Torture (to which China is a party), and other international codes such as the United Nations code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officers, the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and the Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment.

#### **1. Chinese authorities engage in torture by physical maltreatment of detainees**

26. Many detainees have been physically maltreated by law enforcement officials, subjected to torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment while in detention. The purpose of the maltreatment, in many cases, appears to be to extract "confessions" of various "crimes" committed by the detainees. These confessions are then used as evidence in subsequent criminal proceedings.

27. For example, Chinese television has shown pictures of detainees with clearly visible bruises and cuts, which raises serious concern that torture of detainees is a widespread practice. There have also been many reports in the international media of individuals who were seriously maltreated while detained. According to Reuters (24 July 1989), in many cases prisoners were being kept in extremely cramped conditions – 40 to 60 persons in small, hot cells with so little room that the prisoners could not lie down. The report also recounted evidence from two sources that interrogations were sometimes preceded by beatings, giving the examples of a student who was hit with an electric cattle prod and a writer who was bashed with rifle butts.

28. Official television footage has also shown detainees shackled to trees, made to bow "airplane style" (kneeling with head down and arms stretched backwards), paraded in a humiliating way, and handled in an excessively rough and degrading manner by security personnel.

#### **2. Chinese authorities keep pro-democracy detainees incommunicado for long periods, a practice that contributes to torture**

29. Pro-democracy activists who have been arrested have also been held in incommunicado detention, a common practice in China sanctioned by the provisions of Chinese law. Under the Chinese Criminal Procedure Law persons may be held for up to 10 days before being formally arrested and charged. A detainee has no right to see his or her family or to be brought before a judge promptly after arrest. While article 43 of the Criminal Procedure Law requires that the family or unit of a detainee must be informed within 24 hours after detention has begun, this requirement does not apply in cases "in which such notification will hinder the investigation". In the past, according to Amnesty International, families have frequently not been informed of the detention of a relative or the place of detention for weeks or months after the fact.

30. Chinese authorities are not complying with the minimal requirements of the Criminal Procedure Law (10 day limit on detention without charge and the requirement to inform families). For example, student leader Wang Dan, arrested on 2 July, remains in incommunicado detention. Ming Pao reported (11 October) that he had been badly beaten and might lose sight in one eye. According to Associated Press, Beijing sources said Wang sent a postcard to a friend, hinting at daily interrogations. According to UPI (15 November), Wang Dan and 40 leaders of the democracy movement are presently held in Qincheng prison, to be tried on "counter-revolutionary" charges.

### **VI. Unfair trial procedures**

#### **1. Chinese trial procedures do not protect the rights of the accused in accordance with accepted international standards.**

31. The Chinese authorities moved quickly to sentence some of those alleged to have committed crimes during the "turmoil" of 1989. Initially, a number of the trials and subsequent executions were given massive publicity in China. Nearly all the defendants who were sentenced amid great publicity were alleged to have engaged in some act of violence against troops or law enforcement personnel, to have seized or damaged State property, or to have taken advantage of the "turmoil" to commit other crimes such as robbery. The authorities apparently sought to discredit the whole pro-democracy movement by suggesting that it was led largely by "thugs" and "hooligans" who committed offences of this sort.

32. There are two procedures under Chinese law through which the authorities may put pro-democracy activists on trial: (a) the normal procedure provided in the Criminal Procedure Law which applies to criminal trials generally, including the trial of those accused of counter-revolutionary crimes; (b) the expedited procedure, adopted in 1983, which provides for a speeded-up trial of persons accused of crimes involving "serious endangerment to public security". Accused persons can face a death sentence under either of these.

33. Neither procedure conforms to accepted international standards that protect the rights of accused persons which are set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and elaborated in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In particular, both procedures fail to require or ensure that: a person who is detained is "promptly" informed of the charges against him and can take "proceedings before a court" to decide "without delay" the lawfulness of his detention; a detainee has access to legal advice at an early stage; trials are held in public (many trials resulting in death sentences have been held in camera); and, the pre-conditions under international law for the imposition of capital punishment are observed.

34. Under neither the normal or expedited procedure for criminal trials must the authorities grant a detainee prompt access to legal assistance after detention. The defendant is required to be informed of his right to appoint a lawyer only when the bill of prosecution (which describes the charges) is given to him. In normal circumstances, this bill must be handed to the defendant no later than seven days before the trial begins (Criminal Procedure Law, art. 110). This minimum period does not furnish sufficient time for a defendant to consult with a lawyer and to prepare an adequate defence to serious charges which

may carry a death sentence, long-term imprisonment, and/or loss of civil rights. Under the expedited procedure adopted in 1983 even this minimal seven-day period between being officially charged and the trial need not be observed.

35. Under the normal procedure, a defendant has a right to one appeal. Article 131 of the Criminal Procedure Law provides that an appeal must be lodged within 10 days after the written judgment or order is received. Under the expedited procedure the defendant has only three days to file.

36. Article 144 of the Criminal Procedure Law originally provided that all capital sentences were to be reviewed by the Supreme People's Court, China's top judicial body, before they could be carried out. However, in cases that involve charges of seriously endangering public security, the approval of the Supreme People's Court is now no longer required to be obtained before a death sentence can be carried out. The net result of these provisions is that the review of a death sentence is incorporated into the appeal hearing. When the Government applies the expedited procedures, a defendant can be arrested, tried and executed within a matter of days.

## **2. Expedited capital sentences and executions take place**

37. A number of capital sentences were handed down and executions carried out within weeks of 4 June. In many instances, although trials were not held in public, the sentences were pronounced and the accused paraded and publicly humiliated before thousands of people. Officials confirm 40 executions.

38. On 21 June 1989 in Beijing, seven people were executed. All had been sentenced to death on 17 June 1989 by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court – less than two weeks after alleged commission of the crimes for which they were convicted; presumably their appeals had already been turned down by 21 June. On 21 June 1989, in Shanghai, three men were executed for setting fire to a train which had plowed through a group of demonstrators blocking the track in protest against the Beijing massacre. The train killed six people and injured at least six others. The three defendants were tried under the special expedited procedure applicable to crimes endangering public security – arrest warrants were issued on 8 June and the three men were executed on 21 June. Jinan Daily reported that, on 20 June, 17 people were executed there after having been paraded through the streets. Their sentences – for actions roughly 2 weeks earlier – were announced before some 10,000 people; some 45 defendants were sentenced to death or to long prison terms in that proceeding.

39. The executions have continued. Six persons were reported to have been executed in Chengdu in early November for participating in local riots that followed the Tiananmen crack-down. On 8 December 1989 two persons were sentenced to death for killing a policeman during the military incursion into Beijing. While many people have been sentenced to death, a large number have not yet been executed. In more than 100 cases death sentences have been suspended for 2 years, a period intended to allow a convicted person to demonstrate, through exemplary behaviour, that he or she should not be executed.

## **3. Extra-legal executions and secret trials are alleged**

40. There have also been reports that executions have been carried out secretly, without even a show of compliance with the requirements of Chinese criminal law. A United Press International report of 27 July 1989 quoted Chinese and Western sources as saying that the authorities were secretly executing scores of people for offences related to their involvement in the pro-democracy movement. Other sources have also reported that secret executions may have taken place in Beijing in early July.

41. It is suspected that many of those who have been arrested may have been sentenced in secret proceedings to imprisonment or "reform through labour". While there have been no public trials of students, Reuters reported on 11 December 1989 that six Beijing students from the prestigious diplomatic training institute, the College of Foreign Affairs, were tried in secret in November for their role in the pro-democracy movement. Four were reportedly convicted of counter-revolutionary crimes, the other two of theft. These secret trials were said to be closed even to family members. Such trials are a clear violation of international human rights norms.

# **VII. The right to freedom of association and freedom of assembly**

42. Both before and after 4 June 1989 the Chinese authorities have sought to suppress the activities of organizations engaged in peaceful pro-democracy political activities. The repressive measures have consisted of informal denunciations and formal declarations of the "illegality" of these organizations, and the harassment, arrest and trial of members of these groups. Martial law decrees declared a number of Beijing organizations to be illegal and called on their leaders to turn themselves in and their members to disband in the aftermath of 4 June. By the end of June the authorities were reported to have declared illegal some 31 organizations in 11 provinces.

43. Groups formed in Beijing during the pro-democracy movement have been among the prime targets of the Government's crack-down. Before the massacre, Government officials denounced some of these organizations as illegal and harassed their leaders, but the main attack has come since 4 June. Two of the most prominent Government targets have been the Autonomous Federation of Beijing University Students ("Students' Federation") and the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation ("BWAFF"). They have been declared illegal and many of their members have been arrested and harassed.

## **1. Student groups have been suppressed**

44. The Students' Federation, established in mid-April, was one of the main groups involved in the pro-democracy movement. An umbrella organization for students from over 40 Beijing universities, it was founded as an alternative to the Government-sponsored official student organizations. It was prominent in putting forward the demands of the students and seeking dialogue with the Government. It also played a major role in the organization and co-ordination of peaceful student demonstrations in Tiananmen Square.

45. The Students' Federation was denounced as an "illegal" organization before 4 June and was one of the organizations formally declared illegal by the Government in Martial Law Decree No. 4, issued on 8 June 1989. Leaders and members of the Students' Federation have figured prominently on the Government's "wanted" lists; a number of them have already been arrested. Members of other student associations both in Beijing and elsewhere have also been arrested or placed on wanted lists.

46. There have been no official reports of student activists being tried and sentenced for their role in the pro-democracy movement. However, many students have been required to undertake reform through labour and have been sent away from Beijing. As noted, news services reported on secret trials of Beijing diplomatic academy students sentenced to 7-10 years.

47. Employment sanctions against pro-democracy students have been noted. The South China Morning Post (27 July 1989) reported that graduating students known to have participated in demonstrations were being denied the State-assigned jobs which they had been previously allocated. The Chinese Government also announced a substantial reduction in the numbers of students who are permitted to enter universities in fall 1989; at Beijing University, which was singled out for harsh measures, the first-year enrollment was reduced from 2,000 to 800 students.

48. Students have been required to undertake political re-education, involving studying the speeches of senior leaders regarding the June crack-down and other issues. Students in a number of institutions were required to prepare a series of essays in which they were required to: describe their whereabouts and actions between 15 April and 4 June, with names of witnesses who could confirm their account; report on their thoughts during that period; and detail their conceptions of "social democracy" and the appropriate means to achieve it in China.

## **2. Workers' organizations and other groups have been suppressed**

49. Many workers' associations have also been subjected to Government repression. The Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation ("BWAFF") has been a prime target. The BWAFF, formed in May 1989, was part of an attempt to establish autonomous workers' groups inde-

pendent of the Government-sponsored All China Federation of Trade Unions. The BWAFF claimed to represent workers in more than 40 industries in Beijing and supported many of the students' goals. The BWAFF was declared illegal by Martial Law Decree No. 10 issued on 12 June 1989. Some of its leaders and members were subsequently arrested and detained; some are on "wanted" lists; some have been tried and executed. The Government's campaign of suppression has also extended to workers' organizations in other parts of the country. On 14 November 1989, the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) adopted a complaint (case 1500) alleging violation of trade union rights in China.

50. Other groups have also been victims of the Government's crack-down. In addition to the organizations mentioned above, martial law decrees have declared illegal and following organizations: the Beijing Residents' Autonomous Union, the Capital Intellectuals' Union, and the Capital Patriotic Society for the Preservation of the Constitution.

### 3. Chinese Government actions are violations of freedom of association

51. The organizations declared illegal and whose members have been arrested or harassed, were engaged in peaceful political activities, expressing their views of the need for political reforms and asserting the right of citizens to form organizations separate from Government-sponsored ones. The Government's campaign of repression against these organizations constitutes a grave violation of the rights of freedom of association and expression of its citizens. Limitations of these rights in the interests of national security, public safety and public order are only permissible under international law if they are necessary in a democratic society.

52. The Chinese Government's claims that its legitimate needs of public order and national security justify its continuing repression are patently unconvincing in view of the peaceful activities of those engaged in the pro-democracy movement. The only convincing explanation for the Government's actions – that it was not prepared to tolerate the expression of views and political demands opposed to those of the dominant political faction – is the very essence of the human rights violation, not a justification for it.

## VIII. Freedom of expression, freedom of the press and access to information

53. Since the declaration of martial law, the Chinese Government has imposed official, highly effective restrictions on the news-gathering activities of Chinese and foreign journalists, has victimized journalists who have not observed the official line, and has severely restricted means of national and international communication. Rights violations are evidenced by Government decrees, by official treatment of Chinese and foreign journalists, and by the changes in the content of Chinese press reports after imposition of martial law.

54. In the weeks before martial law, the official Chinese media offered vivid and accurate coverage of the Beijing protests and of the demonstrators' goals. After imposing martial law, the Government moved quickly to restrict the new freedom of the press. Martial Law Decree No. 3 forbade Chinese journalists from using "news coverage to issue inciting or inflammatory propaganda".

55. Since 4 June, the media have rigidly repeated official justifications of the suppression of the pro-democracy movement, official estimates of arrests and killings, and Government claims that the movement leaders were a small "counter-revolutionary" band. The authorities have ousted many editors and reporters who reported events openly and accurately. The official New China News Agency and the Government-run Central China Television were placed formally under military control.

56. Other Government actions have also curtailed other rights of expression. Martial Law Decree No. 1 provided: "It is strictly forbidden in any way to create and spread rumours, establish ties, make speeches [or] distribute leaflets ...". It also authorized public security forces, armed security forces and the army to "adopt any means necessary to deal firmly" with any violations of the order. Martial Law Decree No. 12 (9 June 1989) forbade "printing and organizing the posting and distribution of rebellious counter-revolutionary slogans, handbills, and big and small character posters" and ordered their

removal.

57. The regime also undertook an extensive campaign to ban all looks deemed subversive, sending police and officials to scrutinize all bookstores and stalls and to seize hundreds of thousands of books that purportedly contain "bourgeois liberal ideas". New China News Agency reported that Beijing police and publishing authorities had confiscated about 180,000 books. According to Ming Pao, Beijing bookstores may not sell works by 10 leading intellectuals; 133 different books and journals containing "subversive ideas" were banned.

58. There have also been severe restrictions on the access of Chinese citizens to outside sources of information, as well as limitations on the access of foreign media to Chinese citizens. Martial Law Decree No. 3 established limits on foreign journalists: it banned foreign journalists from "going to official institutions, organizations, schools, factories, enterprises and neighbourhoods to conduct news-gathering activities, take photos, make videotapes and engage in similar activities" without official permission.

59. Shortly after martial law, the satellite and wire transmissions of foreign news services were disrupted, to be restored and disrupted on later occasions. After 4 June non-PRC print and television journalists were warned about and hindered in their news-gathering activities by Beijing public security forces; arrests of a BBC journalist and crew, and expulsions of two Voice of America, one Associated Press and other reporters were, mostly, for alleged violations of martial law restrictions on news-gathering.

60. Finally, Government decrees and actions have severely limited the ability of Chinese citizens throughout the country to receive information from abroad. Beijing Martial Law Decree No. 15 (18 June 1989) prohibited the possession of fax machines, and the authorities' close monitoring of fax machines in workplaces was aimed largely at stemming receipt of outside news reports from Hong Kong and elsewhere. Some local authorities issued regulations barring the receipt from abroad of faxes or news. Letters from abroad, and especially from Hong Kong were carefully monitored by authorities – a violation of the right to privacy (art. 12, Universal Declaration).

61. These severe restrictions on Chinese citizens' rights to freedom of expression and information cannot be justified. When it imposed martial law, and in the weeks since, the Government faced no serious threat of grave public disorder or violent revolution. The restrictions on these rights have greatly exceeded any level warranted by an existing threat of social unrest.

## IX. Conclusions: gross violations of human rights in China

62. The facts recounted above make it plain that in its suppression of the pro-democracy movement the Chinese Government has engaged in gross violations of the fundamental rights and freedoms of its citizens. These rights include some from which international law permits no derogation, even during a public emergency threatening the life of the nation. Among the rights violated are:

(1) The right to life of many of its citizens (art. 3, Universal Declaration)

(a) by its disproportionate and indiscriminate use of lethal force in its military operation in Beijing in June, compounded by its refusal to carry out an independent investigation into the killings;

(b) by its arbitrary execution of persons involved in pro-democracy protests, in blatant disregard of the procedural and substantive guarantees required by international law to be observed.

(2) The right not to be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Universal Declaration, art. 5, and Convention Against Torture), by its treatment of those persons who have been arrested, interrogated and tried in the crack-down.

(3) The right not to be subject to arbitrary arrest and detention (Universal Declaration, art. 9), most prominently in the post-4 June crack-down, but also by imposing unjustifiable or disproportionately severe sentences on those put on trial for actions taken as part of the pro-democracy movement.

(4) The rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and association (Universal Declaration, art. 20), by its suppression of essentially peaceful demonstrations, by banning the formation of student and worker organizations, and by the imposition of criminal or other penalties on leaders of several such new independent organizations.

(5) The right to a fair and public trial by an independent and impartial tribunal (Universal Declaration, art. 10) and the right of an accused person to be presumed innocent and to be provided with the guarantees necessary for his defence (Universal Declaration, art. 11), by the way it has dealt with persons arrested since 4 June.

(6) The right to freedom of opinion and expression and the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas (Universal Declaration, art. 19), by the actions it has taken to prevent the reception by its citizens of information from independent sources.

63. While international law does permit full enjoyment of these rights to be restricted in some circumstances, it is plain that the Chinese Government may not derogate from certain of these rights, in particular the right to life and the right not to be subjected to torture or other ill-treatment. As the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights puts it, such derogation is permissible only "[i]n time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed" (art. 4). Even then, derogation is permitted only "to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation".

64. Chinese justifications of its actions are invalid. The Chinese Government has sought to justify its actions by portraying the pro-democracy movement as a violent uprising gravely threatening social order, to which it responded with reasonable and measured force and other measures. Yet it is clear that the overwhelming majority of those

involved in the pro-democracy movement were peaceful in their objectives and their actions. What they posed was not a threat to the life of the nation, but a threat to a ruling group desperate to retain its own power and privileges. Under international law, that is not enough.

65. China's claim of interference in its internal affairs is untenable. The Chinese Government has responded to international criticism of its actions by asserting that its suppression of the pro-democracy movement is a purely "internal" matter and is not a legitimate concern of the international community. However, such a claim is simply untenable in the context of present international law relating to massive violations of human rights, as well as being inconsistent with China's own conduct in international human rights forums.

66. China has voluntarily accepted obligations under treaties which require it to ensure the enjoyment of human rights by its citizens. When China was admitted to the United Nations, it assumed an obligation under the Charter of the United Nations to take joint and separate action to "promote ... universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all" (Charter, Arts. 55 and 56). It is bound by established human rights standards which are part of customary law or which have been accepted by the international community as interpreting the human rights provision of the Charter, in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which enshrines many customary international law standards.

**Letter to the Secretary – General**  
**from the Chinese Representative at UN**  
**(12 January, 1990)**

**Content available in Chinese only.**

**Please refer to the same section**  
**in the Chinese part of this book.**



THE SUB-COMMISSION ON PREVENTION OF  
DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF  
MINORITIES, UNITED NATIONS  
41ST SESSION OF

STATEMENT BY MR. YU ZHIZHONG,

OBSERVER OF CHINA

(18 AUGUST 1989)

Mr. Chairman,

From mid-April to early June this year, Beijing witnessed a tumultuous situation which started with student demonstrations and later turned into a riot and ended with a rebellion. This was an unprecedented event in the history of New China. The Chinese Government has, over a fairly long period of time, adopted an attitude of great restraint and tolerance. However, a very small number of instigators and organizers of the riot, in total disregard of the Constitution and law of the state, deliberately created troubles. Consequently, the riot was escalated to such a level that the capital of China and even the whole country was in a state of crisis. To maintain the Constitution and stability of China and protect the interest of 1.1 billion Chinese people, the Government could not but adopt measures to stop the rebellion.

Now please allow me to give an account of the major facts:

In mid-April, a student movement took place in some universities in Beijing, which, from the very beginning, had been manipulated and exploited by a small number of people and had been of the nature of political unrest. By late April, it had turned into a serious turmoil. In mid-May, the students went on a hunger strike and occupied Tian an men Square for a long time. As a result, the program of such an important event as the Sino-Soviet summit meeting had been changed, and some activities cancelled, thus impairing the international image of China. But the Chinese Government still showed great restraint and the state leaders, on several occasions, visited the students on the Square and persuaded them to stop the hunger strike. Hundreds of doctors and nurses were sent to look after them day and night while hundreds of ambulances were dispatched for the same purpose. Thus, the health of the students was effectively protected without the loss of a single life.

A handful of riot organizers and plotters were bent on dramatizing the event to stir up riots. During that period, they kept besieging the Central Government Headquarters and wantonly blocking up traffic. As a result, the Chinese capital was struck by serious anarchy, with a total breakdown of social order. Factories, schools, colleges, government offices and shops were seriously affected. The supply of vegetables, grain and gas could not be maintained. It should not be difficult to imagine the gravity of the situation facing a city with 10 million inhabitants at that time. Worse still, there were signs that the riot in Beijing was about to spread to other Chinese cities. Under these circumstances, unless measures were taken immediately to reverse the situation and secure stability, a big chaos would surely erupt throughout the country which would destroy overnight the reform and opening up process of China, its modernization programs as well as the future and well-being of the nation. In order to restore public order in the capital and prevent the occurrence of riot on an even larger scale, the State Council had no alternative but to declare martial law in parts of Beijing.

A tiny number of riot organizers, however, were not ready to give up even after the decree of martial law was issued. While working to disrupt the imposition of the martial law, they also sought to further escalate the riot. They went so far as to call openly for the dismissal of principal Chinese leaders and the overthrow of the constitutional government and plotted to set up a so-called "new government". Moreover, they also formed paramilitary terrorist organizations and declared their intention of

kidnapping or putting under house arrest government leaders.

On June 3 and 4, in a further deterioration of the situation, the two-month-old riot turned into an anti-government rebellion. A tiny number of rioters set up roadblocks, beat up soldiers, set fire to army vehicles, seized arms and ammunition, kidnapped and even killed soldiers. After their deaths, the bodies of some soldiers were burned with gasoline. It was only against such a background that the troops implementing the martial law were forced to take measures to quell the rebellion two weeks after martial law was declared.

In the course of quelling the rebellion, the army, the armed police and security officers suffered more than 6,000 injuries and dozens of deaths. 1,280 military and police vehicles as well as buses were smashed, burned and damaged. A large amount of arms and ammunition were snatched. Anyone free of prejudice can see that if the Government had not exercised great restraint, the army would not have suffered such great casualties and loss of arms and equipment.

Owing to the chaotic situation during the quelling of the rebellion, some innocent people and onlookers who were mixed together with the ruffians were accidentally wounded. After careful and repeated verifications, figures come out that about 3,000 civilians were wounded, over 200 were dead, including 36 students. Among the casualties, there were ruffians as well as innocent people who were killed accidentally. The loss of innocent lives is really unfortunate. It is something that the Government did not wish to see. The Government was greatly concerned about this. Immediately after the events, the departments concerned were instructed to make careful arrangements for their funeral affairs.

One version has it that the troops enforcing the martial law killed hundreds, even thousands, of students on Tian an men Square, and that tanks ran over the tents with some people still inside. The day before yesterday, the man sent to this forum by the International Federation of Human Rights repeated this rumour. However, this is a far cry from the facts. Tian an men Square is the most solemn place in the eyes of the Chinese people. Nevertheless, during a period as long as two months, it was illegally occupied by some people and became the headquarters for advocating the overthrowing of the government and the source of riots. In the early morning of June 4, when the troops cleared the Square, the students' withdrawal was on the whole peaceful. During the process, not a single person was killed by the troops or run over by military vehicles. It is sheer fabrication to assert that the Square was bathed in blood.

Mr. Chairman,

From the above-mentioned facts, one can see that the disturbance was by no means peaceful demonstrations, nor was it simply a case of students criticizing the government. It was a rebellion aimed at overthrowing the constitutional government and changing China's social system.

I believe many people might ask why the event could have lasted for so long, and why the students' demonstrations could have turned out this way? Serious investigations show that this has been a pre-planned, organized and premeditated political turmoil. This explains why whenever the situation somewhat eased and the students' mood became calmer after measures were taken by the Government, someone would come out, instigating and provoking the students to stage further demonstrations. The disturbance also



has profound foreign influence at its back. Some forces abroad provided the rioters with large amounts of financial and material support. In addition, certain foreign mass media played a part in the instigation of the unrest. They constantly spread sensational news about the turmoil made up by the organizers of the riot and fabricated a lot of rumours themselves. All these were in turn quoted and disseminated by the organizers of the turmoil and riot. All of a sudden, Beijing was overshadowed by rumours of all kinds. As a result, many people ignorant of the true situation were taken in.

Mr. Chairman,

The Chinese Government attaches importance to human rights and has always actively supported the efforts by the United Nations to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Chinese Constitution and law effectively guarantee the citizens their political, economic, cultural and educational rights, right to religious and all the other basic rights. However, the enjoyment of the basic rights should not bring harm to others, much less undermine the interests of society and the normal order. In the course of the turmoil, the plotters and instigators as well as the rioters who engaged in beating, smashing, looting, burning and killing defied the Constitution and Law of the state and what they have done has nothing to do with the protection of human rights. It is precisely for the purpose of safeguarding human rights and

fundamental freedom of the vast majority of the Chinese people that the government took actions to put an end to the disturbance, to quell the rebellion and bring to justice, in accordance with the law, the few criminals who had severely undermined the social order and attempted to overthrow the constitutional government. This is the action that every sovereign state is entitled to take. It is the internal affairs of a sovereign state to put down riots and quell rebellions in an effort to maintain law and order of the state. No foreign country or international organization has the right to intervene under whatever pretext.

At present, the situation in Beijing is getting stable and social order has returned to normal. This incident will not lead to any change in our internal or foreign policy. We shall continue with our reform and opening policy. Shortcomings in the government's work will be rectified and overcome in the course of our development. At the same time, we shall, as always, adhere to the independent foreign policy of peace and continue to develop our friendly relations with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We shall continue to give our own contributions to the maintenance of world peace and the promotion of development in the world. It is my hope that after listening to my statement, our friends will be able to get a true picture of the event and reach a correct conclusion.

Thank you.

# UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

41st Session      Agenda Item 6 :

Statement made by Mr. Niall Mac Dermot,

Secretary-General, International Commission of Jurists.

I have been asked to present a statement on behalf of a number of NGOs summarising the contributions which have been made on the present events in China.

The Sub-Commission now has before it a large body of material in the form of statements, submissions, and the testimony of eye-witnesses that establish the proof that the Chinese government has carried out massive violations of the fundamental rights and freedoms of its citizens. Among these rights which the Chinese government declines to recognise and continues to violate are a number of rights from which international law permits no derogation, even in time of public emergency threatening the life of the nation: such as the right to life, and the right not to be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. THE Chinese government has attempted to justify its actions by claiming that it was facing a violent uprising. This claim is hardly credible in the light of the facts now before the Sub-Commission.

According to the material placed before the Sub-Commission, the precursor to the tragic events in China was the demonstrations sparked off by the death on 15 April 1989 of the popular former Communist Party General Secretary, Hu Yaobang. At first, the protesters and demonstrators were overwhelmingly students, but, in the weeks that followed, workers and other citizens in Beijing joined in solidarity with the students' demands and protests. These included, at first, the re-evaluation of the achievements and "errors" of Hu Yaobang; and then the call for greater expenditure on education, higher salaries for intellectuals, press freedom, the lifting of restriction on the holding of demonstrations, public disclosure of the finances of senior officials and party leaders, and a crackdown on corruption in government. When the government responded negatively to these demands, the demonstrations intensified. However, according to the evidence, although over two million people are estimated to have assembled in Beijing by 18 May, no riot or civil disorder broke out and no threat to the organised life of the community existed or was imminent.

But, on the following day, 19 May, the Chinese government denounced the student demonstration as a "conspiracy" and "turmoil" and imposed martial law in Beijing. On the same night and during the next few days, according to material placed before the Sub-Commission, troops surrounding Beijing attempted to enter the city without using force, but were prevented from doing so by students and residents using non-violent forms of resistance. Persuasion, crowds blocking roads, and vehicles used as road-blocks, contributed to an uneasy peace. But on the night of 3 June, on the express orders of the Chinese government, troops converged from all directions on central Beijing and Tiananmen Square. With brute force and no regard for human life the army cleared the Square and other parts of the city.

In the course of that action, thousands of civilians were fired on by troops, beaten by soldiers with clubs and other weapons, crushed, or to use a more graphic phrase in the testimony presented to the Sub-Commission "squashed into paste" by military vehicles. There is evidence of extraordinary cruelty: of soldiers intentionally executing individuals, at times shooting them repeatedly after initially wounding them; of children and pregnant women being killed, so as to clear the streets more easily; of soldiers deliberately killing people who were fleeing, or pleading for mercy, or attempting to retrieve the bodies of the dead and the wounded;

and the cold-blooded murder of nurses and doctors and other engaged in humanitarian service at this moment of great tragedy and shock.

Estimate of the dead ranges from several hundred to many thousands. Countless others were injured. The Chinese government has gone to considerable lengths to prevent the true figures from emerging. It has prohibited hospitals and mortuaries from disclosing figures of fatalities. There is evidence that troops burnt bodies on the spot in Tiananmen Square, and that army helicopters were used to airlift other human remains to unknown locations.

The Sub-Commission also has before it evidence that the killings of 4 June have been followed up by a vigorous campaign of repression in an attempt to suppress the pro-democracy student movement and to punish those who participated in it. Since the massacre in Beijing, thousands of students, intellectuals, workers and others have been arrested and some of them have been subjected to physical abuse or other forms of degrading treatment. For instance, official television footage from China has shown detainees shackled to trees, made to bow "airline style" (kneeling with head down and arms stretched backwards), paraded in a humiliating way, and handled in an excessively rough and degrading manner by security personnel. Individuals have been put on trial, sentenced to death in summary procedures for "counter-revolutionary" crimes, crimes against "security", and other offences, in blatant disregard of accepted international human rights norms and standards, and executed within days. The circular of 21 June 1989 issued by the Supreme People's Court, calling on members of courts to study closely the government's version of the events and to punish "without leniency", offers little hope of independent or impartial trials. The Chinese government has declared a number of existing associations to be illegal, has mounted a vast propaganda campaign designed to justify its actions, and has deprived its citizens of access to information from outside or independent sources.

China has voluntarily accepted obligations under treaties which require it to ensure the enjoyment of human rights by its citizens. China has also adhered to a number of international human rights treaties under which it accepts the legitimacy of international concern with, and supervision of, the manner in which it treats its own citizens. China now participates actively not only in the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights, but has also nominated an expert and secured his election to this Sub-Commission. Thereby China has repeatedly acknowledged the right of the international community to scrutinize the human rights performance of other countries, and has also voted in favour of resolutions that sent UN human rights investigators to countries such as South Africa, Chile and Afghanistan, and joined consensus resolutions in respect of conditions in other parts of the world. The massacre in Beijing demands that the searchlight be turned inwards on China, so that the Chinese government may have an opportunity to review and fulfil its responsibilities to its own citizens and its commitments to the international community.

Thanks to modern technology and the coincidence of President Gorbachev's visit to Beijing, the mass media showed the world in minute detail the unfolding drama of the birth, growth, and then the abrupt and tragic abortion of the idealism of the brave new generation of Chinese citizens, spawned by the economic liberalisation inaugurated in 1979. Thanks to the efforts of many men and

women from within and outside China, much of the information that is now available relating to the Beijing Spring and its cruel aftermath has now been placed before this Sub-Commission. The NGOs which have presented this information have done so in the belief that it is the duty and responsibility of this Sub-Commission, and in due course of the Commission on Human Rights, to ascertain accurately what happened and is still happening in China, and

to do what is possible, and in conformity with accepted practice and procedure, to ensure that such a gross violation of international human rights norms and standards-a tragedy of such depth and enormity will not be allowed to occur again in China or elsewhere.

Geneva, 17 August 1989



2.

**REPORTS  
FROM  
AUDIO  
AND  
VIDEO TAPES**



## 2.4 AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT — BY CHAI LING

### (A Tape Recording)

Today is June 8 1989.  
It's 4 p.m..

I am Chai Ling, commander-in-chief of the Protect-Tiananmen-Square Headquarters.  
I am still alive.

As to what happened from June 2 to June 4 at the Square, I think I'm the most qualified commentator. It is also my duty to tell the truth to each and every one of my Chinese compatriots.

At about 10 p.m. on June 2, the first hint of what was to happen was when a police jeep rammed into 4 pedestrians, killing three of them. The second incident was when busloads of soldiers gave up without a fought, their weapons, uniforms and other gear to civilians who were blocking the soldier's way. My fellow students and I were alarmed by these incidents. Immediately, we took the weapons, uniforms and gear to the nearest Public Security Bureau and got a receipt for them.

At 2:10 p.m. on June 3 at Xinhuaamen, entrance to Zhongnanhai, party headquarters, hordes of soldiers and armed police rushed out and severely beat students and civilians. Some students standing atop passing cars shouted that the people's police love the people, the people's police should not beat people up. One of the students had shouted just one sentence when a soldier rushed forward and kicked him in the stomach, saying: "Who the hell loves you?" He used a night stick on the student's head. The student doubled up and fell to the ground . . .

Let me clarify where we were. I was the commander-in-chief. There was this broadcasting station, we called the "Hunger-Striker Station". We used the station to direct students' action in the Square. There were other student leaders at the station, such as Li Lu, Feng Congde, etc. At the time we kept receiving reports of students and civilians being mercilessly beaten and slaughtered.

The situation worsened between 8 and 10 p.m. on June 3. We called a press conference to tell what we knew to local and foreign reporters. There were very few foreign reporters. We heard that several major hotels' housing foreign reporters had been taken over and their rooms searched by soldiers. Our command headquarters told the reporters that we would have only one slogan and that was: "Down with Li Peng's illegal regime!"

At 9 o'clock all students at the Square stood up, raised their right hand and vowed:

"I hereby swear,  
for the sake of our country's democratization,  
for the sake of our country's real prosperity,  
for the sake of preventing our country from being usurped by  
a small band of conspirators,  
for the sake of preventing 1.1 billion people from dying on the  
altar of "White Horror",  
I swear that I will use my young life  
to defend Tiananmen Square,  
to defend the Republic.  
Heads may roll,  
blood may flow, but  
Tiananmen Square must not let go.  
We are willing to fight to the last young life."

At 10 p.m. the Square's Democracy University declared itself formally open. The deputy commander-in-chief, Zhang Baoli, became the University's president. All at the Square had high hopes for the Democracy University. While this was going on, we continued to receive emergency reports that the situation was very tense.

On the north side of the Square, people applauded the University's opening. The University is near the Statue of the Goddess of Democracy.

All around us, on east and west Changan Avenue, blood was already flowing like rivers. The butchers, soldiers of the 27th Army. They used tanks, assault rifles and bayonets. They didn't even bother with teargas. They killed anyone who shouted just one single slogan or threw one piece of brick at them. They used their rifles to shoot them. All the corpses on Changan Avenue bled from

the heart. Students came running to the command post. Their clothes were smeared with the blood of their fallen comrades. They had clung to their classmates when they died.

After 10 p.m. headquarters appealed to everyone for remaining non-violent. Since students started this patriotic, democratic movement in April, up to its development into a nationwide people's movement in May, our main principle, from beginning to end, has always been to protest peacefully.

The highest principle of our struggle is peace. Many students, labourers and ordinary folks had come to our headquarters and said: "You can't continue in this non-violent way. You must fight back with weapons." Many students were also getting extremely mad. We are at the headquarters to remind everybody that ours was a peaceful protest. The ultimate price of a peaceful protest was to sacrifice oneself.

Arm in arm, shoulder to shoulder, we sang the "Internationale" and slowly walked toward the Monument to the People's Heroes. We sat quietly at the Monument, awaiting with dignity the arrival of our executioners. We realized that it was a conflict between love and hate, and not a battle of brutal forces. Because we all knew if we maintained non-violent as our highest principle, the result of our movement would be . . . If students used sticks and bottles against those crazy soldiers, armed with assault rifles and tanks, it would be the biggest tragedy of the entire pro-democracy movement.

We therefore just sat there quietly, ready to sacrifice ourselves. At that time, the command post began to broadcast the song "Descendants of the Dragon". With tears in our eyes, we sang along, embraced each other and locked arms. Because everyone of us realized the last moment of our lives had come. It was time for us to die for our country.

There was this student. His name was Wang Li. He was only 15. He had written his last will. I have forgotten the exact wording of his will, but I remember him saying:

"Life is strange. The difference between life and death is just a split second. If you see an insect crawling towards you, and you think of killing it, the insect would instantly stop crawling."

He was all of 15 and yet he was already thinking about death. Republic (Chinese people), you must not forget, you must not forget, the children who fought for you!

Around 2 to 3 a.m., June 4, we had to abandon our headquarters at the bottom of the Monument and move to the Monument's platform to continue our command of the Square. As commander-in-chief, I went with my deputy, Li Lu, to visit the students around the Monument, to give them moral support.

The students just sit there. Those in the front row were the most steadfast. Students in the back row said they, too, would remain steadfast.

"We would continue to sit still and not withdraw.

We would not retaliate and kill."

I chatted with the students and told them of an old story, it's a story they all knew:

"There were these 1.1 billion ants living on a mountain top. One day, the mountain was ablaze. To survive, the ants had to get down the mountain. They gathered themselves into a giant ball and rolled down the mountain. The ants on the outside were burnt to death, but the lives of many more were saved. My fellow students, we at the Square are on the outer-most layer. In our hearts, we understand that only by dying can we ensure the survival of the Republic."

The students sang the "Internationale" again and again. They held hands tightly. Finally, the four hunger strikers: Hao Dejian, Liu Xiaobo, Zhou Duo, etc, they couldn't stand it anymore. They said: "Children, don't sacrifice yourselves in this way."

But each student was determined. The hunger-strikers went to negotiate with the soldiers, to negotiate with the so-called "Martial Law Command Post", to tell them we were leaving. But it was hoped that they would ensure the students' safety and peaceful retreat. Our headquarters consulted students on whether to leave

or stay. We decided to leave.

But at that time, the executioners didn't keep their word. As students were leaving, troops in helmets, troops with guns charged up to the third level of the Monument. They didn't wait for us to inform everyone of the decision to leave. They had already shot our loudspeakers to pieces — but that was where the Monument to the people was — the Monument to the People's Heroes! They dared to open fire at the Monument. Most of the students withdrew.

With tears in our eyes, we started to leave the Square. People told us not to cry. We said we would be back, because this is the People's Square. We only found out later that some students still had hopes in the Government and in the soldiers. They thought that at worst, they would be carried away. They were tired and as they continued to sleep inside their tents, the tanks turned them into "mincemeat".

Some say more than 4,000 died in the Square alone. I don't know the total, but members of the Autonomous Workers' Union were on the outside. They stood their ground and they're all dead. There were at least 20 to 30 of them. I heard, after the students left, tanks and Armoured Personnel Carriers flattened the tents with the bodies inside. They poured gasoline over them and burned them. Then they washed away the traces with water.

Our movement's symbol, the Statue of the Goddess of Democracy, was crushed to bits. With locked arms, we went around Chairman Mao's Mausoleum toward the south of the Square. That was when we first saw tens of thousands of helmeted soldiers. The students ran toward them and yelled: "Dogs! Fascist!"

As we headed West, we saw ranks upon ranks of soldiers running toward the Square. Civilians, students, though hoarse from all yelling, continued to shout: "Fascists! Dogs! Beasts!" But the soldiers ignored them. They kept running toward "our" Square.

When we got to Xinhuaamen, all of us from the headquarters were in the front row. Xinhuaamen was where the first bloody battle took place in the afternoon of June 3. Debris was all over the place. From Xinhuaamen, we ran along the blood-slick Changan Avenue. All we saw were burnt-out vehicles, fallen concretes and debris — signs of a hard-fought battle.

But there was not one single corpse. We later found out that as these Fascists gunned down people with machine guns, other soldiers would pick up the dead and wounded and throw them onto buses and trishaws. Some were still alive but later suffocated to death. That's how the Fascists tried to hide their bastard deeds. We wanted to go back to the Square. But the people tried to stop us. They said:

"Children, don't you know they've set up machine guns over there? Please don't go back to die!"

We then went north along Xidan Avenue toward the West to the university area. Along the way, I saw a mother crying bitterly. Her son was dead. We also saw the corpses of four soldiers. The people had been beaten by them to death.

We continued North, as we neared the campuses, everyone had tears in their eyes. Some people said, "Did I buy bonds to let them buy bullets to kill innocent people? To kill innocent children?"

First hand reports from students and civilians said those executioners were slaughtering people. They aimed at residential areas along Changan Avenue and fired rockets at them. Children and old people were killed. What are their crimes? They didn't even chant any slogans.

A friend told me he was blocking tanks on Changan Avenue at 2 a.m. He saw a girl. She wasn't very tall. She stood in front of the tank and waved her right hand. The vehicle rolled over her. She was crushed into "mincemeat".

My friend said the student on his right was killed by a bullet. The student on his left was killed by a bullet. He said, he had come

back from the dead.

On our way, we saw a mother looking for her son. She said, "His name is . . . . He was alive yesterday. Is he still alive?" Wives were looking for husbands, teachers were looking for students.

Government buildings still displayed banners calling for support of the Party's Central Committee. The students tore them down in anger and burned them. The radio kept saying that the troops had come to Beijing to deal with riotous elements and to maintain order in the capital.

I think I'm the most qualified to say whether or not students are riotous elements. Anyone with a conscience should put his hand on his chest and think.

Think of children, arm in arm, shoulder to shoulder, sitting quietly under the Monument, their eyes awaiting the executioners' blades.

Can they be riotous element? If they were riotous elements, would they still sit there quietly? How far have the Fascists gone? They can turn their backs to their conscience and tell the biggest lie under the sky. If you say soldiers who kill innocent people with their rifles are animals, then what do you call those who sit in front of the camera and lie? What are they?

As we left the Square arm in arm, as we walked along Changan Avenue, a tank charged at us and fired tear gas at the students. Then the tank rolled over us, it rolled over students' heads and legs. We couldn't find intact bodies for many of our classmates. Who's the riotous element?

In spite of this, we in the front continued on our way. Students put on masks because the teargas hurt their throats. What can we do to bring back those students who were sacrificed? Their souls will always, always remain on Changan Avenue.

Those of us who were forced out of the Square arrived at Beijing University, still alive. Many students from other universities, students from out of town had prepared beds to welcome us.

But we were very, very sad. We were still alive. Many more had been left in the Square and on Changan Avenue. They'll never come back. They'll never come back. Some of them were very very young. They will never come back.

At noon on June 4, those of us who had retreated from Tiananmen Square reached Beijing University. At that time our hunger-strike-turned-sit-in that began on May 13, our peaceful protest, was forced to an end.

Later, we heard that at 10 p.m. on June 3, Li Peng handed down three orders. First, troops can open fire. Second, all army vehicles must proceed at all costs. The Square must be taken back by dawn on June 4. Third, the leaders and organizers of the movement must be killed.

My compatriots, this is the frenzied, puppet government that is still maneuvering troops and ruling China.

As the Beijing massacre continued, as the slaughter was started all over China . . . . my compatriots, even at the darkest moment dawn will still break. Even with the frenzied fascist crackdown, a democratic republic true to the people will be born.

The critical moment has come.

My compatriots, all Chinese nationals with a conscience, all Chinese people, wake up! In the end, victory belongs to the people!

The end of the puppet government led by Yang Shangkun, Li Peng, Wong Zhen, Bo Yibo is not far away.

Down with Fascists!

Down with Martial Law!

Victory belongs to the people!

Long live our Republic!

(A translation of an article printed in *Ming Pao Monthly*, Issue No. 283, June, 1989, pp. 51-54.)





3.

**REPORTS  
FROM  
NEWSPAPERS  
AND  
PERIODICALS**



# INCIDENTS AT XIDAN AND XINHUAMEN ON JUNE 3rd

Lin Dongsheng

## PEOPLE BESIEGED MILITARY VEHICLES

It was the morning of June 3rd. The city of Beijing was rife with rumours. The stealthy manoeuvring of PLA troops inside the city limits the night before pushed by the then quietened down movement to yet another crisis.

I hired a taxi to take me to Muxidi, west of the city. I saw from a distance a row of buses put across the highway as road blocks. People were also standing on top of these stationary buses; the mood was festive.

The driver found a safe place to park his car, and I went on foot to the crossroad at Sanlitung Road in Muxidi. There was a general air of jubilation and amicability. I saw a few tourist buses and vans in the middle of a crowd. On top of one of the vehicles, several PLA caps, uniform, helmets, and automatic rifles, ect. were on display.

A student standing on top of the vehicle was giving an explanation to the crowd, with the help of a loudspeaker. Apparently some soldiers dressed in plain clothes and driving in civilian vehicles attempted an entry into the city last night. Their cover was blown, and they were turned prisoners of the people. The crowd grew bigger; someone in the crowd said, "Shame on the PLA."

I walked on, until I saw a group of people forming an outer circle. I pushed myself to the front. A few students were using ropes to ward off a rectangular area. Inside it on the ground was written, "Last evening (June 2nd), at 10:30 p.m., a van ran over 4 pedestrians on this spot. One woman died. The driver and passengers inside the van were handed over to the police by the people. They admitted readily that they were members of the martial law troop, acting under orders to enter the city."

At this point, I noticed there was some crowd movement further down the road. I hurried over. A student was standing on top of a vehicle and shouting on top of his voice, "Give way, stand aside! No lynching allowed!" I realised then that the people were crowding over a van that had no licence plate. The people inside were suspected to be troops.

Students kept shouting their pleas, and the crowd eventually parted to allow the vehicle to be driven through. But no sooner had it covered a certain distance before it was met with another crowd, rendering its stationary.

It was around 11 a.m. when I left Muxidi. I had not seen any confrontation involved any violence.

I continued my way in the taxi to just outside Xidan. Things were even more exciting there. People were coming and going in every direction. It was impossible to count the number of people and bicycles, there was so much movement.

Like the place I went before, not far off from one crowd hovering over a tourist bus would be another crowd doing the same with another vehicle. I could see at least three of these vehicles lost in a sea of people. On top of every bus was a display of military paraphernalia. One even showed bayoneted rifles. But according to the citizens, none of the rifles had ammunition to go with them.

## THE MILITIA FIRED TEARGAS

One of the buses was 200 meters from the west wing of Xinhuaamen. More people were around this one than any other. Some glass window panes were broken. The side of the bus was splattered with a piece of paper that read, "The glass windows were broken by the soldiers themselves. The people had nothing to do with this."

Now and then the student on top of this vehicle would speak to the crowd. He urged the citizens to continue their support for the student movement, to bring down Li Peng. The crowd repiled with thunderous applause. It had been a few days since I last saw the people so effusive. I thought to myself: If it had not been for the troops to force another entry into the city, the inhabitants would have cooled down and withdrawn their support. How unastute were Li Peng and his "minority bunch" (translator: jargon favoured by the authority, i.e., Li Peng, etc. to describe the opposition, i.e., students, and citizens).

It was around 12 noon. I had lunch nearby and made my way toward [Xinhuaamen]. When I arrived at the gate, I was taken by surprise. Layers upon layers of people were crowded in front of it. I could remember the scene on the previous day: a few symbolic students sitting in front of a forgotten, otherwise deserted doorway. Now it has resumed the position that was once accorded it at the height of its glory, so to speak. I had to exert no small effort before I squeezed myself into the inner circles. I found myself incredulously staring at a whole mountain of military gear: caps, uniform, shoes, water cans, and all. A few rifles were also on display. I fumbled for my camera, and was taking a few shots when someone pulled at me and said, "More goodies over there. Don't miss it, get going." I threw myself forward in that direction, to find a student spreading on the ground a number of army identity cards, and letting anyone take pictures. At that moment, I also noticed the uncanny expression on the faces of the soldiers who were squatting beside them. I sensed something ominous. The display of I.D. cards was over in a few minutes before they were retrieved. I quickly moved myself out of Xinhuaamen.

Less than 20 meters east of Xinhuaamen were two more military vehicles being besieged by the crowd. But there was no one in them. I made more use of my camera. It was at this point that we heard a loud crack. Everybody strained their necks to look toward the west, and saw white smoke rising from Xidan. (At that time, I did not know it was teargas.) Looking toward Xidan, we could make out that people there were running in our direction. Soon, another crack cut through the air, another billowing of white smoke. The crowd I was in began to move. I could see in the distance a troop of helmeted anti-riot police armed with shields and wooden clubs, taking up position between Xidan and Xinhuaamen, so that the two landmarks were now separated. I was about to hurry to Xidan to take some photos, when I was surprised by another white cloud of smoke that exploded just outside Xinhuaamen. I sniffed the acid in the air. Then the people scuttled in the other directions. Behind them came a whole army of the militia, wielding clubs, and using them on the people, whoever that may be within their range. I realised I was too close to them, and ran away, scared. Those that did not manage to run fast enough, or those students and citizens who would not entertain the idea of running away undignified found themselves the recipients of the soldiers' blows. Within five minutes, the crowd in front of Xinhuaamen was dispersed. With wooden clubs in their hands, the militia heavily guarded the entrance of Xinhuaamen.

## TAKING IN TEARGAS: FEELING SAPPED OF ENERGY

At this time, I felt dizzy and limp then I realised I had breathed in teargas. I still hanged around the vicinity of Xinhuaamen, taking photographs from a distance. Some inhabitants would throw stones at the militia, who would now and again come



out to beat up the people; but basically they were to station themselves at the gateway. They had retrieved the military exhibits; and nothing was left of the student's slogans or banners.

At the same time, a constant crackling of teargas bombs could be heard coming from the direction of Xidan. Here at Xinhuaamen, the people were in confrontation with the militia, with intermittent violence, and a very tense atmosphere. After a while, the people who had previously ran away came back, and besieged the militia again. Those who had been previously beaten up cried for revenge. The militia geared themselves up. Something was about to happen. Then from the direction of Tiananmen Square came a continuous stream of students. They held themselves hand-in-hand, forming a partition wall between the militia and the inhabitants, thus preventing the militia from beating up the people and effectively stopping the people from attacking the militia.

When I sensed the situation was stable, I ventured forward to take photos. A citizen saw me, and pointed at several members of the militia, saying, "Those few had beaten up people. Quick, take your pictures."

Meanwhile, anti-riot police in Xidan were retreating. More and more people surged toward Xinhuaamen; but no more physical confrontation actually took place here.

I moved toward Xidan to find out what was happening there. All I saw was only one of the vehicles used by plain clothes soldiers, abandoned, windows broken; and the displays of rifles and uniform were by then all gone from the top of the vehicle.

Someone in the crowd informed me that the soldiers had been rescued. The anti-riot police had fired 11 shots of teargas, two of them toward Xinhuaamen. They also fired rubber bullets. So far, it was known that one student was hurt in the leg by loose particles from the teargas bomb.

This attack by the militia and anti-riot police was started at around 1:30 p.m., and lasted about 40 minutes. They retrieved the military paraphernalia in front of Xinhuaamen, and rescued besieged soldiers in Xidan. But after the retreat of the anti-riot police, the whole area from Xidan to Xinhuaamen was basically in the hands of students and inhabitants of Beijing.

As I felt an intense headache, I had to retire to the hotel. In the evening, at around 7 p.m., I turned up again at Xinhuaamen. The militia had changed shifts. Students were still forming a partition wall to prevent conflict. Many citizens were speaking to the militia. Some were offering drinking water and cigarettes. But the militia took no notice, and did not respond.

I walked toward Xidan. On the way, I saw some people making some announcement. They said the action taken by the militia that afternoon resulted in the death of an eight-year-old child. I also saw someone displaying a blood-stained shirt, and a helmet, saying that they had been beaten up by the militia. It was then that I realised that in the afternoon, on both sides of the People's Great Hall, the militia had taken similar and simultaneous actions of attacking and dispersing the people. Those attacks resulted in bloody confrontations with the citizens.

Up to then, I had not heard of any incidents involving real bullets. I arrived in the vicinity of Tiananmen Square, and saw a bus-load of students on tour. They were jubilant, beaming and shouting, cheered on by citizens who welcomed them as heroes. The soaring mood of the students and the supportive response of the citizens returned to that of the few days before and after the announcement of martial law.

At this time, the evening had firmly descended. Tiananmen Square was filled with peace and contentment. Beijing citizens came out with the young and the elderly, talking in the breezy evening air, eating ice-lollies, and singing . . . . No one could have thought that a few hours afterwards, the very ground they stood on would witness the cruelest slaughter in history.

### PEOPLE'S SQUARE TURNED SLAUGHTER-GROUND

June 3rd, 10p.m., I left Tiananmen Square. It was probably the most fortunate decision I have ever made; and possibly the greatest loss in my life as a photographer — I managed to avoid the night's bloody massacre.

In the afternoon of June 3rd, while taking pictures of the conflict outside Xinhuaamen, I inhaled teargas. I was incapacitated by a severe headache and extreme fatigue. On top of that, Tiananmen Square that night was festive, peaceful and orderly. The gathering crowd was nearing a million. I judged that communist army would not force their way into the city, since the citizens were once again alerted and were rallying round. If they were to force their entry, there would be bloodshed. I decided that as it would be to the disadvantage of the authorities to do so, I would stay in my hotel for that night.

It was a stroke of luck, come to think of it.

June 4th, around 7 a.m. The driver of the taxi I had booked earlier pushed the door and let himself in. Panting, lost and confused, he said, "You mustn't go. The worst has happened to the students. The troops opened fire last night; they killed many people."

I was appalled and turned pale. I said I must go to have a look. The driver said he did not bring the car. Eventually I took a ride on the back rack of his bicycle.

The morning was grey and overcast. The streets were mostly deserted. There were hardly any vehicles, except for the few bicycles that shuttle through the grey thoroughfare. Soon after the start of the journey, I encountered a weeping woman on the roadside. Next to her on the rail, a cloth banner that once carried the words, "Maintain Stability and Solidarity" was now torn into shreds. My heart sank. I realised something grave had happened.

All along the way, I could see people in twos and threes, talking and listening. It was clear that they were communicating something important. When we arrived at the department store on Wangfujing Street, the driver refused to go any further. I decided to go on foot. At that point, I saw a group of burly with wooden clubs in their hands, mounting a tourist bus in single file. I was wondering who they were when the driver said they were plain clothes men from the Public Securities office, on the retreat.

I walked south along Wangfujing Avenue, and arrived at the crossroad with East Chang'an Street in less than 10 minutes. I saw a few charred buses, some were still burning. On the side of one of the buses was written the words, "The Square: the slaughter-ground of people! We bled. Blood owed will be paid in blood!"

The number of people there had obviously diminished from yesterday's. Beijing Hotel nearby had all its doors and shutters closed and bolted. I could see no one going in or out. Not a single taxi that used to line its approach could now be seen. I made my way going west, along the street filled with loose pebbles, broken glass crunched under my feet. When I arrived at the junction with Nanchizi Street, I dared not go any further, because this was the Front. About 100 meters away, in the direction of Tiananmen, was a row of soldiers, shoulder to shoulder, black and heavy, all of them helmeted, some armed with wooden clubs, some with bayoneted rifles. Behind them were a number of tanks, filled with soldiers. They might be far away from me, but there was no mistake that they were there to kill.

### PEOPLE CONDEMNED THE 27TH ARMY AS BEASTS

"This is the 27th army, take a picture of them!" said the man next to me. I hid myself behind him and took a few shots. I was scared. This time a crowd had gathered around me. As the people gathered, I got encouraged. The crowd slowly moved forward. Someone took the lead and shouted out, "Beasts! Beasts!" The other people immediately followed and chanted, "Beasts! Beasts!". I followed the crowd and moved forward with them. I was very frightened. After a short while, an armed soldier charged toward us. As a reflex action, I moved back. I was not able to take a picture. The other people also moved back. But the armed soldier only rushed at us for a while, then quite suddenly, he turned back. Then there was a few minutes of peace. The crowd once again moved toward the soldiers, cursing them as they moved. But none of the people in the crowd carried weapons, not even a brick.

Once again I raised my camera. Suddenly a man next to me walked toward the soldiers. He was alone. The others beside him warned, "Stop! Don't go!" But the man continued. He ignored the warning. Step by step, he walked toward the soldiers very bravely. This was suicide! I raised my camera. My hands were shaking. I

knew that I was going to take a picture of a man being killed. Perhaps this man wanted to sacrifice himself and he wanted someone to witness his death. That man stopped a few steps in front of the soldiers; and he knelt down on one knee. He then raised his camera and seemed as if he wanted to take a picture. At that very moment, a whole lot of soldiers charged at us. I was very frightened and immediately turned back, forgetting to take any pictures. I didn't know the fate of that courageous man. I turned into a street corner in hiding. A few minutes later, that man appeared. He was covered with blood and stumbling. A few citizens went forward to help him. But this man was very composed and he looked as if nothing had happened. He raised his reporter's identity card in his left hand and he was still holding his camera in his right hand. Both were stained with blood. What a courageous reporter!

I thought to myself: Reporters in China were indeed a helpless lot. They had always been put under strict control and too often forced to fake news. Although this reporter was seriously wounded, he was still waving his reporter's identity card. Perhaps he wanted to tell the citizens that there were reporters who were not afraid of those in power.

This time I knew that it would be very dangerous to continue taking pictures. I retreated into Nanchizi Street and did not dare go into Changan Avenue. Soon, there was a volley of machine gun shots, followed by a defeating collision noise. From where I was, I saw a van which had just collided into the traffic control stand in the middle of the road. The people next to me told me that the driver intended to knock down those butchers with his van, but unfortunately he was shot, he lost control and the van went astray. I then thought the citizens must be cursing the troops. I was afraid that this form of suicidal revenge would continue to take place and many more people would be sacrificed.

### THE KILLING OF CITIZENS AND PREGNANT WOMEN

I knew very well that it was extremely dangerous to continue watching the troops. I therefore retreated into a safe place in Nanchizi Street. I could not see very much but from time to time I could hear machine gun shots. In groups, the inhabitants would retreat; but more would surge forward to take their place. Weren't these people afraid of being killed? Then there was another round of machine gun shots and crowd retreated. After a while, a tricycle carrying a dying person was pushed toward us. This dying person was bleeding and his whole body was covered with blood. I was utterly scared, so scared that I forgot to take a picture. I had not yet recovered myself . . . then another bleeding person being carried on the back seat of a bicycle passed me, blood streaming all over him. All I saw was red in colour . . . . . Blood, blood, and blood-stained clothes. I couldn't help shivering upon seeing these scenes.

I collected myself and realised then that the machine guns had stopped. I took the risk of running to the wall of Nanchizi Street. There I saw a big pool of blood. The surrounding wall, including the rubbish bins, were covered with bullet holes. They were the hard evidence of the troops' aimless shooting. The troops had used their machine guns to shoot the people even in broad daylight. What kind of a world had this come to!

For the sake of safety, I decided to leave. On the way back, I could see that the citizens were whispering to each other. They must be exchanging news about last night's massacre and they were all angered and deeply saddened. I simply could not believe what I had seen and what I had heard in this morning. I wondered if I was living in a nightmare!

"They have even closed the blood bank! They wouldn't let the medical staff rescue the wounded with blood transfusion. You'd better go to the hospitals and see if you can donate some blood!" said a young man on a bicycle.

"All the three members of the family have been killed! What a shame!"

"A pregnant woman was killed, near Xinhua!"

"The troops even laughed after they had killed the citizens! Just like psychopaths!"

"They used the bayonet to pick up a child and tossed him up

in the air. They even laughed! This was just like the Nanjing massacre!"

I shivered as I heard these words. My heart sank. I hurriedly hired a tricycle and went back to my hotel.

At the hotel, I turned on the TV. There were repeated announcements from the Martial Law Enforcement Troops. I could not remember exactly everything that had been said. All I could remember was this sentence, "The so-called Beijing massacre is all rumours." This would certainly tell you a lot about the state of affairs.

### NEWS ABOUT WUERKAIXI

In the hotel, I was spaced out for about two hours. When I felt better, I went out on foot again. The hotel was in the district of Andingmen. This was not on the route of the troop movements; and had always been a peaceful area. It was now about 4 p.m., raining, and heavily overcast. The streets were deserted, but for the occasional ambulance that sped its way through. Beijing, the capital, once full of life and activities, was now sunk in a cloud of agony and terror.

I saw a few people gathered in front of a shop, talking in low voices. I walked over to ask for news. But a man asked me in return, "Where do you come from?" I said I was from Guangdong. And he said, "There is no business for you here. Don't go anywhere else, just go home immediately." I saw that he had sadness, anxiety, and fear written all over his face. I had to leave then.

The rain stopped when evening descended. More people emerged. When I arrived at the bridge on Andingmen, I saw the people in many small groups, talking and exchanging information. I decided that they must have been talking about Tiananmen, and walked toward a group.

A girl in her twenties said, "It was only after one a.m. that I left Tiananmen Square. By that time, bullets were already whisking through. I had to crawl on my belly to make my way out."

"There were many deaths on the part of the students. I feel so sorry for them."

"Some girl students were begging for mercy on their knees; and they got killed by the bayonets."

"Is Wuerkaixi dead?" a girl asked.

"Wuerkaixi is also dead. Got killed by a soldier using his bayonet."

"Oh, no. A kid with so much promise, and he had to die. What a waste." (Editor's note: The fate of Wuerkaixi has not been confirmed.)

I couldn't go on. I retreated with tears welling up in my eyes.

A succession of nightmares saw me through the night. Emotionally there was no way I could accept the facts of the massacre.

### FEARLESS STUDENTS RESISTED THE MILITIA

Eventually, dawn broke. I hired a tricycle to go to Haiding district for a friend. Almost no motorized vehicles was visible. Tricycles were probably the only means of transport. Haiding is the district of universities. On the way were several universities such as the Central Minzhu Institute, the Chinese Peoples' University, etc., and they all had hung on their main gateway a huge character, "In Mourning". The Minzhu Institute even had a banner that read, "In mourning and salute to the martyrs in the massacre!" All along were some university students wearing black mourning bands on their arms; some had white flowers on them. The whole university district was sunk in a mood of sorrow and anguish.

The friend lived near Beijing University. The flat was taken up by three university students. I knew them; they had all participated in the student movement. I was concerned about their safety or otherwise. There I learnt that two of them had disappeared; the other was wounded. He said, "I was among the last lot to go. I don't even know how I managed to come out alive. I saw with my own eyes armoured tanks crushing to death more than ten of us. My anguish was intense to a degree of madness. I threw bricks at the tank. It rushed toward me, and I just stood there. I did not

intend to live."

"Apart from firing real bullets, they also fired poison gas, not just teargas. The smoke emitted was yellow. One fell near me; I picked it up and threw it back at them."

I was looking at this student from Shantung, fearless and resolute. That made me think of the saying about the heroics of the native Yan and Zhao Kingdoms, which seemed to confirm that students from the north were probably more courageous. Nevertheless, I still tried to persuade him not to die an unnecessary death.

The friend said the area was particularly dangerous. They heard that troops were about to take over the universities. Many students had dispersed. The friend had a family of five. Terror was written all over their faces. The daughter was in secondary school. She said they managed to go through classes in the morning, then school had to stop; teachers could not bring themselves to the routine. Most secondary and primary schools had stopped

operating that day. My friend said to me. "I will not let my girl sit for the university entrance exams."

Someone asked me, "Can the United Nations help us?" I lowered my head, not giving a reply. I thought to myself, "What is the use of the United Nations."

Everyone thought I ought to leave Beijing soonest possible. By that time, fear had also descended on me. So I said "goodbye" to this family. I, of course, can leave. The millions of kind and innocent inhabitants of Beijing cannot: What will befall them in the days and months to come? Not a moment of ease. Feeling bleak about the fate of the nation. Existing not of one's own will. My heart bled, a knife had slashed it. Heavy with sorrow, I took my first steps as a refugee on the run.

**(Translation of an article printed in *Pai Shing Semi-Monthly*, Issue No. 194, June 16, 1989)**



# HOW CAN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY KILL THE PEOPLE?

## Eyewitness Account of Army Shooting

by the Residents of Muxidi (June 4, Beijing)

Ling Yue

After staying up through the night in front of the TV set, I boarded the CA 309 flight to Beijing with grief, anxiety and a little fear. What would the capital city look like after a night of bloodbath? With the tightening clamp-down on the press, could I enter freely?

The plane was not even half full. Who would want to brave the bullets and go to Beijing at this time? Several passengers from Hong Kong expressed their weighty feelings over what they had seen on TV the previous night. They did not expect the government to be so ruthless and to have killed and injured so many people. If not for prior business appointments, they would not choose to go to Beijing at this time.

The plane reached Beijing. I could see nothing but a grey mist outside the window, and the weight on my mind grew.

At the customs desk, the customs officer noticed the pile of newspaper I was carrying and I became apprehensive. "Which newspaper is that?" "Ta Kung Pao". "That is a good paper. It tells the truth. Do you have today's edition?"

All the customs officers wanted to read the latest Hong Kong newspapers, to see how the suppression last night was reported. They swarmed around as soon as I took out the newspaper. As I left, they wished me safe passage with great concern. I have never found the customs so affable and likable.

Apart from the concern for the current situation expressed by these customs officers, and their unspoken feelings, I did not find the atmosphere at the airport particularly tense. There were fewer people at the taxi stand, and several taxi-drivers approached me. "Where to?" "Minzu Hotel". "Minzu Hotel? There are machine guns there; also road blocks. You just can't go there. The whole Changan Avenue, east and west, is blockaded. Don't go there."

Upon the advice of my taxi-driver, I chose a hotel well away from the city centre. As we left the airport and got onto Sanwan Road, I saw by the roadside a demolished army truck - The windows were all broken and the tyres deflated. Not much further on, there was another immobilized army truck; and then a jeep, a courier vehicle, and an armoured car - all burnt down to just a shell. The road was littered with bricks, wooden planks and other articles used as road blocks. As we turned into Erwan Road near the Deshengmen, I saw at a distance a lightening fire and black smoke. An army truck was burning there. The soldiers on another truck nearby were watching, while a couple of hundred citizens

gathered around were reasoning with them. I could hear them booing from time to time.

A service worker who lived in Muxidi excitedly described his experience:

"Soon after 9 p.m., more than 10 army trucks drove out of the Military Museum. They were preceded by soldiers on foot, wearing steel helmets and brandishing cudgels. At first there were only a few hundred people to stop them. But soon a few thousand gathered. The students from the nearby universities all came out. We formed a human barricade to stop their advance, while the university students reasoned with them, saying that the People's Army should not attack the people. The deadlock lasted for about an hour. Then, suddenly the army fired into the air. The crowd was scared and scattered. The university students called for us to keep calm, saying that the PLA would not fire at the people. So we reassembled, and sat down on the ground to block the troops. The army fired again into the air. But this time the crowd didn't flee. Little did we think that the army would really open fire on the people seated on the ground, and without a single word of warning! Many of those seated at the fore were shot and dropped down, others fled to the sides. The road was cleared, but the army, instead of advancing, fired at the retreating people. Many more dropped. They meant to kill! Why else would they open fire like this? . . . ."

Another witness at Cuimei Road, Gongzhufen, described a different scene: "At that time, that army truck was racing at such a speed that it couldn't brake at the bend and overturned. The soldiers in it jumped off, and immediately fired at anybody in sight. The truck started burning, and what fell off was bundles and bundles of steel cudgels. . . ."

The bloody massacre certainly frightened the people. How can flesh and bone stand up to tanks and firearms? But the deeper reaction of the people is indignation, sense of being wronged, and resistance. People were saying: Something is bound to happen tonight; if not tonight, the following nights. In this mood, how can we hope for peaceful days to come? . . . .

(A Translation of an article printed in *Ta Kung Pao*, 5 May 1989)

## THE MOST HEROIC EPISODES IN THE BEIJING MASSACRE:

### Battles of Blockade at Muxidi and Fuxingmen as witnessed by a Beijing citizen

In the evening of the 3rd of June, 1989, in Beijing, the capital of the People's Republic of China.

It was the 15th day since martial law was declared. The temperature had risen to 30°C, only to be surpassed by the heightened indignation of the citizens. All the signs were that the situation had escalated and that a bloody suppression in the evening was imminent. They were quite right; only the timing was a little different. While people were anxiously discussing in the streets, troops gathered around Wanshoulu had their tanks and armoured vehicles ready for the crackdown.

#### THE ARTILLERY MOVED IN

It was 21 hours Beijing summer time. The depots for the troops had their gates opened all at one time. Several hundreds of army vehicles, armoured vehicles, tanks, commander vehicles, communication vehicles were coming out onto Wanshoulu, heading eastward toward the direction of Tiananmen Square. Most of the troops belonged to the 27th Army, one of the best-equipped in China and one under the auspices of Yang Shangkun. The 27th Army was for this occasion equipped with tear-gas and anti-riot squads. The order given was a relentlessly rigorous one: they were to reach the Tiananmen Square by 22 hours, disperse the students and take control of the Square. Any retaliation by the people was to be suppressed. Disobeying soldiers would be executed.

The rumbling of the tanks broke the quiet Beijing summer evening. When the troops whisked past, Beijing citizens looked on, stunned and enraged. It was not hard to discern the suppressive and murderous mood now possessing the soldiers, clinging hard to their firearms. Soon, the people had recovered from their initial shock and there was a deluge of angry voices shouting "People's army cannot suppress the people!" "Fascists!" "To the Square! Defend the Square! Defend the students!"

#### A HUMAN WALL OF FLESH AND BLOOD

Having passed Gongzhufen and the roundabout, the army vehicles reached Fuxing Avenue which is the main road leading to Changan Avenue West. It was there that Beijing citizens, by their own initiative, set up front-line barricades to stop the troops; and it was there that the most rigorous and heroic scene of the Beijing massacre was witnessed. Many of the citizens picked up pieces of stones and threw at the troops; several youths dismantled curb rails, and brandishing the iron bars, dashed fearlessly among the troops, pounding at the tanks and armoured vehicles. Not totally unlike Don Quixote trying to confront the windmills. Yet, there was no comic element in it at all; heroism rather. The army vehicles were then slowing down. The riot police in the rear jumped down from the vehicles and started chasing after people and beating them on the roadside. A few army vehicles hit one another, having failed to brake in time.

#### IT WAS THE SOLDIERS WHO KILLED PEOPLE AND SABOTAGED ARMY VEHICLES

What was extraordinary was that those who set fire to vehicles which had broken down owing to the accidents were the soldiers themselves. The procession of army vehicles was under constant

attack with stones and bricks by people on both sides. Then the troops started to fire. The people had expected the shooting, but were only a little baffled at the facility and the thoughtlessness with which the soldiers discharged their duties, as if they had longed for that moment to come for a long time. "Perhaps those were only empty bullets." "True. Heard that they had been distributed rubber bullets." While they were working it out, a young man had his right arm wounded; another, a middle-aged woman, fell immediately after a soft moan, was shot in the trunk. The crowd had just wanted to help, when another series of shooting sent bullet sparks onto the ground and whisking noises above people's heads. Blood had erased the last trace of doubt in the people. "These villains have actually used live ammunition!" The news that the army had begun shooting quickly spread; the people's indignation was ever more intensified.

At Muxidi, several hundred students and citizens had formed a line in the middle of the road in order to block the troops. By now, the troops had already alighted and aligned themselves to confront the crowds. Amidst cries of "Return to your barracks!" and "You cannot suppress the students!", the troops were closing in. The crowds threw myriads of stones at them, and for a time, the form of the troops looked disrupted. Some soldiers did not know what to do and dashed about aimlessly. Seeing that the murderous soldiers were actually quite brittle, the euphoric crowds charged towards the troops in a sea of cries. The troops ebbed for tens of metres, some throwing stones back at the crowds. After several see-saw confrontations, the troops resumed firing at the people. The students retreated to Muxidi, and tried to build a stronger blockade against the troops. They used buses and overturned vehicles as blockades. In the depth of the night, despite the unceasing shooting, there were rhythmic cries from every window shouting "Fascists! Fascists!" "Villains! Villains!" The troops shot at civilian apartments indiscriminately, killing numerous people in their own home. Bullet holes can be seen on windows on the first and second floors of many buildings. Even Yanjing Fandian and Minzu Fandian were not exempted.

#### INDISCRIMINATE SHOOTING

The citizens had again set up blockades of burning vehicles. The troops were by now shooting ruthlessly and indiscriminately at bystanders. They chased after the people among houses and into the hutongs (lanes), claiming victims aged from under ten to over eighty. The author himself/herself witnessed more than 20 casualties; and a corpse, awaiting collection by others, was trampled by unseeing soldiers who had lost all notions of humanity.

#### THE TROOPS WERE DELAYED BY 4 HOURS

The biggest fire blockade had been set up at Xidan. About one battalion of tanks were used to attack these blockades, followed by several thousands of soldiers.

At 1:50 a.m. on the 4th June. The troops were closing in on Tiananmen Square.

Due to the voluntary efforts of the students and citizens to block the troops, the latter reached the Tiananmen Square 4 hours behind schedule. These 4 hours were particularly significant as they were hard won in a struggle in which the people's forces were out

of all comparison to those of the army's. One cannot but feel the heartiest respect for Beijing citizens!

In the blockade confrontations in Changan Avenue West, the great citizens and students had shown a deep passion for democracy and upheld the spirit of altruism. Many students supporting the flag of democracy were unmoved in the face of approaching troops and shooting; many youths singly raced toward the troops, risking their lives; one young reporter cried: "I'm a reporter; I'm not afraid!" and then rode on his bicycle right up to the troops, took photographs to the full, and came back miraculously alive. In the Muxidi confrontations an elderly worker went straight from the crowds toward the troops and wished to reason it out with them, only to be pulled in, beaten up and pushed down onto the roadside.

According to the most conservative estimate, more than ten thousand citizens and students could have died in the Beijing massacre. There were more than 40 corpses in Fuxing Hospital alone. A senior Beijing citizen said, "In my lifetime, I have witnessed the entry into this city by a succession of warlords, the Beiyang Army, the Kuomintang, and the Japanese. Never have I seen an army that would slaughter defenceless, bare-handed inhabitants in this fashion." Not in Beijing, not in China of the past, and probably nowhere in the world will one be able to find the like of this army, or its "highest commander".

**(A translation of an article printed in *Wen Wei Po*, Hong Kong, June 11, 1989)**

## From Siege to Massacre

Sing Ying

In the afternoon of 2nd June, the Beijing Central TV Station broadcast a piece of unusual news: Qin Jiwei, who had been regarded as a member of Zhao Ziyang's "Anti-party Group", was shown on the screen visiting the Martial law troops stationed at a certain location in Beijing and boosting up the morale of the soldiers. It seemed that the Li-Yang regime had gained fresh support. Most people thought that as Li and Yang had been in full grip of the situation, and as most of the university students in Beijing had already evacuated from Tiananmen, the procrastination seemed to have favoured the Li-Yang clique. Suppression seemed to be unnecessary.

At 2 a.m. on 3rd June, about 10,000 soldiers in white shirts and green trousers jogged in close formation from East and West Changan Avenue toward Tiananmen Square. These young soldiers, who were around twenty years of age, were unarmed. The news spread instantly and very soon the two forces were blocked by a wall of men composed of more than 100,000 people who were awakened from their sleep and who rushed immediately down to the street. Everywhere there were screams and shouts. The people and the students reproached the soldiers severely. Shouts like, "Go back! Go back!", "No beating!" and "The people's army stand on the people's side!" filled the night-air. The crowd soon discovered that these sweating and perplexed young soldiers were already struck with fatigue. They admitted that they were Martial law troops stationed at the airport. They received an order late at night to rush to clear the Tiananmen Square before three in the morning.

The difference with those troops which behaved in a friendly and submissive manner at the beginning when the army first entered the Capital was that, this time, most soldiers were unresponsive to the rage of the crowd and some even put up an antagonistic attitude. There were even fightings at Wangfujing Avenue between the soldiers and the people. But when the troops began to retreat, the people still greeted it with applause. A minority of the soldiers were deeply disturbed. Some threw their caps onto the ground and shouted furiously. "I won't do it any more!" There were also officials who said, "We would not beat the people."

Finally, the scattered soldiers evacuated to the end of Wangfujing Avenue and remained seated there, waiting for further instructions. But part of the troops broke successfully into the areas adjacent to Tiananmen Square amid chaos.

During the process of blocking the army, four trucks fully loaded with weapons, were intercepted at both Jianguomen and Xidan. Packed in sacks were bayonet-rifles, rifles, hand-grenades, anti-gas masks, as well as a large number of iron bars and knives. The crowd displayed these weapons outside Xinhuaamen and tens of thousands of people went to have a look.

At this time, two or three hundred armed soldiers rushed out from Xinhuaamen and struck everyone within reach with wooden clubs and electrified clubs. Immediately, order outside Xinhuaamen turned chaotic. Some students and citizens were seriously wounded. Meanwhile, the army at Xidan used guns for the first time, firing rubber bullets into the crowd. About 40 people were injured.

At 2 pm., 2000 soldiers and policemen, wearing helmets and armed with electrified clubs, marched out suddenly from the western door of Zhongnanhai, blocked the Xidanfu Avenue right and the streets in Liubukou, fired twenty tear-gas shells (another saying fifty), struck the people, chased them away and seized the weapons under display.

When the news spread, tens of thousands of people hurried to the spot and scolded the soldiers outrageously as "fascists" and "rascals". They overturned an army jeep and clashed the windows of two army vehicles carrying provisions to pieces. The troops then retreated into Zhongnanhai.

Meanwhile, about 10000 soldiers rushed out in close formation from the western door of the People's Great Hall, but their line of

defence was broken through by tens of thousands of citizens and students. About five or six were wounded on each side. The confrontation between the troops, who sat on the ground outside the entrance of the People's Great Hall, and the crowd, which surrounded the troops, lasted for six hours. The crowd and the students cried out the slogan "the people's army love the people", and sang the National Anthem and the "Internationale". Some students even went into the midst of the soldiers and explained to them the truth concerning the students' movement of Beijing. However, as the troops were instructed accordingly beforehand, they remained unmoved toward any persuasion.

At this time, the situation at Beijing went into a deadlock.

Nevertheless, the order on the army to force its way had begun to bring about a worrying turn of events. The army's advance was obstructed everywhere and the people were outrageous. The shell would explode at any moment.

In front of the southern entrance of Tiananmen Square, several hundred soldiers, armed with bayonet-rifles and machine-guns, attempted to enter the Square from west to east, but were blocked by the two buses set there by the people. The troops left an hour later.

At Yongdingmen Railway Station, hundreds of army vehicles attempted to move toward the Square from south to north, but were stopped by the crowd and halted beside the Station.

At Fuxingmen near to Minzu Hotel in Changan Avenue west, the anti-riot police confronted with the people for seven hours, each throwing stones at the other.

On 3rd June, the students at Tiananmen Square passed a day of chaos, tension and anger. In view of the precarious situation, the Headquarters for the Defence of Tiananmen Square organised propagating groups and sent them to every corner of the city to summon and mobilise the mass to resist the military suppression of the Li Peng government. They called upon the whole city for a general strike and put forward the slogan "Live and die with the Tiananmen Square." The provisionally set up Beijing Inhabitants' Autonomous Committee also forwarded the slogan "Live and die with the university students." Although the daytime temperature at Beijing was very high at the time, there were still hundreds of thousands of people gathering at the Square, listening to the speeches made by the students. A banner appeared on the Square, saying, "We won't fall and let the executioner seem tall, blocking the wind of freedom."

From morning to night, the government broadcasting station on the Square ceaselessly broadcast the news of the Central People's Broadcast Station and those of the Beijing Daily, saying that the blocking of the army's way in the morning was caused by the agitation of an extremely small number of people. These people were alluded to as criminals, rascals and loafers. The government's broadcast was met with disapproval from everybody on the Square.

According to the habit of the Chinese Communist Party in dealing with mass movements, ceaseless broadcasting was the omen for further action.

From 6:30 pm. onward to the midnight, the radio and the TV station interrupted the normal programmes several times and broadcast the three emergent announcements made by the government and the Headquarters of the martial law troops. Anyone who is politically sensitive could sense from the official announcements a smell of gunpowder. The announcement says, "In recent days, an extremely small number of people spread rumours everywhere, viciously denigrated and attacked the martial law troops. They used extremely low means to worsen the relationship between the general public and the martial law troops, as well as to instigate some people to strike at army vehicles, seize weapons, beat up officials and fighters, interrogate and attack soldiers and obstruct the operations of the martial law troops. They deliberately

stirred up troubles and extended the riot. This minority bunch of people's seriously offensive actions had aroused the extremely great anger of the general public and the army to the extent that they can no longer be tolerated." The announcement continued with a threatening air, "If there are people who refuse to listen to advice, insist on their way and challenge the law, the martial law troops, the public security police and the armed police force have the authority to take all kinds of measures to deal with the situation. The organisers and the instigators should be responsible for all consequences."

The last announcement was made at midnight with the addition of two cryptic statements:

"..... every citizen must be on alert. Don't go onto the street. Don't go to the Tiananmen Square ..... in order to guarantee your own safety and avoid any unnecessary loss."

Later, there was evidence to prove that, from the morning of 3rd June when the troops first started to operate in that night when the massacre took place, all actions were taken under the order of the government to carry out the order without regard to any loss of human lives, all measures can be taken during action.

Another uncertified news source said that Deng Xiaoping estimated the toll of casualties and deaths to be 1000.

At about 10 pm., gunshots were first heard at Huangzi (near to the residence quarters of the New China News Agency). Witnesses said that there were people collapsed amid gunshots. The massacre then began.

At 11 p.m., gunshots were also heard at Muxidi (the area around the High Officials' Building).

At 0:57 a.m., near to the Square, gunshots were accompanied by flare-bombs.

At 1:05 am., gunshots were also heard at Chongwenmen which was at the south of Tiananmen.

Blood was shedded and the people collapsed one after another.

Since the first gunshot at Huangzi, tens of thousands of troops and a large number of tanks and armoured vehicles began to advance toward Tiananmen from all directions. Wherever there were crowds which blocked the way, the troops fired and the tanks simply crushed through them. At 1:20 a.m., about 600 soldiers, four or five in a line, advanced from south to north toward the People's Great Hall. The people dared not go near and maintained a distance of a hundred metres with the troops. Some threw stones and bottles at the soldiers.

The wounded were immediately rescued by the others. Some carried the injured on their backs, some carried them by bicycles, while some used tricycles to rush the half-dead to the hospital.

At about 2 a.m., at Changan Avenue in front of the castle of Tiananmen, an armoured vehicle was captured. Some people climbed onto the vehicle, forced the door open and threw things into the cabin. It was then burnt amid shouts of rejoice. Besides that, ten army vehicles were captured by ten thousand people at Jianguomen Avenue, and were pushed to the centre of the road. There were also many barricades at the end of the Changan Avenue.

These barricades were crushed by a group of tanks which were immediately chased after and attacked by the crowd. But the tanks paid no heed to the crowdedness of the people and moved to and fro, crushing many people under their wheels. Thunder of reproaches were heard everywhere like, "Dogs!", "Murderers", "Fascists."

There were many fire-heads on the two sides of Changan Avenue for army vehicles and buses were burnt one after another. At some places the fire was more fierce. Explosions were also heard.

Those troops which had been stationed at the People's Great Hall, Zhong Shan Park and the Cultural Palace the day before began to head toward Tiananmen Square from all directions and fired ceaselessly on the way. The toll was increasing every minute.

Now let us look at how thousands of students and people were killed in the Square.

The martial law troops, whose aim was to "clear" the Tiananmen Square, concentrated on dealing with those students and people still remaining in the Square after they had besieged it.

A student who was among those last retreated from the Square described the situation as follows:

After twelve that night, the forty or fifty thousand students, who had got the reliable news that the army would carry out the suppression, all retreated to the four sides surrounding the People's Heroes' Monument, forming into a stronghold. All of them were still determined to defend the Square. Among the students, two-thirds were male students, while one-third was local students. Most of them came from places outside Beijing. Under the accompaniment of the orchestra of the Beijing School of Music, the students sang war songs. The order was good and the atmosphere was moving and tense.

At 1 a.m., in order to uphold the principle of "promoting democracy by non-violent actions", representatives of the students went to negotiate with the army at the gate Tower of Tiananmen. They were willing to return the 23 bayonet-rifles captured during the conflicts earlier on as well as to hand over some incendiary bombs, but their suggestions were met with refusal. Therefore, the students destroyed those weapons on the steps of the monument.

On the other hand, other representatives headed by the fasting intellectuals like Hou Dejian and Liu Xiaobo also went to negotiate with the troops, saying that, in order to avoid more bloodshed, the students and the people were willing to evacuate from the Square, but the army had to leave an opening at Dongjiaomin Lane for them to pass. The martial law troops stated that if the students evacuated before five in the morning, they would not take any action. At this critical moment, the students finally agreed to evacuate. They began to retreat toward the Military Museum, with the students from Qing Hua University at the rear.

The following is the witness account of a student:

"At about four in the morning, the lights on the Square were suddenly switched off. The order to 'clear' the Square was broadcast again. At that time I had a kind of very tense feeling, as if there was only one thing to say - the time has come, the time has come."

"..... at 4:40 a.m., strings of red signal bombs were shot into the air and soon the lights on the Square were all on again. I could see that the front side of the Square was all occupied by soldiers. At this time, some soldiers in camouflage uniforms, armed with bayonet-rifles, helmets and anti-gas masks, rushed out from the eastern entrance of the People's Great Hall.

"Firstly, they set up a line of about ten machine-guns, pointing toward the front side of the Monument. Their backs faced the Gate Tower of Tiananmen. The gunners all lay on the ground. Then, a large number of soldiers and armed police (the soldiers and the armed police were differentiated by, firstly, their uniform and, secondly, their helmets - the helmets of the armed police were larger and the ears were protected.), armed with electrified clubs, rubber clubs and some special weapons which I had never seen before, broke into our team on the front side of the Monument. They struck our people with all their might, cleared the way for a passage and climbed the stairs up to the third level of the Monument. I saw that instantly about forty or fifty students' faces were streaming with blood.

"Then I heard gunshots. The bullets of those soldiers who kneeled down to fire nearly touched our heads. For those who lay on the ground to fire, the bullets all went into the heads and chests of the students. We were forced to move up toward the Monument but those soldiers on the top level struck us and forced us down. When we descended, they fired again."

Different eye-witnesses proved what happened at that time. The massacre was witnessed from different angles.

Only less than 1000 out of over 3000 citizens and students eventually managed to get outside the Tiananmen Square. Tens of tanks and vehicles ran ruthlessly over the tents in which many students were sleeping. They died on the spot without even the chance to scream. The soldiers, armed with automatic weapons, ran after the students who tried to escape. The students had to step over piles of corpses to run for life. Some carried with them the injured students but many others who were wounded were left unattended to. There was a female student who was stabbed to death by a bayonet. The soldiers shot at the injured students.

Those citizens and students who escaped out of the Tiananmen Square were not yet safe. As they tried to turn to East Changan Avenue to escape in the direction of Beijing Hotel, gunshots were heard from the forest.

The mass who ran out of the Tiananmen Square howled and cried. They just could not believe what happened before their eyes.

It was confirmed that the machine guns continued to shoot for 20 minutes, and afterwards scattered gunshots could still be heard from the Tiananmen Square.

According to a source, the martial law troops which entered Tiananmen Square had been given injection of a certain medicine before carrying out their duties. They had been instructed that the hygienic condition in the Square was very poor and so inoculations must be conducted. A Beijing University teacher, when interviewed by a Hong Kong news medium through telephone, said that the soldiers who shot, behaved abnormally. Their faces glowed and they laughed hysterically as they shot. "It looked as if they had taken some type of medicine."

Let us go back to Tiananmen Square and see how these as people's army, that came to uphold law and order in Beijing, cleared up the war-field after their initial victory.

At half-past five in the morning, helicopters were wheeling above Tiananmen Square whereas tanks were rumbling through it and then turned from East and West into the street in front of the Great Hall of The People in single rows. Tens of military vehicles had also finished placing troops on garrison duty in the Square. Tens of thousands of soldiers arranged themselves into a battle array in the form of a big square after entering Tiananmen Square. A row of four soldiers acting as vanguards were sitting at each end of the East and West Changan Avenue whereas in the central part of the Square in front of the Monument to The People's Heroes, soldiers were clearing up the war-field. Corpses of students and ordinary citizens, the number of which was beyond estimation, had to be dealt with. Soldiers used large military canvas to form screens to cover up their actions. Nevertheless, there were still witnesses who reported what they had seen. "I walked to the side of the road and climbed up to a branch of a tree. There I saw the soldiers in the Square putting the corpses of students and citizens into large plastic bags, each into one bag, and then covered them up with big canvas which formed into heaps".

"Corpses on the Square's pavements were lying very close to one another. The army put up a piece of canvas so that citizens could not see this scene. They also said that many military vehicles drove into the Square and carried the injured to some unknown place."

A large helicopter was landing and taking off unceasingly in the central of the Square. Citizens watching from places far away could not see precisely what it was transporting. But the strong air current of the helicopter blew up the screen formed by military canvas; so some people could see clearly that the soldiers were putting the bags of corpses, which had been pressed into non-human shapes, into the helicopter. Since there were too many corpses, the soldiers brought in some iron racks, formed the corpses into layers and then incinerated them there. Dense smoke rose high up to the sky. Some television news reporters from Hong Kong, who had retreated to and stayed in the Beijing Hotel, reported that the "smoke pillar" that had existed for a long time.

The exact number of those who were unable to run out of the Square and were shot, run over by tanks or beaten to death would probably remain a mystery forever. The estimate given by witnesses and citizens on the number of death casualties differed greatly and ranged from 400 to 2000. Nearly ten thousand people were injured.

News from Beijing Crematory should not be ignored. The staff of the crematory refused to incinerate the corpses before they were identified. The military immediately imposed military control in the crematory and the corpses were incinerated by the soldiers themselves.

The fourth of June was a day that would be forever inscribed in history. After a whole night's massacre the martial law troops still did not stop their brutal behaviour when daytime came. Shooting, which resulted in deaths or injuries, still carried on.

During the whole day of June fourth, shots were heard

unceasingly in many parts of Beijing. After intervals of approximately half an hour or tens of minutes, the army would shoot at the angry crowds who were closing in on them, with guns. Some soldiers even ran after the crowds to shoot them.

Beijing citizens had demonstrated the greatest courage and unity. They, taking the risk of being shot to death, confronted the army at all big crossroads. Many came by bicycles to offer help.

At ten o'clock in the morning, a People's Liberation Army Troop rushed from The History Museum toward the crowds and shot them. About 2000 pedestrians fled pell-mell.

Although the army had controlled the areas around Tiananmen Square and from time to time, some military vehicles would drive back and forth to show off their victory, the citizens were still undaunted by brutality and put up road-blocks and burnt vehicles.

The following process had been repeated several times: when shooting stopped, the citizens gathered together and formed into a wall to confront the army one hundred metres away. They scolded and shouted loudly to protest against the army's brutality. Not before long, the army was driven beyond their limits of forbearance and held up their guns again. Shots could then be heard again . . .

There were so many injured people that the hospitals, big and small, in Beijing's urban areas failed to accommodate all of them. Those who died because they were not rescued in time were not claimed by anybody and were placed in rows by the side of the wall. Doctors could only carry a torch to conduct rescue treatments in the corridors. The relatives of the dead and the injured were crying bitterly. But the injured were still sent to the hospitals unceasingly. Doctors and nurses had to be on duties for days and nights on ends. According to reports from foreign news agencies, the army used the internationally forbidden bullets which exploded once they entered a human body. If the four limbs were hurt in this way, it was mostly that amputations have to be carried out.

A playback of some scenes during the massacre:

A 12 year-old girl was kicked in the chest by a soldier amid a crowd. The soldier kept kicking her till her heart was torn apart. The surrounding crowd was petrified by the violent act. When some of them tried to pull away the little girl's body, the soldiers fired at them.

A Dutch woman, who lives in Hong Kong, witnessed the following event: In the main street facing the Embassy of Holland in Beijing, soldiers were seen stopping two fully-loaded buses and firing violently at the passengers with machine guns. Not one passenger survived in this incident.

A university lecturer in Beijing talks about what he witnessed during the massacre: A student fell to the ground after being shot by the army. Four other students, after obtaining the approval from the soldiers slowly walked, with their hands up, toward the wounded student, hoping to save him from death. Yet, just as they went nearer the wounded student, the soldiers opened fires with the bayonet-rifles and shot the four of them to death.

A woman was shot dead by the soldiers in an advancing tank as she sought to give way to the tank by pushing her bicycle to the side of the road.

Seven young students standing hand-in-hand, sought to block the progress of an armoured vehicle but the vehicle kept rumbling down the avenue at full speed and crushed all seven students to death.

In the region close to Jianguomen, a grandmother found her 9 year-old granddaughter soaking in blood, with seven bullet holes on her body. The desperate grandmother took the little girl in her arms and ran toward the soldiers, but she was shot down immediately.

At 9:00 a.m., on 4th June, several thousands of university students formed themselves into a huge "human-wall" in Muxidi, confronting with the fully-armed troops. Without any previous warning, the martial law troops fired at the seated students. The firing was so unexpected that the crowd screamed and shouted as they fled to the two sides of the road. The soldiers chased after the people and fired fiercely at both sides of the road, shooting down lots of people.

In the evening of 4th June, more than a hundred soldiers forced



into the residential district north to the Tiananmen Square and kept shooting into some narrow alleys. A lot of innocent people, including women who were holding babies, were wounded just because they could not find any hiding place.

A Polish reporter witnessed a student being shot dead in one metre's distance while he was fiercely cursing the soldiers. Witnesses claimed that a female student who failed to evacuate from the Square was killed cold-bloodedly. Her body was covered with more than 30 bullet holes. The soldiers shot another female student in the legs just because she shouted, "We won't leave the Square". As the unyielding girl tried to stand up again after being shot in the legs, the soldiers fired at her again violently, adding seven more bullet holes to her chest. Those who tried to pull away her dead body were also shot dead by the soldiers.

There are different statistics about the number of deaths and injuries in the whole bloody suppression. Sources of the different figures mainly include the information provided by the staff of 15 hospitals in Beijing, the estimates given by foreign reporters who witnessed the massacre, as well as the information provided by the public and the students from different locations in Beijing. The statistic figure of deaths and injuries kept rising, from 50-70 deaths, 400 injuries to more than a thousand deaths and several thousand injuries. By 6th June, the number rose to 5000 deaths. Later, some media even claimed that the number of deaths reached 10,000. According to the Associated Press on 5th June, it is believed that a more accurate figure would be 7000 deaths and injuries in total.

CCTV, the state television network, gave a special broadcast at 3:00 a.m., claiming that 16 armoured vehicles, a fire engine and a bus had been "destroyed". Two thousand security guards and soldiers had been injured, some even killed, in the riot. However, the broadcast made no mention of the vast number of deaths caused by the bloody suppression. On the following day, CCTV broadcasted the "Statement to the Party members and the citizens of the Republic" prepared by the government and the martial law unit, which claimed that in carrying out the mission, "some injuries were caused", but it was mainly "the security guards and the soldiers who were injured or killed."

The spokesman of the National Defence Council, Yuan Mu stated on 7th June that in total, 300 people died in the riot. Most of them were soldiers while only 23 of them were students and the number of injured soldiers amounted to 5000.

On the Black Sunday immediately following the massacre, the Beijing residents, scathing with hatred, lived in the atmosphere of terror. Sounds of shots were heard unceasingly. All internal traffic, including the railways, were cut off. Most of the shops were closed on that day. Queues of residents were seen in the market, waiting to purchase necessary daily commodities.

At 4:00 pm, rain poured all over Beijing. The number of people gathering on the streets were obviously fewer. Only sporadic gunfire could be heard.

At about 9:00 p.m., 7 tanks and 14 armoured vehicles were driven along the East Changan Avenue, heading toward Jianguomen. Only a number of damaged cars and burnt cars were left on Changan Avenue. Columns of military vehicles opened fires at the public, causing more deaths and injuries. Witnesses said that the martial law troops that drove past had fired gunshots toward the Beijing Hotel, threatening the reporters who looked out from the balcony. On 5th, June, martial law troops finally exerted

military control over the Beijing Hotel. All foreign reporters, including those from Hong Kong and Macau, were ordered to leave.

On the fifth, martial law troops started to turn their targets to the post-secondary colleges and hospitals. The directive that was issued to the hospital a day before said that military control would be imposed in hospitals within three days. The military had also warned the staff of the hospitals not to disclose the number of people who were injured or dead. Hong Kong news media had received news which said that the military warned all hospitals to send to them those who were injured. This caused great anger among the staff of the hospitals.

On the fifth, corpses that could not be identified were arranged row by row inside the mortuaries of different hospitals. Many of them died because there was not enough plasma supply. Since the control of the hospitals was to be taken over by the military, the foreign reporters, under the protection of the hospital staff, left the hospital reluctantly in a hurry.

News after all could not be blacked out, especially in big cities. Through all kinds of channels, like Western radio broadcasting, people gradually knew about the truth of Tiananmen Square massacre. Thus, students all over China were mobilised. Protests against the brutal massacre took place in all the large cities of China, and these were followed by the Government's hard measures.

In Tianjin, due to the speedy circulation of news, citizens organized demonstrations to protest against the Government's brutal actions during several consecutive days. But "Tian Jin Daily" carried a notice from Tian Jin's Security Bureau, the tone of which was the same as Beijing's.

In Hangzhou, on 5th June, students demonstrated and put up roadblocks by the side of a lake along Yan Lin Road. Students from Zhejiang Agricultural University protested by lying on the rail tracks in the railway station and the atmosphere was not yet tense.

In Shanghai, students occupied main traffic routes and set up obstruction to stop the army from entering the urban area. The city government gave orders which corresponded to the tone of the Beijing military government.

In Chengdu, the military vehicles entered the urban area on 5th June. In the midst of confrontation between the army and the people, military vehicles were burnt. Several great buildings were burnt down. The army fired and caused over 100 casualties.

In Guangzhou, from 5th June, situation became tense. Students organised silent protests at the Great Zhuhai Bridge, that paralysed the traffic. The officials of military institutes who are on duty all were heavily armed.

At Shekou in Shenzhen, the situation would very possibly have developed into direct friction and physical violence. The second battalion of Weiyang had already been mobilised toward Shenzhen and tanks appeared at Shahe.

At this very moment, the situation in the cities mentioned above was worsening very quickly. There was also news that the situation in Wuhan had become very serious. A nationwide confrontation between the army and the people seemed very likely to happen.

(A translation of an article printed in *The Nineties: Special Issue on Beijing Incident*, 16 June 1989, pp 12-18)

# A FACTUAL ACCOUNT OF THE 48 HOURS OF MASSACRE

by the Beijing Reporting Team of Wen Wei Po (Hong Kong)

"The earth of the Republic is adorned with our blood. . .". This is a line from the song "Adornment of Blood", which succinctly captures the naive love of Chinese students for their nation. It was the song that the students involved in the Beijing Student Movement most loved to sing while they were in Tiananmen Square.

However, they had never expected, not even in their wildest dreams, that on the eve of the Fortieth Anniversary of the establishment of the Republic, they had to pay such a heavy price in blood.

## History Written in Blood

At midnight, June 4, gunshots suddenly broke out in the heart of the People's Republic, in the largest square in the world. Then came the ruthless running of armoured trucks. Thousands of young students lay in blood. The Tiananmen Patriotic Democratic Movement, which had attracted the world's attention, was abruptly posed a huge exclamation mark in the midst of bloodshed. History will never forgive the orchestrators of this massacre; nor will history forget the ghosts of our nation's elite.

During the 48 hours of the massacre, our reporters in Beijing witnessed scene after scene of horrifying acts. Being witnesses of history and being professional journalists, although we cannot suppress the deep grief and anger inside, we deem it our duty to truthfully record all these facts, so that every good-natured person will remember this history written by thousands of unarmed students and citizens.

For most readers, the darkest hour of modern China came with the dense gunshots in Tiananmen Square at midnight, June 4. But the very beginning of the incident actually took place at midnight, June 3.

## The Army Began to Move into the Capital

At midnight, June 3, when the troops received orders to quickly march into the capital, the curtains were drawn for a tragedy.

From midnight to 4 a.m. on June 3, students and citizens in Beijing were blocking movements of the troops everywhere in the city. The biggest blocking act took place in front of Beijing Hotel, just a few hundred metres from Tiananmen Square. It was around 3:10 a.m., Beijing summertime. We were arriving back at Beijing Hotel after reporting on the incident in Muxidi where a vehicle used by armed police killed 3 people. When we saw this troop of soldiers, they were not wearing uniforms. Nearly everyone was wearing green trousers and white shirts, and everyone had his head shaved. They were in files of 6 or 7, closely huddled together, and were shoving their way forward. There was a communications soldier, complete with walkie-talkie and headphones, in every 20 to 30 soldiers. When the troop arrived at the junction of Zhengyi Road, they were solidly held up by citizens.

Many citizens had apparently been woken up abruptly in their sleep. Many of them were wrapped up in bedsheets and wearing pyjamas. At the front of the troop, the citizens were holding back the soldiers with ropes originally meant for mounting posters. Some forty to fifty citizens were holding each end of the rope, and the soldiers were duly held up. Nearly every citizen on the scene was persuading the soldiers not to kill the students. Many young girls were pleading, "Please go back. What are you coming into our homes for?" Some strong youths had broken into the troop and were taking the soldiers by their hands, holding them back.

## Tiananmen Square was in Danger

These soldiers indeed looked exhausted. They were at the tender age of 18, or 19. Everyone's face was filled with dirt. Their clothes were all stained with sweat and dirt. They were all carrying two pairs of shoes, one suede shoes and the other rubber ones. Besides carrying raincoats, which were rolled up and hanging at an angle at their waists, they were each carrying a plastic bag in their helmet. In the plastic bag was a metal string in a rubber tube, which was reportedly meant for mugging people. These soldiers were eventually stopped by the citizens. Some soldiers were convinced by the citizens, and told them in confidence that they had been marching on the double from Shunyi county, which was some 70km from Beijing, and they had been jogging for more than two hours. We witnessed more than ten soldiers falling on the ground in exhaustion. Some middle-aged women were cursing; "These are just kids. What the hell is Li Peng doing this for?" This troop was held up in this section for more than one hour. Then they retreated to the East, amidst applause and cheers from the citizens.

This unarmed troop was successfully blocked, but at the same time many other armed troops had moved into Tiananmen from other directions, either stealthily or forcefully. Tiananmen Square was in danger! Troops were seen on the West Wing of the Great Hall of the People; other troops had occupied the History Museum; armed soldiers were seen to the West of Beijing Hotel along the South River; vehicles carrying weapons were seen in West Changan Avenue.

Apparently, Tiananmen Square was being surrounded by large numbers of soldiers. At this time, the morning mist was rising in the eastern skies. Dawn was breaking on June 3.

## The Claws of Death Reaching into the Capital

From early morning until midday on June 3, students put on display at Xinhuaamen, Xidan, and Liubukou, evidence of the army's entrance into the city. In the exhibitions at Xidan and Liubukou were seen three coaches used by the army to carry weapons. These were stopped by the people on their way into the city. Students displayed on the top of these coaches weapons including machine guns, rifles, bullet boxes, grenade boxes, gas masks, helmets, and walkie-talkies. At the exhibition at Xinhuaamen were seen shoes, caps, belts, bayonets and other military equipment left by the soldiers. A lot of people went to see these exhibitions.

## The First Drop of Blood

At 2 p.m., the first act of suppression had begun. When crowds of people were watching the displays at Xidan, Xinhuaamen, and Liubukou all of a sudden, voices from loudspeakers were heard in Liubukou, sending messages of warning to people gathering round the exhibition - telling them to disperse. Not long after this, over a thousand soldiers, armed police, and traffic police appeared. They quickly built up a formation, with the traffic police in their white uniform out in front, the armed police behind them in the middle, and the soldiers at the back. As soon as these lines were formed, an officer jumped on top of a jeep and shouted an order, "Perform your duties now!" On this cue, soldiers at the back of the formation fired about twenty shots of tear gas at the crowds to the east. At the same time, a large number of soldiers and armed police moved quickly into the crowds waving wooden clubs and electrified truncheons and started hitting anyone in sight. The

people had to run for their lives and retreated toward the eastern side of Changan Avenue. Lots of bicycles, shoes and bags were left scattering along the road.

Almost at the same time, about 300 soldiers suddenly came out of Xinhuaamen. Like the soldiers in Liubukou they were holding electrified truncheons and wooden clubs as thick as a cup, and they started beating the students and people gathering around Xinhuaamen until they retreated all the way to the middle of Changan Avenue. Then the soldiers retreated themselves and formed a semi-circle. This round of violent suppression lasted about 45 minutes. At least 40 people were injured by the truncheons and rubber bullets. According to a doctor in Fuxing Hospital, a pregnant woman who happened to be walking past was beaten up so badly that she had a miscarriage. For the soldiers, this attack was a success: they managed to retrieve all the weapons and equipment on exhibition.

### **The Traffic was Cut**

The afternoon of June 3. Reports were coming in from various parts of Beijing of soldiers beating up students and citizens. At the west gate of the Great Hall of the People, a group of soldiers confronted a crowd, and a lot of students were wounded. Soldiers, thousands in number, who were stationing inside the walls opposite the west gate of the Great Hall began to exchange bouts of stone throwing with the people. Traffic in Changan Avenue had by then come to a complete standstill. Student and Citizen Prefects were shuttling between the various places of particularly heated confrontation, and tried to calm people down. This highly tense atmosphere lasted until about 6 p.m., when the soldiers at the west gate of the Great Hall went back into hiding.

It was Saturday, and word had got round that soldiers were seen beating people up, wounding them, and firing tear gas at them. Even larger crowds began to form in Tiananmen Square in the evening. Hundreds of thousands of people had come out to the Square to find out what had happened that afternoon. Many had also come to attend the Opening Ceremony of the newly formed Tiananmen Square Democratic University, to be declared open by an assistant professor of Political Science at Beijing University. Little did they know that death was moving closer every minute.

### **Signals were Fired**

There were more inauspicious signs in other parts of Beijing that evening.

Beijing Hotel, 8:30 p.m., June 3. The atmosphere seemed somewhat unusual. The shops inside the hotel do not usually close until 10 in the evening. But on this night, most shopkeepers had already closed shop and gone home by 8 o'clock. Only some cleaning and room service staff were left behind. At the east door of the hotel some policemen appeared, and asked the service desk to provide them with a list of the names and room numbers of reporters from Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan, as well as those from other countries. The hotel staff refused to give them this information on the grounds that they had to take the security of their clients into consideration. In the end, the police managed to get a computer print-out of the names of all the residents in the hotel.

The early hours of June 4: together with reporters from other newspapers, we watched Changan Avenue, Tiananmen Square and adjacent areas through our binoculars. From 00:30 Beijing time, we saw near the History Museum (not far from the Beijing Hotel) signal bombs of many colours being fired by soldiers in all directions. There were at least a few hundred thousands of people clustering around East and West Changan Avenue from Jianguomen to Xidan. When they saw the signal bombs, they acted at once and stopped trucks trying to get into the centre. Three lines of defence were built using barricades just outside Jianguo Hotel, Dongdan, and Nanchizi. Some people even moved heavy stones fences and lined them up in the middle of the road to stop the army from entering the central parts of the city.

### **Armoured Vehicles Going in for the Kill**

9 a.m., June 3: A troop of about 700 soldiers, fully armed, suddenly appeared in Qianmen, carrying semi-automatic rifles

complete with bayonets. They moved speedily toward the north. In the areas around city centre, people's efforts to block the army were concentrated mainly along the roads that run in an East-West direction. Defense was considerably weaker along streets that run in a North-South direction. When people saw these soldiers, about a hundred of them immediately rushed toward them in an attempt to block their movement. But the soldiers raised their rifles and crushed their heads with the handles. About 30 people were instantly wounded, their heads crushed and bleeding, some even fell down. Others, seeing that these soldiers were really trigger-happy, they began to run away. This troop finally moved all the way until they reached the west gate of Zhongnanhai.

### **Armoured Vehicles First Appear**

While armed soldiers began to appear on the western side of the Square, another troop appeared on the eastern side. They were running quickly toward the Square, shouting, "Down with the Rebellion!" This troop was eventually cut up into separate bits by the people who were trying to block them. It was by then clear that something was going to happen that night. But what was it? And how serious? People were not entirely psychologically prepared. Looking back now, round about 11 p.m. on June 3, the army has already had Tiananmen Square encircled. They have also gained control over an area to the north of the Chairman Mao's Mausoleum.

00:15, June 4: An armoured vehicle suddenly made its appearance in Qianmen. On its body was painted in big letters: 993. It came so quickly that most people were taken by surprise and did not know how to react. They couldn't believe their eyes: the regime was using steel armoured vehicles to crush the people. In the front was something that looked like a heavy machine gun being wrapped up in green canvas, and it was running at top speed. For the first time since the birth of the nation, except for spectacles like parades, was an armoured vehicle seen running in the heart of the capital like an animal gone mad.

### **Soldiers Crashed**

When people finally realized what had happened, they quickly got together and constructed more barricades, iron fences half a metre tall were lined up in the middle of the road. A lot of people were holding pieces of stone and poles as their only means of defence. The atmosphere was beginning to get very tense. People were absolutely outraged. More took to the street. Some were asking: why is the regime using the army against the people? But who could answer this question? When "993" turned back again, people could no longer contain their rage, and they started throwing poles and rocks at it. The armoured vehicle kept on running at top speed, flattening barricades and fences and disappeared in the direction of Xidan.

A moment's quiet was disturbed again by loud noises from behind. Another armoured vehicle - an "003" this time - came roaring in. Fitted with a semi-circular iron fence at the front, it was running at the fastest possible speed in the most provocative manner, making no attempt to avoid hitting humans or objects. These two armoured vehicles kept on running back and forth in this way along Changan Avenue, crushing and flattening many bicycles. A lot of people were wounded, jumping off their bicycles at the last moment. One of these vehicles finally crashed into an army truck near Jianguomen. A soldier on the truck was instantly killed. His head was crushed and the road was spilled with blood and brains. The other soldiers who had fallen out of the truck got up and shouted in disgust, "What the hell, I'm quitting!"

### **"003" Burnt**

The killing and the blood turned people who were already outraged into a state of hysteria. They picked up anything they could possibly lay their hands on and threw them at the armoured vehicle. Then, all of a sudden, "003" had its wheel-belt caught between some steel bars on a fence, the wheels kept turning back and forth, giving out wailing noises like a cornered animal. Then the whole thing came to a grinding halt.

The sight of an armoured vehicle being successfully stopped finally allowed the excitement and the anger to take over: more

rocks were thrown, some people began to climb up on the vehicle and used heavy rocks to force open the small steel window. People standing near were cheering them on. More people climbed on the vehicle. At the back of the crowd a middle-aged man was shouting with a voice that had become coarse with too much shouting, "Don't! Don't let them have excuse!" But people were too incensed to listen: it was impossible under such circumstances to rationally call for restraint.

Some quilts were thrown onto the vehicle and people set fire to it. Ten minutes later, two soldiers wearing helmets opened the steel door and dashed out - the heat was too much for them. As soon as they came out, they were encircled and beaten up. Some were trying to take one of the soldiers to the Forbidden City and throw him into the moat. But three students immediately embraced the bleeding soldiers in their arms and appealed for calm: they were not to blame, they were the people's army, they were only carrying out orders. In the end the killers were saved. Even at this stage, the students were doing everything they could to protect the army. But did they know that at the same time, in the Great Hall's courtyard, in the bushes of the History Museum, on Changan Avenue West, in dead silence, were hidden soldiers fully armed, waiting for the final order to come out for the kill?

## Bloody Slaughter in the Early Hours of June 4

1:30 a.m. June 4: At the west gate of the History Museum, in between flashes of light, one could see the helmets and gun-barrels of soldiers hiding behind the bushes. We left the Museum and headed for Changan Avenue West. As we were going past Zhongshan Park, we saw a lot of people running frantically in our direction (toward the east). We moved on a little further and were stopped by a man, who, as he was running urged us to flee, "The soldiers are coming! With guns!" No sooner had he said this than gunshots were heard. We could see people falling. Meanwhile, gunshots began in Xibianmen. A brigade had reached there at about 10 p.m. the night before, but were soon confronted with people trying to stop them from entering the city. They opened fire and shot their way into town. As the people ran and cried and loathed, they were still hanging onto a thin thread of illusion: we are in the 20th century, in the 1980s, surely the government of a people's republic could not really ignore public opinion and murder its own people? They were asking each other: Are those rubber bullets that the soldiers are firing? But what little was left of the faith in basic humanity and rationality was immediately shattered by a bloody reality.

### Soldiers in the Square

2:50 a.m. A series of signal bombs went up into the sky. The section of Tiananmen adjoining Changan Avenue and the Gate Tower had already been occupied by the PLA (People's Liberation Army). They first dispersed the crowds in Changan Avenue East to create some space for maneuvering. On all sides of the Square, soldiers could be seen moving and positioning themselves in formations. Between 3 a.m. and 4 a.m., the northern parts of the Square too had fallen into the army's hands. Columns of armoured vehicles and tanks could be seen moving from the eastern side of the Square toward the west. Some troops were seen also in the eastern parts of the Great Hall of the People. These had not started shooting yet. More soldiers were seen at Qianmen. A few thousand of them had occupied a large area near Qianmen Tower. In unison, they shouted warning at the crowds telling them to leave. The shouting soon turned into chasing and shooting.

### Tens of Machine Guns

4 a.m. All the lights in the Square suddenly went out. From the state-controlled loudspeakers came repeated messages, "Events in the Square have turned into an anti-revolutionary insurgency." Students' patriotic and democratic movement was, in the eyes of the regime, not only an unrest, it has become something much more serious: "an anti-revolutionary insurgency". This would provide them with an excuse to launch deadly suppression against

the people. It now seemed clear that mass killing was on the way.

There were 100,000 or more people in the Square at the time, staying together in groups near the Museum, the Mausoleum, and the Monument of the People's Heroes. Gathered around the Monument were mostly students - about seven or eight thousand in number, filling the three steps that lead up to the Monument. Others were sitting at the base. In spite of the loud announcements coming from the state-controlled speakers, the students sat there and sang the "Internationale."

4:40 a.m. Another series of red signal bombs were fired into the sky. All the lights suddenly came on again. The Square, which was pitch dark a moment ago, was now flooded with light and became as bright as day. Then the massacre began. According to a student who managed to escape death, thousands of soldiers wearing combat uniform, in full gear with helmets and gas masks and carrying semi-automatic weapons, stormed out of the Great Hall to the direction of the students. Within seconds a dozen machine guns were set up in firing position facing the Monument. Then, a group of soldiers and armed police holding electrified truncheons and clubs charged from the front of the Monument all the way up the steps. They cut and stoke and stormed their way through the students until they reached the top. Meanwhile, another brigade was doing the same from the east side of the Monument. When they had reached the top they fired shots into the sky and drove the students down the steps.

At the same time, columns of armoured vehicles began to move in two directions. One, some moved toward the Monument, and as they did so formed a semi-circle surrounding the students, leaving only a small opening in the direction of the Museum. And then the vehicles moved forward together and progressively tightened their siege. Two, lines of 4 armoured vehicles sped toward people standing on the roadside, forcing them to retreat toward Qianmen. The Square was now full of gunshots. But a lot of bombs were shot into the air giving out very bright light, presumably in order to create the false impression that gunshots were being aimed upward.

### Students Chased Down from the Monument and Shot

But the truth is: the machine guns and rifles firing in front of the Monument were aimed level. When the soldiers and armed police reached the top of the Monument, their duty was to drive the students down the steps. As soon as they reached the ground level, the soldiers in charge of the row of machine guns would fire at them. Students in the front would fall immediately, while the ones at the back would try and move back up the steps. As soon as they did this, the machine guns stopped firing. Now it was the job of the soldiers on the steps to beat the surviving ones and drove them downward, once again into the waiting arms of the killers. Meanwhile, the armoured vehicles charging the people standing on the roadside were being driven at a deadening speed, and they were made to run straight into the people. Even the flagpoles in front of the Monument were crushed. The students now had no alternative but make a dash to the east. Amidst showers of bullets, some finally managed to overturn an armoured vehicle and created an opening through which some people made their way out of the Square. The last batch of people who managed to escape left at about 5 a.m.

For a time it was a mystery why the soldiers holding the machine guns had to wait until the students reached the ground level before shooting them. It became clear later when the by now state-controlled CCTV broadcast a report in which the government denied having fired a single shot during the "clearance". If the machine guns were aimed at the upper steps of the Monuments, then the gunshots would have left indelible marks on the Han white jade with which the sculpture was made, forever bearing witness to this indescribable crime against the people.

All evidence point to the same conclusion: the massacre on June 4 was a fully thought-out and carefully planned military operation.

## As the Darkest Night Falls

Of the 3000 or so students who made a desperate dash to the Museum, only about 1000 were left. As they met people on the

outside, they immediately retreated toward the north - in the direction of Changan Avenue. But they had only to take a couple of steps in that direction when they were ambushed by soldiers hiding and waiting. They had to turn back again.

A few days ago, TV stations in Hong Kong carried a first-hand report in the form of an audio-tape made by Chai Ling, one of the student leaders. In the report she described the atrocities that took place on the fatal night. But the killings performed by the trigger-happy and blood-thirsty army in the north of the Monument, which was not mentioned in Chai Ling's report, were far more callous. This was the slaughter house where the most peaceless souls were left. We have interviewed a number of people who were fortunate enough to have escaped the Square. Piecing their reports together we get a fairly clear picture of what happened. On June 4, between 4:40 and 5:15 a.m., the following things happened in Tiananmen Square:

#### **Intense Killing at Monument North**

1. When the lights in the Square came on again, combat troops with guns dashed out from the Great Hall into the Square.

2. From due north of the Monument and also from the east, groups of soldiers forced their way to the top of the Monument and drove the students down. The loudspeakers set up by the students were fired at.

3. The majority of students retreated through the south. For the earliest and largest group of students who managed to leave the Square, the escape route was: from the Mausoleum to Qianmen, and then turning west. Chai Ling and the students from the Chinese University of Hong Kong were among those who left on this route. Just when they were leaving the Square, very dense gunshots were heard coming from the north. But because masses of tanks and armoured vehicles were blocking the view, what was happening in the north was not clearly visible to them.

4. The casualties were highest in the north.

#### **Many Died in Bitterness**

As students were being slaughtered near the Monument, more soldiers were in full gear carrying out violent acts and killing and suppression in the whole area extending eastward and westward from Tiananmen Square - all along Changan Avenue. At 5 a.m., a troop stormed forward from Zhushikou and beat the students there with truncheons and clubs. People tried to put up some resistance by fighting back. 5:05: Six tanks appeared from the east. Dozens of military trucks full of soldiers raced at top speed in the direction of the Square, with the soldiers shooting all around them as the trucks sped past the crowds. 5:30. 30 or more tanks and a large number of military truck entered the Square from Changan Avenue West. Just after 6 o'clock, three tanks appeared on Changan Avenue West, attacking students who were trying to retreat into the universities. At least a dozen students were rolled over and crushed flat by the tanks. At 6:40, the army had taken complete control. All the entrances were now guarded by columns of tanks, armoured vehicles and armed soldiers. Around 7 a.m., the centre of the Square were giving out huge and dense clouds of black mist from burning 'objects'. This lasted for three hours. At 7:20 a.m., the

soldiers standing in front of the tanks and armoured vehicles outside the Mausoleum fired bouts of tear gas at people who were watching from a distance. Then they charged and attacked them.

June 4. A morning without sunlight fell on the Republic. A few figures were available: a student from the University of Politics learned from a relative of his (who was a military doctor), that there were at least 2600 discernible corpses on the Square - some could not even be made out, having been crushed and flattened by the tanks. The International Red Cross' estimate at 2 a.m. was that 2000 people were killed. At about the same time, a student ran through six major hospitals and obtained a total figure of over 1000 casualties.

Someone working for a hospital gave us a first-hand account. He was on an ambulance headed for the Square. But when the ambulance had moved past the first row of soldiers, it was stopped by the soldiers in the second row, and ordered to turn back. As they did, and in so doing making a little way into the second row, they caught sight of what was behind that second line of defence: soldiers laying bodies out in rows, tanks running over them.

#### **Killing Continues**

As if all this was not enough, the troops were constantly moving into other parts of Beijing, shooting at people. More and more innocent people were killed, not even knowing why. Looking down on Changan Avenue East as we did from the windows of Beijing Hotel, every half an hour or so, soldiers could be seen raising their guns and firing at anyone in sight. Then people would drop on the ground. A few seconds later, those who could stand up again would get up and run. Those who could not would be left lying there on the road. Those running for their lives would occasionally turn back to try and save the wounded, or shout for help as bicycles went by. (The army gave this warning: cyclist can go past, but they must not stop. Pedestrians must not go near the Square.) Many wounded people were thus saved by courageous passers-by.

Troops firing at the people were using automatic rifles and pistols.

The hospitals were a horrible sight: everywhere was full of blood-stains and crowded with dead bodies and wounded people. The conditions were extremely chaotic. Some troops had apparently been to the hospitals to look for students who they wanted to arrest, but they were turned away by the staff.

From the cloud-laden sky, heavy rain at last began to fall. Amidst thuds of thunder and flashes of lightning, the soldiers on the roads squatted by the side of the tanks, shivering. Were they exhausted from the killing? Or were they frightened?

Later in the evening, hundreds more tanks moved into Tiananmen Square from the east. There were so many tanks that the Square was filled with them.

Beijing after the massacre: There was no traffic nor pedestrian. Only rounds of gunshots. This fortieth year of the New China has started the darkest night in the history of the nation.

(A translation of an article printed in *Wen Wei Po*, 12 June, 1989)

## A RECORD OF BLOODSHED AT TIANANMEN

On June 4, at 12:00 a.m. in Beijing, there was as much hustle and bustle in the Changan Avenue of Eternal Peace. But there were not too many people, only around 50,000 to 60,000.

### BLOCKING THE ARMoured VEHICLE

It was at this very moment that some rumbling came from the West Changan Avenue. All one could see was dust being stirred up when the 993 armoured vehicle was in real sight, when many were shocked dumb, when no one managed to respond or react accordingly. The armoured vehicle moved in full speed as if it was treading on an uninhabited place.

Beijing people's nightmare began.

They at once set up road blocks. Many came out onto the street. Then, the armoured vehicle turned back, and people threw stones and bamboo at it when it dashed through the road blocks in full speed toward the West. Soon came the 003 armoured vehicle which moved from East to West. It reached near the entrance of Imperial Palace. It got stuck there by the people's iron rods. It was at this time that someone climbed onto the top of the armoured vehicle, and they pressed onto the steel windows with big pieces of stone. A middle-age man shouted from the back of the crowd, 'Don't make troubles for them to charge us with good cause!' But none took the message, or, perhaps, it was too difficult for the people to practice restraint anymore.

Some burned a few wadded coverlets on the top of the armoured vehicle. Two soldiers came out of the armoured vehicle, 10 minutes later, because of the unbearable heat. They were immediately surrounded by the crowds, given blows. But three students carried them off, pleaded for the people's sanity and calmness. Then the wounded soldiers were carried off by an ambulance.

### THE ARMY MOVES AND TAKES ACTION

At the same moment, the crowd discovered that the army had already reached the North door of the People's Great Hall. People sensed that the army was going to take action.

At around 2:00 a.m., a series of shooting was heard in the city of Beijing. The crowd retreated toward the East along the Changan Avenue. Some ten death and casualties were carried off in bicycles and tricycles. The crowd retreated, people shouted that they would go on strike.

Around 2:45 a.m., Beijing Central Broadcasting Station made the martial law announcement, warning the people that they should make immediate retreat or they risked their safety.

Many fled in fear, whether those in the Square or those in the Changan Avenue. Students' broadcast appealed for negotiation with the army, showing their willingness to retreat in peace, asking all the students to surrender the wooden rods at hand. Then a black car moved from the People's Great Hall toward the Square. This was thought to be the negotiator.

In the north, a procession of armoured vehicle dashed in full speed. Seven were dashed to death. Some 400 were wounded.

At 3:45 a.m., all the lights in the Square went off. It was the omen of military suppression. Sounds of shooting came from the Square. Students were still broadcasting "Internationale", pleading for peaceful retreat. But there was not the any response from the Army.

According to a wounded civilian, People's Liberation Army swept the crowd with machine gun shootings, and three of his friends fell. He could not tell whether they were alive or dead.

At 4:00 a.m., students in the Square and the crowd of 100,000 were all surrounded by the Army.

A series of shootings which lasted for as long as 30 seconds came from the Changan Avenue. There were even flare-bombs shot into the sky. The government broadcasting system in the

Square labelled the Student Movement as 'Counter-revolutionary activity.'

At 4:35 a.m. the broadcast warned the students to leave the Square by 5:00 a.m..

### SHOOTING THE RETREATING STUDENTS

At 4:50 a.m. the lights in the Square were on again. Students were going to retreat, but shooting of tear-gas-bombs continued non-stop. There were much white smoke and sound of explosions. Many were caught in the tear-gas and could only flee blindly.

The Square was surrounded by the Army, despite students' retreat. The army further pressed inward into the Square, shooting tear gas bombs as the students retreated toward the Southeast.

As according to an eye-witness, one of the corps moved from the South to the North, sweeping through the crowds with shootings; two armoured vehicles dashed into the Changan Avenue even after the students had expressed their wish for negotiations.

According to the students who managed to escape the massacre, armed police and soldiers rushed toward the students, beating them with rods and spear-handles even when they were retreating. And when the students moved further away, they shot them. Some students fell. There were around 100,000 in the Square. They were all sitting peacefully, singing. No one was making any trouble or taking any actions at all.

According to the students, the army moved into the Square in tanks and armoured vehicles which first dashed the Statue of the Goddess of Democracy, then dashed into the tents area, knocking down those who wanted to block them with their own bodies. There were students inside some of the tents as the tanks crushed the tents.

Students still continued to retreat under such circumstance. But the army continued shooting them. The estimation was that about 1200 died in the Square.

At 5:00 a.m., the Statue of the Goddess of Democracy in the Square was dashed. Some thousands of soldiers moved into the Square from the East Door of People's Great Hall. Thirty carts with soldiers moved toward the Square from the north.

### THE ARMY SHOOTING THE PEOPLE

On the other hand, six tanks moved in full speed from Jianguomen to the Gate Tower. Ten armed wagons followed, sweeping through the crowd with shooting. More than a hundred shootings were made within a few minutes.

At 5:30 a.m., more than 30 tanks and a large number of armed wagons pressed in from the West. The civilians all fled in the mist of the shootings.

More tanks and armoured vehicles poured into the city after dawn, again they swept their way through with shootings. This team of armoured vehicles all stopped inside the Square. Besides, a great number of soldiers came in on foot, and there were a few thousand of them both at the East Door and the West Door of the People's Great Hall. It was said that the troops shot senselessly as they moved from Jianguomen, and the civilians all hid themselves in the subways and carparks, throwing stones at the army.

At 6:00 a.m., the troops managed to gain control of the Square. But a few hundred civilians set road blocks in the West Changan Avenue. They burned a bus. Then, some tens of armoured vehicles moved toward the Square from the West, shooting the civilians along the way. Later, the tanks inside the Square turned and moved out, back into the Changan Avenue. Bombings and shootings filled the street.

(A translation of an article printed in *Ta Kung Pao*, 5 June 1989.)



# EYEWITNESS REPORT ON 3 JUNE 1989

3.7

by a Hong Kong Journalist  
Leung Suk-ying

On June 3, 1989 at 1:00 a.m., I dashed out to the street from the Beijing Hotel and met the students. Before I had time to say anything to them, they told me that something might happen in Tiananmen Square and they thought that we should just find something to cover. They then took me by their bicycle to the surrounding areas. When we arrived at the rear entrance of the Municipal Government House, we were surprised to find that a troop of soldiers were going into a dark and narrow alley. We managed to see the last few hundred soldiers of the troop. The student told me that the alley was the back door of the Police Station.

As we continued going around the area, another troop of People's Liberation Army of about a few thousand passed us. We, together with tens of citizens, stopped there to see what happened. The soldiers were wearing white shirts, green trousers, small bags and some taking plastic water bottles, some taking shoes and some holding loudspeakers in their hands. The student told me that the latter (loudspeakers) were used for making commands. My heart sank gradually.

In the main road, we could only hear the footsteps of the soldiers. Some citizens were staring at the movement of the troop. Everyone was silent and questioning for what purpose was the troop hurrying to the city. Were they really coming to carry out the task of suppressing the student?

I hurried back to the Beijing Hotel and made a long distance call to my press in the room of a foreign reporter. The scene that there were only about tens of people riding on bicycles in Changan Avenue worried me. How come the defense of the Beijing citizens was so loose? Were they all in bed? Suddenly, I heard the honking sounds of the military trucks. I put down the telephone and went to the balcony to see what had happened. There were about tens of bicycles coming from Tiananmen Square, heading toward the East. Some were ringing the bell, some were shouting and some were heading toward the Square. At about two o'clock, I could not see many bicycles coming this way to help and I ran down the street anxiously.

When I ran to the Changan Avenue opposite to Wangfujing, I could see tens of citizens putting the rails and stone road blocks on the road. Before I managed to take out my camera, there had already been a large troop of PLA soldiers in plain clothes at my back, running in fast pace toward the Square. The rail blocks did not function at all and the stone road blocks were driven to the roadsides.

The crowd of citizens increased to about two hundred. Some of them dragged the soldiers from their lines, some put their bicycles in front of the military trucks, some proceeded with the soldiers and persuaded them, but this did not stop the troop from moving. I wanted to go to the front of the troop, and I found myself facing a crowd of a few hundred shouting "Go back! We don't need you!". This shouting was echoed everywhere and there were some shoes thrown out from the crowd into the darkness alongside with the shouting.

I turned back to look closer at the PLA soldiers. They were wearing white shirts, shouldering compressed biscuits, noodles, drinking water, and blankets. They lowered their head, quietly listening to the scolding or persuasion of the crowd. Their sweat had dampened their clothes, some were wiping their sweat as they proceeded. I could see some of them were very young-looking soldiers of around eighteen to nineteen years old and signs of exhaustion and desperation appeared on their faces, added with some signs of doubtfulness.

To avoid being dispersed by the crowd, they proceeded with their hands locking each other. Some of them seemed to have run so tired that they crippled along with the assistance of their comrades. Thousands of PLA soldiers tried to make their way through the crowd, but some soldiers were dragged out by the crowd from their line.

Those soldiers who were away from their troop were persuaded by the citizen. I could see a very young soldier, with a very short hair-cut listened bewilderedly to the situation in Beijing and the reason for implementing the martial law being reported by the citizens. Sweat was dripping from his forehead, and he expressed in a shivering voice "I don't know the situation here and I don't want to go on any more." The crowd escorted him away toward the East joyfully.

Another young soldier was very stubborn and insisted going back to his line. The citizens pulled him forcefully and he was forced to walk toward the opposite direction, but he did at once turned back and ran toward the direction of his troop. This happened for a few times. Some citizens were furious and wanted to hit him but were immediately stopped by the others who persuaded them by saying, "Don't beat, don't beat, we should convince him". But the fear of severe military punishment won at last and that young soldier finally went back to his troop.

The crowd increased to tens of thousands within ten minutes. There were four to five lorries placed on the road in front of the History Museum to block the troop from moving ahead. Crowds of people gathered in the street, and the soldiers could only proceed very slowly with difficulty. I saw a red flag flying in front of the State Tourist Bureau. The students also arrived to reinforce the crowd. Then I saw a camera crew of a foreign correspondent agency running from the Tiananmen Square. My heart was at ease, believing that there would be no big problem in Tiananmen Square.

At about three o'clock, this troop of young soldiers could no longer proceed. They were pressed to withdraw from the bicycle lane to the pavement, engulfed by the crowd. Some young soldiers sat on the road to take a breath. Seeing that the soldiers being engulfed, the crowd started to applaud and shout. They further sang the "Internationale" together. The voices of the song echoed in the night and some of the soldiers were there with their heads lowered.

After about twenty minutes, the troop gradually withdrew to the Municipal Government House and the Police Station. Quite a lot of military belongings, such as the compressed biscuits, water bottles, cups, shoes, etc. were left behind along the road. Some citizens showed the journalists the coats and rucksacks seized from the soldiers. In a rucksack, there was a walkie-talkie with antenna and a sharpened iron-bar. Some citizens continued to express angrily that quite a lot of people found out on the soldiers hidden knives, nylon strings, steel bars and even double waist-belts. These were all there to treat the citizens their trucks.

The fact was that the troop had received order to arrive at Tiananmen Square by three o'clock in the morning on June 3. Hundreds of the People's Liberation Army who stationed at the outskirts of Beijing City had been journeying to the city from all directions since June 2. The soldiers were mainly from the East and West. Some of the troops journeyed on foot, some by trucks. Majority of them were in plain clothes, coming openly or secretly to the city. At about 10:30 a.m., a group of soldiers from Muxidi tracks over-speeded and caused the death of three citizens. This event had heavily struck the alarm and alerted the citizens.

As a result, the main roads in the districts of Changan Avenue, Wangfujing, Liubukou, Dongdan, Xidan, Chaoyang Area, Xuanwumen area, Qianmen Avenue were all blocked by thousands of citizens. However, though the army could not get hold of the Tiananmen Square, some of them succeeded in entering the city and stationed in some hospitals and press units. A large troop of soldiers occupied Nanchizi right next to the Tiananmen Square.

In West Changan Avenue near Xidan and Liubukou, a lot of guns, helmets, bullets, wrapped in sacks, were found in four trucks and buses stopped by the citizens. Some citizens and students were showing the seized machine guns, sub-machine guns, rifles and bullets. This attracted thousands of citizens to see.

In Tiananmen Square, the students also collected some weapons and guns delivered by citizens who had seized those items from the army. In order not to be taken as an excuse for instigating riots, the students patrol returned these weapons to Xinhuaamen at 1:00 p.m. on June 3, but the army refused to receive them.

At about 2:30 p.m., a troop of about two thousand soldiers, wearing helmets, came out from Zhongnanhai and lined up in Xidan, Wangfujing Avenue and Liubukou, separating the crowd and warning the citizens through loudspeakers that detention of army weapons was illegal.

The troops and the civilians confronted for about 2 to 3 minutes. Then the troop began, for the first time, firing consecutively about 20 tear-gas bombs at the crowds. The surroundings in Liubukou was filled with stinking and choking smell of tear-gas. Thousands at the scene, students and civilians alike, all rushed to find haven.

Nearly at the same time, about three hundred armed police rushed out from the Xinhuaamen, using their electric and wooden batons and some even with iron teeth, and beat anyone in sight in dispersing the crowd. Many of those citizens who were not quick enough to run, including those elderly and little children, were hurt. Some older citizens were beaten and fell.

A female student, shouting "People's Police love the people!" at a bus-top was kicked at her waist and beaten hard by a soldier who used an electric baton, fell down. Fortunately, she managed to struggle free and fled away.

Tear gas was fired for about twenty minutes and the armed police started to withdraw to the Xinhuaamen. When they had left, the people there found that the arms and weapons in the four buses had disappeared. It was believed that the police had 'seized' back the arms.

According to an eye-witness, there were at least seventy to eighty innocent citizens got hurt and there were at least ten citizens taken to the hospital. A female student who had been hurt in the leg by the shells of tear gas when passing through Liubukou was treated. The red patch of wound on her right leg made people feel sorry for her innocent injury. A hospital nurse told me that two other female citizens were hurt more seriously and had to be admitted to hospital.

When I was about to leave, a citizen who was bleeding in his nose and mouth was carried to the hospital. Just when he entered, a motor car drove to the hospital and a breathless student asked the nurse to open the gate, but the nurse told him that seriously injured ones had to go to another hospital. That motor car then drove away.

The citizens then told me that there were several students taken to the hospitals. I was very surprised and asked why. Then I know that the citizens and the army had been confronting each other in the west gate of the Great Hall of the People for quite some time already.

When I arrived there, I saw thousands of citizens surrounding about five thousand PLA soldiers. The citizens were sitting orderly on two sides of the inner circle, leaving an area unoccupied in the middle. I also saw a group of armed police surrounding someone(s). Seeing the red flags flying above, I guessed it might be a conflict arising between students and the army. There were some

stones thrown at each other for a while. A few people of both sides were hurt.

There was a sudden uproar in the crowds. Then a person was rushed out by a few citizens. A student told me that the soldier had received the order that they should beat anyone shouting "Down with Li Peng". Students were enclosed in a circle by about ten soldiers and were beaten up by soldiers who used their leather belts and even kicked. There was nothing the others could do, resulting in students being hurt seriously before being carried away. At about 3:00 p.m. to 4:30 p.m., there were about twenty students taken to the hospital. And for the next few hours, there was one student hurt and taken to the hospital in every 15 to 20 minutes. Everyone was bleeding severely with no exception, and it was unbearable to see that.

The confrontation between both parties lasted for quite some time. At about 5:00 p.m., an army officer stood out and said that, in order not to further intensify the conflict between soldiers and citizens, they decided to retreat temporarily. But the citizens did not give way, and some of the soldiers who had already stood up had to sit down again. Then, a few male students ran into the circle to negotiate with the army officer. Two other, with their hands holding a cloth soaked with blood, walked round the circle and told that the students and citizens were beaten up unreasonably. At first, the troops seemed to have no feeling, sitting there with no facial expression. The on-looking crowd then started to exercise their strength. They chanted with the students some slogans, singing the "Internationale" loudly and some shouted after the song. "PLA soldiers could also have one!" The troop still did not have any response, and the crowd cried out "With no Communist Party, there is no new China" and they continuously requested the soldiers to sing back. Some soldiers were moved and started to have some response. Those young soldiers sitting nearer to the crowd lowered their heads with shame and listened to the cries of the people, while some started to smile. The braver ones even secretly hummed along the song silently.

After a while, an army officer stood up finally, and conducted the PLA soldiers to sing "Three great sets of discipline and eight points to note", the crowd applauded. This broke the deadlock while each side return one another with singing of revolutionary songs in turns. Enthusiastic citizens brought a bucket of drinking water for all of them. Some citizens gave cigarettes to the soldiers, and the atmosphere there was warm and harmonious.

When the atmosphere there was getting warmer, someone suddenly shouted "Down with Li Peng" and others followed. The shouting crowd got more and more emotional. Many people stuck their heads out from the windows of the Great Hall of the People to see what had happened. A portion of the crowd showed a "V" sign and also made booing sounds. People from the windows got so frightened that they withdrew their heads behind the curtains.

Suddenly, a student there was injured by a brick thrown out from the building and was carried away. This incident seemed to be like a pot of cold water poured and frozen the hot sentiment of the crowd. For the next half-an-hour, another two students were hurt by the bricks. Up to then, relationship between the crowd and the troop returned to the original condition - a confrontational one.

This six-hour confrontation between the people and the army ended after strong persuasion by the students, and with the promise of the army officer that the troop would retreat from Beijing City at 8:00 p.m. and that they would not return for the next forty-eight hours.

However, further development of the situation proved that the above-mentioned confrontation between the people and the army was only a sign before a thunderstorm. Compared with the massacre that happened hours afterward, this small-scale blood-shedding incident could be said as nothing.

(A translation of an article printed in *People Will Not Forget*, pp. 151-156)

## Blood Shed at Tiananmen

Zhang Jiefeng

It was after 10 p.m. on June 3. I was talking with a friend living in Gucheng over the telephone. He told me that he had heard firing in the west.

Earlier that day, at about 2 p.m., the military police used tear gas at Liubukou. It not only stirred the anger of the populace, but was an evil omen that weighed on the mind of many. The military suppression had begun; the Square could be cleared any minute. What tactics would those ignorant and shameless officials in power resort to? Since martial law was declared, there was rumour every single night that the army would move in to take over the Square. Horrible images often appeared in my mind's eye: soldiers storming the Square, firing tear-gas, kicking and punching the students; several hundred army trucks driving into the Square, military police taking the students by force and throwing them into the trucks .....

Now, how I wish it was just like that.

My friend told me that he heard gunshots. Foreign news reports soon confirmed that, to the west of the city, the army had opened fire. I felt an impulse to go out to cover what was happening, but I did not know how to go about it in those dangerous circumstances. I stayed on the balcony of our room in Beijing Hotel and watched till after 11 p.m. I saw how, on Changan Avenue, citizens on bicycles kept rushing to Jianguomen, and other citizens set up road blocks on the street. Then it happened. An armoured vehicle emerged from the west, and simply drove through the crowd on the street and through the human wall at Jianguomen. The crowd scattered with a loud bang, and the road blocks collapsed. That was the first heavy military vehicle to appear in the city centre.

The tension seemed to mount by the minute. I felt I had the responsibility, the necessity, to be on the spot, to see for myself what was happening. So I called on two colleagues, formed our "dare-to-die reporter team", changed into light gear, took some wet towels as a precaution against tear-gas, and set off.

The front gate of Beijing Hotel was locked. We clambered over that, and trotted toward Tiananmen. There was people everywhere - on the street, in the alleys and shrubs. Fearless people! Did you realise that war was about to break out?

But they did appear as if they had no fear of death. Armoured vehicles rushed at them time and again. Not only did they not budge, they even ran after the vehicles and hit them with whatever they had at hand - be it stones or twigs. From where I stood, to the east of the Gate Tower, I could see the armoured vehicles moving back and forth to mow down the people. Ambulances were there too, in a great flurry. The air was impregnated with danger and tension.

At 1:10 a.m. on 4 June, an armoured vehicle charged once again from the east, and the crowd ran after it as before. But this time, the vehicle could not make for the road block. It tore off a piece of iron railing, clamped on for a short distance, came to a halt and could not be re-started.

I climbed up the railing by the moat to watch. I saw the crowd climb up the vehicle, force open its top and set it alight.

Since the time that Li Peng defined the student movement as rioting and Yang Shangkun deployed troops to the capital, the so-called 'riotous' Beijing city has always been so peaceful, so orderly. The citizens who intercepted the army trucks had no hostility toward the soldiers. They even took pity on them for being grounded, and supplied them with food and water. Now, who was it that manufactured this scene of burning an armoured vehicle in the early morning of June 4? The brutal regime had kept up a series of provocative and repressive action, deploying military police and heavy firearms; how could it fail to stir the anger of the

people?

The firelight and the flames could easily make one befuddled. Because the crowd was surrounding the armoured vehicle, I could not see clearly if the soldiers in the car had been burnt alive. Somebody said that they had been let out.

At 1:45 a.m. gunshots could be heard clearly from the west. An eerie atmosphere descended on the street. But in that intense mood, people seemed to have lost all ideas of fear. On the contrary, the grandeur of the spectacle surrounding them seemed to draw them in, making them rush to wherever events were heating up. They heard the gunshots. Did they retreat? No. On the contrary, they started heading west.

Of course, we headed west because we did not believe that the army would fire on the populace. How could the people's army shoot the people?

We moved from the east to the west end of the Gate Tower, till we could not get through the thick throng of people. To obtain a better view, we climbed up lamp-posts and stone parapets, and saw, by the intense firelight, a chilling sight: hundreds of soldiers, guns in hand, had got into position on the section of Changan Avenue north of the Great Hall of the People, confronting the throngs of people ahead of us. The way they held their guns showed that they were ready to open fire any minute.

I was stunned. At the sight of the muzzles, my sense of involvement dissipated and my only thought was to escape. I looked around to search for a route of escape and didn't notice that the people in front of us had, at that time, suddenly scattered.

What had happened? We were not sensitive enough to mark that this dark-green column could march so briskly against us. We only saw this minute that this was a squad of riot police, wearing steel helmets and wrapping their rifles across the chest. What to do? The people around us had started to run; some waved to us to do the same.

The military had started to press on the Tiananmen Square. I did not see how many were killed or injured at the outskirts. But now the military was in the Square and I was at its edge. It was 2:05 a.m. We quickly jumped to the ground and started running to the east. But we could only run this fast, and they were marching so much faster. Should we run all the way back to the Hotel, or find a place by the roadside to hide?

As we reached the mid of Gate Tower, a colleague with me suggested hiding under the Gate Tower. So we ran up the Jinshuiqiao. But, a few steps later, we realised that all the people were retreating down the main street, and we were left on our own. Better retreat with the crowd, we thought. So we retraced our steps from Jinshuiqiao.

As soon as we had crossed the bridge, I suddenly felt a shock. My right brain ached severely, and I could feel some liquid running down my cheek. I had been shot! They opened fire even before I could discriminate the sound of gunshot. They opened fire without any prior warning. With my skull in flames and blood gushing forth, I began to feel the fear of death. My senses told me to prostrate immediately. But as soon as I fell to the ground, I felt another pang at my back. I was shot again!

I pulled up my jacket to wrap my head. But I was still bleeding profusely. My blood dripped so fast on the bridge that I could hear it falling with a thud. I could no longer see where the police had gone, nor how confused the situation was then. Should I get up to go on running, or should I keep lying down to hide? If I should run, I could well be shot again; if I lay low, what about the bleeding? .....

I shed blood in my effort to cover the student movement.

Eventually it was the students who turned back to save me and led me to safety.

I probably took the first shot that the military police fired at Tiananmen Square. After that shot, there were thousands more. After my retreat, I could not see the situation in Changan Avenue

and the Square. Up to the point that I left Beijing, I did not have the chance to see the Square again.

**(A translation of an article printed in *People Will Not Forget*, PP 156 - 157 )**

# ON THE ROOF OF A PUBLIC LAVATORY

Eyewitness Accounts by a Hong Kong Reporter

Leung Chau-yin

Recent events revealed that the government will actually take action to disperse the students in Tiananmen Square.

While we were having a quick lunch in Beijing Fandian, there was news that the PLA had fired teargas near Xinhuaamen of Zhongnanhai. Fifty odd pieces were fired, with a view to "regaining" the firearms which had earlier on been "lost" to the students and people. Only a few people were injured in the incident.

At a little after three, we were reporting on the confrontations between the army and the people. After six, as we had been warned by the police that we had breached martial law, we had to stop working and discuss what measure to take. The conclusion was that we would ignore the warning and continued to work. . .

A little after nine, while we were just leaving for supper, the telephone rang. The voice over the phone was unfamiliar; it belonged to a cadre whom we had known for only three or four days.

"Mr. Leung, I've just been to the Square. The situation today is not at all encouraging; something awful may happen. Will you reporting in the Square tonight?"

"Have you heard something?" I asked a series of instinctive questions, "Has your unit been given notice?"

"Our head has asked us not to go out tonight . . . . . the same piece of advice was broadcast on the radio. If you can go to the Square, you can talk to Wang Dan and the Workers' Autonomous Organization; they have very much insight into the present situation . . . . . Maybe we'll talk again tomorrow. Take care!"

"Take care. See you tomorrow." I felt quite excited at being able to witness, as a reporter, how the government is going to tackle this difficult problem.

I quickly shared with my colleagues the news that this government was actually going to suppress the people.

We were returning to the hotel when we ran into several hundred "retreating" troops. We learnt on reaching our hotel that those troops had tried to move in on Tiananmen Square at around ten o'clock but had been driven back by the people.

At eleven o'clock, 14 of us gathered in a room to discuss how to report on the suppression. After much discussion, we decided to form a team of nine reporter to cover the events in the Square. The other five would stay in the hotel to film from a high vantage point, and to co-ordinate between the field reporters and home stations in Hong Kong.

Having checked that we had all the necessary items: wet towels, drinking water, documents of identity, mobile telephones, cameras, etc., the nine of us hurried off before midnight.

We began our march from the hotel to the Square, embarking on an unprecedented reporting experience. During the journey, we sensed nothing tense in the air, except that an occasional pedestrian or two would come up and asked whether we were reporters from Hong Kong, and would then request us, with a most sincere look in their eyes, to "take as many photographs as possible so that the truth would be known". At that point, no one expected anybody to be killed.

## THE 4TH OF JUNE

At twenty-five past midnight, we finally reached Tiananmen Square and the Memorial of the People's Heroes. There was considerable confusion in the Square; the demonstrators were bustling about, probably getting ready for a showdown. After some discussion, we decided that in order to reduce the possibility of casualty on our part, we would stay at the memorial for about 15 minutes, and then find a place nearby where we could see the Square clearly and continue our work there.

While we were beginning to film on the steps of the Memorial, we saw the first armoured vehicle loaded with soldiers whisking past at a very high speed northwards up the western side of the Square. There was instantaneous tension in the Square; some yelled in protest; others raced after the vehicle.

Then the directing unit in the Square broadcast to the students to congregate and take their final vows. Thereupon rose deep and heroic voices: ". . . . . I vow, that I will, with my young life, defend Tiananmen Square and the Republic. We can give our lives away, but not the Square . . . . ." Amidst the "Internationale" student prefects collected the clubs and bottles stocked up before; the students put on their masks, getting ready for the toughest resistance.

At thirty after midnight, it was broadcast that student leader Wueraixi, due to a relapse of heart trouble, needed to be sent to the hospital in an ambulance. . . . .

It was time for us to leave the Memorial. Li qi (transliteration from English), my colleague working for the English TV channel, seeing that other foreign correspondents were not leaving, insisted that he stayed on and relayed the latest news back to Hong Kong. I unwittingly argued with him, had myself called a coward lacking professional ethics. It was only after immense effort that we finally managed to move him. (Although we came to an understanding afterwards, those words are still on my mind today. After Beijing, I constantly ask myself the question, "Was that a wrong choice when we decided to leave?" "Would Yuan Mu have been able to sell his version of the "truth" if we had stayed?"

After we left the Memorial, we surveyed for a suitable vantage point nearby. The steps of the Great Hall of the People? The Museum of History? Or the Chairman Mao Mausoleum? None of them was workable as they were already stationed with hundreds of thousands of troops. We would have been the first to encounter any danger even without any moves on the part of the army.

Failing a suitable sanctuary, we stopped at the benches on the flowerbeds near the Mausoleum, quietly waiting. Then there was clamour near Qianmen, and students and crowds were running towards that direction. Troops of the PLA were moving in from there. Presently, several dozens of students came running, out of breath, carrying two injured soldiers, crying as they ran, "We have to save the injured, even if they are soldiers!" They also asked photographers not to block the way.

Streams of peoples passed back and forth before us. The nine of us discussed for a while and decided that it was not a safe spot, and went off immediately to find other better vantage points. At last, we settled for a low public toilet southeast of the Great Hall.

As there was no other safe points nearby, 14 reporters - nine of us plus a photographic team from a Taiwan television corporation, and a Dutch reporter - helped one another to climb up onto the roof of the building, and from a distance of about 300 metres observed the events in the Square.

Despite the rubble and the broken piece of glass on the roof of the toilet, it was a much safer place than Xidan, Liubukou, Changanjie East or Muxidi; and also the Square was visible from there. Everybody started his own work of co-ordinating, live reporting, filming and supportive work. As for myself, I took out my tape recorder and recorded what I subsequently saw.

At 1:20, artillery fire could be heard near Qianmen, and tracer bullets could be seen across the sky. The people in the Square area had become very tense, and so had we.

Tracer bullets had been fired for 3 or 4 minutes when suddenly we heard shooting and marching steps. When we looked down, we were shocked to find troops marching towards the Square shooting as they marched. Not knowing whether they had begun the

crackdown or not, I shouted to the others to duck their heads. Everyone of us had to crawl from edge to edge on the roof of the toilet, practising whatever we might have learnt from war movies.

These several hundred soldiers did not charge into the Square; instead, they only gathered on steps at the eastern entrance to the Great Hall. Seeing that the troops were not in action, the crowds gathered again. Some of them picked up stones from the ground and threw at the troops; some set fire to garbage off the street; while the soldiers fired to garbage off the street; while the soldiers fired sporadically, or feigned an attack to scare off the people.

The following hour did not see any more troops moving in, and the crowds in the vicinity of the toilet began to calm down a bit, though shooting could be heard all the time. But the situation was changing for the worse to the north of the Square. There were bonfires at the two northern corners of the Square, bonfires of burning buses and armoured vehicles. Worse still, we were told by our counterparts in the hotel that the troops had let themselves loose in their shooting, and dead bodies of civilians studded Changanjie . . . . .

Although we had not seen it with our own eyes, our hearts sank like lead.

At 2:20, a second file of soldiers in the thousands moved in from the direction of Qianmen, but while they passed before us, turned towards the southern side of the Great Hall. Because these soldiers only had their firearms on their back and did not look as fierce, the people began to close in on them and shouted slogans for the downfall of Li Peng. As the atmosphere seemed to have eased a little, we mustered up our courage and with a torch as the only illumination, filmed those scenes with the troops as the background for live broadcast.

At around the same time, there was broadcast from the Square, requesting the students to hand over all weapons they happened to possess to the directing unit, and to continue with the sit-in in the face of approaching troops, so as to persevere in the spirit of peaceful demonstration which they had held for the past few months.

Before long, there was further news that the killing had got out of hand in Liubukou, Xidan and Changanjie East. Albeit the tremendous courage of the inhabitants, they were killed file after file.

At that moment, broadcast could be heard from the Square: the students pleaded with the plainclothes in the Square, stressing that this student movement was a nationalistic movement for democracy and not a riot; the PLA was the people's army, and it would be criminal if they shot their own people.

Soon there were two more messages: the first was a request by the students for a consultation with the army; the second was a request by Houdejian, one of the four celebrity hunger strikers, to talk with the army for a safe retreat for the students. All was in vain. After that, only broadcast by the martial law troops could be heard.

Amidst the "Internationale" the students in the Square tried to cling nearer to the Memorial, and then hand in hand sat down on its steps. We tried to look with a pair of binoculars, and could only see heads moving.

Time passed amidst artillery fire, cries and the Internationale, but there was no solution reached between the students and the troops.

It was 3:15; there was immense tension in the Square. Silently we gauged the situation.

Since we had been informed that the police had already searched our rooms for negatives, our prime concern then was to think of a way to keep our video tapes untouched. Initially we kept them in some hidden corners and continued with our filming. Then we decided to think of other alternatives because the toilet was actually too close to the Square and hence unsafe, and in the case of a takeover by the army, its vicinity would become restricted area and we would not be able to retrieve these tapes.

By then a dozen other citizens had gathered on the roof of this building as well. They were talking very loudly; some condemned the government; others even took photographs using a flash. This would naturally turn this hitherto safe vantage point into a target of attack! Furthermore, the weapons used by the troops were not just rubber bullets, or teargas on bars, but murderous live ammunition.

After some consideration, we decided to leave this place and head for some local domicile for temporary cover.

At 3:30, when we had packed our equipment and were climbing down in small groups, the third company marched in. Although their numbers were not large -- one hundred odd of them -- they were the most dangerous of the three. Everyone of them was clutching hard their rifles as if they were ready to shoot anytime. The crowds scurried for their lives; the first two of our team who had reached the ground had to take shelter inside the toilet building, leaving the equipment lying outside. All we could do above was to lay ourselves flat on the roof and spied over the edge.

Luckily this company disappeared presently, and two more of us were helped to get down. Suddenly, a stampede could be heard from the southern entrance to the Great Hall, so that we had to lie flat again, only to find that it was only an ambulance passing. That had been a real scare! The rest of us hurried down, and when the heads were counted, we were short of one person, and that was Xie Zhi Feng; he was still live reporting back to Hong Kong. We were all feeling anxious for him, and it was only after much ado that he was moved. We then headed towards the southern entrance to the Great Hall.

We had thought that all would be well on leaving the vicinity of the Square. To our dismay, the steps to the southern entrance were already packed with armed troops . . . . . Not a word was uttered, but all of us knew that a slight tip of the balance would mean . . . . . Hence we hurried through warily in front of the rifles, finally reaching safety.

It was not without difficulty that we finally had a place to stay in a civilian domicile. What constituted a ten-minute journey in peaceful days had now become an ordeal.

We had rested for a while when we were told by some pedestrians that the lights in Tiananmen Square had just been turned off. It was 4 o'clock; the troops were probably going to move in. Despite a strong wish to go outside, we could only stand at the door and listen hard to the events over there in the Square.

Forty minutes later, we heard that the lights had been turned on again, and Houdejian had convinced the troops to let the students retreat safely via an outlet along the southeastern restriction line to the Dongjiaominxiang area.

We were all anxious about the students' safety, and after some consideration, we went to survey the events in the Square at around 4:15.

The main street was full of people. The area around the public toilet and the southern entrance to the Great Hall was now packed with troops, besieging the Square.

New Qianmen to the south, several dozens of army vehicles were heading towards the southeast of the Mausoleum, where continual firing could be heard before long. I was pondering over what could be happening there, when Xie Zhi Feng again began his live reporting.

We were approached by two citizens, who asked in a low voice whether we were reporters from Hong Kong. They then produced a 2-inch long bullet which they said were found on the ground when the troops fired, and raved about how the troops had shot inhabitants of the city. They themselves witnessed how an old man, while trying to take shelter in a guard booth, was shot. . . . .

When we tried to ask the people in the streets about the situation in the Square, the crowds gathered around us, and were just too keen to relate what had happened, with the result that we could catch little of the content of the conversation. Amidst all this, suddenly there was continuous firing in the streets, and the crowds dispersed and ran for their lives. I instinctively pushed my colleagues into a local inhabitant's home.

In the patio of the house, we were discussing the situation outside, smelling the scent of artillery fire and the piercing smoke of teargas. Some time passed before things got quieter. We poked our heads out to see, but quickly retreated to our hiding place.

For the next few hours, we could hear continual shooting, mixed at times with the noise of heavy artillery fire. When dawn was beginning to break, it was already almost seven. We thought the students must have left by then. We headed towards the Square, and was bold enough to come very close to the restricted area, only two feet away from the soldiers. But all we could see



behind the restriction line were flattened tents.

We sensed that some person near us was going to take action, and hence quickly left. There we encountered four students who were extremely upset; they had just left the Square. We took them to a hutong (lane) nearby and calmed them down. We also asked them what had actually happened during the retreat.

Among them, one had pleaded with the troops near the Museum of History; another had tried to blockade the troops before going back to the Square; a third had all along remained in the Square. They told us more or less the same story-- When the lights in the Square were turned off, the troops charged onto the Memorial, beating up the students with clubs or the butts of their rifles, brutally clearing up a bloody path among the students on the steps of the Memorial. Once they reached the top, they immediately crushed all tape recorders, apparently not wanting any records of the event to be kept. . . . Then they would beat up the students with clubs behind their backs, irrespective of whether they had begun retreating or not. Later, these students could see tanks charging into the Square. Not at all bothered by the fact that there could be people inside, the tanks squashed the tents, and several times as well.

The one who had blockaded the troops at Xidan bore witness to a killing in which a student's back was just mashed when the bullet came out. . . .

These students were sobbing all the time when giving these accounts. Some kind-hearted pedestrian offered them hot water to calm them down, and then escorted them away.

Having heard these accounts we were all struck silent.

Presently we ran into a high-school student who had been with us on the roof of the toilet but had not left with us. He said that 15 minutes after we had 'escaped', the place was discovered by the PLA, who then dashed up onto the roof and fired. To escape, he jumped onto a tree which saved his life.

On the morning of the 4th, we all felt as stagnant and inanimate as mannequins. Our minds were totally preoccupied with the thought of going back to the hotel, to our colleagues. However, news from the hotel that the slaughter was still continuing in Changanjie meant that we would have to stay where we were for the time being.

On the morning of June 5th, failing a feasible plan of escape, and fearing that further stay might endanger our hosts, we informed our colleagues in the hotel that, though risky, we were planning to take refuge in Minzu Fandian nearby for the next one or two days.

Our hosts, anxious about our safety during the journey, disregarded their own, and, risking their lives, led us through the hutongs, and across the Changanjie where inhabitants had not long ago been shot. They would not leave us until they were sure we had reached safety.

This danger-ridden escape had aroused in us a sense of euphoria. When we arrived at the hotel, we were astonished to see our taxi drivers there. He had actually driven around the area to try to find us the day before, and had been several times nearly hit by gunfire, which made him give up the rescue. That day, having learnt that we were going to Minzu Fandian, he had again tried to find a route for the rescue.

At last we managed to get back to Beijing Fandian, by no means an easy task. At the reunion with our colleagues in the hotel, we felt as if it had been ages since we were last together. A few hours later, we had to stop, extremely reluctantly, our work in Beijing, and say goodbye in tears to the millions of courageous Beijing citizens.

#### Epilogue

After a lapse of four weeks, it has not been at all easy to document what was witnessed and felt. This manuscript has taken one whole week to finish, and had to be amended several times. Part of the content is based on what was recorded on tape, and part of it on memory, which means the details may not have been remembered too clearly. Despite all this, I have written it, and hope that this exercise may serve as an expression of my deepest gratitude to our hosts and the three taxi-drivers.

(A translation of an article in *People Will Not Forget*, pp. 160-165.)

## GOODBYE, THE SQUARE

Choi Suk Fong

(The last Hong Kong reporter to leave the Tiananmen Square.)

Tiananmen Square was the focus of reporters as well as the heart of this movement for democracy. I have spent a number of nights and days there. At 10 p.m. on the night of 3rd June, when I learnt that the army had fired, I knew that it would be risking one's life if one went out. But since the fasting period and the Martial Law was declared, I went to the Square every night, so I could not stop myself from going there again that night.

Liang Er and I had agreed earlier to go to the Square together at 1 a.m. in the morning. Around the Square, there were many pickets who were ready to set off to reinforce the places where emergency arose. Numerous news of deaths and injuries was sent from the outside. As the situation was becoming more and more tense, the Headquarters on the Square sent out its last order which insisted on peaceful and non-violent struggle and asked all those on the Square to gather under the Monument of the People's Heroes.

At Qianmen, flare-bombs were fired consecutively. These orange-red lights, accompanied by explosions and gunshots, were threatening the children of our motherland gathered around the Monument. But they were not afraid. They even said in the broadcasts that they would never retreat but would fight against the tyrant's brutality with their blood, and they had to declare to history the continuation of unyielding struggles, that they had to call upon new lives, to let their fellow students rise.

Then, a student stained with blood arrived at the Square breathlessly and said that they could no longer refrain from fighting for he had sent many fellow students to hospital and 17 had already been dead. However, in order to sustain the spirit of peaceful protesting, the Headquarters not only had rejected the advice of this student, but also asked the students and the people to put down their weapons. When I went to the outside to understand the situation, on the way I saw a furious crowd throwing bottles at a bus carrying soldiers. I also heard the emergent broadcast by the Headquarters of the Martial Law troops coming from the People's Hall, saying that the Square had become the market for an extremely small number of people to arouse unrests and spread rumours, in order to restore the normal order of the Capital, the Martial Law troops decided to clear the square immediately.

The loud voice of the broadcast ceaselessly commanded that everybody should leave the Square immediately, or else the Martial Law troops had the authority to use all means to deal with them. Later, the broadcast changed "the riot at the Capital" to the more serious "counter-revolutionary riot". Despite the broadcast, the gathering students, workers and citizens still refused to leave, some even went to places where there were troops and besieged the soldiers, attempting to make the last persuasion. There were also student pickets who separated the people and the soldiers, leapt at orders and prevented conflicts.

When I was walking on the road in front of the eastern entrance of the Hall, I saw that there were many fireheads in the area near to the castle at Changan Avenue. I originally intended to go to the western side of the Hall along Changan Avenue and see if there were troops, but when I got near to the street-end, I discovered that a large number of vehicles and soldiers were approaching, with armoured vehicles at the front, and firing ceaselessly at the east.

The people on Changan Avenue sought cover everywhere. I had to retreat also and hide myself behind a police-box. Many bullets flew across above my head and smashed the glass of the police-box at my side. A man beside me collapsed and some people who were not afraid of the bullets went forward to save him. There was a mainland Chinese reporter at my side who was recording details of the scene orally. After the gunshots had stopped, he even took my hand and led me backward.

It was near two in the morning. The nightmare had become reality. This group of brutal, dauntless, relentless people's sons and

brothers' army had really fired at the people. I don't know how many they had killed along the Changan Avenue to clear this road leading to Tiananmen.

The crowd was still unwilling to give up. They retreated to a certain distance, but when the gunshots stopped, they rushed forward again. Although the number of people daring to rush forward had clearly decreased, there were still some who were fearlessly throwing bricks at the troops.

The students delivered the wounded to the Rescue Station, the floor of which was stained with blood. I saw some students armed with wooden clubs and iron bars, and many had put on mouth-covers and helmets, waiting for the impending military crackdown.

When I looked toward the east, I saw many soldiers ran toward the History Museum. Other troops approached from the west and occupied the Gate Tower in the north. There were already troops stationed in front of the People's Great Hall on the west of the Square. Only the southern side appeared to be more peaceful and people were gathering there.

The four fasting intellectuals, including Hou Dejian, made an emergent appeal, hoping that the PLA would stop using force, for the people were unarmed and were only having a peaceful protest. They were also willing to negotiate and would persuade the students to leave the Square immediately.

The appeal was broadcast at three from the announcers on the Monument of the People's Heroes. At 4:00 a.m., all the lights on the Square were switched off, the whole Square was covered with a terrifying atmosphere. Killing would occur anywhere and at any time. I thought I might really die on the Square, so I searched out a tent in the dark, and asked the students inside to spare me a bed to sit down. There were still students resting in the tent. I switched on my torch and wrote my last words on my notebook: My fate has been linked with those of the students. I am not afraid to die, I know what I've done is right. Being able to experience this touching historical moment, the individual's life has already been lost in the current of the great age.

It was very dark, nothing could be seen. However, suddenly a large group of people and workers entered the Square on the south-eastern side, shouting, "Chinese! Rise!"

Hou Dejian's voice was heard again from the announcers on the Monument, saying that there had been too much bloodshed, it could not go on like this. Now the victory of the movement had already been won. Those who were on the Square were all elites of the country, were all fearless of death, but one had to die meaningfully. Therefore, Hou and the others had decided, without the agreement of the students, to contact the Martial Law troops, and had obtained their consent to allow every citizen of the People's Republic of China on the Square to retreat safely. Hou Dejian stressed that he hoped that the fellow workers, students and citizens would think carefully and then make a decision.

However, before Hou Dejian finished speaking, somebody on the Square shouted, "No evacuation!" Afterward, the other three fasting protestors: Zhou Duo, Liu Xiaobo and Gao Xin also spoke, persuading them to preserve their lives and refrain from dying unnecessarily, and saying that the Martial Law troops had received a dead order to clear the Square at all costs before dawn. But the troops had consented to leave a passage in the south. So they hoped that the students could evacuate in order and that everybody could make a decision calmly and carefully, with the minority obeying the majority.

Later, Hou Dejian and the others also said that they would not leave until all had retreated. In order to preserve the strength for the future of democracy in China, everyone had to evacuate in order.

At 4:40 a.m., the lights on the Square were turned on again. The representatives of the workers' Autonomous Union also said in

the broadcast that the troops were totally inhuman, stabbing the people's body once and again. The slaughter on the way had already killed a lot of people. Nobody could have any more fantasy about them. To insist on staying was just making unnecessary sacrifices.

While the students were still pondering over the question of staying or retreating, the first group of Martial Law troops had already leaked into the Square, went past the tents and advanced toward the Monument, commanding the students to sit down. I was at the north-eastern corner under the Monument. I saw that this troop forced its way up to the third storey. Gunshots were heard ceaselessly. Then the students and the people shouted, "The people's army does not beat its people!"

The voice of the emergent announcement of the Martial Law troops drowned that of the students' broadcast. Before the students gathering around the Monument knew the decision on whether to retreat or not, the soldiers had already occupied the third storey and chased the students sitting on the stairs away, the soldiers fired endlessly and shot at the announcer on the Monument. Sparkles could be seen on the Monument. The crowd roared furiously, "No shooting at the Monument!"

The students retreated toward the south-eastern direction like waves, but I went toward the west, passing the students sitting in the front. I met Ma Shaofang, who sat in the front row, on the north side of the Monument. He told me to leave quickly. Later he pulled me into his group and reminded me on guarding against the use of tear-gas by the Martial Law troops.

At 5:00 a.m., we saw armoured vehicles and tanks approaching, crushing all the tents. The statue of the Goddess of Democracy had already disappeared, probably being pushed down. Were some unyielding students still in the tents and being crushed to death?

There were gunshots ceaselessly. Yang Chaohui who sat beside Ma Shaofang, ordered me to retreat and commanded that the students should make way. But when they were facing the tanks so bravely, how could I retreat? Moreover, I had decided to sacrifice my life like them.

My senses were greatly disturbed. The gunshots had never stopped. I could not make out whether the shots were fired at the open air or at the people, whether they were shots from rifles or from machine guns. I was also unable to distinguish whether the

soldiers were wearing special uniforms or ordinary uniforms; whether they were the PLA or anti-riot police; neither could I differentiate between armoured vehicles and tanks. Moreover, I was as naive as the students who believed that the government would only use tear gas to suppress the movement, and thus prepared with us some wet towels. The incredible thing was that real guns and bullets had already killed many people. Would there still be any way out for the students and the people?

A troop of fast advancing soldiers rushed out from behind the tanks and armoured vehicles, forcing their way toward the students, striking at and chasing students with wooden clubs. Originally, the students had already been evacuating in order in the south, but I did not know when, yet the soldiers had besieged the students and the tanks and armoured vehicles had blocked the way. Many students were struck by clubs. They crowded on the narrow passage without knowing what to do.

I was pushed down in the shrub. Some other students were also pushed down and pressed upon me. The situation was chaotic. They pushed toward the edge while I crawled out. I saw that the soldiers in front were striking people, so I ran, during which I fell and were beaten by two strikes. Luckily, I could still run, but many were streaming with blood, escaped with wounds.

After we were out, we felt perplexed. Many students cried. We followed the disorderly procession and retreated toward the south. There were still students escaping from the Square at the back. I met Ma Shaofang, Yang Chaohui and the others again, who were holding each other's hands and walking with deep sadness and gravity. They called out to me and told me to go with them, but suddenly Yang said, "I won't go anymore! I can't leave here, I want to die here!" Ma disapproved and carried him away with two other students.

When we arrived at Dongjiaomin Lane, I parted with them. After this departure, I did not know when I could see them again. It could be said that they had saved my life amid dangers, although actually everybody had risked his life to face with the government's relentless and blood-thirsty suppression.

Written on 9th July, 1989

(A translation of an article printed in *People Will Not Forget*, pp. 165-169)

# THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN BEIJING

--An Eyewitness's Account Given  
by a Hong Kong student of the June 4 Massacre

Ho Fu

**They moved God.  
They moved not the Emperor.**

## ~Beijing University's Poems Collection~

At around 1 a.m. on June 4, the first troop of soldiers, about a thousand of them, carrying machine guns at their back and with clubs in their hands, passed our "Hong Kong Societies' Support and Material Supply Station". They told us, "Don't panic, we won't shoot the students". On hearing that, my tensed emotion was relaxed.

All through the time, I thought that the best measure that the government should employ was to deploy soldiers to surround the Tiananmen Square or to force the students away and surround their colleges before enforcing the martial law. The citizens and investors would slowly and gradually get used to that, just like what had happened in Taiwan before. If so, even there was "small scale" confrontation (about a dozen of gunshot-wounded people were escorted away in front of me), I would never believe that the army would suppress our peaceful and non-resisting students in the form of a bloodbath. If the worst came to the worst, I thought, we might be beaten up and taken away to hospitals and prisons by force. Of course, I was prepared that a small number of us might die.

At around 2:30 a.m., I returned alone to the northern part of the Monument's highest level and lied down. By that time, there were several stars scattered in the sky. Under the sky, there were sounds of gun shooting and cannon firing, as well as voices singing the pathetic "Internationale". Under the lamp-light, the big characters of "People's Hero Will Forever Be Remembered" seemed particularly solemn.

My mind was completely blank until 4:30 a.m. I wanted to leave a note before dying, but I could write nothing. I could not think of anything to do, so I lit up the first cigarette in my life until I have finished the whole packet. The only thing that I could think of at that time was that, if I died, I would feel sorry to my family.

The government have been announcing through their own public address system that the students should leave the Square before dawn, or else they could not guarantee the safety of the students. At around 4:30 a.m., the Tiananmen Square Commanding Point have also urged through its own public address system that the fellow students should leave the Square as soon as possible to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. The students were urged to leave because an earlier negotiation held with the Army concluded with this message: they had received a "Dead Order", i.e. they would clear the Square before dawn at all expenses, but they have already left an exit at the south of the Square for the students. The public address system of the Commanding Point also pointed out that we had been advocating democracy, it was time that we should practise democracy. We should agree with the majority and leave the Square (because majority of the students of the Commanding Point voted to leave). At that very moment, a student standing next to me said "You are not the majority. We won't leave the Square; if we leave, we would fail the expectation of the people."

Tomorrow morning, every Beijing citizen would stone the army. Just one stone from each man would be enough to kill the army." Then, the four intellectuals fasting also joined in to urge the students. Among the four intellectuals, Hou Dejian was the second or third one to speak, he said that he would not leave the Square until the last student had left. Another intellectual announced that the rest of them were with Hou Dejian.

A few moments passed, the lights that had once been out were lit again, and some lights besides the Great Hall of the People that had never been lit were turned on, shining over the Monument as well as the areas around like daytime. Continuous troops of soldiers were marching out arrogantly and aggressively from the Great Hall of the People, all armed with guns in their hands. They were getting closer and closer towards the Monument, 100 meters, 50 meters, 10 meters . . . . . When I looked toward north, I saw a regiment of around 30 soldiers were pushing through the people and moved to the lowest step of the Monument. I took out my camera and tried to take some pictures. At that very moment, another group of soldiers had already reached the top level of the Monument from the stairs at the eastern side. They fired at the Monument, just about 1 to 3 feet above the students heads. Some of them were pointing their guns seriously and nervously at us. A thought came up immediately. "What are they doing! If they missed the Monument, their bullets would definitely hit and kill us!" Then, I followed other people and started to retreat slowly by the stairs at the southern side. When I was climbing down the stairs, I saw a military officer holding a walkie-talkie and he kept talking to that walkie-talkie. Then, several soldiers immediately pointed their guns fiercely at their "enemies". I noticed that some people in the crowd were taking pictures, so I also held up my camera and took several pictures. By then, I was forced to move away with the crowd.

Following the crowd, I moved slowly towards the south. I found 2 Chinese University (of Hong Kong) students and 1 Hong Kong University student near the Chairman Mao Mausoleum, I stayed there for a while and then moved on. Later, I saw another student of the Hong Kong Federation of Students, and again I hanged around there for a while before moving on. Near the Arrow Tower at Qianmen, I met student leader A of University of Law and Politics and his friend B. A had always been staying at the commanding point and he estimated that the number of casualties had at least exceeded a thousand. This was the first time I had ever heard about the number of casualties and I was terribly shocked. After a couple of minutes, when students of the University of Law and Politics came by, A, B and I joined in and retreated together. When we reached Qianmen Dong Avenue, about one thousand soldiers were running from sideways toward Tiananmen Square. The people were shouting angrily. "Running Dog . . . . . Running Dog . . . . .". On hearing that, the soldiers ran even faster toward their destination. A told me that judging from their uniform, they were from China's only one Paratroops Division.

The students were moving along with their own schoolmates of the same college gradually toward west first and then turned north back to West Changan Avenue before turning west again. The

people were waiting along the roadside to shake hands with the students and say goodbye. There were voices from among the people now and then, saying things like: "Blood for Blood!", "General Strike". "We will take Tiananmen Square back again" "You are coming home victoriously" . . . . .

Daylight started to flood when we were leaving Qianmen and when we moved to Xidan, daylight had complete reign over the land. We occupied half the width of Changan Avenue. At that time, we heard something sound like tanks and people started to panic and lose order. We sneaked through a broken fence along the road and went into a small lane. After running for a dozen meters or so, we turned back and saw that there were 3 tanks, one of them had a soldier on who fired more than a dozen machine-gun shots and threw one to two smoke bombs. The crowd then fled to all directions. The 3 tanks returned after a while, the scattered small groups of people then split up and escaped for their lives again. I was quite far away from the smoke bombs and the wind was not blowing towards us, but my throat still felt very terrible. I was so uncomfortable that I wanted to vomit nearly all what I had eaten. At that moment, someone from behind told me that around a dozen people were crushed to death by the tanks. On hearing that, the three of us turned back and we saw that around 80 to 100 meters from us, more than 10 people were crushed, perhaps because they were blocked by the rail fence and could not escape. Some of them had their brains crushed while some have limbs parted. I took a glance at 10 meters away and dared not look anymore. A, B and I believed that those 3 tanks were trying to disperse the people, or else they would have at least killed a thousand of us. They tried to disperse the crowd because they wanted to catch the student leaders. It would not be easy to catch the leaders in campus because there would be a large crowd of students in school. The 3 of us then got on our way again, along our route of escape, we saw traces of confrontation such as broken stones, blood pools ranging from 30m<sup>2</sup> to several hundred square meters in size. We finally managed to hitch-hike back to University

of Law and Politics. B went in first to check the situation, when he found that it was safe, the three of us sped to A's hostel directly, then A left immediately. About half an hour later, the student of the University returned with 5 corpses which they risked their lives bringing back. News from different sources was terrible and I almost collapsed. They told me that 2 students couldn't get to Tiananmen Square, so they went to 6 hospitals, the total number of corpses at the hospitals was estimated to be at least a thousand.

Then I knew that at around 2 to 3:00 a.m., the Red Cross announced that more than 2000 people were dead. According to the last group of students who left Tiananmen Square (including a student who had hidden himself on tree tops), the students at the far end of their group were shot dead. Some military doctors secretly told the student leaders that at least more than 2600 students had died since they were late in leaving the Square. But since some were crushed, it was very hard to figure out the exact number of student died. In addition, since the soldiers killed anyone in their way, not sparing the little children who were on-lookers only, the number of people died was estimated to be at least 10 thousand, including 2 foreign reporters.

At this juncture, several students wanted to set up road blocks but the soldiers had already arrived and they fired several shots at the entrance of the University. They had also blocked the entrance for quite a while. This was the first time that I had ever felt that death was so close to me. If I stayed there, I would have to take the risk that the army might exercise martial law over the University; if I tried to go back to the hotel, I might be shot dead on my way. If I died there, I would not be of any value. Therefore, a strong desire to fight for my own survival emerged within me. I must come back to Hong Kong and tell every one what I had seen and heard here. At around 12:00 noon, a student of the University of Law and Politics led me back to my hotel by bicycle.

**(A translation of an article printed in *People Will Not Forget*, pp. 169-172)**

# MASSACRE AT TIANANMEN SQUARE

--Condemnation By A Student Survivor

Zhao Hanqing

I am a student of the Qinghua University. I am 20 years old. As I had been sitting on the stairs of the Monument to the People's Heroes last night, I witnessed the whole process of the army's crackdown on our students in the sit-in protest and on other civilians by gunfire.

A number of my schoolmates were shot dead. My clothes are still stained with their blood. As a survivor and witness, I wish to reveal to all peace-loving and kindhearted people what I saw throughout the military crackdown.

## Army Refused To Take Back The Guns From Students

To be frank, in the afternoon of 4 June we had already known that the army was really going to launch a crackdown. For we had received an anonymous call at about 4pm. (The call was made to a neighbourhood telephone service station at an alleyway near the Tiananmen Square. The call was for our student in-charge.) We were told on the phone specifically that the army would soon advance to clear the square. This piece of information alerted us. After some urgent discussion, we took certain measures to mitigate the conflict and avoid any large-scale bloodshed.

At that time we had 23 assault rifles and some incendiary bombs which we seized from the army in our clashes in the last two days. But the Autonomous Federation of University Students decided after a meeting that as a gesture of our original intention of "promoting democracy by non-violent means", we would immediately return the guns and bombs to the troops. In the evening when we communicated with the army on this matter under the portrait of Chairman Mao in Tiananmen, an officer said that according to instructions, they would not retake possession of these arms.

The communication was fruitless. At about 1 a.m. when the situation became extremely desperate, the students on the stairs of the Monument burnt and smashed the rifles, dismantled the incendiary bombs and poured out the petrol to ensure that these arms would not be used by evildoers or be taken by the authorities as proof of the students' guilt in killing soldiers.

## Students Still With Illusions

The Autonomous Federation of Students then informed everyone through the public announcement system that it was a grim situation. As it seemed that bloodshed would be inevitable, students and civilians in the Square were asked to leave. But 40,000 to 50,000 students and around 100,000 civilians insisted on staying in the Square. I was one of them.

In retrospect, the atmosphere at that time was extremely tense. Never had we in our lives been in such a perilous position. It would be a lie to say that I was not frightened then. But we were all psychologically prepared and determined. (There were of course some students who thought that the soldiers would not really fire at them and kill.) We were inspired by a strong sense of mission; we students were going to sacrifice ourselves for democracy and progress in China, which was a worthy cause.

After 12:00-- after two armoured personnel carriers raced past the two sides of the Square, from Qianmen, the gravity of the situation escalated. The government repeatedly gave their "notice" through tweeters. Numerous helmeted soldiers began to close in on us. In the dark, we could see machine guns mounted on the roof of the History Museum, uncovered.

At that time, all of us quickly withdrew to the Monument of the People's Heroes. I made a count; about two-thirds of the students were men and one-third women; 30% were Beijing students while the majority of students were from other parts of the country.

At 4 a.m. the lights of the Square were out suddenly. The order to clear the Square was heard from the public announcement system. I felt very keyed up. I seemed to hear a voice saying: this is the time; this is the time.

## Ten Or More Machine Guns Mounted In A Row

People like Hou Dejian who had joined the hunger strike then were negotiating with the army. It was agreed that the students would withdraw peacefully from the Square. But when the students were about to withdraw at 4:40am, red signal flares were fired one after another. Then the Square was lit up again. The front of the Square was filled with soldiers. From the east gate of the Great Hall of the People, a troop charged out. The soldiers armed with assault rifles were in camouflaged uniforms, wearing helmets and gas masks. I will make a digression here. On the evening of 3 June at about 6 pm, we had negotiated with a regiment at the west gate of the Great Hall of the People. The commander said they were only reinforcements; the troop that would directly confront the students would be the one coming from Sichuan. He promised he would not open fire at us. The troop that charged out at this moment was probably the one from Sichuan.

This troop first mounted ten or more machine guns in a row facing the Monument. The gunners lay on the ground aiming at the Monument, with the Tiananmen rostrum behind them. Once the machine guns were mounted, a large number of soldiers and armed police (distinguished by their uniforms and helmets; helmets of the armed police being bigger than the soldiers' and with earflaps) holding torches, billy clubs and some special weapons that I had never seen before dashed at us, the sit-in protestors, and beat us hard. We were driven to both sides, clearing a path at the middle up to the third level of the Monument. Forty to fifty students had been so badly beaten that their faces were bathed in blood. At that time, armoured trucks which had been waiting in the Square together with more and more soldiers, came to hem us in. We were surrounded by a large ring of armoured vehicles. Only in the direction of the Museum was there an opening.

## Students Forced Down the Monument Before Shooting

Soldiers and armed police who had smashed their way up the third level of the Monument broke our broadcast equipment, printing machines and bottles of soft drink. They drove us down the stairs by beating us up. All along, we remained seated. We were hand in hand singing the "Internationale" and shouting "the People's Army do not attack the people." But beaten and kicked by such a huge gang, we were eventually forced down from the three levels of the Monument.

When the students who had been sitting on the third level were forced to the ground, machine guns started firing. Some soldiers knelt down to shoot and their bullets just brushed past the students' heads. But the bullets fired by soldiers lying on the ground hit the chests and heads of students. We had no alternative but to go up the stairs of the Monument again. When we retreated to the Monument, the gunfire stopped. But the soldiers on the stairs of the Monument forced us down. Once we reached the ground, the gunfire started again.

The dare-to-die squad formed by workers and civilians were so desperate that they picked up bottles and sticks -- their makeshift weapons-- and charged at the army. At that time, the Autonomous Federation of University Students ordered a retreat from the Square. It was not yet five in the morning.

## Stepping On Corpses To Dash Out

Consequently, a large group of students dashed towards the



only opening in the ring of armoured vehicles. But the malicious vehicles blocked the exit. More than 30 armoured vehicles bore down on people and some students were crushed to death. Even the flag poles in front of the Monument were knocked down. The whole Square was in chaos. I had never thought that the students could be so brave. Some of us went forward to push the armoured vehicles but were shot down. Then another group of students charged forward, stepping on the corpses in front of them. At last an armoured vehicle was pushed aside, leaving an opening in the encirclement. I was among the 3,000 students who dashed out through that opening under a hail of bullets. We ran to the entrance of the History Museum but only about 1,000 of us managed to reach the Museum.

At that time, there were still a large number of people at the entrance of the History Museum. No sooner had we joined them than we all headed north (i.e. Tiananmen) in the light of the adverse circumstance. Just when we had advanced a few steps, we heard gunfire from the grove in the north. We could not see anyone there but only flares from the muzzles. We immediately turned south to Qianmen.

#### **Machine Guns Firing For 20 Minutes**

I was crying when I ran for my life. I saw another group of students dash out under heavy fire of machine guns. The path they went through was strewn with bodies. We were all crying. We cried as we ran. Just when we reached Qianmen, we ran into a large troop racing from Qianmen. They came from the direction of Zhubao Shi. They did not fire at us but beat us hard with large clubs. In the meantime, a great many people dashed out from Qianmen and fought fiercely with this troop. They covered us so that we could break out of the encirclement and rush to the Beijing station. The troop was chasing after us. It was 5 a.m. Firing in the Square became sporadic. Later I met a student at the International Red Cross. He told me that by 5 a.m. the last group of survivors had already retreated from the Square. The firing of machine guns lasted for about 20 minutes.

There was a scene I could never forget. One of my Qinghua schoolmates (a young man of Jiangsu origin) wounded by machine gun was bleeding. He still ran with us but collapsed on the way. He threw himself on my back and said, "Please help me, will you?" I was then supporting two weak women students with my arms. As I did not help him in time, he just fell on the ground and people stepped on his body. . . . . Surely he was dead. As you can see, I still have his blood stains on my back. At that time, half his body was covered with blood.

#### **Selfless Rescuers**

Nor could I ever forget the scene when some students were shot down, the others defying personal danger rescued the injured and carried away the dead bodies. Some women students took off their shirts to bind up the wounds of the injured students until there were no more clothes left on their own bodies. . . . .

When our group arrived at the Beijing railway station, two students and I returned to the Square. It was 6:30 a.m. Qianmen was crowded with people. I followed them inside but could go no

further when we reached the Memorial Hall. We were blocked by several rows of armoured vehicles and human barricades made up of soldiers. I went to the side of the road and climbed up a tree. I saw soldiers in the Square packing the corpses of students and civilians with large plastic bags, one corpse per bag. Then the bags were heaped up under large pieces of canvas.

#### **Doctors Not Allowed To Treat The Injured**

I met a student of my department there. He was among the second group that broke out of the encirclement. He told me that there were heavy casualties but the Red Cross ambulances were not allowed to enter the Square. This student and I immediately rushed to the Red Cross first-aid centre at Hepingmen. We saw many wounded people being brought in by tricycles. The doctors there told us that an ambulance which entered the Square was on fire as the soldiers shot at it. I met the second, third and fourth groups of students who had just charged out from the Square. They said numerous injured students were still lying in the Square.

At about 7:20 we went back to the square and asked about the latest conditions. We in particular asked more than ten elderly people. They all said that the people who died on the pavement of the square were lying in a row, one after another. The military vehicles mounted the canvas to block the view of other people. They added that a large number of military vehicles entered, and injured people were carried to the vehicles to be transported to somewhere else.

It was around 7:30. The soldiers suddenly fired tear gas canisters at people in the square. A large number of soldiers charged the crowd. I again ran to the Beijing station. On my way I saw the first and second groups of students rushing out from the square. They were all in tears.

#### **Residents Provided Refuge For Students**

The task given to us by the Autonomous Federation of University Students was to take the students who were from other parts of the country to the railway station. I brought these students to the waiting room of the station and intended to see them off. But the person in-charge of the station told us that the trains were all out of service. We could only leave the Beijing station. At that time, groups of residents around us came forward and offered to take the students to their homes for refuge. Many residents were deeply grieved and wept. The Beijing residents were so kind. They were so very kind.

How many people have died? I have no idea. Yet I do believe that one day the people will make it clear.

Am I pessimistic? No, I am not. For I have witnessed the common aspiration of the people and their sense of righteousness; I have seen the hope of China! Some of my schoolmates are dead and even more are bleeding. I am among the lucky ones who survived. I know how I should live on. I will not forget the students who have died. And I truly know that all people of integrity in the world will show us their understanding and support.

(A translation of an article printed in *Wen Wei Po*, 5/6/1989.)

# AFTER THE MASSACRE

## An Interview With A Student Of The Beijing Institute of Chemical Technology

**Time:** 4 p.m., June 6

**Place:** Beijing Institute of Chemical Technology campus

**Interviewer:** Wu Yue

**Write-up:** Yu Wen

### A True Picture of the June 4th Massacre

**Q:** Can you tell us about what happened during the Tiananmen Massacre on June 3 and June 4?

**A:** I arrived at Tiananmen Square at 10 p.m. on June 3. At that time, Hou Dejian and three other intellectuals were on hunger-strike. The students were emotionally worked up. At midnight, we heard gunshots in the distance. The PLA had started killing people. There were probably more than a hundred thousand people in the Square. The citizens who were watching from the outside of the Square began to disperse on hearing the gunshots. Actually, most of us there would never have believed that the PLA would kill our people. When it was about 4 a.m., tanks and armoured carriers were approaching the Square from Changan Avenue. A 'death squad' made up of Qing Hua University students went to block the army vehicles, and they were later joined by some citizens. An armoured carrier came from East of Tiananmen. We were told by citizens who had been following this carrier that it had crushed more than sixty people to death over at Xinhuaamen. We students went up to swarm the carrier, and inserted wooden sticks and iron rods into its roller-belts. The carrier stopped. Some people spread a quilt blanket soaked with petrol onto the carrier, and burnt it. After burning for twenty minutes, three soldiers emerged from the carrier. They had blood on their faces, and their uniforms were on fire. The citizens started beating them up, scolding them for crushing people to death. We students tried to protect these three soldiers, and escorted them to the 'Autonomous Union of Students of Higher Institutions' ('AUSHI' henceforth). They were later taken to hospital in an ambulance.

Later on, we went to the west side of Jinshui Bridge. We saw some Qing Hua University students forming human walls there. There were roughly 100 people. They formed 2 walls. Behind them were citizens and students from other provinces, who were not organised and had come of their own accord, and they formed some 6 or 7 human walls. No sooner had the human walls been formed than the machine guns on armoured trucks started shooting. The two front walls of Qing Hua students fell, and the citizens dispersed. I myself didn't run. I just stood there. I didn't believe the PLA were using real bullets. I thought they were using things like rubber bullets. They kept on shooting, with machine guns, and bayoneted rifles. A Wuhan University student beside me was hit. He fell, bleeding badly. Then I realised that it was real bullets the soldiers were using. I began to run back to the Square. When I got back, Hou Dejian was speaking through a loud-hailer. I don't remember what he was saying. While he was still talking, some bullets were shot at him, and then no more was heard. A special troop, who was moving very fast, swiftly moved up the steps of the Monument to the Peoples' Heroes. They then shot into the sky, and smashed up all the loud-speakers installed by the 'AUSHI'. I heard the story later on. Hou Dejian was negotiating with an army officer at that time. Hou guaranteed that the students would leave the Square by 7 a.m., and asked the PLA not to shoot. Hou came back to talk to the students, but the students had decided that they would guard the Square and not leave, and they didn't mind dying for it. Hou pleaded with the students that the army had started killing people, and they should not be sacrificing their lives needlessly. Some students started leaving, and students from our Institute were some of the early-leavers. They were leaving to the north and the south. They kept hearing gunshots behind them while leaving. I was near Jinshui Bridge, somewhere at the back. A fellow-student beside me was hit. At the very back were

students from Beijing Aviation College. They said they saw armoured trucks crushing people. There were also machine-guns set up at the subway entrances, and the soldiers were shooting into the subways. The students from other provinces all died in the subways. They had all retreated into the subways, thinking that they were safe from being crushed by tanks and armoured trucks. They had been camping on Tiananmen Square since arriving from their own provinces, and had no idea about where to hide, and had therefore chosen to go into the subways, and ended up all dying there. At that time, the Beijing students were all turning back. I ran south from Qianmen Street, and then turned back from there. I saw the army shooting into the subways with machine-guns. Then the armoured vehicles started to chase and crush people in Tiananmen Square. Eleven Qing Hua students were running too slowly. They were crushed to death immediately, their brains all spread on the ground. The PLA began to crush the tents on the Square. God knows whether there were still people in them. When we were in a hurry to run, I thought of a fellow-student still sleeping in a tent. I never had time to yell to him. I just kicked him hard before I ran. I did not know whether he got up or not at that time. When we all went back to our Institute, I found him. We then discussed a strange phenomenon: all those soldiers, after killing people, raised their guns and laughed, and shouted 'victory'.

### Army Entered Tiananmen Square from Two Sides

Actually, the number of people who died in the Square only constituted a minority of the total number of victims. Most of the victims died in the stretch between Muxi Area and Xidan Area. Most of them were citizens. About 4 a.m., all the lights in the Square went out. The armoured trucks began to crush people. The first troops to move into the Square were all wearing 'camouflage fatigues', like those on the Vietnam battlefield. They moved especially fast, and shot especially accurately. Some witnesses told us that if someone stuck his head out from a window in the residential blocks, you can bet on these soldiers shooting him. There were even small children killed like this. Today, one of my schoolmates saw a woman holding the body of her 9-year-old child. There were 6 bullet-holes in the child's body.

**Q:** On that day the troops entered the Square from two directions, did they?

**A:** Yes, after midnight the troops moved into Tiananmen Square from two directions. The first troops came from Xinhuaamen. These troops moved the swiftest, and killed most cruelly. The troops from Ximen did not shoot at the beginning. Didn't I tell you about this armoured truck which was stopped by citizens after crushing sixty-something people? We burnt the truck. And when the soldiers climbed out of it, the people started beating them up. They would have been beaten to death if we students had not protected them. We managed to send them off to 'AUSHI'. The citizens in the Square were very angry about what the students did. They said, 'What you do is useless. They have started killing people, and yet you are still sitting here quietly, and still protecting them.' Some of the citizens got so angry that they said to us, with sticks in their hands, 'I'll beat up whoever is still protecting the soldiers.' When we arrived at Beikou after leaving the Square, we saw four youths weeping and saying to some citizens, 'We're useless. We had no guns then. We would rather had been killed in Tiananmen Square.'

**Q:** How many 'AUSHI' people were there in the Square at the time?

**A:** After the shooting at 4 a.m., 'AUSHI' took virtually no action. Hou Dejian told us all to leave. It seemed 'AUSHI' also agreed on leaving. 'AUSHI' leaders such as Chai Ling and Wu'erkaixi were there. Earlier on, round about 10 p.m., I had talked to them, and were decided on not leaving then. Wu'erkaixi said,

'We'll fight to the very last moment.' The students in the Square neither wanted to leave. Though they had already heard the shooting, none of them wanted to leave. It was only later on when Hou Dejian told us to leave when we actually began to evacuate.

Q: Is there any news about Chai Ling, Wang Dan and Wu'erkaixi? I hear that Chai Ling has gone missing.

A: We have no news which is certain. There's no news at all about the 'AUSHI' leaders. Because we are not one institution. Now there are no links between the institutions at all. All of our institutions are empty.

#### **Students Not Believing the Army Would Shoot**

Q: I'm from Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Federation of Students send a delegation to Beijing to support the Democratic Movement. They were staying at the Beijing Hotel. I have a student among them. That day late at night I called them in the midst of gunshots. A student said on the phone, crying, 'They are killing people now. Our fellow-students had all gone out. The Armed Police is trying to come in to search the Hotel. I am now burning our materials and later I will go downstairs to ask them not to kill anybody.' That was 3 a.m. on June 4. I asked him to leave his name.

A: When I look back, we were rather childish in never believing that the soldiers would kill like this. I myself would never believe they would use real bullets until I saw a student being hit bleeding beside me. We all picked up bullets from machine-guns on tanks.

Q: What should you do from now on? Have you thought about it?

A: We students have many different ideas. I myself have come back safely from Tiananmen. I think if I had a gun, I would go out and fight them. But now when the students gather in the campus, they say, 'We have no weapons; we shouldn't be making needless sacrifice. If only we had weapons, we would fight them.' Our lives were picked up from Tiananmen Square. We are not afraid of dying. The Beijing citizens have a similar feeling.

We suspect that the first troops to move into Tiananmen Square were injected with some drugs or something, or else the soldiers wouldn't have been laughing after killing people. It's a horrible sight, beyond imagination. What's more, a sister of one of our schoolmates saw some tattoo of something like a dragon or phoenix on the body of an injured soldier while she was treating him in Beijing Hospital. We suspect those were death-sentence prisoners drafted in to kill the students.

Q: What are your views on the development of the present situation?

A: Looking at the whole country, China will encounter some very difficult times. No matter who wins in the end, China will be in a state of confusion. Before this, although the Government said Beijing was in a chaotic situation, it was not true. Public transport was moving smoothly; the people were leading normal lives; not a window-pane was broken in a movement involving several hundred thousand people. But after the shooting, Beijing is in a state of terror. We don't even feel safe sitting here. In my opinion, now that the hardliners had staged a total suppression of our movement, China is going to face some very difficult days no matter who eventually wins.

#### **Must Dismiss Deng, Li and Yang**

Q: Do you have any expectations? What do you think is the best possible outcome?

A: We think the best possible outcome is that the 27th Army, which was responsible for the killings in Tiananmen Square, receive court-martial trials. Besides, we should prevent other troops from staging coups. It would be best if a leader would emerge to organise the present Government, and dismiss people such as Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun and Li Peng. It doesn't matter whether it is a dictatorial leader or not. We need someone to be in charge for the time being, and he could gradually reorganise the Government. Now the people are very angry. If a soldier or two dare come out into the main streets, they are bound to be killed. But then, I don't feel safe either walking in the street; I may be shot anytime. The real 'riots' began on June 4. What I mean by 'riots' is different from the Government's use of the term. The murderers, like Deng

Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun, and Li Peng, must be punished. We should do it according to the laws of traditional Chinese feudal society (I don't care whether this is right or wrong) and kill all their relatives. We all think in this way. It is because many families were broken as a result of this incident, and many families are now left with single member.

Q: Is this because you think the family members of people like Deng Xiaoping were all involved in the massacre?

A: We don't think they actually did the shooting in the Square, but they are likely to be the organisers of the massacre. The commander of the 27th Army is the son of Yang Shangkun. The students' request of 'killing all relatives of the family' does not seem to be unreasonable.

Q: What is your anticipation about the situation in Beijing? What will be the likely developments in the next week or month? Now the city seems to be half-dead.

A: The most terrible thing that could happen is two armies fighting each other. I heard this morning that the 38th Army is aiming their guns straight at the 27th Army. According to the broadcast of 'The Voice of America', the 38th Army and the 27th Army were having skirmishes on the outside areas. If they did start fighting in the city, then the people of Beijing would be the ones to suffer. The citizens may even support the 38th Army.

#### **Students Need Weapons Most**

Q: Do you think a general strike will take place in Beijing?

A: It is taking place now. But then, it's not easy to move about in the city now, so there is no joint announcement about general strikes. I talked to a worker yesterday. He said their factory manager told them: We the manager are not announcing a strike... but you just go ahead to take care of your wife and children at home. The fact is: Beijing is on general strike. Many factories are empty.

Q: But if the Government exerts economic pressure, say, hold up salaries, freeze bank savings, etc., what can the Beijing people do? We hear that the Government is going to freeze the people's bank savings, and will hold up the salaries of workers who go on strike.

A: The Beijing people won't care anymore. After all, they wouldn't even care about their lives. I think if the Government really applies such economic pressures, the Beijing people should all leave the city, because Beijing is no longer a place for them to live in.

Q: If you could obtain outside support, what form of support do you need most?

A: I think right now the students need weapons most of all.

Q: What do you expect from the overseas Chinese or even all the people in the world?

A: It's difficult to say. The Students' Movement in Beijing has won the support of all the people in the world. I find it difficult to say what other forms of support we could ask for. The best thing to happen is that we rely on ourselves, on all the people in China. According to 'The Voice of America', many countries are now freezing their diplomatic relationships with China, and holding up joint projects in hi-tech weapons. I don't think this will have its effects on those murderers they don't even care. This will not help the development of China. We Chinese need not thank the U.S. for this.

Q: Do you think this cold-blooded suppression staged by the Li Peng Government has something to do with his meeting with the Soviet leader Gorbachev? Li Peng has a very special relationship with the Soviet Union. When Gorbachev invited Chinese officials to visit the Soviet Union, he invited Li Peng, but not Zhao Zhiyang. Do you think people like Li Peng are prepared to cling to the Soviet Union, so that they don't care about criticisms made in the West?

A: I never thought about this.

Q: Can I take a picture of you? The way you look is typical of a present Beijing university student.

A: I don't think it's necessary. (The interviewee was wearing a head-band, and there was a black arm-band on his left arm.)

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# WE CAME BACK TO BEAR WITNESS

—Eyewitnesses' Reports of 5 Hong Kong Students

Fang Li nian

## Lam Yiukeung

On the night of June 3, we sensed that things were going wrong, so we left the fax machine, and burned all the documents and name lists we had at Beijing Hotel. At around 10 p.m., I left for Tiananmen Square with Li Lanju, Chen Qinghua and Chen Chung-yi. We went first to the headquarter, met Chai Ling, Feng Congde, Li Lu and the rest, and bid our reluctant farewell. Then, we went to see Hou Dejian, Liu Xiaobo and the others at the second level of Monument of the People's Heroes. Soon came the news that some have been beaten to death from the broadcasting station, and Wuerkaixi fainted after uttering a few passionate sentences, and he was carried off.

At around 1:00 a.m., I and Qing Zhen, Li Lanju, Chen Qinghua and the others left the headquarters and went to the west part of the Square. There we saw an armoured vehicle speed into the crowd. The atmosphere grew tense at once. Everyone swiftly helped to form road blocks with the railings available, but that armoured vehicle turned back and sped into the crowd again. It was really cold-blooded murder.

Then we ran to the History Museum and sat there confronting the army who were 300 yards from us. Li Lanju went to converse with the soldiers. Chen Qinghua went to the side of the Square at around 2:00 a.m. to take photos. Discovered by the soldiers, Chen was given blows in the stomach and on the feet, his camera smashed. He went to us and told us what had happened. I went with Qing Zhen to see, only to find the army rushing in from the West, firing onto the ground all the way through.

A bus suddenly rushed toward the army but it stopped before making any injuries. Zhou Fentmei saw from the west of Changan Avenue that two people were shot dead on the spot after they had jumped from the back of the bus. I saw soldiers smashing bus windows, crazily beating the driver with the spear handle. Those angered by the sight of this rushed to help but they were fired back. Many fell on the spot. A worker rushed forward and threw a bottle which hit a soldier's head. Then we heard two firings and the worker collapsed. I ran over to him. Blood rushed from his back like water coming from the tap. He died. I and Qing's hands were stained with blood.

Qing and I went back to the History Museum. Lo was overwhelmed by the sight and fainted. Chen Qinghua brought her to the temporary Medical Relief Station.

Qing and I went to the highest level of the Monument. It was nearly 3:00 in the morning. I saw Chai Ling, Feng Chongde, Li Lu, Liang Er, Ma Xiaofang and others. I shook hands with them and we embraced. The feeling was simply that of separating when living and at dying. They asked me to leave Beijing immediately, to go back to Hong Kong and tell the world about this. I said I too was Chinese just as they all were. They did not have anything more to say and let me stay.

At around 3:00 a.m. to 4:00 a.m., lights in the Square suddenly went off. A male student poured gasoline onto himself but was immediately stopped by the others. There were always a few buckets of gasoline for making napalm when the situation demanded.

Around 4:00 a.m., some very strong spotlights shot across the Square. Feng Congde then said, "We must persist in peaceful and non-violent demonstration. Fellow students, do surrender all your weapons." Everyone gave up their wooden poles and iron rods, hoping that their show of peace and goodwill will move the army.

Meanwhile the four hunger-strikers came back after negotiating with the army. They reported that the army would clear the Square before dawn, and four of them tried to persuade

us to retreat from the South in order not to make unnecessary sacrifices.

Feng Congde then asked all the students to show their preference: to stay or to retreat? I heard more shouting for 'stay', but Feng concluded that the cry for 'retreat' sounded louder. Thus the decision was made for retreat, group by group.

Just as Feng had finished, a few soldiers rushed forward, expressionless, and they fired at the sky. Qing Zhen refused to leave at first, but I made her do so. Some students did not want to leave either, but soldiers used their spear-handles to make them do so.

We reached the second level of the Monument. There was another shooting, a student fell and others carried him to rush on.

At the lowest level, we stopped as it was safer at the back of the Monument. Qing said she wanted to stay till she had seen everyone retreated. At that moment, the upper and the second levels were all occupied by the army.

I rushed with Qing to retreat in the South-East. We heard singing coming from the North. The army started shooting the people. The front of the crowd all fell. The crowd dispersed, people trampled on one another. There was so much confusion. Students cried, "An eye for an eye and blood for blood!" "We'll bury our anger and grief deep in our hearts!" "We will come back!" Those were laments, and they were heroic ones.

I turned back and looked at the Square. It was then completely surrounded by the army and every way in it was blocked. I saw black smoke. The tents that were being burnt might not be mere empty canvas!

Out of the Square, Qing and I went through the streets and alleys, sometimes pushing through the soldiers. Qing even talked to them, or scolded them.

When we reached Beijing Normal University, we saw mourning scrolls already hung at the entrance. There was not a place for us to rest at the University, so we went to Haiding area. There we rested for a few hours and then we went to Chaoyang District and spent a night there. We did go to Muxidi too. We found many blood stains on the street.

Early in the morning on June 5, Qing and I went to Wangfu Hotel in a tricycle to meet the other students. The kind, old driver did not charge us anything for the ride. On the other hand, he gave me a packet of cigarettes of a famous Chinese brand.

## Li Lanju

(Student of the Department of Communications, Baptist College)

After visiting Hou Dejian, Liu Xiaobo and others at the second level of the Monument, Lin Yaoqiang, others and I lost each other on the way. I, alone, went back to the student movement's headquarters and found Wuerkaixi and Cheng Zhen there.

Wuerkaixi continuously urged me to return to the hotel, saying that the place was dangerous, and that it was the business of Beijing people, not of a busybody from Hong Kong – he meant me. So I begged Cheng Zhen to take me along to find Lam Yiu Keung and the others, so that we could go together to blockade the military advance. It was then that Wuerkaixi stopped driving me away from the Square. He then told me to come back to the headquarters after finding Lam Yiu Keung and not to go to the blockade. When we came back, he said, "After I die, take my coffin and march onto the streets, let me have one more look of the Changan Avenue and the Square."

News of the military killing the students came, at last, from the broadcasting station. Wuerkaixi ran to the station and shouted in rage, "We swear to defend Tiananmen Square till the end, we live and perish with the Monument of the People's Heroes!" Shouts of rage suddenly died. Then came broadcasts calling for ambulances and oxygen cylinders. I did not witness Wuerkaixi being taken to hospital. I did not know whether I would see him again.

The few of us left the headquarters for the west side of the Square and saw armoured vehicles going to and from in high speed. One even edged us on the way.

In front of the History Museum were a thousand soldiers with helmets and rods. A boy of 15 or 16 was crying, saying that his brother was beaten to death and that he would fight the soldiers back till his end. I drew him into my arms and he cried and cried, calling over my shoulders, "Brother! Brother!" Then he followed the ambulance away.

I saw the numbers of soldiers increasing and that the blockade was dispersing, so I ran back to the headquarters, hoping that someone there would send more people to help. I saw, on the steps of the Monument, many students, hand in hand, singing the "Internationale". Their faces showed solemnity.

I went back to the Museum alone. There, I saw walls of people confronting the soldiers. I joined them. Soldiers sitting there howled whenever wounded soldiers were taken past.

Workers making up the walls of people urged for peace, calmness and non-violence in all circumstances. Some workers armed with rods and pipes shouted back in rage, "Why are you still sitting here, waiting for death to come? Those bastards are killing every man they come across indiscriminately!" I could not believe that those soldiers sitting there on the steps would have the mind to kill!

Then came swarms of soldiers with rifles and machine guns. Tension increased. Some ran up to appease the soldiers. I also ran up to an officer and said in tears, "I am a student from Hong Kong . . . in the Square, all are students, the pillars of the state. They are only conducting a peaceful demonstration, not a riot. Chinese throughout the world put high hopes in them. Please, don't shoot, don't shoot at them . . ." I knelt and cried. I saw tears too, coming from the officer's eyes.

I returned to my position. When I saw a student joining with rod in hand, I angrily said, "Put down your arms, or else, strike me first." He reluctantly put the rod behind his back. A lad of 12 or 13 also gave me an iron rod from behind his back.

At around 3 o'clock in the morning, I saw people carrying bloody corpses and wounded bodies to and fro. It was horrifying and I sweated profusely. I suddenly recognized the lad who was crying over his brother. He was all blood and wounds. I fainted away.

I came to at the nursing station in the Square. Doctors and nurses, knowing that I was a student from Hong Kong, insisted on sending me to the hospital though my situation was very minor. Lying beside me was a student all covered with blood. His back was terribly smashed and his body was already failing him, but he still whimpered, "Must strife on till the end, must strife on till the end!"

The first ambulance came and went, I refused to go. The second arrived, I still refused to go. Then a female doctor held my hand and said in English, you must return to Hong Kong safely and tell the whole world what happened here, you understand?"

At the hospital, everything and everywhere was smeared in blood. I was taken care of by a senior medical doctor. His office was cramped with wounded bodies. He carefully took my pulse. I begged him not to bother about me but he replied in tears, "Child, you're very weak but you'll be all right with some rest. Take care. We need you to return to Hong Kong and tell the whole-wide world what our government did." I was given a quiet room; outside, in the corridor, laid many whining bodies.

Noon. 4th of June. The doctor demanded all patients who can walk to leave at once because toward night, the army would come for people.

In the hospital, one could hear from time to time doctors saying, "This is mad! Mad!" I heard a doctor said, in tears, that in

the hospital with the most wounded, the army did not allow doctors to save people; two doctors knelt and begged but were both shot to death. Another nine doctors in that hospital were also killed on an errand to get blood.

A wounded worker told me that citizens were always outside the Square protecting the students. He was still at Tiananmen Square at 4 o'clock in the morning and saw how soldiers fired senselessly and indiscriminately at the people. Tanks followed, and another swarm of soldiers arrived in rods rushed in and beat people up. This worker said to a soldier, "Those along your path were already killed, please stop!" The soldier replied, "Kill you all! Rioters! Who told you not to leave!" This worker finally got wounded in the back of the head. Before he got wounded, he saw a mother, child in arms, got killed. The child was only around 7. He cried and ran. A passer-by carried him along but both were finally shot dead by the soldiers.

When I left the hospital, Chen Qinghua, who brought me to hospital, distributed money to those who could escape by themselves.

The student in his death-bed gave his money to me saying, in tears, "I am incapable of leaving now: shot in the breast, and with a leg lost. Even if I survived this right, I won't be able to leave this place. I'll leave the money to others. Thank you for the support from Hong Kong students . . . Go! Go back to Hong Kong and tell fellow students to persevere." When he saw the "universal justice" badge on my waist bag, he said sobbingly, "Tell fellow students that the revolution has not yet succeeded, comrades still need to carry on!"

## Chen Qinghua

I was with Li Lanju most of the time.

When people were surrounding and setting fire to a tank, I went over to take photos. A young soldier saw me. He whisked a baton at me. I tried to dodge but was hit in the stomach and feet. Fortunately the hit was not very hard. Then he broke my camera. I fell down and was taken to the nursing station. I rested for a while and went back to the front of the Museum. I saw Li Lanju who vomited and then fainted. With the help of others, I took her to the nursing station. Inside there were more than ten casualties. A few wounded soldiers were also brought in. Some people tried to keep the soldiers out. Then someone said, "After all, we're all human beings." So the soldiers also received attention.

I went to the hospital with Li Lanju. The ambulance was stopped by the soldiers. One of us said it belonged to the Beijing Red Cross, and we were allowed to pass. The ambulance was stopped several times by the people. Once they even came up to look. When they knew we were students, they let us go. We on the ambulance, apart from yelling "Students", also shouted "We won't take any 'dog' soldiers!"

While I was standing around in the hospital, I saw a nurse cut a wounded man's clothes (for doctor's inspection). I was completely taken aback. Even the doctor was shocked. The man's chest was all covered with blood, and part of it seemed missing. Anyway, the doctor gave him treatment. A young casualty told me that he was shot in the back by the soldiers when he was trying to flee.

In the hospital, we phoned the British Embassy to seek help. All we got was a lukewarm reply. We told them that the army might come to arrest us, but they just told us to stay where we were.

## Lu De-quan

(Student of the Chinese University)

In the evening of 3rd June, we arrived at the Tiananmen Square. The atmosphere was quite peaceful. Around 10:00 p.m., Yan Jiaqi and his wife Gao Gao were invited to make a speech on democracy. I listened to it for some time. Then I went to the broadcasting station of the headquarters, and there I heard the news of the successful obstruction of the army by the crowd outside Tiananmen Square.

Around 11:00 p.m., sounds of firing shots were coming from the People's great Hall and Xinhuaamen. Then, there were from

time to time injured people being delivered to the medical station. A student had already been dead when he was brought to the station. Someone recited a poem for his sake, and said that the student, who had died in Tiananmen Square, would not die for nothing.

The atmosphere in the Square was becoming tense. The broadcasting Station request the students to gather around the Monument of the People's Hero, but there were some who remained in their tents sleeping.

I stayed in the Square to see how things would be going. I saw an armoured vehicle which seemed to have knocked down some people. The crowd came up to the armoured vehicle and started to hit and burn it. Afterwards, I heard from a student that when the soldier got out of the armoured vehicle, he was surrounded and beaten up by the crowd. A Hong Kong student who tried to protect the soldier was also wounded.

I retreated to the area outside the Beijing Hotel, and saw carts, which were filled with wounded people, coming and going. Due to the obstruction caused by the accumulation of vehicles in Changan Avenue, ambulances could not enter the Square, and carts were thus used to deliver the wounded to the area in front of the Beijing Hotel before being put onto ambulances. Three carts were used at the same time, and I saw them shuttling for about twenty to thirty times.

Around 4:00 a.m., sounds of firing shots became especially frequent. The crowd no longer move forward and backward but withdrew to the back hurriedly. The situation was deplorable. In the midst of the retreat, a girl in front of me suddenly screamed and fell immediately after. Somebody took her away, and I saw a pool of blood left on the ground. This happened at about 4:30 a.m.

There were few people outside the Beijing Hotel, for the crowd has all gathered at the junction between Changan Avenue and Wangfujing.

I returned to the Beijing Hotel around 5:00 to 6:00 a.m.. When, I was looking out from the room of a reporter, I saw a number of tanks and vehicles military coming from the east. The vehicles previously used for obstruction were crushed by the tanks. A lot of people hid in the subway. I saw a yellow smoke coming out from the subway – was this the teargas that the soliders used to disperse the crowd?

## Lai Hung

(Student of the Chinese University)

On 4th June, after 4:00 a.m., I was still in the Tiananmen Square. From the loudspeaker in the Square came the official broadcasting which ordered the crowd in the Square to disperse. Feng Congde said, "Here we've learnt what democracy is. Now, the minority has to submit to the majority, we shall leave the Square in groups."

"It is you who are the minority, we insist on not leaving the Square!" a student beside me said loudly. Some students even said, "We cannot leave, we must persevere in the course; if not, the people who supported us will be disappointed! We need only to persevere till dawn. Each citizen of Beijing can contribute one brick, and the soldiers would all be encompassed."

When the army really came to attack, I started from the north of the upper level of the Monument and turned to the south to escape. There were still some students in the tents who had not left. I traversed a lane beside the People's great Hall to reach Changan Avenue. I was following the running crowd that was in front of the tank that pursued them. In a state of fright, I escaped into a little lane, but those who were not so lucky were simply run over by the tank. I returned to look for the others, but all I could see were dismantled bodies soaked in pools of blood.

With considerable difficulties, I escaped to the University of Politics and Law. A student leader of that University said that, according to information obtained from hospitals and the Red Cross, casualties were amounted to between 6,000 and 7,000.

There were five corpses in the University of Politics and Law, and all five were obtained by force. Three of the corpses had been students from the University. One of them had his skull fractured, which was a clear indication of having been run over by a tank. Later, two injured soldiers were being carried in, and someone wanted to take revenge upon them. But I have stopped them from doing so for fear of blood shed in the University, because shots have already been fired at the University.

When I left the University, some student leaders also left. But the leader that was mentioned above chose to stay. He said all leaders could not all leave at once. There was no sign of fear in his expression. His courage is incredible and unforgettable.

(A translation of part of an article printed in *Ming Pao Monthly*, July 1989, Vol. 24, No. 7, pp. 41-44)



## TESTIMONY OF A JOURNALIST

(NB: AAA was expelled from China together with the VoA correspondent about ten days after the massacre. He wrote an account of the period from June 3-8, with his fellow-journalist which has become a classic on the subject. In this interview with him, the writer went through the night's events from scratch again, so as to provide a double-check and also to pursue certain points further. The transcript is as follows.)

He went out to Muxidi at around 21.30 on 3 June. By 22.30, a column of about 250 APCs, flanked on either side by a line of soldiers five-deep, had arrived along that stretch of road (coming from the west), extending far in either direction. He stayed at the spot until around midnight. There was a big bus barricade at the Muxidi intersection; the crowd torched the buses just before the armoured column arrived. When it came, a pitched battle ensued. The crowd of around 3,000 people started throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails at the troops; the troops responded by firing at the crowd. He saw more than 30 people shot-injured taken away on tricycles. The nearby Fuxing Hospital (like most other Peking hospitals) was turning away the mortally injured cases, so as to be able to concentrate on saving those who could be saved.

He stressed that the death-figures subsequently released by the hospitals (initially through the Chinese Red Cross) -- of 2,600 dead (this figure was published first by Dan Southerland of the Washington Post) -- was in fact a serious underestimate, as it did not include the large number of mortally wounded people who had been turned away as hopeless from the hospitals on the night.

Thus, New York Times correspondent's subsequent drastic downward revision of the death-toll was perverse -- it failed entirely to take this fact on board. He thinks a figure of 1,500 dead is about right. (The oft-mentioned figure of 3,000, on the other hand, is "way too high.") Many people died from blood loss: "China has no plasma".

At Muxidi, the troops were shooting into the air and also down on the ground -- "trying to hit people's legs--going for maximum casualties without actual death." Proof of firing randomly into air is that a cleaning woman was killed on the 14th floor and a woman on the 9th floor of Building No.22 (by intersection) had a bullet fly through her hair, in a near miss.

A Chinese informant told him that at 02.00 on the 4th, 35 APCs got stuck in a line stretching back from Muxidi intersection to the Military Museum. The first one in the line had hit a bus (the crowd had moved the road block back a little), and the whole lot then got stuck behind it. The crowd went for the immobilized convoy immediately. But a deal was made that the people would not kill the troops if they left the area peacefully. Soldiers then did this; some were beaten up; the soldiers took refuge inside the Military Museum.

The crowd then set fire to the abandoned APCs (all 35). Jeeps and troop trucks also torched at the same time. He did not know what happened to the soldiers' weapons. Some weapons were dumped in the river ("What a stupid thing to do; they should have kept them so that they could fight back at the troops").

At midnight he went on to Fuxing Gate, further east along Chang'an Avenue. He travelled by bicycle, along the north side of the road. The situation at Fuxing Gate was "very hairy". It was so open there. Troops moving rapidly, with an armoured convoy, going towards Square. Much firing; big fight in front of the Minzu Hotel--troops stuck inside buses; APCs attacked by Molotov cocktails. There were approximately 12 tanks in the convoy; they had their top-mounted machine guns shielded by cloth covers--these made of flammable cloth. So the crowd were putting Molotovs on to these cloth covers. Soldiers firing back with AK47s. Several hundred angry people; mobile column of troops. Saw much beating of troops by crowd. Soldier firing indiscriminately into crowd.

At 01.00 (maybe it was earlier) he left Fuxing to go to Xidan. They used a lot of tear gas at Xidan. The crowded low buildings keep the gas trapped there (tear gas also used at Muxidi, but very open terrain there so ineffective). Xidan intersection blocked by two buses. Citizens set fire to these just before troops came; but soldiers smashed through with APCs. He left area after 45

minutes. Saw many people carried away on tricycles (they were waiting just north of Xidan crossing.) Saw a man die right next to him; a medic was giving him CPR resuscitation: "He's dead, no heartbeat left." Blood gurgling from mouth. Saw many people shot, more than 30. Rapid movement all across street by crowd. He was standing throughout on Xidan Street, just north of Chang'an intersection.

He left Xidan and went around by the north of the Forbidden City to Chang'an on the east side of the Square. Got to Nanchizi Street around 01.45. From there he went to the History Museum. Then to the medical tent (PUMC) in the north-eastern sector, where he stayed for around one hour. Talked to doctors, asked injured (between six and seven of them, bullet wounds in back) in what area they had been shot: "We were shot in the Square, in the north". He left the medical tent at around 03.00. Then returned to Monument. At 04.00 all the lights went out in the Square. They went back on again at 04.35. Hou Dejian spoke over loud-speakers: "We have lost too much blood already, we must live to fight another day"--urges students to leave the Square.

He confirms my own memory (I have not seen this mentioned anywhere else) that a leader of the Autonomous Students Federation spoke over the loud-speakers telling everyone to remain in the Square, to prepare to die for the cause. He recalls that the student leader said: "We shall be resolute to the end; we shall on no account give up" (jianchi dao di, jue bu hui baxiu). But he did not hear the Autonomous Workers Federation man speaking out, urging everyone to leave immediately. He was just to the south of the Monument during the speeches, sitting on a pile of debris.

He left the Square with the student column at around 05.30. He was near the front of the column when it reached Qianmen Gate. He was alarmed to notice the seated contingent of troops just behind the Mausoleum as he passed there (he estimated there were around 300 only). He then returned to the Monument. The student column was still leaving, but he didn't look at the Monument itself. Then he rejoined the student column as it left the Square, going with it all the way round to Liubukou, past the Beijing Concert Hall. The column turned left out of Liubukou, to go along Chang'an towards the west, on the north side of the road. The column stretched all the way along to the Xidan intersection, where it turned northwards.

The students were crushed to death just past Liubukou, well before Xidan. Three APCs (no, they were definitely not tanks, but APCs) came driving down from the Square at about 30 mph, on the north side of the road. The student column was now also on the northern half. The APCs went straight into the crowd. (At the Concert Hall, the student column had broken into two. He was at the back of the section that had already crossed the road; the rest of the column was (he thinks) following it at some distance behind. Had he been at the front of his column instead of the back, he might easily have been crushed also.) He saw seven bodies lying there crushed (the Chinese said eleven had been killed). Students went over to collect the corpses. Soldiers from the APCs then shot tear gas cannisters from hand-held launchers into the crowd of students, and fired their guns at those collecting the bodies. He saw no-one actually being shot--he was getting the hell out of there. They were definitely not tanks, but APCs.

He then went back to the Minzu Hotel. Saw 23 tanks go past and enter the Square. He had been filing copy all day from a portable telephone.

"I didn't see soldiers storming the Monument, but I believe that there were killings on the Square."

## THE TRUE STORY OF THE JUNE 4 MASSACRE

In the evening of June 3, 1989, there were demonstrations on both East and West Changan Avenue, involving several hundred thousand people, including students and Beijing residents. They carried slogans such as "Oppose official corruption!", "Promote democracy!" and "Down with Li Peng!". They shouted slogans like "Li Peng step down!" and "Down with Li Peng!" and etc. The people that were demonstrating on the outskirts of Tiananmen Square were well organized and disciplined. It was a sight of peaceful demonstration. There were no beating, robbery or arson. In the center of Tiananmen Square some students and young civilians were even singing and dancing to express their wish of seeking the truth and their anxious desire for democracy and freedom. Just then several helicopters started to hover over the Square. They broadcast the orders of the Li Peng Government, which constantly threatened the people in the Square: "Tonight, the army that is going to enforce the martial law in Beijing is going to move into the Square to clean up the Square. All the people in the Square now are ordered to get out. They will be subjected to forceful measures if they defy the order. And they will be responsible for their own safety if any situations occur that endanger their lives." Under the threat of the PLA soldiers with machine guns in hand and the armed police, some completely unarmed students and civilians helplessly evacuated the Square for the time being. However there were still thousands of people around the Square who were not willing to leave. Instead they persisted in the demonstrations. The number of people on East and West Changan Avenue actually increased.

In the early morning of June 4, the Li Peng Government ordered the army to force its way into the Square and suppress the protesters and those who tried to block the army, by resorting to any possible means and measures. The nephew of Yang Shangkun, the President of China and the Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Committee was in the forefront, commanding the 27th Army. Under his command, the 27th Army set out from West Changan Avenue and occupied the Square by force, thus started the Beijing Massacre. Armoured vehicles and tanks opened the way, followed by countless army vehicles. The soldiers fired frantically at those completely unarmed students, women and children with machine guns. The sound of the machine gun shots were as frequent as the sound of a storm. Rows after rows of civilians were gunned down in the middle of the streets. Others that tried to run away but didn't have enough time were run down by tanks that were going at a high speed. Some people were bumped by the tanks several meters high into the sky and suffered serious injuries. One woman was killed by a tank on the spot. Then several other men and women who had tried to save that woman were run over by the uncoming armoured vehicles and killed, in their arms being the pancake of a body of that woman that had been run over by the tank. At that moment, dead bodies were everywhere. The streets were washed with blood. The air of Beijing was filled with painful moaning, shouting, anguish cursing, crying and the dense machine gun gunshots. On West Changan Avenue, all the people that had been gunned down were again run over back and forth by tanks. Their bodies were turned into pancakes. There wasn't even one complete dead body. One of my students who is a dancer from the School For The Deaf and Dumb was somewhere near the Square observing the whole scene from the night of June 3 to 4:00am in the early morning of June 4. He said that because he was deaf, he couldn't hear the yelling from the helicopters hovering over the Square, he didn't know about the order to evacuate the Square. But when he saw people near the Square being gunned down and when he saw bullets flying by him, he realized that the PLA had started killing people. He wanted to run for his life, but was rounded up by the PLA soldiers nearby. So he had to lie down on the ground to pretend that he was dead. He lied down there till about 5:00am and managed to flee. Another

student of mine who is an actor from the Artist Troupe Of The Handicapped related to me personally that three of his classmates who were also his good friends were shot to death in the Square on June 4 while watching what was going on. He said angrily that the Communist Party and the Government were completely lying when they said that nobody died in the Square.

In the daytime of June 4, a young boy about the age of eleven was gunned down in the street after he had yelled, "You are bandits!" to some soldiers. When that boy saw that the soldiers that had chased him to his side were not going to spare him, he begged them in an already very weak voice: "PLA uncles, save me, save me!" The three soldiers cursed him: "You little counter-revolutionary rioter deserve to die." The people nearby wanted to come forward to save the boy, but they were stopped by the three soldiers with machine guns in hand. They said to the crowd: "Who dares to come forward to save him?" The crowd was scared away by the soldiers who were about to shoot them. The three soldiers beat the boy with their gun handles and at the same time jested at him. After the beating, the soldiers left chatting and laughing. In this manner, that lively and innocent boy was murdered. There was another woman who was shot to death by the PLA soldiers because she had called them fascists and bandits. In the early morning of June 4, a dancer from the PLA Political Singing And Dancing Troupe was on his way to meet his wife who was coming home from her night-shift job. On the way home, he was killed by the machine gun fire of the PLA soldiers. His wife by his side couldn't help crying hysterically at this sight of brutality.

From June 4 to June 10, that is right before I left for the United States, Beijing was engulfed by white terror. Civilians didn't dare to go out into the streets, neither did they dare to open their windows to look at the foreigners. If they spotted the PLA soldiers in the distance they would run away for fear of being killed. The civilians carried out strikes and boycotted markets. The traffic in the city was completely paralyzed, with subways, buses, trolley buses and taxis not running. By these actions the residents of Beijing expressed their strong indignation at and opposition to the June 4 Massacre carried out by the Li Peng Government against the people.

After the June 4 Massacre, the people of China lived under an extreme form of terror. They were angry, but they couldn't talk. In order to cover up the truth about the June 4 Massacre and their crime of murdering the people, the Li Peng Government took control of the propaganda machine in the whole country. It ordered the press to keep in line with Party and the Government politically. The propaganda and the contents of the news report of the press must also be in absolute conformity with the line of the Party and the Government. Otherwise, the press would be subjected to severe punishment. After it had carried out the Massacre against the people, the Li Peng Government started to use the press and the propaganda machine that they control to lie to the Chinese people and the international opinion. But as two Chinese old sayings go: "A fire is not to be covered up in paper wrap" and "If you don't want others to know, then don't commit it.", I am convinced that the true story of the Massacre carried out by the Li Peng Government and the murder that Government committed against the people will be brought to day light by the international opinion. Some day history will make it pay back this debt of blood.

**Zhen Wen Bin**  
**Art Director (former)**  
**China Handicapped Arts Performance Group**  
**Delegation to Washington, D.C.**  
**June 23, 1989**

# I WITNESSED THE MASSACRE

3.17

*"Although I survived, I cannot have felt more distressed. I feel that those students have died in my place. I should have died . . . I know about the whole incident because I have escaped from the Square. Should there be another killing, I hope I will die then. For I wish to awaken more people with my blood. People in Beijing know the truth, but what about people in other places? . . . I hope everyone here who has heard my account will in turn tell everyone else who does not know the truth. They must be told about the evils of the government."*

A picket of the Autonomous Federation of Non-Beijing University Students (AFNUS) escaped from Beijing after the Tiananmen massacre, and gave the following verbal report to his schoolmates on what had happened before and during the massacre after he returned to his university. In addition to giving his own account as an eyewitness, he also answered questions raised by his schoolmates on the spot. The sequence of the events cited during the interchange may therefore seem confusing at times. But in order to keep the content of the conversation in its entirety, we [the *Ming Pao Daily News*] have prepared the following text based on the tape-recording as broadcast by the Radio Television Hong Kong last night [22 June (1989)].

## Scene of a Slaughterhouse

Since I was a picket, I was present at several places from 11 p.m. of 3 June to 4 June midday, the time when the massacre took place. These places include Xidan, Xinhuaamen, the Beijing Hotel, and the Tiananmen Square. I only managed to cover several spots, but all of them were sites of the massacre – Xidan, Xinhuaamen, the section of the Beijing Hotel near the Public Security Office, Nanchizi, and Qianmen. These were mainly the spots guarding the Square, and also where the slaughter was the most widespread. Since I never remained long in any particular spot but was dashing from one place to another only after a moment's stay, I was able to see many things that night. Indeed, so much met my eyes that I am now quite unable to give a very cohesive account. For those of you who have never experienced such things before, it would perhaps be impossible to have an instant grasp of what exactly happened at all. I realised this only after what I went through. The entire scene leaves only one impression on my mind – it was a slaughterhouse; it was truly a horrendous massacre.

Three days before the bloodbath, students who served as pickets already sensed the possibility of a massacre when they saw some strange moves of the army. Let me tell you some signs we read. Three days before the Tiananmen incident, on 1 June, I picked up rumours of an on-coming massacre during a meeting with several students. Those of us who lived inside the tents and served as pickets noticed that there were some soldiers hiding inside the Imperial Palace and the Great Hall of the People. They always walked in groups of two or three, wearing plain clothes. But we could tell that they were soldiers by their build and the way they walked. They started studying the site at Tiananmen Square very closely, observing the lay-out of our tents, making notes and taking pictures. The pickets noticed what was going on and reported to those who had shown concern. We already sensed the approach of a crackdown, but none of us had expected it to be of such a scale. We had problems of finance and order in the Square then, and all of us focused our attention on those problems alone.

## An Old Man Tried to Create Trouble

By 2 June, there were already clashes between the soldiers on the one hand and the students and civilians on the other. But these were all trivial in nature and not really what one would call serious clashes. And then there were also news of shop lootings and threats directed at citizens. What's more, strange things began to happen within the Square. For instance, an old man, covered with bandages all over his body, came in one day and started a row. He claimed that he was beaten up by some civilian pickets or students, and started yelling about. But when we took him to our tented hospital and uncovered the bandages, no wound could be found on his body. Later, he said, "It wasn't my idea!" So we could see that someone was trying to create rumour and trouble for us.

And then sometime around early June – I can't remember the date now – there was a rally staged by the farmers on the outskirts of Beijing. The truth is : the Beijing municipal authorities had ordered the farmers to do so. Everyone who went was given ten dollars as reward, regardless of the number of times they rallied, and anyone who refused to join would have his bonus deducted. Later, some of our students from the Beijing University joined the rally, and held up banners that read: "Exterminate democracy!" "Down with freedom!" and "Support official profiteering!". During this ironic "counter-rally", they also shouted slogans like, "Follow Li Peng's line, each day nine dollar nine!". This was meant to be a mockery of the way Li Peng bribed the workers and farmers and made them take to the streets. It was again an isolated incident, but he had orchestrated the prelude to the massacre. He was determined to find an excuse for the massacre. He wanted to create an impression that the people were against the students, and the massacre was therefore justifiable.

## Escalation on 3 June

On 3 June, the matter had escalated. Some soldiers tried to charge on a small scale. Something strange happened. Some quasi-military vehicles with a number of soldiers tried to charge from the direction of Xidan. They were naturally blocked by some of the students who had the safety of the dozens of thousands of people in the Square in mind. When the vehicles were blocked, the soldiers inexplicably ran away. Some students did not know what was happening. They rushed to the vehicles and grabbed the guns, machine guns, assault rifles and pistols without knowing whether these arms were working or not. They reported to the Autonomous Federation of Beijing University Students (AFBUS) immediately. When the AFNUS came to know of it, they immediately broadcast to the students in the Square, urging them to be alert and not to fall into the trap of giving the government any pretext. We hurriedly put the guns in our guard and were about to hand them to the Public Security Office. Whether they were handed over or not was the decision of the pickets and we did not know what happened eventually. That was the truth of the event described by the radio that evening as "the pillage of guns by some mobsters". It was in fact a despicable fascist trap exploiting the students' innocence to create an illusion.

The army sent some two companies of plain-clothe soldiers into the Square in the evening of 2 June when the AFBUS was holding a meeting. The pickets were fully occupied at that time and the plain-clothe soldiers could not be identified once they infiltrated into the Square and dispersed. We knew that they sent large groups of plain-clothe soldiers into the Square every day. Everyone panicked once they ran into the Square, and we asked students to calm down through our public announcement system.

Then the soldiers went away in small groups. Later on they left behind some uniforms and caps. The students saw nothing wrong in collecting these uniforms and putting them on; some even had photographs taken of themselves in military uniforms. It was understandable: there were some high school students in the Square who were fairly innocent and did not suspect a trap. That was what happened. Later the radio reported that the mobsters were snatching ammunition and military uniforms. I was there at that time and saw what happened with my own eyes. The whole thing was a trap.

### Shooting of Students Blocking the Convoy

The massacre started at 10 p.m. on 3 June. Reports began to filter through. Those of us who had assembled at the Square were not well informed of what happened in other areas, such as Chongwenmen, Jianguomen, Xidan and those even further away. The army was still at a distance from us. What we heard from various campuses was that there had been individual killings of students. A student stopped a convoy and tried to explain our policies to them. The few dozens of soldiers were all beasts and there were individual killings. At 10 p.m. on 3 June, on the other side of Nanchizi near Beijing Hotel, a convoy of military vehicles were coming toward us. A woman student from the Beijing Teachers' University stopped them and spoke to the vanguard. She said, "PLA soldiers, you are the people's army. We students have nothing against you. We are compatriots. Please do not aim your rifles at the people. We are not mobsters. We are university students who love peace and freedom..." Before she could finish, a blast of sub-machine gun killed her there and then. Wu'erkaixi held her body and cried. That was individual killing.

### Tanks Closing In

The brutal killing reached its height at 2 a.m. on 4 June. By that time, the sky above Tiananmen Square was lit bright red by tracers. Gunshots went on and on outside the Square. Some of the pickets, the publicity team, a group of fellow students and I awaited emergency orders inside the tent. The news sent by the Beijing University was broadcast at the Square: "Army vehicles are moving in from the front. We need students urgently for reinforcement at the front. The lecture team and the pickets are requested to give reinforcement." The Square was quite empty at that time. Most of the pickets had been deployed to guard the main access to Tiananmen Square at Tiananmen, Jianguomen, Xidan and Dongdan. We hurried off and reached Dongdan at about 2 a.m.. During that time, some of us who were close friends and were the most determined and peace-loving exchanged opinions. If we were to die, we must stand in the first row. We also thought of how to disperse the women students, how to charge up and how to lure the police away. I can say that we had cultivated a strong friendship. After all, we had stayed in Tiananmen Square for over ten days. Indeed, we had stayed there for a long time.

At the same time, several of my other schoolmates had rushed to Xidan. Assault rifles had started firing; tanks were approaching. What did the civilians there use to stop the troops?

They stood there hand in hand, unarmed – the student pickets, the civilian pickets, elderly women and men and the zealous workers. All these people who sent us food in the day time, who comforted us, encouraged us and voiced their support for us, formed layers after layers of human barricades. Tanks were closing in, the vanguard were emerging from both sides, all wearing helmets and camouflaged uniforms – they were the "dare-to-die squad".

### Paste of Human Flesh on the Ground

The tanks moved forward, then paused and soldiers immediately dashed out, apparently with their guns aimed at us. Many of the students swore not to give way and shouted slogans like: "Down with fascists!" "Down with autocrats!". At this instant, the anti-aircraft machine guns on top of the tanks were tilted down and started strafing the crowd. All the people in the first row were instantly killed. Then followed the assault troopers who raked the crowd with their assault rifles. The tanks then savagely rolled over the first row of the crowd, leaving a paste of human flesh behind its trail. I heard gunshots from assault rifles and machine guns. I

heard screams. I did not quite gather what was going on. As I led my colleagues to join the nearby crowd, the crowd in front had already dispersed to the sides.

As we proceeded, I seemed to have heard a round of gunshots. Afterwards, the student on my left tripped over. I thought he had tripped. When I grabbed him by his chest, he felt heavy. I took a close look at his face but I could hardly recognise him – his brain was blown apart. I laid him down at once. My mind was blank at that point. I did not have time to think. By this time, several people next to me were also raked – three at a time, including a woman student. I was also separated from my friends. I lay on the ground and rolled behind the cars where the crowd was. Just then, the tanks rolled past us.

### All Kinds of Weapons Used Against the Students

The assault troopers kept firing at the crowd. They raked places where the loudest noise came from, the loudest chanting of slogans and the loudest shouting. Furious people on the street who threw stones and bricks or those who might be in the convoy's way were swept with bullets and then rolled over by tanks.

I followed the crowd and fled to Qianmen. There were all kinds of weapons used against us – tanks, armoured trucks, anti-aircraft machine guns on top of the tanks, bayonets, assault rifles and also tear gas canisters. By now, tear gas was considered a child's trick. They used mainly assault rifles, the kind which gave a burst of several dozens of bullets at a time. There were also iron clubs and wooden clubs, but mainly assault rifles and bayonets were used.

### A Woman Student Stumbled and was Brutally Bayoneted to Death

When I arrived at Jianguomen, I saw that many students were killed, some were crushed by tanks and could no longer be recognised as human beings. Qianmen was in complete chaos, filled with gunshots and screams. I could not tell if those who had fallen down were dead or alive.

I spotted a woman university student with long hair who was bayoneted in the chest by a soldier. As the girl fell, the soldier delivered a few more strokes on her back. She was stabbed to death on the spot. The killing was most severe opposite Xidan and the Military Museum. Some of the students were trying to escape. Some tripped and were crushed by the tanks tailing after them while others were fired at indiscriminately by assault rifles. There were about twenty women students, either from the Beijing University or Beijing Teachers' University. They tried to stop the army trucks and tanks. All of them were either crushed to death or killed by machine guns. A few individuals who survived the first shot were given a second or even a third shot to make sure that there would be no survivors.

On the outskirts, the massacre continued for several hours. At 2 a.m. on 4 June, it was the height of the slaughter. Sitting at Tiananmen Square, one could hear gunshots, machine gun blastings, noise from the tanks and screams of the people.

To the south and north of the Monument, the sky was brightly lit by tracers. By 3 a.m. or 4 a.m., the outskirts were cleared, most of the students had been slaughtered.

### Everyone was Prepared to Die

From 2 a.m. to 4 a.m. I was amidst a hail of bullets in the place where most of the ruthless killings were done. But at Tiananmen Square there was an extraordinary phenomenon. Nobody panicked; nobody screamed. Everybody just sat quietly under the Monument with only one thought – death. Those who stayed in the Square until the last moment did not expect to see another day alive. Everybody was prepared to die.

I suggested at several meetings of the AFNUS that a perfect finale to this movement would be a massacre. There would not possibly be a better ending. Everybody was ready for death. At the Square, we cried, "Fellow students, don't panic! The time has come when we must guard the Square, the dignity of our motherland and democracy with our blood."

At that point, I also told everybody that Hou Dejian, Liu Xiaobo and two others had gone on a hunger strike on 2 June in

support of our patriotic movement. And they were right underneath the Monument on hunger strike when the massacre took place.

Having heard the news, Hou Dejian, out of conscience and out of his concern about the students' lives, said to the martial law troops through the public announcement system, "Officers of the martial law command, this is Hou Dejian. On behalf of the hunger strike group of four, I plead with you for a negotiation to let the students evacuate from the Square safely."

#### **All Those on the Outskirts were Killed**

The martial law troops did not respond. Later on, a tearful Hou Dejian helped by several students went to the martial law command. He wept in front of the soldiers and asked them to "spare those ten thousand lives."

By that time, we had already been completely surrounded by troops. Those on the outskirts were all killed. The tension continued with the negotiation dragging on from 2 a.m. to 4 a.m.. Finally, the soldiers agreed, "At the southeast corner, we can make you an opening to let you out. But you have to move fast, otherwise we will crack down on you." That was the word from the martial law command.

I have to add some information here. I know my account is rather confusing. Please bear with me. Whenever a fact comes to mind, I'll supplement immediately.

I had seen so many killings on the outskirts already. Shot to death right in front of my eyes were seven or eight out of the dozen students who had shown their high ideals and had been such good friends to me during the four or five days of the hunger strike. But I was not angry, nor was I sad. I did not even cry. I went completely numb. Even when I saw those on the outskirts all being killed and the outskirts being blockaded, I just quietly carried my knapsack - I was wearing a white coat then - and walked to the Monument. It was already 4 a.m..

We were not aware of the negotiation then. I was carrying my knapsack and silently sitting on the second level under the Monument. I could not cry even if I wanted to. I was dejected. I suppose I was not quite myself by then. The massacre was simply too cruel for me to comprehend. So many of my good friends were there.

What I will never forget is my schoolmate who had his head blown into pieces. I was the one who gently laid him down on the ground. Then I walked toward the Square waiting for death. I knew that there were over ten thousand students at the Square, many of whom were killed. All of us were determined to give our lives for our country.

#### **Tens of Thousands Sat Down and Refused to Leave**

Soon after this picket of the AFNUS had sat down, Hou Dejian came back and said, "Students, I have made an unwise move. Hope you will forgive me. But now for my sake, please retreat."

However, not a sound was made from below. Hou Dejian then went on, "Students, we have shed enough blood. Have no more illusions about this kind of party and government. What awaits us is a bloody massacre. For our future, we must preserve our energy. Please don't wait any longer."

It was dead silent at the Square when he was saying that. No one stood up. No one agreed to the retreat. When Hou repeated what he had said, the troops were closing in. They were becoming obsessed with killing while the students were too angry to speak.

At that moment, this picket of the AFNUS stood up and shouted in anger, "Hou Dejian, get lost! You son of a bitch! Stop your garbage speech! If you want to leave, you leave alone!" Then he sat down again, motionless. Hou himself shouted four or five times but no student responded. No one stood up.

How was the situation at the Square then? More than ten thousand university students had lined up from the Mao's Mausoleum. Everyone was sitting as stiff as a plant under their own college flags, looking up at the sky. The "Internationale" was being broadcast at the Square again and again. Some students were humming the "Internationale", some were looking at the distant flares. The tracers had lit up the Square with their red flares. Outside the Square, only tanks and the sirens of police cars could

be heard.

#### **Women Students Showed No Sign of Frailty**

We were all awaiting death. But I have to state that I will never forget those great women students who have taken part in this movement. I always thought that under certain circumstances, girls would surely show signs of frailty. But my misconception was shattered on this occasion. The large number of women students who had remained at Tiananmen Square demonstrated their extraordinary will to sacrifice themselves. I dare not think of Chai Ling. Whenever I think of her, I cannot help crying. None of the women students cried; none of them was afraid. They leaned close to one another, waiting for death.

Hou Dejian's shouting, our humming of the "Internationale", the distant shootings and the screeching of those being killed painted a picture which is beyond description.

They were killing people and shrieking like mad. They were roaring with laughter as they killed. I just cannot describe the scene to you. Liu Xiaobo then shouted, "Students, I am Liu Xiaobo. I urge you to leave!" They shouted for half an hour but none of the students complied with their request. The shouting went on till about four o'clock when the lights at the Square suddenly went out. Immediately, a group of soldiers - probably the shock brigade - wearing helmets and camouflaged uniforms encircled us and the students on the outskirts with their machine guns. The troops had charged into the area where the tents were, and aimed their guns at the public announcement speakers. Many students begged them not to fire at the Monument because it was cast with the blood of the martyrs. But they deliberately raked the Monument.

#### **No One was Afraid to Die**

At that point, Wu'erkaixi stood up and said, "Fellow students, please don't behave like this any more. I urge you to pull yourselves together and make a decision." I burst into tears at once. Hou Dejian uttered his last sentence, "Students, I am sure none of you here is afraid of dying." When he was making this remark, all of us began to cry. Many of the women students cried, too. The lights at the Square had all gone out by then. The army was ready for the massacre. At that moment, the troop waiting outside the Military Museum began to charge towards us. First, it was the shock brigade, with their guns aimed at us. I was with the second row of students. They had already shot down the first row of students. Individual guns were aimed at different rows when Hou Dejian appealed to us again, "Students, please retreat! I will stay here until the last one of you has left. We share the same fate. We will die together. I will only retreat when the last one of you have done so..." A student at the southeast corner began to rise slowly. And slowly, we began to retreat towards that direction.

#### **Shooting Started as Retreat Began**

As we were slowly moving, the police at the rear opened fire from below and clubbed those students at the back of the group. Some of the women students had their face and body smashed; some had their shoes ripped off, and some had their clothes torn to pieces. I do not know how many women students were trampled to death. Anyway, many of the students were trampled. The soldiers simply would not let us retreat peacefully. They even used their guns to force us to leave. When we began to move, many students were still asleep inside the tents. They were students from more than 400 tertiary institutions throughout the country, including those from the tertiary institutions in Beijing. Those big tents were donated from Hong Kong. Each can accommodate 3 to 4 or 4 to 5 people. And there were more than 50 of them. Around the Monument and the Statue of Goddess of Democracy, dozens of smaller tents had been set up. Altogether there were more than 100 such small tents. According to my estimate, hundreds of students were sleeping in those tents because they were just too exhausted. In the last few days, they were under tension and facing death all the time as every night there was rumour that the troops were closing in. They did not have a chance to get any sleep. Many students fell asleep immediately after they lay down and could hardly be waken up. As I was running from the outskirts to the Monument, I saw that many students were asleep: some were

sleeping on the ground, some on top of those overcoats donated by Beijing residents, and some inside those tents. All these students – whom we were not yet able to wake up as we began to move, to retreat – were mowed down and squashed by dozens of tanks in rows, and then by armoured vehicles. All the tents were smashed.

If we had delayed our retreat for two minutes, doubtlessly we would have been killed by those armoured vehicles moving towards us.

### **Clothes of Women Students Torn to Pieces**

As I was withdrawing with a large group of students from the History Museum towards Qianmen, protecting some of the women students on our way. I saw a woman student from the Beijing Teachers' University whose face was covered with blood. Her clothes were torn to pieces; she had no shoes on her feet and was lying there unconscious. As soon as I saw her, I dashed forward to lift her up and dragged her along with me. Just as I was doing that, the guns on the other side began to shoot at our group. The clubs followed, forcing the majority of our group to run towards me. We were soon separated from the others and ran towards Dongjiaoxiang and the History Museum. When we got there, I saw that the tanks had crushed all our tents at the Square, squashing those who had been beaten to death.

The tanks tightly scaled up Tiananmen in a rectangular battle formation and were moving in rows. I dragged that woman student to the residential area in Dongjiaoxiang. When the residents saw me running with the woman student in my arms, they could not help shouting aloud: "Down with the fascists!" "Down with the beasts!" "They rascals!" They shouted and shouted until they were out of breath. At that point, a tank not far away at once aimed its guns at these people. The civilians thus turned tail and fled. The tank opened fire. The shock brigade then charged towards this direction, shooting with their assault rifles. I immediately carried the woman student, crawling and running for our lives. I dare not put her on my back for fear that she might be wounded by gunshots.

Troops were approaching from near the station. The radio reported that a civilian had been burnt to death by mobsters. But the fact is: five soldiers with ample ammunition were slaughtering civilians. They lost contact with their troop soon after they had shot many old folks and children. Angry civilians surrounded the Lijiao Bridge at Janguomen. A soldier had run out of ammunition. These angry people charged at him and burnt him to death. He was burnt to death alive by these civilians because he had killed many people.

On the slaughtering of a child, a soldier stabbed a child quite a number of times with his bayonet. The old man who took the child with him shouted, "Fascist! Fascist!" The soldier fired heavily. The old man and the child were killed on the spot. The child was seven years old and the old man was in his fifties. They were natives of Henan. Later, I settled that woman student I had saved at a civilian's home.

### **3,000 or More People Died in Hospitals**

When I left Beijing, according to the Red Cross, more than 3,000 people had died in the hospitals, including 50 doctors and nurses of the Red Cross and other hospitals.

Two postgraduate students of a Beijing university told me, "We have set up a memorial hall at our campus in memory of our fellow students who were killed. Many of the students who attended to the injured people were also killed. These casualties do not include those students who were crushed by the tanks and burnt in the Square, and those who were taken away by military vehicles. A lot of other bodies were first handled by the army with irregularity. The soldiers clustered round the dead bodies after each shooting. God knows what they did to the bodies!"

The woman student who had fainted cried out loud when she came round. After I brought her back to consciousness, the people there were extremely helpful. I helped her to change and to clean herself, and found a place for her. My main concern at that time

was to go back to my own university as soon as possible to tell my fellow students what exactly had happened. I was worried that they would be in the dark about this incident. I was burning with anxiety. I would like very much to stay in Beijing, and yet I had to go. I intended to send a cable before I left, but on my way I ran into a group of civilians who were filled with grief and indignation.

### **Changan Avenue Turned into the Devil's Place**

It was eleven o'clock. I was at Janguomenwai, the place where the soldier was burnt to death. I saw a group of angry civilians. Among them, a young man had his shoulder crushed. Scores of citizens came forward to ask me if I was a student. I denied. Some of them said, "Don't tell us you are not a student. We have just been injured. Look at that young man with a wounded shoulder. His fiancée was also killed."

How were the civilians killed? According to some residents, those people were killed on their way to the Public Security Office at Changan Avenue. Though they heard continuous shooting the night before, they did not go out and therefore had no idea that the Changan Avenue had turned into the Devil's place. They were bustling along the Avenue, eagerly asking one another what had happened the night before, when all of a sudden they were swept by gunfire. Quite a number of them were hit by bullets. They immediately fled for their lives. But the shock brigade raked again and the fiancée of that young man was shot dead on the spot. The people urged me to leave Beijing quickly. They said, "We know you are a student. Get out of here at once." But I still wanted to send the cable first because I wished to stay in Beijing a little longer so that I could get hold of more information about the massacre and more accurate casualty figures.

When I reached the cable building, a board was hanging there, reading: "Telephone and cable out of service today." When I asked why, the person there answered, "You'd better go! Don't you want to keep your head? Do not stay here. You can't do anything if you stay here." I left the cable and took refuge in the toilet near the railway station for the night. I bought my railway ticket the next day.

Workers in Beijing do not go to work these days. Beijing is in a very mournful mood. The Beijing University, the Beijing Teachers' University and the University of Political Science and Law are all under military control. Soldiers beat up students. The massacre was widespread. Even those who handed out leaflets were not spared. The Beijing workers had not yet resumed work when I left the city. Up till I went away, the gunfire had never stopped. I do not know how the shooting went on. For I was already out of Changan Avenue then.

### **No Mercy, Not Even on Children and Old Women**

A fellow student asked me about the saying that the soldiers had injections of stimulant or some other drugs. I do not know much about this. But I can provide some information out of my own experience. There was a girl from the Beijing Teachers' University. When she tried to talk to soldiers in an army truck around, she drew no response except a fatal gunshot. A number of old ladies tried to reason with the troops but also became innocent victims.

I came to realise that these soldiers were senseless and merciless. They did not possess the slightest sense of humanitarianism. They were animals. The way they killed people was absolutely intolerable.

Those women students, exposed at gunpoints, were killed in such a cruel way that most people could not bear the sight of it, or could not even bear the thought of it. It was just too savage. One who had not gone through such an experience could never imagine the extent of their brutality. It was a horrendous scene of a bloodbath. This is the view I hold up till now.

(Translation of part of an article printed in *Ming Pao*, 23 June 1989)



4.

**REPORT**

**FROM**

**AMNESTY**

**INTERNATIONAL**



# Amnesty International

International Secretariat  
1 Easton Street  
London WC1X 8DJ  
United Kingdom

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA:

### PRELIMINARY FINDINGS ON KILLINGS OF UNARMED CIVILIANS,

### ARBITRARY ARRESTS AND SUMMARY EXECUTIONS

SINCE 3 JUNE 1989

DATE OF DOCUMENT: 14 AUGUST 1989

AI Index: ASA 17/60/89

#### Summary

DISTR: SC/PO/CC/CO/GR

At least a thousand civilians – most of them unarmed – were killed and several thousands injured by troops firing indiscriminately into crowds in Beijing between 3 and 9 June. At least 300 people are also reported to have been killed by troops and security forces after student protests on 5 June in Chengdu, capital of Sichuan province in central southern China.

However, "the atmosphere of terror" following the military crackdown, which has seen a continuing wave of repression, including mass arbitrary arrests, summary trials and executions, has made it impossible for Amnesty International to discover the true death toll.

Amnesty International has called on the United Nations to take effective action to combat these human rights violations in China and says the atrocities committed there were an assault on the UN's fundamental values.

During the night of 3 to 4 June, hundreds of armoured military vehicles escorted by tens of thousands of troops started moving from the outskirts of Beijing towards the centre of the capital to enforce martial law, imposed in the city on 20 May after seven weeks of peaceful "pro-democracy" student protests.

Government reports said the aim of the massive operation was to "clear" Tiananmen Square in central Beijing of the thousands of students occupying it, and to "restore order". The government later justified its use of lethal force by saying that a "counter-revolutionary rebellion" had occurred and that a "tiny handful" of people had exploited the student unrest with the aim of overthrowing the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system in China. However, Amnesty International believes that a decision was taken by the authorities to put a stop to peaceful protest even if this meant widespread killing.

The student protests, which started in Beijing in mid-April, spread in May to most major cities in China's provinces. The students originally demanded an end to official corruption and called for political reforms. Their demands evoked wide popular support and the protests developed into a pro-democracy movement. On 13 May several hundred Beijing students started a hunger strike in Tiananmen Square to press for a dialogue with top Chinese officials. During the following days, hundreds of thousands of people congregated in the Square. On 18 May an estimated one million people demonstrated in the capital to express their support for the students on hunger strike and to demand democratic reforms and freedom of the press.

Since the massive military intervention in early June, at least 4,000 people are officially reported to have been arrested throughout China in connection with pro-democracy protests. Amnesty International believes the true number of detainees to be much higher. They include students, workers, peasants, teachers, writers, journalists, artists, academics, military officers and unemployed people. The charges under which they are held include: involvement in "counter-revolutionary activities", disrupting traffic or public order, attacking soldiers or military vehicles, sabotage and looting.

Amnesty International believes many of the detainees may be prisoners of conscience held solely for the non-violent exercise of their fundamental rights. Those arrested are believed to be held incommunicado, without access to relatives or lawyers. Some are reported to have been severely beaten by police or soldiers and it is feared that detainees may still be put under strong pressure – including the use of ill-treatment and torture – to confess to crimes or to denounce others involved in the protests.

Some have been executed after summary and unfair trials; many more executions than those officially reported are believed to have been carried out. Amnesty International says there are credible reports of executions taking place in secret. It is particularly concerned that the authorities have released few details about the fate of detainees charged with capital offences.

Amnesty International has appealed to the international community to try to protect the thousands of Chinese who face execution or long-term imprisonment after unfair trials in the wake of the June massacres.

This summarizes a 49-page document, People's Republic of China: Preliminary findings on killings of unarmed civilians, arbitrary arrests and summary executions since 3 June 1989, AI Index: ASA 17/60/89 issued by Amnesty International in August 1989. Anyone wanting further details or to take action on this issue should consult the full document.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

At least a thousand civilians – most of them unarmed – were killed and several thousands injured by troops firing indiscriminately into crowds in Beijing between 3 and 9 June 1989. According to official reports, several dozen soldiers were killed and over 6,000 injured in Beijing. At least 300 people are also reported to have been killed by troops and security forces on 5 June in Chengdu – the capital of Sichuan Province in central southern China – following student protests there. A number of civilians are also reported to have been killed by security forces in Lanzhou (Gansu Province) in early June.

During the night of 3 to 4 June, hundreds of armoured military vehicles escorted by tens of thousands of troops started moving from the outskirts of Beijing towards the center of the capital to enforce martial law, which had been imposed in the city on 20 May following five weeks of peaceful student protests. Government reports say that the aim of this massive military operation was to “clear” Tiananmen Square in central Beijing, which had been occupied peacefully for several weeks by thousands of students, and to “restore order” in the capital.

The student protests, which started in Beijing in mid-April, spread in May to most major cities in China's provinces. The students originally demanded an end to official corruption and called for political reforms. Their demands evoked wide popular support and the protests developed into a pro-democracy movement.

On 13 May several hundred Beijing students started a hunger-strike in Tiananmen Square to press for a dialogue with top Chinese officials. During the following days, hundreds of thousands of people started congregating in the Square – at the time when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Beijing for his first visit to China. On 18 May, an estimated one million people demonstrated in Beijing to express their support for the students on hunger-strike and to demand democratic reforms and freedom of the press. The demonstrators included people from various sectors of society: workers, government employees, members of the police and of the armed forces, journalists, intellectuals and representatives of various government departments.

On 19 May Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang and Prime Minister Li Peng visited the students on hunger-strike, and Li Peng reportedly acknowledged the students' “patriotic enthusiasm” and their “good intentions”. The students decided to end their hunger-strike later that night. The next day, however, an order to impose martial law in “part of Beijing” was issued in the name of the State Council. The order was signed by Prime Minister Li Peng and was to be implemented by the Beijing Municipal Government. Martial law was effective from the morning of 20 May and applied to all of urban Beijing and most of the rural districts. The stated aim of martial law was to “firmly stop the unrest, to safeguard public order and to ensure the normal function of the central departments and the Beijing Municipal Government”.

During the following days hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets again to demonstrate against the imposition of martial law. Similar large-scale demonstrations took place in China's major provincial cities. There had never been such large-scale popular demonstration of discontent in the history of the People's Republic of China.

On 25 May Premier Li Peng acknowledged on television that many people – the majority of them “young students” – had been taking part in demonstrations. He said “many of their views are identical with those of the Party and the Government. There are no fundamental contradictions between them and the Party and Government”. However, he reaffirmed the need to enforce martial law as “a precautionary measure to firmly stop disturbances”. On 21 May the official New China News Agency (NCNA) also stated: “The troops are by no means targeted at the students. Under no circumstances will [the troops] harm innocent people, let alone young students”. Similar reassurances were also issued by other official sources during the following days. By that time, however, the official press had also started denouncing a “handful of people

with ulterior motives” who were exploiting the unrest for their own ends.

After the massive military intervention in Beijing on 3 to 4 June, the authorities justified their decision to use lethal force by saying that a “counter-revolutionary rebellion” had occurred in the capital on 3 June and by accusing a “tiny handful” of people of exploiting the student unrest to launch “organized and premeditated political turmoil” with the aim of “overthrowing the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party [CCP] and the socialist system” in China. The government's justification for the extensive killings that did take place must be seriously questioned. Indeed, by 2 June, the number of students occupying Tiananmen Square had considerably decreased and the large-scale demonstrations had stopped. The authorities, however, do not seem to have attempted to restore order by traditional crowd control methods. Furthermore, the period since 4 June has seen a continuing wave of repression, including mass arbitrary arrests, summary trials and executions.

Since early June, at least 4,000 people are officially reported to have been arrested throughout China in connection with pro-democracy protests, but the total number of those detained is believed to be much higher. Those arrested include students, workers, peasants, teachers, writers, journalists, artists, academics, military officers and unemployed people. They are held on a variety of charges, including involvement in “counter-revolutionary” activities: disrupting traffic or public order; attacking soldiers or military vehicles; “sabotage” and looting. Some of them belonged to independent organizations formed by students, workers and residents during the student protests in Beijing and other cities. These organizations have now been banned and declared “illegal”. Denunciations are openly encouraged by the authorities: citizens who fail to report people involved in banned organizations or other “counter-revolutionary” activities are themselves liable to be arrested and imprisoned.

Those arrested are believed to be held incommunicado, without access to relatives or lawyers. Chinese law does not permit access to lawyers until a few days before trial, or even in some cases until the trial starts. It is also a common practice in China not to allow visits by relatives until after the trial. The relatives of some of those detained have said that they were denied information by the authorities as to the whereabouts of their imprisoned relatives. Some of those arrested in June are reported to have been severely beaten by police or soldiers and it is feared that detainees may still be put under strong pressure – and, in some cases, beaten or tortured – to confess to crimes or to denounce others involved in the protests.

Some of those arrested have already been sentenced to imprisonment after trials which fell far short of international standards for fair trial. Some have been executed after summary trials: many more executions than those officially reported are believed to have taken place. No details have been issued by the authorities about the fate of many detainees charged with offences punishable by death, other than some involved in publicized trials in June and July. However, the authorities have called on local courts to “try quickly and punish severely” people involved in the “counter-revolutionary” rebellion. Legislation adopted in 1983 provides for speedy trials and summary procedures in the cases of people regarded as “criminals who gravely endanger public security”, and who are charged with offences punishable by death. This legislation is applicable to many of those arrested recently. In the past, those sentenced to death under this legislation have been tried, sentenced and executed within a few days of arrest.

This report does not attempt to present a comprehensive picture of what happened in various parts of Beijing on 3 to 4 June. The fear instilled by the repression carried out by the authorities since the military crackdown has made it virtually impossible to cross check information directly with sources in China. This report, therefore, centres on just some of the incidents which have occurred. Sources include foreign media reports, eye-witness testimonies, and reports from both official and unofficial Chinese sources. Some allegations which Amnesty International has not been able to corroborate are cited as such in the report.

## 2. BACKGROUND: "THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REBELLION" OF 2 AND 3 JUNE

"Since the early hours of the morning of 3 June, a shocking counter-revolutionary rebellion unprecedented in the Republic has occurred in the capital. We have achieved initial victory in crushing the rebellion. The rebellion has not been completely quelled however."

"Our troops did not take action to defend themselves until the counter-revolutionary rebellion took place on the evening of 2 June and the early morning of 3 June".

• (Government spokesman Yuan Mu's press conference of 6 June, Beijing Television of 6 June, as translated in the British Broadcasting Corporation's Summary of World Broadcasts (BBC-SWB), (FE/0477 of 8 June 1989).

Several official statements were made public in June and July 1989 about the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" and the army intervention in Beijing on 3 to 4 June. These statements include the text of government spokesman Yuan Mu's press conference of 6 June, which is cited above, a statement by the Propaganda Department of the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee on 5 June (made public by the NCNA on 9 June), and a report to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) – China's Parliament – delivered on 30 June by Chen Xitong, State Councillor and Mayor of Beijing (made public by NCNA on 6 July).

These statements give a detailed but highly selective and distorted account of events in Beijing in May and early 4 June. They describe in detail attacks suffered by soldiers in various places in Beijing on 3 and 4 June, but they fail to describe the shooting of unarmed civilians by soldiers both on 3 to 4 June and during the following days. Chen Xitong's 30 June report acknowledges 200 dead and 3,000 injured among civilians – in contrast to the much higher estimates provided by unofficial sources. (See Section 3.4 entitled "Estimates of civilian casualties".)

Chen Xitong's report also alleges that people described as "organizers and instigators of the turmoil" were preparing a "counter-revolutionary armed rebellion". It cites at length several incidents in which troops were stopped, soldiers attacked and in some places guns seized by crowds on 3 June, as a justification for the use of lethal force when troops forced their way into the city centre during the night of 3 to 4 June. (A brief description of the 3 June incidents is given below). Independent sources, however, deny that leaders of the protests were preparing an armed uprising.

During the days which preceded the army intervention, large numbers of troops and armed riot police had taken positions in various places in central Beijing, while many more troops equipped with armoured military vehicles surrounded the city but remained at the outskirts. In the suburbs, barricades and road blocks had been set up by protesters and residents to prevent the troops stationed there from moving in. On 2 and 3 June, in the centre of the city, there were a number of incidents and clashes between civilians and security forces which brought tension to a peak and mobilised the population. Eye-witnesses reported that hundreds of thousands of people were in the streets on 3 June, determined to stop troops from entering the city. In various places, groups of civilians encountered military vehicles or troops carrying firearms and reacted angrily, as they had until then believed that the army would not open fire on civilians. During clashes on that day, both soldiers and civilians were injured. Warnings were broadcast over government loudspeakers, asking people to stay off the streets and particularly not to go to Tiananmen Square, failing which their safety could not be guaranteed. Despite that, large crowds of people stayed on the streets that night.

### 2.1 Late on Friday night (2 June)

Shortly before 2300 hours on Friday 2 June, a group of jeeps bearing army number plates were seen driving eastward at high speed along Fuxingmen Avenue, in the west of Beijing. Near the Yanjing Hotel at Muxidi, one of the jeeps in the back of the group seemed to lose control and hit four cyclists (three men and a woman) in the nearside lane of the road. Three of the injured died

soon after, and the fourth was said the next day to be in a critical condition in hospital. This incident, described as a traffic accident by official sources, sparked off new public protests at a time when the general level of participation in protests had been dying down. In the afternoon of 2 June only a few thousand people still remained in Tiananmen Square. Many students had returned to their campuses after the authorities had, a few days earlier, made clear their intention to enforce martial law. News of the cyclists' deaths spread quickly and angry crowds gathered at the scene during the night and on 3 June. Shortly after the accident, civilians set up pickets to prevent police clearing the scene and a protest march was planned for 3 June.

### 2.2 Early Saturday from 0100 hours to 0300 hours (3 June)

Between 0100 hours and 0300 hours a contingent of several thousand soldiers marched from the west of the city along Fuxingmenwai Avenue and West Chang'an Avenue, all the way up to the Beijing Hotel in East Chang'an Avenue (east of Tiananmen Square). These soldiers were young men, probably aged 17 or 18, and were unarmed. They were not wearing full military uniforms but only white shirts and green army fatigues. They appeared exhausted – they had apparently jogged for several hours from a rural district in the west of Beijing – disorientated and fearful, and unclear as to what they should do. Few, if any, officers accompanied them. By the time they reached the Beijing Hotel, some groups of soldiers had been surrounded by crowds. They were harangued and manhandled by civilians who pulled away part of their clothing and told them to go home. Some groups of soldiers remained there, sitting for over an hour, before they eventually all moved away towards the east. News of the arrival of these soldiers had spread, and led many people in central Beijing to rush into the streets and set up barricades at all major road intersections. These were manned at each intersection by hundreds or even thousands of residents determined to stop any further army advance.

### 2.3 Saturday morning at early dawn (3 June)

In the early hours of the morning (between 0400 hours and 0500 hours according to an eye-witness), a group of civilians at Liubukou, in West Chang'an Avenue, stopped two military buses in which they found guns and live ammunition. Men in civilian clothes were inside the buses: people in the crowd thought they were the officers of the young unarmed soldiers who had marched to the city centre earlier that night. People in the crowd were outraged to discover the guns and surrounded the buses, with the men inside, for several hours.

### 2.4 Later in the day on 3 June

As news about the guns spread during the day and thousands of people gradually came to Tiananmen Square, tension increased. At some point on 3 June, some of the guns seized at Liubukou were given to students occupying Tiananmen Square. However, according to various sources, the students tried unsuccessfully to return them to troops, and failing this either smashed them or handed them in to police. Other guns remained displayed on the buses at Liubukou; and some of these may have been taken by individuals in the crowds.

From 1200 hours onwards, troops and armed police emerged in several places in the area between the Great Hall of the People (on the west side of Tiananmen Square), and the Xidan intersection (west of Liubukou) in West Chang'an Avenue. There they tried to clear barricades and, according to later official reports, to recover the cargo of guns and ammunition seized by civilians earlier. A large group of soldiers which came out of the Great Hall of the People stood for several hours, making no attempt to move, while in the avenue armed police and soldiers charged at the crowds. A large number of protesters and bystanders gathered in the area, including, according to some sources, a few hooligans conspicuously armed with stakes and rocks. On West Chang'an Avenue, between Liubukou and Xidan, armed police charged the crowd with batons and fired tear-gas in the direction of a protest march coming from the west to commemorate people killed during the night in the Muxidi traffic

accident. Police also charged crowds gathered at several road junctions. Some students and onlookers were injured in the process. Rocks were also thrown at the security forces by civilians and vehicles were damaged. Some sources alleged that security forces also fired rubber bullets and that a seven-year-old boy was booted and trampled to death by police or soldiers at Liubukou. Such clashes continued for several hours and in various places, resulting in injuries on both sides. Troops and police eventually withdrew later in the afternoon.

Meanwhile, soldiers had appeared in several other places in Beijing, and troops started moving in the suburbs. Clashes with civilians occurred in many places when crowds discovered that troops and military vehicles were carrying guns, and tried to stop their advance. At Muxidi in the afternoon, residents managed to stop buses carrying troops and to disarm some of the soldiers. According to reports, some soldiers handed over their weapons voluntarily, abandoned their vehicles and went into hiding. As in Liubukou, some of the weapons seized by residents at Muxidi were displayed on the roofs of buses there.

At 1830 hours the martial law command authorities broadcast warnings over public loudspeakers and on television and radio, telling people to stay off the streets, failing which their safety could not be guaranteed.

### 3. KILLINGS IN BEIJING

Numerous reports available from unofficial sources, foreign media and eye-witnesses indicate that during the night of 3 to 4 June some of the troops who entered Beijing forced their way into the city centre by firing both randomly and intentionally into protesters and onlookers, killing and injuring many unarmed civilians. Furthermore, random shooting by soldiers continued during the following days, causing more casualties among civilians.

The use of lethal force against unarmed civilians constitutes a gross violation of human rights. It is proscribed by international human rights standards. The United Nations (UN) Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials and other international human rights agreements set strict limits on the use of lethal force by law enforcement officials. The text of Article 3 of the UN Code of Conduct, and the official commentary to it, are to be found in Chapter 8.

Amnesty International is unconditionally opposed to the judicial death penalty and to extrajudicial executions – deliberate killings by government forces acting outside the limits of the law. The term extrajudicial execution is used to describe deliberate killings of prisoners as well as killings of people who, while not in detention, are singled out for execution as a result of a policy at any level of government to eliminate specific individuals, or groups or categories of individuals. Extrajudicial execution is always a violation of international law: no one may be arbitrarily deprived of his or her life.

Extrajudicial execution can range from the deliberate killing of a prisoner to the singling out and intentional killing of the leaders of a protest demonstration or peaceful civil disobedience movement. Extrajudicial execution may occur in the context of massive civil unrest, including during the control of crowds of demonstrators. These killings differ from those that occur as a consequence of the use of force for self-defence, or to protect others, or killings that are accidental or a consequence of panic. Extrajudicial executions are intentional killings. They violate international standards that lethal force should only be used when absolutely necessary and in direct proportion to a legitimate objective it is intended to achieve.

The principles of necessity and proportionality are at the core of international standards regulating the use of force by law enforcement personnel. They have particular application to situations in which police or troops may be ordered to shoot to kill individuals or groups of demonstrators where there is no immediate threat of violence to them or others.

#### 3.1 Tiananmen Square and its approaches: a reconstruction of events

The following is an attempt to reconstruct what happened in Tiananmen Square and surrounding areas on the basis of

information gathered by Amnesty International from many eye-witnesses, press accounts and various reports including those from Chinese official sources. It makes no claim to be comprehensive: in view of the turmoil that occurred, eye-witness reports understandably differ somewhat in the descriptions of particular events and the precise time at which they occurred, but the main events and their sequence as described below were recorded by many different sources.

Tiananmen is a very large square edged by long buildings on two sides: the Great Hall of the People on the west; the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and the Museum of Chinese History on the east. In the north, Chang'an Avenue separates the Square from Tiananmen Gate – the entrance to the Forbidden City. Opposite Tiananmen Gate, on the northern end of the Square, was a statue to the "Goddess of Democracy" erected by students on 30 May. The Statue was pulled down by troops at around 0500 hours on 4 June. In the southern part of the Square is Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall (referred to hereafter as the Mausoleum) and north of it is the Monument to the People's Heroes, a large column erected on a stepped platform around which Beijing students had established their headquarters. In the south, Qianmen Avenue marks the end of the Square and a large gate, Qianmen Gate, faces it at the crossroad between Qianmen Avenue (east-west) and Qianmen Street (north-south). A rough map of central Beijing is included as Chapter 9.

The eye-witness statements received by Amnesty International indicate that most civilians killed or wounded in that area were shot on the edges of the Square, particularly in its northern part, as well as in the neighbouring streets.

Several public statements made by Chinese officials since 4 June have denied that anyone died during the "clearing" of the Square. These statements, however, refer only specifically to the period of time between 0430 hours and 0530 hours of 4 June, and to the evacuation of the centre south of the Square by students – in other words, they do not refer to what happened before 0430 hours or to what happened on the edges of the Square. One of the earliest official statements, made by the Propaganda Department of Beijing Municipal CCP Committee on 5 June, while denying that many killings had occurred in the Square, said: "As there were many onlookers and students at the Square, some were run down by vehicles, some were trampled by the crowd, and others were hit by stray bullets". This specific reference to people killed or injured "at the Square" has not been repeated in subsequent official statements. The 5 June statement by the Beijing CCP Committee also narrowed down the time during which "no one was killed" to "less than 30 minutes" between 0500 hours and 0530 hours. It said: "At around 0500 hours, holding their banners, they [the students] began to move out of the Square in an orderly way. At that time there was still a small number of students who persistently refused to leave. In accordance with the demands of the 'circular' [by the martial law command], soldiers of the armed police force forced them to leave the Square. The Square evacuation was completely carried out by 0530 hours. During the entire course of evacuation, which took less than 30 minutes, not a single one of the sit-in students in the Square, including those who were forced to leave the Square at the end, died".

Various sources estimate that the number of people in the Square between midnight and 0300 hours was anything between 30,000 and 50,000. The numbers gradually decreased later. There were also large crowds along East Chang'an Avenue, close to the Square.

Some 15 or 20 minutes after midnight on 4 June, two armoured personnel carriers (APCs) came from the south into Tiananmen Square and drove along its sides at high speed. One turned left into West Chang'an Avenue and went all the way up to Xidan. The other one turned right into East Chang'an Avenue. The APC in East Chang'an Avenue was seen by many people driving at a speed estimated by eye-witnesses of 100 kilometres per hour. It smashed through barricades along the way, killing and injuring many people. After it passed the Jianguomen intersection, it turned around at the next crossroad and came back again at high speed towards the west. At the Jianguomen intersection, thousands of civilians had blocked a large convoy of trucks full of soldiers for several hours before the APC arrived. The civilians had also



dragged a truck filled with soldiers into the middle of the barricades in the road. The APC, on its return journey, came smashing through the crowd and into the truck, overturning it and other vehicles. Several people were killed, including at least one soldier, and several others injured. On its way, somewhere along Jianguomen Avenue, the APC had also reportedly crushed a man on a bicycle. Either the same APC or another one (according to some sources, there were two) was seen again, shortly afterwards, colliding with a truck, driving at full speed from the west towards Tiananmen Square. It went through East Chang'an Avenue. People in the dense crowds present in that area then blocked the APC when it reached Tiananmen Square at around 0100 hours. It was set alight and when soldiers emerged from the burning vehicle the first one was surrounded by people, badly beaten and apparently killed. The others, however, were rescued by students and taken onto a bus. Nevertheless, this incident was later shown on Chinese Central Television as an example of the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" and of "hoodlums on the rampage".

At around 0100 hours in the north of the Square, shooting was heard coming from the west and several big fires could be seen in West Chang'an Avenue. At about 0130 hours, the first trucks full of troops coming from West Chang'an reached the northwest of the Square. At around that time an eye-witness saw five or six people injured at a medical point at the northwest corner of the Square. He assumed that they had been brought into the Square from West Chang'an Avenue by people retreating in front of the troops. As the troops approached and stopped at the corner of West Chang'an, there was a great deal of firing, but most eye-witnesses thought at that stage the troops were either firing into the air or firing blanks or rubber bullets, as they saw few casualties. One journalist described the first two casualties he saw as follows: "a girl with her face smashed and bloody, carried spreadeagled towards the trees. Another followed - a youth with a bloody mess around his chest" (John Gittings, the *London Guardian*, 5 June 1989).

According to two eye-witnesses, after the troops arrived they divided into two groups - one which moved slightly towards the Square and started firing in that direction, and another one which started moving towards Tiananmen Gate but was apparently distracted by a fire in the northwest corner. Several fires were burning in the north of the Square. One of these was the tent of the Independent Federation of Workers (formed during the protests), and bushes were also burning at the northwest corner. The APC which had been stopped earlier by the crowd was also burning further to the east. By that time, a group of about 15 armed police (*wujing*) came from the entrance to the Forbidden City (Tiananmen Gate) charging people with batons. Some youths attempted to throw petrol bombs at them. The police charged again, some firing was heard and people ran in panic towards East Chang'an.

Sometime after 0200 hours, a group of soldiers formed in lines across Chang'an Avenue at the level of Tiananmen Gate, facing east. One eye-witness described them as being formed in three lines - one kneeling or crouching, the second one slightly above and the third one standing at the back. They started firing towards the crowds in the northeast of the Square for a few minutes, then stopped. There were at least two more bursts of firing as the soldiers advanced in stages towards East Chang'an Avenue during the next hour or so. Some eye-witnesses said that firing was also coming from other directions in between volleys of firing from these troops. Some bullets were flying overhead, some ricocheting, some hitting people. The crowds at the corner of East Chang'an were running away during the shooting, then coming back towards the Square in between bursts of firing. Some were singing the Internationale, others shouting slogans. One or two people at the front of the crowd were throwing objects at the troops. Between 0230 hours and 0300 hours, a bus came from East Chang'an Avenue, passed the crowd and drove towards the troops in the northeast corner of the Square. There was some shooting. The bus slowed and stopped. Soldiers surrounded it, smashed the windows and - it is presumed - killed the driver.

The troops reached the northeast corner of the Square at about 0300 hours, sealing the entrance to the Square. They were now in complete control of the north end of the Square. Several

sources estimate that by that time around 20 to 30 people had been wounded and "a few" killed by gunfire in that part of the Square. The wounded were carried away by pedicabs.

At 0330 hours, the crowds of civilians in East Chang'an Avenue were gathered near Nanchizi Street. There was a long period of quiet (at least 20 minutes). People in the crowd were relaxing, thinking there would be no more shooting as the troops were now blocking access to the Square. Suddenly, without warning or provocation, the troops started firing again. Several eye-witnesses said there was a lot of firing, louder than previously. They described it as machine-gun fire which lasted for a very long time. One source said that when the firing started the crowds ran away one full block to Nanheyuan, while troops continued to fire at their backs. Some bullets were going over heads. Some people crouched on the ground, other ran into side streets. Several eye-witnesses said they saw many casualties. One source counted between 36 and 38 wounded people being carried away. Some had stomach wounds, others back wounds or leg injuries. Another source, who was at the corner of Wangfujing Street (further east in the Avenue), saw many injured people carried away in pedicabs or rickshaws: one man had the top of his head blown away; some had had chest or stomach wounds.

Meanwhile, in the Square, it was very quiet around the Monument to the People's Heroes. The students' loudspeakers had called on people several times to gather around the Monument. Many were sitting on the steps or around it - some sleeping. Various sources estimated that between 3,000 and 5,000 students were gathered there at around 0330 hours. The atmosphere was calm. A few young workers of the "Dare-to-die" brigades (about two dozen according to one source), had dashed back and forth between the Monument and the north end of the Square earlier. They had stakes and pikes and were determined to sacrifice their lives. When troops started coming into the north end of the Square from West Chang'an Avenue, one of them said "I have just smoked my last cigarette". He then dashed off towards the north with others and was never seen again.

By 0330 hours the army was in complete control of the Square. Troops at the north had sealed the entrances to the Square. They had been followed by tanks and APCs which lined up in the north of the Square and stayed there until about 0500 hours. To the east of the Square, a large number of soldiers were sitting in front of the History Museum, to the west, troops were occupying the Great Hall of the People. In the south, troops had arrived at around midnight from West Qianmen Avenue and had taken position in the southwest corner. Other troops later came from the south, firing into the air. According to two eye-witnesses, there was some firing in the south of the Square at around midnight. One said he saw three people, including an old man and an old woman, killed by gunfire when soldiers came from Qianmen Street.

By 0330 hours, in addition to the students around the Monument, there were still many civilians in various places in the Square, particularly along the edges and in the southern part.

At 0400 hours, the lights in the Square were suddenly switched off. They came on again about 45 minutes later. (This timing - given by private sources - does not correspond to that given in an official account of events around the Monument, which was published in the *People's Daily* on 24 July 1989. According to the *People's Daily*, the lights were switched off just after 0425 hours and were switched on again at 0530 hours. This official account says that, as the light were switched off, onlookers in the Square started to disperse, and students closed ranks around the Monument) while the lights were off, a quick succession of events occurred in various parts of the Square. A bus came from the southeast corner of the Square and parked near the Monument. It was still calm around there. Then, hundreds of armed soldiers started coming out of the Great Hall of the People. Others moved up from the southwest corner. An APC came rushing from the southeast corner, smashing the barricades along the road that marks the southeast end of the Square. At the Monument, one of four Chinese intellectuals who had been on hunger-strike in the Square since 2 June suddenly announced that they had reached an agreement with the soldiers for students to evacuate the Square through the southeast corner. On their own initiative, the hunger-

strikers had negotiated a retreat for the students with the army during the previous hour. Many students and workers did not want to leave; there were speeches and discussions, then a vote. The shouts of those wishing to stay were apparently louder, but a student leader announced that the evacuation had been decided. Groups of students started to leave before the lights came back on and, according to some sources, most had walked away from the Monument by 0500 hours.

Meanwhile, however, a detachment of 200 soldiers among those which had come out of the Great Hall of the People had launched an attack on the Monument, smashing the students' equipment and reportedly beating people in the way with batons. (This assault is described in detail in the *People's Daily* article of 24 July, which also confirms most of the following description.) For a while there was chaos around the Monument and some soldiers started firing. According to some sources (including the *People's Daily* account), the soldiers were firing over people's heads, at the Monument, destroying the students' loudspeakers, and no one was killed. According to other sources, some people at the Monument were hit by bullets. Among others who claim that people were killed at that stage, one Chinese student was cited in press reports on 5 June as saying: "I was sitting down. A bullet parted my hair. Students fell down around me, about 20 to 30. A group of workers protecting us was all killed". Some foreigners, however, say they saw no deaths around the Monument.

At around 0500 hours the tanks and APCs at the north of the Square started driving slowly towards the south, followed by infantry several rows deep. As the troops advanced, the statue of the Goddess of Democracy in the north of the Square was pulled down. Some tents near the statue and further south were crushed by tanks. A large group of students was by then leaving towards the southeast. The tanks slowly came closer to them. The students were slowly walking away with their banners, forming lines linking hands, stopping, and then advancing again. Several foreign journalists have told Amnesty International that they saw the bulk of the student group leave the Square unhurt. However, soldiers were firing towards people along the sides by the time the first tanks and APCs reached the southern end of the Square. By 0600 hours the Square was completely sealed off by troops and army vehicles.

It is not clear whether some students or other people stayed behind. Government reports say that some people who did not want to leave were "forced" to leave. According to one source, some 200 students stayed in the Square and about 50 of them, badly beaten up, were later reportedly taken by police to a hospital where they were treated for an hour before being taken away by police. Other sources claim that students and other people who stayed behind were shot. It is not clear whether or not this refers to shooting in the southern end of the Square. When some APCs reached the southeast corner and parked along the side road there at around 0530 hours, some eye-witnesses heard a lot of sustained gunfire coming from within the Square. By that time the troops who had come down behind the tanks and APCs were firing in the direction of onlookers gathered on the edges of the Square - apparently above their heads in some cases, but people among the groups of onlookers were hit by bullets. One eye-witness in a lane on the southeast side of the Square saw two or three bicycles carrying wounded people, and was told later that people in buildings in the lane had been killed by bullets. A member of the Hong Kong Student Federation saw a student from Beijing Normal University beside him "filled with blood all over his head which nearly exploded"; he died immediately. (*Hong Kong Standard* 5 June 1989.) A Polish state television reporter said that a student standing one metre from him was shot dead after shouting insults at advancing soldiers; he added that he saw soldiers shooting fleeing students in the back, unprovoked and at random (see *Reuter* in Warsaw of 4 June 1989). Another source told Amnesty International that a friend of his was shot in the back of the head at about 0600 hours in the southeast corner of the Square and that the bullet came out by his mouth. The extent of the casualties in the south of the Square, however, is not known.

It is also unclear whether people in tents were crushed by tanks. Between 0300 and 0330 hours, several foreigners checked

tents near the statue of the "Goddess of Democracy" in the north of the Square, and some of the tents on the east of the Monument. They found three to five students sleeping in the tents in the north, and "a few" people in those to the east of the Monument. At around 0500 hours two foreigners checked some tents around the Monument and found them empty. The official *People's Daily* account of 24 July says that soldiers who had launched the assault on the Monument checked "every tent with flashlights" and forcibly drove away some "stubborn people" who still refused to leave.

Two other incidents during which students were killed or wounded after they left the Square have been reported. These incidents happened around Liubukou. Most of the students who left the Square went west into Qianmen Avenue, then headed north into a smaller street, reaching West Chang'an Avenue at Liubukou. When they left Qianmen Gate (south of the Square), the students (numbering several thousands) formed a long column, marching very slowly. It took over an hour for the head of the column to reach Liubukou. There, they turned left into Chang'an Avenue and walked towards the west at around 0600 hours. At that point, several APCs driving at high speed towards the west came from Tiananmen Square and crushed several students, killing 11 people. (A photograph of some of the crushed bodies has been published in various newspapers and magazines.) According to some sources, the APCs were not firing before they crushed the students and one of the APCs stopped while another one went around the scene. Soldiers in a third and fourth APC then reportedly opened fire and threw tear-gas towards the crowd gathered there. The APCs later continued towards the west at high speed. The students were able to collect the bodies of the dead.

One eye-witness, who described the APCs as tanks, has given the following account of the scene:

"About six in the morning, it was already light. I was on my bike, and walking with me were some students who had retreated from Tiananmen and were returning to their schools.

As we arrived at Chang'an Street, I saw four tanks coming from the Square going west at very high speed. The two tanks in front were chasing students. They ran over the students. Everyone was screaming. We were too. I counted 11 bodies.

"The soldiers in the third tank threw tear-gas towards us. Some citizens decided to recover the students' bodies. The fourth tank fired at us with machine-guns. They hit four or five people. After the tanks had passed, some people collected the bodies. I saw two bodies very close: one boy student and one girl. I got a good look. They were flat. Their bodies were all bloody. Their mouths were pressed into long shapes. Their eyes were flat and big. We cried because our hearts were breaking."

[Eye-witness testimony at the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, Washington DC, 22 June 1989]

It is also reported that while the tail-end of the column of students was still going through some streets and lanes between West Qianmen Avenue and Liubukou (roughly around 0645 hours or 0700 hours), some tanks and trucks full of soldiers appeared at the corner of Beixinhua Street (south of Chang'an Avenue at Liubukou), and started throwing tear-gas and firing towards the people in the street. There were still many civilians in West Chang'an Avenue and the nearby streets at that time, and troops blocking the northwestern entrance to Tiananmen Square had been from time to time driving back crowds by firing or charging at them. According to a report received by Amnesty International, the tanks and troops firing at the corner of Liubukou apparently did not enter Beixinhua Street or chase people there, but they fired repeatedly for long periods at a time. The people in the street ran for cover, crouching along the sides; some ran into a side lane. According to the source, 30 to 50 people were wounded - some possibly killed - by gunfire in that street. After the troops stopped firing and went away, within a period of half an hour, ambulances reportedly made four trips from the street, each carrying an average of six to eight wounded or dead people. After 4 June, a large area between West Qianmen Avenue and West Chang'an Avenue was occupied by tanks and APCs, and pedestrians and traffic were forbidden to enter the area for a week.

Troops coming from the east also opened fire on their way. At

around 0530 hours a military convoy passed through the Dongdan crossroad on East Chang'an Avenue where a big barricade made of articulated buses was blocking the way. According to an eye-witness, six tanks suddenly smashed through the barricades, followed by 20 to 30 APCs and trucks spraying fire all around the Avenue and surrounding streets to intimidate people. The crowds gathered at Dongdan ran for cover when the troops arrived. The eye-witness was unable to see whether anyone was injured as firing was also coming from the south and he left the area. He said, however, that the troops were firing live ammunition and that he saw bullets ricocheting in the street. This convoy then met the troops blocking the entrance to the Square in East Chang'an Avenue.

### 3.2 Events in the west of Beijing on 3 to 4 June

The majority of civilian casualties in Beijing during the night of 3 to 4 June appear to have taken place along the large straight avenue which runs across Beijing from west to east, leading in the centre to Tiananmen Square. Troops, tanks and APCs stationed in the western suburbs of Beijing forced their way into the city centre down this avenue, shooting continuously at bystanders and protesters as they advanced. They were the first troops coming from the suburbs to reach Tiananmen Square in the early hours of 4 June. Other troops moved down the western part of this avenue later on the night and many clashes occurred. Still other troops moved in to the centre from the east, north and south of the city. Troops fired on stone-throwers or onlookers at several major road junctions where barricades had been set up by civilians. In the west of Beijing, heavy casualties were recorded. Hundreds of people were killed or wounded in the Muxidi area alone (along Fuxing Road and Fuxingmenwai Avenue). They included many bystanders in the street and people shot in their flats in residential buildings. The following are extracts from various reports and eye-witness testimonies on some of the incidents recorded in that part of Beijing.

A 5 June statement by the Propaganda Department of Beijing Municipal CCP Committee gave the following account of how troops were blocked when they started moving in the west of Beijing:

"Around 2200 on 3 June, units of troops ordered to enter the city successively entered the city along various routes. However, they were seriously blocked at various major intersections. The troops still exercised great restraint even in such circumstances. Taking advantage of such great restraint exercised by the troops, a small number of ruffians started horribly beating, smashing, looting, burning and killing.

"Twelve military vehicles were burned from 2200 to 2300 along the route of Cuiwei Road, Gongzhufen, Muxidi and Xidan (West). Some people used lorries to transport bricks and threw them at soldiers. Some ruffians pushed trolleybuses to intersections and set fire to them in an attempt to block the traffic. Some fire engines were also smashed or burned while being rushed to fire fighting."

[As translated in the BBC-SWB FE/0480, B2/6, 12 June 1989]

In contrast to this official report, a statement by the Beijing Independent Student Federation on 6 June gave the following account of the way in which a large military convoy was immobilised in the west of Beijing:

"The bloody massacre exasperated the defenceless citizens along the streets, and many citizens picked up stones to throw at the military vehicles in an attempt to stop their advance. The odds were great, and the defenceless civilians were no match for tanks and armoured cars. A rough estimate shows that in Shijingshan (western suburb) and Laoshan areas alone, some 400 military vehicles, including tanks, armoured cars, and army trucks packed with soldiers with loaded guns, drove by, crushing road blocks as they moved along, and throwing stones and firing strafes of bullets at civilians and students to dispel them. It was true that these military vehicles were attacked by angry civilians with stones while they were moving ahead, but the civilians did not set fire to them. The fact was that these vehicles were driving at full speed and tailing each other at close range. When one vehicle was stopped by civilians, the vehicles behind were not able to brake in time and they crashed into each other, wrecking sometimes three to four

vehicles. The troops were eager to push on, so they set the disabled vehicles on fire themselves, and got on the other vehicles to move on.

"We know for sure that two military vehicles were set on fire by troops at around 0500 hours, on 4 June, with columns of flames soaring to the sky. By 1000 hours on 4 June, the eleven disabled military vehicles left behind at Laoshan had all been burned, some may have been burned by angry civilians. In the process, some soldiers were captured by civilians, who demanded their death, but the students there managed to persuade the civilians to set the soldiers free.

"We do not intend to conceal the fact that some soldiers were indeed killed by the civilians angered by the massacre, and some weapons were indeed captured, but these weapons were either destroyed or burned, because at the time, it simply did not occur to the civilians to arm themselves." (A brief account of the 4 June massacre in Beijing by the Independent Student Union of Universities in Beijing, 6 June 1989, translated by Chat Chien)

#### 3.2.1 At Gongzhufen and Muxidi

According to one confidential informant:

"The trouble began west of Muxidi at Gongzhufen. The army was marching east and used electric prods on people. A young woman was hit, and a young man told the soldiers that they should not strike a woman. He was then severely beaten. At this time there was no shooting of people, only shooting at the ground, and people were under the impression that empty shells were being used. Thus, when everything moved to the east, at Muxidi, people were bold, and they actually got shot. The soldiers were shooting everywhere, including at the apartment buildings nearby where officials lived. A young man (son-in-law of an official) went into his kitchen to get a glass of water and turned on the light. When the soldiers saw the light, they shot at the window and killed him. Others were killed in such a random, senseless way. There was a lot of panic."

Eye-witnesses and press reports coincide in saying that at Muxidi crowds of residents and protesters tried to block the road in front of advancing troops on the evening of 3 June. Battles were fought around barricades when armed police cleared the way for troops by firing tear-gas and charging people around the barricades. Sometime around 2300 hours, the troops started opening fire and armoured military vehicles smashed through the barricades.

An eye-witness at Muxidi has given the following description to Amnesty International:

"At 2000 hours on 3 June, crowds tried to block troops near the Military Museum [located west of Muxidi on the Fuxing Road]. Standing at the very front were post-graduate students from Beijing University (Beida), Beijing Agricultural College, Beijing People's University and Nanjing Medical College. Before the shooting began, armed police beat people with bricks, belts with steel buckles and metre-long batons that may have had spiked tips. The wounded were carried one by one on bicycles and pedicabs to Fuxing Hospital. [Also referred to as Fuxingmen Hospital] All had head injuries and most were bleeding from the eyes. The blood was running down their forearms and dripping off their elbows. . . . At 2300 hours at Muxidi Daqiao, I heard troops firing near the Military Museum. Ten minutes later I heard a second round of firing. The rounds that followed were fired in ever quickening succession. At about 2320 hours, troops started mowing down people at Muxidi. A woman next to me was shot and fell to the ground with a silent groan. Blood was spurting from the bullet hole; perhaps she was already dead."

A member of a foreign press crew who was also an eye-witness at Muxidi said:

"At 2300 hours on 3 June I and other members of the press crew left Tiananmen Square by car, taking the second ring road towards the west. On our way, people shouted to us". "They have started to shoot." As the car headed towards Muxidi, we heard constant firing of automatic weapons. At the Muxidi intersection, we managed to pass through the barricades by closely following one of the ambulances which had appeared on the streets. At 2345 hours, the ambulance and our car reached Fuxing Hospital. About

every minute, one injured person was brought to the hospital, carried on bicycles or pedicabs. Most of the injured were young people who had been manning the barricades at Muxidi. At around midnight, we parked our car at the roadside and took position about 100 metres away from the barricades. Soldiers were shooting indiscriminately; there were bullets flying everywhere; dead bodies and injured people were lying on the streets. Crowds of residents from the neighbouring lanes had left their houses and stood unprotected in the street. They did not try to hide because they did not seem to realize what was going on. They were in a state of shock and disbelief. The streets were full of people, old and young, while students and other young people were fighting at the barricades. Buses in which soldiers had been transported were burning. I thought they had been set on fire by soldiers themselves. Machine-guns were mounted on APCs. I found shells of two kinds of weapons on the ground: AK-47 and 50 calibre machine-guns. Some time after midnight, one person near me told me that the personnel of the ambulance we had followed had been killed."

The following account, given by a Beijing student during a telephone conversation on 4 June, also mentions that medical personnel at Muxidi were fired at by troops:

"At about 2240 hours on 3 June at Muxidi, the army trucks headed by armed police kept sweeping the crowd on the street with heavy machine-gun shooting while they were moving towards Tiananmen Square. They used real bullets. At the beginning they may have used rubber bullets. They even shot at the residential buildings along the street. Many residents were injured in their homes and were sent to hospitals. Up to 0245 hours on 4 June, in Fuxing Hospital alone, 26 people died; most of them were students. The army and the armed police even shot at the ambulance that tried to rescue the wounded. Some medical personnel wearing white garments and red crosses were injured and were sent to Fuxing hospital."

The following is an extract of an account of events at Muxidi by students from Beijing Institute of Aerospace Engineering:

"Around 2200 hours on 3 June, we 15 propaganda team members of the Beijing Institute of Aerospace Engineering came to Muxidi. We saw among civilians some students helping to maintain order there. A little over 100 yards away stood the troops, the ten front rows of soldiers were wearing submachine-guns and electric cattleprods. On both sides were also soldiers holding submachine guns, and the army trucks were in the middle."

"Before we got there, the students and the soldiers had been throwing rocks at each other. At around 2220 hours, flames suddenly rose on the soldiers' side and several army trucks were on fire, and the civilians cheered. Then the soldiers on both sides started to move forward. The soldiers in the middle kept throwing rocks at us. The students moved forward from the opposite side in an attempt to stop their advance."

"Suddenly, rocks from the soldiers' side hit me in the knee and three other places. Li Ping from Beijing University stepped forward into the space between soldiers and civilians and was getting ready to talk to the soldiers when a volley of bullets came and hit him. He fell before he had a chance to say a word. When two other students and I rushed forward to pick Li Ping up and take him back, another volley of bullets came and hit one of us in the forearm. We carried the wounded to the Fuxingmen Hospital. As Li Ping had been hit in the head and had been bleeding copiously, he died shortly after for loss of blood. The students were enraged."

"When I returned to Muxidi, the troops had advanced a few yards. Their guns were pointed at students and civilians and they kept shooting. Several hundred civilians and students had fallen. These frenzied bandits were shooting indiscriminately at anybody in their sight. When we carried the wounded back to the hospital, intense gun fire was still heard outside. At the hospital, we learned that three civilians in the residential buildings around Muxidi had been killed by bullets, including a 78-year-old lady, and dozens had been injured, simply because they had turned on the light in their apartment or because they had shouted "Fascists" at the soldiers. We obtained names of 19 civilians that had passed away in the Fuxingmen Hospital."

"At 0300 hours on 4 June, the soldiers fired again. A civilian lay on the ground, but was shot dead the moment he raised his head."

"By 0500 hours, the number of people that had died in the Fuxingmen Hospital rose to 59. The hospital had a telephone connection with other hospitals and according to information they had obtained, 55 had died in the Children's Hospital, 85 had died in the Railway Hospital, and it was impossible to keep count of the injured."

"By 0830 hours on 4 June 725 tanks had passed in front of the Fuxingmen Hospital. Tear-gas bombs had been fired at Muxidi, and people were still scared. By 0930 hours, some injured were transferred to the Third Hospital of Beijing Medical University, and a few bodies were taken to Beijing University and Qinghua University."

### 3.2.2 From Muxidi to Xidan and Liubukou

Extract from an eye-witness statement received by Amnesty International:

"I was at Muxidi at about midnight (between 3 and 4 June). There was very heavy gunfire and troops were also firing tear-gas. I left soon on my bicycle taking a side street and came back towards the Avenue (Fuxingmenwai) close to the Yanjing Hotel. In the avenue I saw an endless stream of military trucks and jeeps, driving slowly and firing down the sides of the avenue. There were not very many people there. I watched the convoy of vehicles passed for about 20 minutes and then went down a side street again, and came back to the Avenue near the Fuxingmen Junction. It was about half past midnight. The military convoy was still passing through, vehicles were advancing very slowly with foot soldiers on the sides. Buses were burning near the intersection. I left again through side streets."

Jasper Becker, the London *Guardian* correspondent in Beijing, reported on 5 June:

"It was only by the time we arrived at Fuxingmen Bridge, the last bridge in the west before the city centre, and heard the steady crackle-crackle of small arms fire and the intermittent thud-thud of heavy machine-guns that the enormity of what had happened dawned on us. It was 1 am and in the warm June night air the usual crowd in vests and summer skirts were waiting on the flyover crossing the second ring road. Before we took the scene in, a plump middle-aged woman was carried through the crowd. She was shaking with shock with a large gash across her forearm, and was bundled into a taxi. As the gunfire approached, the crowd behind became frantic and started ramming six articulated buses across the road into the hedgerows on either side."

A foreigner at the Minzu Hotel (located between the Fuxingmen and the Xidan intersections) has given the following account of what he observed from the Minzu Hotel:

"At midnight (between 3 and 4 June) from the window of my hotel room (at the Minzu Hotel) I watched about twenty men in combat gear. They fired teargas into the crowd. Several young people were beaten to the ground. This provoked counter-reaction. The demonstrators threw stones and armed themselves with sticks and metal bars. For about one hour there was heavy fighting in front of the hotel. There were wounded and perhaps also dead people. The victims were carried away. Ambulances came. For a short while I went down to the hotel lobby and on to the street, but after the fighting resumed I went back to my hotel room."

"At 0100 hours about twenty or thirty APCs came from the west. Followed by a great number of trucks loaded with armed soldiers. They moved in the direction of Tiananmen Square. Street barricades were simply flattened. When after more than one hour the last truck of the convoy had passed by the Minzu Hotel many hundred of people (not only students) appeared on the street. They ran after the trucks and shouted protest slogans. A few stones were thrown. The soldiers opened fire with live ammunition. The crowd threw themselves on the ground, but quickly followed the convoy again. The more shots were fired, the more the crowd got determined and outraged. Suddenly they started singing the Internationale; they armed themselves with stones and threw them towards the soldiers. There were also a few molotov cocktails, and the last truck was set on fire. The shooting continued. At first the soldiers shot over the heads of the people. Later the shooting continued in all directions. There were also bullet holes to be seen in our hotel lobby. As far as I could see there was no bloodbath, but there were victims. After the convoy had disappeared it was

calm again. At 0700 hours more than twenty heavy tanks moved towards Tiananmen Square."

The following account is from a foreign photographer who walked towards the west, from Tiananmen Square to the Minzu Hotel, approximately between midnight and 0100 hours:

"Sometime before or around midnight I walked along West Chang'an Avenue from Tiananmen Square, going towards the west. Just after Fuyou Street, there were barricades. Behind the barricades was a coach full of soldiers with shields which was surrounded by crowds. Suddenly, the crowd ran away as some 60 to 70 soldiers came down Fuyou Street, turning into Chang'an Avenue towards the west. The crowd started throwing objects at the arriving soldiers. The soldiers, who had riot shields, made mock charges at the crowd, fired tear-gas and were also throwing stones back. The riot moved to Xidan and continued further away towards the west up to the Minzu Hotel. At some point some soldiers ran out of tear-gas and some people moved in to get at them. Students and other people in the crowd tried, without success, to stop these people hitting the soldiers. One soldier was hit with rocks and bars. He fell down but those hitting him continued. Several other soldiers were attacked in the same way. Some wounded or dead soldiers were taken into the Minzu Hotel. I managed to get into the hotel myself. It was full of security people. When I tried to take a picture of the wounded soldiers, they attacked me and one of them tried to strangle me with the strap of my camera. Two Americans helped me to get away and I went into their room. From the hotel window I could hear the firing. Tanks were coming down the Avenue. There were wounded or dead civilians carried away by rickshaws. Early in the morning, the scene in front of the hotel was one of devastation: broken glass and bricks, bloodstains and bullet holes in the walls of the hotel."

The following is an extract from an article by Jasper Becker in the London *Guardian* of 5 June, about the scene in the early hours of 4 June in the People's Hospital - located north of the Minzu Hotel:

"We went to the small People's Hospital and it looked like an abattoir. There were bodies on benches and beds or on blood soaked mattresses on the floor. Many had gaping bullet wounds on the chest, legs, or head. A doctor [...] told us that 300 wounded had come in. Most were so bad we sent them on elsewhere. There were 35 seriously wounded and 70 others. Four have died, including a nine-year-old girl shot through the throat" he said. Students had rescued badly beaten soldiers and we saw one covered in blood who was clearly not going to live."

The account below is from an "Open Letter of the Independent Student Union of Beijing Universities to the People of the World" issued in June by Chinese Students in the Greater Boston area, United States of America, about events in Xidan:

"At early dawn of 4 June, three armoured vehicles sped from the north into the Xidan intersection, crushing a bus that had been parked in the intersection as a barricade. Rumbling vehicles and continuous gun shots were heard approaching from the direction of the Military Museum. People fell in large numbers in the area between the Military Museum and Xidan. Workers returning home from night shifts also suffered gun shots."

"At 0040 hours, troops fired tear-gas at around 500 metres from Xidan. Unable to keep their eyes open, the people had to squat down to keep away from the gas. At this moment, a vehicle caught fire. This was the work of plainclothes police for the purpose of blaming it on the students and creating an excuse for the government to kill."

"At 0050 hours, huge numbers of anti-riot police yelling 'open fire' emptied rounds and rounds of ammunition into the defenceless students and citizens. Scores of people were shot to death on the spot, and hundreds were injured. Among the dead were bystanders. Those taking refuge in small alleys were found by soldiers and killed. Deep in an alley in Xidan, four people were shot dead, among whom a 3-year-old child and an old man over 70. There was no survivor in this group. A little after 0100 hours, many troops charged into Xidan intersection. Soldiers poured bullets into crowds of spectators, who fell in large numbers. Not only did they continue the shooting rampage, but they also chased people running away from them, and used sticks, whips and guns

to beat them. A female student from the Second Foreign Language Institute suffered injuries in both feet. Several schoolmates came up to help her. They were shot at with automatic guns. Five fell."

"Three hours later, the troops had deserted Xidan. People who had survived the onslaught rushed back toward Tiananmen Square. All the roadways had been blocked by the army, which started firing at the approaching people again. Those running away were shot in the back. The louder the chanting of slogans, the more intense the gun fired."

Summary of a press report about firing at Xidan:

A Chinese student who left China for the USA in June told reporters during a press conference there on 30 June that he and a friend had stayed for hours at the Xidan intersection during the night of 3 to 4 June and saw many people around them being shot because they could not believe the army was shooting at them, so they did not move." Shen Tong, the student, said he and his friend stayed at the intersection for hours, trying to show the bodies of victims to other advancing troops because they did not know what their predecessors had done. "At about 0400 hours," Shen said, "a soldier shot his friend in the face as they stood at the intersection talking to the troops." Shen was then pulled away by two civilians who took him with them on a pedicab to the countryside, where he hid until 11 June.

["Chang'an Avenue was full of corpses" by Marianne Yen, *Washington Post*, 1 July 1989.]

An eye-witness at Xidan and Liubu told *Kou has Amnesty International*:

"I arrived at the Xidan intersection just after 0100 hours, at about the same time as the troops. I could not see very well what was happening as I had to retreat several times to hide from bullets. But I could clearly see the silhouettes of residents against burning vehicles in the Avenue. They were throwing objects at the advancing troops. There was a continuous sound of gunfire and tear-gas was also fired by troops. I thought they were firing blanks but I saw people fall, wounded or killed. I then went to Liubukou, into Fuyou Jie (a street on the north of West Chang'an Avenue). There, there was an army jeep which had been completely pulled apart. I left my bicycle in the street and went back down to the corner of the Avenue. The advancing troops had not yet reached this junction. The huge body of the advancing troops were spread all across the Avenue. There were a few people at the entrance of Fuyou Jie, on the side of the Zhongnanhai (east side). I crossed to the west side of the street and suddenly a soldier appeared about three metres away from me. I crouched down. The soldier was throwing stones and told me to throw anything I had. I crawled inside Fuyou Jie and touched a huge pool of blood. The soldiers were firing at the people on the other side of the street as well. I picked up my bicycle. A man on a bicycle came by, carrying someone who had been shot on the back of his bicycle. I left towards the north."

According to other reports, crowds of people succeeded in temporarily blocking the road at Liubukou. According to unconfirmed reports, while unarmed troops attempted to clear them away, the armoured convoy came crushing through the crowds, killing many soldiers as well as students and civilians. Some students who evacuated Tiananmen Square later on were reportedly told by civilians in West Chang'an Avenue that, during the earlier battles in that area, the bodies of victims were piled onto buses and tricycles by soldiers following behind those firing machine-guns towards the crowd, as a result of which some of the wounded were suffocated to death (see "I am still alive" by Chai Ling, Beijing student leader).

### 3.3 Events to the south and east of Tiananmen Square

Many other incidents during which troops fired at unarmed civilians in other parts of Beijing on 3 and 4 June have been reported, particularly in the south and the eastern suburbs. Continuous heavy gunfire was also heard coming from the south in the early hours of 4 June, and during the following days, but little is as yet known about what happened there: As far as is known, the troops who came from the west towards Tiananmen Square during the night, firing continuously, were those who caused the heaviest casualties among civilians.



Incidents of soldiers shooting without warning or provocation at unarmed civilians continued for several days after 4 June, causing more casualties. Several such incidents were witnessed by many people. One of these occurred at around 1015 hours on 4 June, in front of the Beijing Hotel in East Chang'an Avenue. It was witnessed by many foreign tourists and journalists. A large number of civilians was gathered there in the morning, including the relatives of people who had been in the Square during the night and had not returned. Tanks, APCs and troops were lined up across the Avenue, blocking the access to Tiananmen Square and not letting anyone into the Square. Some people in the crowd were shouting at the soldiers, but the atmosphere was generally calm. Suddenly without warning, the troops started shooting at the crowd and continued shooting at the backs of people running away. Various sources estimate that between 30 to 40 people were shot down in the crowd at that stage. The troops did not stop firing when an ambulance came to rescue the wounded. Under the gunfire, the ambulance hit a traffic observation post and burst into flames. The sporadic shooting in that area was repeated several times during the day leaving an estimated 10 more dead. It also continued the next day.

Another incident happened on 7 June near the International Hotel in Jianguomenwai Avenue (east of Tiananmen Square). At about 1000 hours, some 10 tanks and many trucks carrying troops passed by the hotel in the street. The last truck stopped and without warning or provocation soldiers in it started spraying fire around them. There were very few people in the street at that time, only a few pedestrians walking on the pavements and people cycling to work. At least four people were wounded or killed during the shooting.

### 3.4 Estimates of civilian casualties

It is extremely difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the number of civilian casualties. Many people killed or wounded on 3 and 4 June in Beijing were reportedly not taken to hospitals, and information from medical sources was sketchy. Under martial law, citizens in Beijing were forbidden to talk to foreign journalists and hospitals were under instructions not to give out information about the number of people killed or wounded. The evaluation of available sources, however, suggests that the number of people killed was at least a thousand.

An official report to the National People's Congress, presented by Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong on 30 June 1989, stated that "more than 3,000 civilians were wounded and over 200, including 36 college students, died during the riot". Official sources had earlier put the total number of civilian and military casualties at "nearly 300" including "more than 100 soldiers", but Chen Xitong's report only mentioned "several dozen" soldiers killed.

The 36 students killed, according to official sources, include six from the People's University of China, three from Qinghua University, three from Beijing University of Science and Technology, and the rest from 17 other universities and colleges in Beijing, including Beijing University (Beida) and Beijing Teachers Training College (NCNA, 1 July 1989).

Estimates of the number of dead by unofficial sources vary from several hundred to several thousand. Approximate figures were collected in some of Beijing's hospitals by foreign journalists and Chinese sources on 4 and 5 June. These sources indicate that over 300 people had died by then in about 11 of Beijing's hospitals (see *United Press International* and *Associated Press* reports from Beijing of 4 and 5 June; various press articles have also cited specific casualty figures in some hospitals). On 5 June foreign press correspondents in Beijing cited hospital sources as saying that 1,400 people had died and 10,000 had been injured (see *Agence France Presse* in Beijing of 5 June). Various press reports also cited unspecified sources at the Chinese Red Cross as saying on 4 June that 2,600 had died and 10,000 had been injured. Much higher estimates for the number of dead and wounded were also given in some reports (see the Hong Kong magazine *Zheng Ming*, 1 July 1989, page 10; and the Hong Kong *Wen Wei Po* of 6 June 1989).

An official from the Red Cross Society of China was cited by foreign press correspondents as saying on 5 June that the death toll was far higher than that reported in hospitals. The official, who

asked not to be identified, reportedly added, "It's in the thousands. Obviously it's going to be impossible to ever know. We are still trying to gather information" (Scott David in Beijing, *United Press International*, 5 June 1989).

It is clear indeed that the approximate figures collected by various sources in some of Beijing's hospitals by 5 June are only a fraction of the total death toll. As far as Amnesty International has been able to ascertain, these figures were gathered from only some 11 or 12 hospitals. Press reports indicate that these figures were in some cases incomplete – based on the number of dead bodies seen by visitors in parts of the hospitals, rather than on information provided by medical staff. In some hospitals, doctors and nurses were either too busy or unwilling to give out casualty figures.

Beijing Municipality has more than 40 hospitals, over 20 of which are located in the central part of the city where heavy firing took place. Hardly anything is known about the situation in some 30 of these hospitals. It is likely that at least some of them received casualties since firing took place in many parts of the city. Furthermore, access to hospitals was practically impossible after 5 June and, except for the relatives of those dead or wounded, visitors were usually not allowed in. There were still casualties after 5 June as sporadic firing by troops continued for several days, and one can assume that some of those wounded between 3 and 9 June may have died of their injuries. Doctors in several hospitals were cited as saying on 5 and 6 June that they had run out of medical supplies and had no more blood for transfusions (see Sheryl WuDunn, *New York Times*, 5 June 1989).

There are also indications that not all those who died were taken to hospitals. Some of those killed were carried away by friends or relatives and may not necessarily have been taken to hospitals. An unknown number of dead bodies were also reportedly collected by troops. (See Jasper Becker, the *London Guardian* of 6 June 1989, and Nicholas D Kristoff, the *New York Times* of 5 June 1989. Other reports have also mentioned this.) It was also reported that after 4 June some of the city's crematoria had been placed under military control (see Hong Kong *Wen Wei Po* of 6 June 1989). Some hospitals were also apparently occupied by troops. According to reports, eight or nine doctors were allegedly shot and killed by troops at the Tongran Hospital when they tried to leave to organize a blood drive after the hospital ran out of blood for transfusions (see *United Press International* in Beijing of 5 June 1989, and Louise Branson in the *London Sunday Times* of 11 June 1989).

The atmosphere of terror which followed the military crackdown has made it impossible to gather accurate information about the death toll. However, the government's claims that only 200 civilians died appears to be a gross under-estimate.

### 3.5 Military casualties

According to the report presented to the National People's Congress on 30 June 1989 by the Mayor of Beijing, Chen Xitong, "several dozen" soldiers were killed and more than 6,000 injured during the "several days of the rebellion". Earlier official reports had put the number of soldiers killed at "more than a hundred".

Official sources have given wide publicity to the cases of several soldiers lynched by civilians on 3 to 4 June, but they have not given specific figures for the total number of dead among the army during the military action. The official newspaper *People's Daily* of 3 July 1989 named 10 soldiers killed during the action who were posthumously given the title of "defenders of the People's Republic of China".

Chen Xitong's report and other official reports emphasize that troops exercised "great restraint" and give detailed descriptions of attacks suffered by soldiers on 3 and 4 June. These include detailed accounts of several incidents in which soldiers were killed by mobs. The occurrence of several such incidents has been confirmed by private sources, which have said that these were attacks carried out in retaliation in the immediate aftermath of the killings of civilians by soldiers.

On 7 June a foreign teacher interviewed on British television described one such incident, the location and timing of which were not specified. The teacher described how one soldier, holding a gun, was surrounded by civilians trying to convince him not to use



his gun. According to the teacher, three young girls knelt in front of the soldier, begging him not to shoot. He aimed his gun and shot them. An old man then raised his hand to indicate he wanted to go by and the soldier shot him as well. His gun was then empty and he started to recharge it. While he was doing so, the crowd around rushed to him and hanged him from a tree.

Another case in which a soldier was killed by civilians was referred to at length by Government Spokesman Yuan Mu during a press conference in Beijing on 6 June. The incident happened in the early hours of 4 June at the Chongwenmen intersection (east of Tiananmen Square). Yuan Mu denied "rumours" that the soldier was beaten to death and burnt because he had killed three residents, including an old woman. To counter these rumours, he cited a "woman comrade" living in that area who said she had witnessed the incident and had given the following account of it.

"At around 0500 hours on 4 June, when three motor vehicles, one of which was a trailer loaded with vegetables, were passing through Chongwenmen, many people threw stones and bottles at them. Two of the vehicles made a U-turn and sped away, while the third car could not make a U-turn in time because of the trailer.

"It was immediately hit with stones, which fell like rain drops. At first, the woman thought that except for the driver, there was no one else in the car. But actually there were 11 people aboard. They could have opened fire on the crowd, but they did not. What she saw was them jumping down from the vehicle and running towards a nearby alley. However, whether they opened fire while running, she did not see. It seems they carried firearms, but not many. One of them failed to escape and was beaten, thrown from the Chongwenmen flyover, and drenched with petrol and burned. He was dead. This soldier had never beaten any one. If he had a gun, he would have been entirely able to defend himself and would not have met his death in such a manner."

(Beijing television of 6 June 1989 as quoted in the BBC-SWB FE/0477, B2/6 of 8 June 1989)

Two foreign tourists who witnessed this incident from a window of the Hadamen Hotel in Chongwenmen have given Amnesty International a different description. From the hotel, they watched what was happening at the intersection from about midnight until after 0500 hours. According to them, at around midnight several thousand residents were gathered at the intersection and stayed there for several hours. Various things happened between midnight and 0300 hours. The crowd pushed buses across the road, blocking it partially. A group of several hundred armed soldiers came from the east, passed the intersection and marched towards Tiananmen Square; one tank came through from the south then two other tanks followed later. Sometime after 0300 hours, three army trucks came from the south – their backs covered with canvas. The crowd, which was then gathered at the intersection, moved away from it when the trucks arrived, going down Chongwenmenwai Street towards the trucks which they surrounded. While this happened, a group of several hundred soldiers marching in disciplined formation came from the east, crossed the intersection and stopped on the west side. They formed into rows facing east, some kneeling, some standing, and started firing towards the east for several minutes. From their position in the hotel (on the southeast side of the intersection), the eye-witnesses could not see whether anyone was hurt to the east side of the intersection. They said that one bullet went through a window of the hotel on the first floor. After firing, the troops marched west towards Tiananmen Square. Meanwhile, two of the trucks in the street to the south street had turned round and gone away. The third, which had a trailer, tried to turn around but was stuck on a piece of pavement. The crowd pelted the front of the truck with bottles. There were soldiers in the front of the truck trying to get out. Two eventually came out. One, wearing a helmet, was approached by three men. He pulled the hair of one of the three men and was then set upon by people around him. He then disappeared. (The eye-witnesses no longer saw him.) The other soldier went back into the front of the truck and re-emerged at the back, holding a rifle. He fired at the crowd. The eye-witnesses heard three shots. They saw an old woman and a man fall. They heard later that a child had also been shot. The crowd was

incensed and stormed into the truck. The soldier re-emerged from the cab, his clothes half-torn. He ran towards Chongwenmen Hotel (on the west side), managed to reach the pavement, but was dragged away to the left. The eye-witnesses could not clearly see what happened to him next – there was a pedestrian footbridge across the road – but they assumed he was killed and burnt. The next thing they saw was a fire burning. Later in the morning, they saw the soldier's charred body hanging from a rope on the pedestrian footbridge. After the soldier was killed, the crowd kept at some distance from the truck. Gradually, some rifles emerged from the back of the truck – which was covered with canvas – but no one came out of it for about half an hour. Some people in the crowd threw petrol bombs towards the truck. The truck eventually caught fire and soldiers got out of it. They ran over the footbridge, holding their rifles towards the crowd. The crowd – still numbering several thousand – ran to the eastern side of the road. The soldiers did not shoot, they ran backwards up to a side street into which they disappeared. According to the two eye-witnesses, This happened around 0415 hours. In the afternoon on 4 June, a truck full of soldiers came to collect the body of the dead soldier.

Another person interviewed by Amnesty International said she arrived at Chongwenmen at about 0530 hours, saw "some trucks" in flames and the body of the soldier burning, and was told by civilians there that the soldier had killed an old woman and a child.

### 3.6 Conclusion

On the basis of the information available from many sources, Amnesty International draws the following conclusions.

- From mid-April until the military operations of 3 and 4 June in Beijing, the popular protest movement started by Beijing students was peaceful. There is no indication that leaders of the protest movement at any point advocated violence or attempted to overthrow the government by violent means.
- During the night of 3 to 4 June, some troops opened fire either at random or deliberately at crowds whenever they met obstruction or a large group of people. No warning was given before troops opened fire. Conventional methods for the dispersal or control of crowds without resort to firearms or other use of lethal force were not used.
- The vast majority of civilians were unarmed. Some were killed in residential buildings due to random or intentional shooting by troops. Some were shot in the back among crowds of people running away from troops firing at them; some were crushed to death by military vehicles. Those killed included children and old people.
- After the army took control of central Beijing there were still, for several days, incidents during which troops opened fire on unarmed civilians without warning or provocation.
- Many of the killings of unarmed civilians were extrajudicial executions: deliberate killings by government forces acting outside the limits of the law. Troops deliberately shot and killed individuals even when there was no immediate threat of violence by them, in violation of international standards that lethal force should only be used when absolutely necessary and in direct proportion to the legitimate objective it is intended to achieve.

## 4. ARBITRARY ARRESTS

### 4.1 Arrests

At least 4,000 people are officially reported to have been arrested or detained throughout China since early June in connection with pro-democracy protests, but the total number of those detained is believed to be much higher. In Beijing alone, several thousand people are believed to have been detained – some temporarily – since the military crackdown, with many arrests carried out at night by soldiers and security forces and those detained being taken to unknown destinations.

On 5 June the Chinese official media warned that troops and security forces in Beijing were empowered "to use all means to forcefully dispose of" on the spot, anyone "acting wilfully to defy the law". Subsequently, there were some reports that people arrested by the army had been killed. One foreign journalist, for example, has stated that on 9 June he saw a brutal assault by police on a man in his 20s who was riding a bicycle out of a side street into Changan Avenue, waving a red student banner in a lone

gesture of defiance. According to the journalist, as the young man emerged into the Avenue, he was seized by two armed policemen, repeatedly and violently beaten with truncheons in full view of a gathering crowd, and then taken to an army tent nearby from which came a single shot.

On 7 June police appeared in large numbers in the streets of Beijing for the first time in several weeks. Among those arrested on that day were 24 workers taken away by members of the security forces from a residential compound. According to foreign reporters, the workers were made to kneel down to be photographed, beaten up and taken away to an unknown destination.

Orders for the arrest of student leaders and other activists who led the protests in Beijing were made public on 8 June by China's official media. Public Notice No 10 of the Beijing Municipal Government and the Martial Law Enforcement Troops Command, broadcast by Beijing Radio on 8 June, declared the "Beijing Autonomous Federation of College Students" and the "Beijing Autonomous Federation of Workers" to be illegal organizations. The notice said their leaders were the "ring leaders" of the "current counter-revolutionary rebellion". It called on them to surrender to the Public Security authorities, failing which they would be "brought to justice and punished severely". Public Notice No 11 by the same authorities issued on 8 June called on citizens to report on the "criminal activities of the counter-revolutionary rioters", stressing that "each and every citizen" in Beijing had the "right and obligation" to report and "expose" the rioters. It gave telephone numbers for people to contact for such denunciations. Similar notices and orders for the arrest of pro-democracy activists were issued later in provincial cities. Denunciations were openly encouraged by the authorities and warnings were issued that citizens who failed to report people involved in banned organizations or other "counter-revolutionary" activities would themselves be liable to arrest and imprisonment. In some provinces, the militia and other informal security units were mobilized to search for wanted "counter-revolutionaries" and "rioters".

On 10 June the authorities announced that 400 people had been arrested in Beijing alone, saying they included leaders of "counter-revolutionary" organizations, criminals and people who had used violence during the army intervention. More arrests were announced by official sources on 11 June, and the number of those arrested throughout the country was officially acknowledged by that time to be around 700. For several days, Chinese national television had shown pictures of people being taken into custody by security officers, or being interrogated or making 'confessions' inside police buildings. Some had facial injuries. Several of those shown on television on 11 June were brought in front of interrogators and forced to keep their heads bowed by security officers holding them on each side. Their hands were tied. Others were shown signing statements.

On 13 June the authorities issued warrants for the arrest of 21 student leaders wanted on charges of inciting and organizing the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" in Beijing. Their photographs were shown on national television and detailed descriptions were published in newspapers and broadcast on state radio. Two of those on the wanted list were arrested on 14 June. Several others were arrested later. Warrants for the arrest of three leaders of the Beijing Autonomous Workers' Federation were also issued on 14 June and their names and descriptions publicized in the official media. Thirty-two people were officially reported to have been arrested at Beijing Railway Station on 14 June, including members of the banned students' and workers federations.

By 20 June over 1,500 people were officially reported to have been arrested throughout China. Up to that point, the arrests of "counter-revolutionaries" and "rioters" were given wide publicity in the Chinese official media, with national television showing daily new contingents of people arrested being escorted by police or soldiers. This publicity, however, decreased during the second half of June, following international criticism of the summary trials and executions of two groups of people in Beijing and Shanghai.

Arrests have, however, continued. Official reports indicate that some of those taken into custody were "detained for

investigation" while others were formally arrested and charged. The total number of those detained throughout the country is not known, but unofficial sources suggest that the true total is in tens of thousands. Those detained include students, workers, peasants, teachers, writers, journalists, artists, academics, military officers and unemployed people. They are held on a variety of charges, including involvement in "counter-revolutionary" activities; disrupting traffic or public order; attacking soldiers or military vehicles; "sabotage" and looting.

#### 4.2 Arbitrary detention and imprisonment

The arbitrary detention or imprisonment of people involved in the recent pro-democracy movement may be facilitated by a number of provisions in Chinese law and by practices which, while contrary to the letter of the law, have become the norm in the People's Republic of China. It is common, for instance, for people to be detained by police for weeks or months without charge, in breach of the procedures for arrest and detention laid down in China's Criminal Procedure Law.

There are also laws and regulations providing for various forms of administrative detention. One form of administrative detention, known as "shelter and investigation" (shourong jianca), permits police to detain people without charge of trial for up to three months. This form of detention applies in theory to people who commit minor offences or whose identity, address or background are unclear and who are suspected of committing crimes, but in practice it appears to be used by police far more widely. (see Amnesty International's report *China: Torture and ill-treatment of Prisoners*, September 1987, pages 22 to 23).

A 1957 law which was updated with new regulations in November 1979, also permits long-term detention without charge or trial: it provides for the detention of people considered to have "anti-socialist views" or to be "hooligans" in camps or prisons for up to four years for "re-education through labour". Detention orders for those subjected to "re-education through labour" are issued outside the judicial process by Public Security (police) officers.

A number of those detained since early June in connection with pro-democracy protests are reported to have been subjected to administrative detention. In Liaoning Province, for instance, the authorities reported in June that police had imposed "administrative sanctions" on 1,000 people who had committed minor crimes of "beating, smashing and looting" in connection with the recent protests.

Those formally arrested have been charged under the Criminal Law that came into force in January 1980. They include people held for the peaceful exercise of their basic human rights whom Amnesty International considers to be prisoners of conscience. Some have been charged with organizing or taking part in a "counter-revolutionary" group, others with "carrying out counter-revolutionary propaganda and agitation". These two offences can be punished under China's Criminal Law by anything from deprivation of political rights to life imprisonment. Some of those detained on political grounds may also be charged with other "counter-revolutionary" offences which, under the Criminal Law, can be punished by the death penalty when "the harm to the State and the people is especially serious" and the circumstances "especially odious".

#### 4.3 Prisoner profiles

Amnesty International has compiled the names and basic information about several hundred people detained in connection with the recent pro-democracy protests. (A list will be circulated by Amnesty International in a separate document.) Many of them have been charged with criminal or political offences.

The cases briefly described below are those of people who are believed to be detained on account of the peaceful exercise of their fundamental human rights. They are only a few examples among many others.

##### BAI Dongping

Bai Dongping, aged 26, is a railway worker and central committee member of the banned Beijing Autonomous Workers' Federation. He was arrested on 17 June in Chengdu (Sichuan Province). He is accused of participating in the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" in Beijing. He has probably been

transferred back to the capital to face charges. Bai Dongping and two other members of the workers' federation had been detained briefly by police in Beijing on 30 May, but they were released the following day after students and workers demonstrated in front of the Beijing police headquarters and the Ministry of Public Security.

#### **DAI Qing**

Dai Qing, a prominent woman columnist for the *Guangming Daily*, is reported to have been detained after plainclothes police searched her apartment on 14 July, confiscating manuscripts and articles. By 21 July, her relatives had reportedly not yet heard from her. Dai Qing had signed an appeal in the 15 May *Guangming Daily* asking the government to recognize the legality of the student movement. Dai Qing had rallied journalists to the support of Qin Benli after he was dismissed from his editorial post at the *Shanghai World Economic Herald* in April 1989. Her detention has not been officially confirmed.

#### **HAO Fuyuan**

Hao Fuyuan, aged 37, a villager from Gaoging County (Shandong Province), is reported to have been detained prior to 19 June for "spreading reactionary statements and inciting peasants to create disturbances". His detention was reported by Jinan Radio (Shandong Provincial Service) on 19 June. According to the radio report, he went to Beijing in May and returned to Gaoging after the army intervention in Beijing on 4 June, taking with him "counter-revolutionary leaflets and cassette tapes". He is accused of having subsequently "created rumours everywhere" and of inciting peasants not to sell grain to the state and not to pay taxes.

#### **JIAO Zhixin**

(see the entry on SONG Tianli)

#### **LI Honglin**

Li Honglin, aged 63, a research fellow at the Fujian Academy of Social Sciences, is reported to have been arrested at his home in Fuzhou (Fujian Province) on 6 July. According to the organization *Human Rights in China*, (based in the United States of America), 10 armed police arrived at his house on 6 July with both arrest and search warrants issued by the Fujian Provincial Public Security Bureau. Following Li Honglin's arrest, his relatives sought information on his whereabouts from the Public Security Bureau, but without success. Since 1979, Li Honglin had written several books and numerous articles promoting economic and political reform. He is one of several intellectuals named in a report presented on 30 June by Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (China's Parliament). The intellectuals named in the report are accused of having encouraged the student protests in Beijing in May. The report, which gives a detailed account of what the government calls the "counter-revolutionary rebellion", claims that Li Honglin, together with 40 other people, wrote a letter to the Party Central Committee earlier in 1989, calling for the release of political prisoners in China. According to the report, he also signed an appeal entitled "Our urgent appeal on the current situation", which was issued by 12 prominent intellectuals on 14 May. This urged that the student protests should be declared a "patriotic democratic movement" and that the Beijing Autonomous Student Federation should be declared legal. The report also alleges that "these people also went to Tiananmen Square many times to make speeches and agitate".

#### **LI Xiaohua**

Li Xiaohua, aged about 35, is an editor of the *People's Liberation Army Literature Publishing House in Beijing* and a recipient of a 1988 national poetry award. He is reported to have been arrested in Guangzhou (Canton) on 12 June. He had gone to Guangzhou from Beijing around 10 June. The exact reason for his arrest is not known. Li Xiaohua as a military rank and will face a military court if formal charges are brought against him. He may be sent back to Beijing for investigation. His arrest has not been officially confirmed.

#### **LIU Chongxi**

Liu Chongxi, one of the leaders of the Xi'an Autonomous Workers' Federation, was officially reported to have been arrested in Xi'an (Shaanxi province) on 11 June. The group has been accused by the authorities of advocating the overthrow of the government. Liu Chongxi is accused of participating in several

"unlawful" organizations, inciting strikes, "viciously" criticizing state and party leaders, and spreading rumours to create disturbances. He was among a group of 43 people arrested by police in Xi'an on 11 June. According to official sources, they were members of seven students' and workers organizations which were banned by the Xi'an authorities on 11 June.

#### **LIU Qiang**

Liu Qiang, aged 25, a worker at Beijing No. 3209 Factory, was officially reported to have been arrested in Inner Mongolia on 15 June. He is one of three leaders of the Beijing Autonomous Workers' Federation for whom arrest warrants were issued by the authorities on 14 June. Their names and descriptions were publicized in the official media that day. His arrest was televised nationally on 15 June, when he was shown being dragged handcuffed off a train by police. A television commentator said police were helped by members of the public who recognized him from his picture shown on national television on 14 June.

#### **LIU Xiaobo**

Liu Xiaobo, aged 34, a well-known literary critic and lecturer in the Chinese Department of Beijing Normal University, is reported to have been arrested on 6 June in Beijing. He was seen that day being taken away in a car by plainclothes men. Liu Xiaobo is one of four people who started a hunger-strike in Tiananmen Square on 2 June.

On 23 June the Chinese official media gave great prominence to his arrest, accusing him of "instigating and participating in the rioting". They said that he had close ties with an "anti-communist" group in the United States of America (US), the Chinese Alliance for Democracy, and that he had met the head of the group, Hu Ping, during a visit to the US in November 1988. The Chinese Alliance for Democracy, which publishes the magazine *China Spring*, was banned in China as a "reactionary" organization in 1988. Liu Xiaobo returned to Beijing in April 1989. The *Beijing Daily* said on 24 June that he was "well-known overseas for his anti-marxist position and his academic views attacking Chinese culture". On 23 June a Beijing television news reader read out a long statement vilifying Liu Xiaobo for supporting pro-democracy student protesters. It also accused Liu Xiaobo of having said during a telephone conversation on 2 June: "we must organize armed forces among the people". This alleged statement by Liu Xiaobo was later repeated in a report presented by Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong to the National People's Congress, as an example of "evidence" that "organizers of the turmoil" were preparing violent action. According to information received by Amnesty International, however, this alleged statement by Liu Xiaobo, which was printed in a Hong Kong Chinese language newspaper, is a mistranslation of the English record of a telephone conversation between Liu Xiaobo and a leader of the Chinese democratic movement in New York. Various sources who know Liu Xiaobo well have told Amnesty International that he had never advocated violence. On 3 June, in fact, he urged students to return weapons which had been seized from soldiers by civilian protesters earlier that day.

#### **NIU Shengchang**

Niu Shengchang, aged 38, described as a villager from Yunshan in Dongping County of Shandong Province, is officially reported to have been arrested on 16 June by Tengzhou City police for writing "reactionary" posters and putting up "counter-revolutionary" leaflets in various localities in the province. He reportedly went to Beijing on 18 May and "asked" to participate in the Beijing Autonomous Peasants' Federation. Together with students, he allegedly "resisted" the martial law troops in Beijing and returned to his home after 4 June. He is said to have had a record of dissatisfaction: between 1984 and 1986, he reportedly went to Beijing eight times to present unspecified "appeals" to the higher authorities there. It seems likely that Niu Shengchang will be held in Shandong Province since he allegedly conducted "counter-revolutionary propaganda" there. However, he may also be sent to Beijing for investigation of his activities there.

#### **QIAN Jitun**

(see the entry on WANG Shufeng)

#### **QUAN Baogui**

(see the entry on YANG Dongju)

### REN Wanding

Ren Wanding, a former prisoner of conscience adopted by Amnesty International, is reported to have been arrested at his home in Beijing on the evening of 9 June. One of the founding members of the 'Human Rights Alliance' in the 1979 "democracy movement", he was arrested for the first time in April 1979 and imprisoned for several years without charge or trial. In late 1988, he issued a statement about the human rights situation in China which was published outside China and gave interviews to foreign journalists. He is said to have made public speeches on several occasions during the recent student protests. His arrest has not yet been officially acknowledged and his place of detention is not known.

### SONG Tianli and JIAO Zhixin

Song Tianli and Jiao Zhixin, officially described as the "chieftains of a counter-revolutionary organization" called the China Democratic Political Party, were arrested in Dalian (Liaoning province) on 13 June. According to a report by Shenyang Radio of 13 June, Song Tianli is a vagrant and Jiao Zhixin a salesman, both originally from Shandong Province. They are alleged to have formed the China Democratic Political Party in Dalian during the recent student protests and to have sent 14 "counter-revolutionary declarations, guiding principles and letters of appeal" to various cities throughout the country, advocating the overthrow of the Chinese Communist Party and of the socialist system. They allegedly formulated various guiding principles for their party, as well as regulations on establishing counter-revolutionary armed forces.

### WANG Dan

Wang Dan, aged 21, a student in the History Department of Beijing University (Beida) and the first named in the list of wanted student leaders issued by the government on 13 June, is reported to have been arrested in Beijing on 6 July. This was two days after the arrest of a Taiwanese reporter, Huang Debei, whom he had been in direct contact with a few days earlier. Wang Dan's arrest has not been publicly confirmed by official sources. However, according to Huang Debei, who was released and deported from China on 11 June, police told him while he was in custody that they had arrested Wang Dan.

### WANG Shufeng and QIAN Jitun

Wang Shufeng, aged 21, a student at Beijing University (Beida) and a member of the banned Beijing Autonomous Students' Federation (BASF), is officially reported to have been arrested on 20 June in Baotou, Inner Mongolia, together with another member of the BASF, Qian Jitun. Wang Shufeng is accused of having organized illegal demonstrations, sit-ins and hunger-strikes in Beijing. He also reportedly handled more than one million yuan of funds for the student protests as "chairman of the Tiananmen Square demonstration financial department". Wang was handed over to police in Beijing by the Baotou authorities on 21 June. The official report on his arrest did not specify what had happened to Qian Jitun, but it is likely that he was also sent to Beijing for investigation.

### WANG Xinlin

Wang Xinlin, aged 24, a former officer of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), was formally arrested in Jinggangshan (Jiangxi Province) on 21 June on charges of "carrying out counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement". It is not known for how long he was detained before he was charged. He is accused of putting up "reactionary" posters in various places in Jinggangshan on 5 June, in which he criticized party and state leaders and "vilified" the troops enforcing martial law in Beijing. These accusations indicate that he is being detained for the peaceful exercise of fundamental human rights. An official report on his arrest, broadcast by Nanchang Radio on 22 June, claimed that he had often had grievances against official party policies in the past and had once staged a hunger-strike to show his discontent with a punishment imposed on him. During his time in his army unit, he had allegedly "kept some ammunition" and fled from his unit on three occasions. According to the official report, he was demoted to the rank of ordinary soldier in November 1988 and sent back to Jinggangshan, his native city.

His arrest on a charge of "carrying out counter-revolutionary

propaganda and incitement" was approved by Jinggangshan City People's Procuratorate on 21 June. This offence is punishable under Article 102 of China's Criminal Law by anything from a period of "control" or deprivation of political rights to life imprisonment, depending on the gravity of the case.

### WU Haizhen

Wu Haizhen, aged 34, is said to be a lecturer at the foreign language faculty of the Yunnan Education Institute who, during the recent protests in Kunming (Yunnan Province), delivered "dozens of speeches" through loudspeakers, attacking party and government leaders. He is said to have acted as a "lecturer of the Yunnan Student Federation" and to have given lectures in factories to incite workers to strike. He was arrested in Kunming on 13 June.

### XIONG Wei

Xiong Wei, aged 23, a student at Qinghua University in Beijing, was officially reported to have been arrested on 15 June. He was one of the 21 Beijing student leaders named in the wanted list issued by the authorities on 13 June. Chinese national television reported on 15 June that he had given himself up to the police after being urged to do so by his mother. He was shown on national television being questioned on that day. He is said to have been the coordinator of the rescue teams which provided medical aid to students on hunger-strike in Beijing in May.

### XU Bingli

Xu Bingli, aged 51, a worker at the Hongkou District Housing Management Company in Shanghai, is officially reported to have been arrested in Shanghai on 13 June. He is accused of setting up an "illegal" organization, the China Civil Rights Autonomous Federation, on 28 May, and of making "numerous counter-revolutionary" speeches at People's Square in Shanghai between 27 May and early June. His speeches reportedly attracted several hundred people, thus "seriously disrupting traffic". In these speeches, he reportedly called on onlookers to join his civil rights group, declared that workers in Shanghai should be mobilized to stage a general strike and asked people to unite with each other to overthrow the corrupt government. The accusations against him indicate that he is being detained for the peaceful exercise of fundamental human rights. He may be charged with carrying out "counter-revolutionary propaganda and agitation", an offence under China's Criminal Law.

### XU Xiaomei

(see the entry on ZHANG Weiguo)

### YANG Dongju and QUAN Baogui

Yang Dongju, a worker at Shenyang Railway Bureau, and Quan Baogui, a worker at the Number Four Vehicle Parts Factory in Dandong City, were arrested in Dandong (Liaoning province) for "making inflammatory speeches and spreading rumours in the streets", according to a report broadcast on Shenyang Radio on 22 June. The report indicates they were arrested around 15 to 20 June after a videotape showing them making speeches was televised in Dandong. In their speeches they are said to have "viciously attacked" party leaders and "vilified" the People's Liberation Army which crushed the student protests in Beijing in early June.

### YANG Wei

Yang Wei, a former prisoner of conscience, was arrested by Shanghai police on 19 July. An NCNA report announcing his arrest alleged that Yang Wei had made propaganda speeches during the recent student protests, and that he had visited universities for the purpose of collecting information and inciting students to oppose the government. It further said that he had not "shown any penitence" since his release from prison earlier in 1989.

Yang Wei had returned to Shanghai in May 1986 with a master's degree in molecular biology from the University of Arizona in the US. In December 1986 and January 1987 large-scale student demonstrations calling for reform and greater democracy took place in several major Chinese cities, with Shanghai a focal point for unrest. Yang Wei was arrested on 11 January 1987 after police had searched his parents' flat and found leaflets and personal notes allegedly supporting the student movement. He was sentenced in December 1987 to two years' imprisonment for "counter-revolutionary propaganda and agitation". At his trial, the prosecution indictment emphasized Yang Wei's links with the "reactionary" New York-based Chinese Alliance for Democracy

the socialist system. During the recent protests in Beijing, he is alleged to have made "three public speeches" in Xining criticizing party and state leaders, and to have written and distributed leaflets calling for a revision of the constitution, a new central government and for an end to one-party rule in China. After martial law was imposed in Beijing on 20 May, he reportedly wrote a draft constitution for the Opposition Parties' Alliance, printed registration forms and recruited members.

Official reports of his arrest claim that the aim of the Alliance was to overthrow the CCP and "seize power". However, there appears to be no evidence that Yu Zhenbin had ever used or advocated violence. He may be charged with "organizing a counter-revolutionary group", an offence punishable under Article 98 of China's Criminal Law by a minimum of five year's and a maximum of life imprisonment.

#### **ZHANG Weiguo and XU Xiaowei**

Zhang Weiguo and Xu Xiaowei, two editors of the Shanghai weekly *World Economic Herald*, are reported to have been arrested in late June. The *World Economic Herald*, which was closed down by the Shanghai authorities in May, a month after its editor-in-chief, Qin Benli, was dismissed, had taken the lead among the media in advocating political reforms and tried to bypass press censorship. Another journalist working for the same newspaper was also reported in early July to be under arrest, and Qin Benli was said to be under house arrest. Zhang Weiguo, aged 32, is a lawyer who worked as head of the Beijing Office of the *World Economic Herald*.

#### **ZHOU Fengsuo**

Zhou Fengsuo is a 22-year-old student of physics at Qinghua University in Beijing. On 14 June Chinese national television showed him being arrested in Xi'an (Shaanxi province), where his family lives. He was one of the 21 student leaders on the wanted list issued by the authorities on 13 June. According to official sources, he left Beijing for Xi'an on 7 June and was arrested after he was allegedly denounced by his sister, who had seen his name among those of the 21 wanted student leaders when they were broadcast on Chinese television.

#### **ZHOU Xiaotong (pen name: ZHOU Jiajun)**

Zhou Xiaotong (pen name: Zhou Jiajun), age unknown (but said to be very young), an amateur writer affiliated to the 164th Infantry of the 55th Army, is reported to have been arrested in Wuhan (Hubei Province) while he was studying at the university there. The date of his arrest is unknown, but it is believed to have occurred before 27 June. He is reported to have participated in the student movement, but the exact reason for his arrest is not known. Zhou Xiaotong has a military rank and will face a military court if formal charges are brought against him. His arrest has not been officially confirmed.

(CAD), banned in China. He was accused of having written articles under a pseudonym for the CAD journal *China Spring* agitating for the "overthrow of the people's democratic dictatorship and socialism", and of inciting students in Shanghai. His case caused great concern among Chinese students in the US and was raised in the US Congress.

After his release in January 1989 (the two-year sentence had begun on the date of formal arrest). Yang Wei remained in Shanghai. In an *Associated Press* interview at the time, he was quoted as saying that he "did not regret marching for democracy and writing for *China Spring*", but that he "was not sure if he would continue working for political change". He intended to wait for official permission to return to the US to join his student wife and work for a doctorate.

#### **YU Zhenbin**

Yu Zhenbin, aged 27, a staff member of the Qinghai Provincial Archives Bureau, was officially reported to have been arrested on 27 June in Xining (Qinghai Province). He is accused of setting up a "counter-revolutionary" organization in Xining called the Chinese People's Democratic Opposition Parties' Alliance.

His arrest was reported by the *People's Daily* and the NCNA on 29 June. Citing police sources, NCNA said that Yu Zhenbin had a record of "reactionary" activity and hostility to the CCP and

## **5. ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE AND ILL-TREATMENT**

Some of those arrested since early June in connection with the pro-democracy protests are reported to have been severely beaten by police or soldiers, and it is feared that detainees may still be put under strong pressure – and in some cases tortured – to confess to crimes or to denounce others involved in protests.

The ill-treatment of people arrested by police or soldiers during and after the military crackdown in Beijing has been reported by various sources. Foreign journalists witnessed 24 workers being arrested and assaulted in a residential compound in Beijing on 7 June. According to foreign reporters, the workers were made to kneel down to be photographed, beaten up and taken away to an unknown destination. Foreign tourists briefly detained in Beijing on 5 June also reported seeing there between 60 and 80 students, whose hands were tied, being beaten by soldiers and hearing other soldiers shout "kill them".

One foreigner, who was present in Beijing on 4 June, has told Amnesty International how he was taken into custody when he inadvertently strayed into a restricted area near Tiananmen Square. He was held at first in the company of four other foreigners. He is referred to as "F" in the account below.

On the morning of 4 June 1989, F wanted to go sight-seeing in Beijing. He apparently did not know what had happened during the night and was cycling in the streets close to Tiananmen Square when, without knowing, he entered a restricted area. At 1130 hours he was stopped by soldiers and beaten with a stick on the shoulders and back. They took away his rucksack, his camera and films. An officer then took him to a government building on one side of Tiananmen Square, and subsequently into a building inside the Forbidden City, which he thought to be a centre for radio communication. He was questioned about his belongings, hit on the hand, then an officer took out his pistol to intimidate F. F was asked to stand close to the wall, then to sit down, then to stand up again (several times).

He was then taken out on the Square and walked under escort for about ten minutes across the park on the right side of the entrance to the Forbidden City (seen from outside). There he was held in a room under military guard with the four other foreigners: an American and his pregnant wife; a 15-year-old Pakistani boy and a 47-year-old Italian journalist who had a bleeding head wound and bruised ribs.

All five were repeatedly struck by a soldier with an electric baton as they were brought to this holding centre. They were questioned by officers of the Beijing police for about 60 to 90 minutes each, and were not allowed to contact their embassies. During this time F could hear screams from a nearby building into which wounded Chinese detainees were being taken. They had head wounds and other injuries, and they were tied with hands behind their backs and attached to a cord tied around their necks. The foreigners saw a number of detainees being beaten by soldiers before they were themselves released.

At 0200 hours the foreigners were taken out of the room and F came close to the building. He looked inside the building and saw a room, which was about 12 by six metres, containing at least 80 wounded people. "It looked like a butchery" said F. About one hour later the foreigners were released outside the park. F had bruises and suffered from pain for about 14 days.

According to the description given by F, the place where he was detained was the Workers Palace of Culture, located on the east side of the Forbidden City. The Palace and other buildings in Beijing were used as temporary prisons after the military crackdown on 4 June. Many people arbitrarily detained in such places are reported to have been severely beaten. One newspaper report cites the following two cases: a middle-school student arrested on 5 June in front of the Beijing Hotel spent over 20 days in the Workers Palace of Culture and was covered with wounds when he was released; a cadre who had come to Beijing on official business was arrested by troops on 5 June when he stumbled on a confrontation between civilians and soldiers. Though the cadre



produced documentation showing he was on official business, the troops took no notice of it. He was taken to the Workers Palace of Culture and kept there for more than 20 days. During the first three days he was continually beaten and interrogated, given no food to eat, and slept on the wet earthen floor. For the remainder of his 20-odd days there, he was given two steamed buns to eat each day. He shared a cell with over 100 people - many of them intellectuals. (The *Hong Kong Ming Bao*, 28 July 1989).

The *Ming Bao* of 20 July 1989 reported that an army poet named Ye Wenfu, who was arrested after 4 June, was severely beaten in detention on several occasions. He reportedly tried several times to commit suicide in prison because he could not bear the physical and mental torture, but was prevented from doing so by his jailers.

Liu Xiaobo, a 34-year-old lecturer and literary critic arrested in Beijing on 6 June, and Wang Dan, a 24-year-old student leader arrested in Beijing on 6 July, are also reported to have been severely beaten in detention.

There is some evidence to suggest that detainees have been routinely beaten and tortured with electric batons by police, and some sources have alleged that detainees have died as a result of torture and have been secretly buried, without their families being informed.

Recently released detainees are reported to have alleged that they and others were brutally interrogated, subjected to severe beatings with electric batons and rifle butts, and held in grossly overcrowded cells, although one leading intellectual recently released after several days' detention stated that he had been "treated humanely". Workers and youths alleged to have forcibly resisted the army's entry into Beijing on the night of 3 and 4 June are said to have been subjected to the most severe ill-treatment.

Few details are available about individual detainees: they are held incommunicado without access to relatives or lawyers, and their whereabouts are mostly unknown. Under Chinese law access to lawyers is not permitted until a few days before trial, at the earliest, and it is common to deny access to prisoners by relatives until after their trial. Many detainees' relatives have apparently been denied information by the authorities about the whereabouts of their imprisoned relatives.

Amnesty International has long been concerned about the occurrence of torture in China. In 1987 it published a report entitled *China: Torture and Ill-treatment of Prisoners*, which documented the widespread use of torture in China. The report acknowledged efforts made by the authorities to eradicate torture, but pointed out that the absence of sufficient safeguards for detainees' rights in Chinese law contributed to a pattern of abuse. It recommended the introduction of several safeguards, in particular that limits be placed on incommunicado detention and that legislation be adopted to guarantee that all detainees are brought before a judge promptly after being taken into custody, and that relatives, lawyers and doctors have prompt and regular access to them.

These safeguards are among others recommended in the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment. This was signed in December 1986 and ratified by China in October 1988, but the safeguards in question have not yet been introduced.

## 6. TRIAL PROCEDURES AND UNFAIR TRIALS

Amnesty International is concerned that many of those arrested in Beijing and other cities since early June may receive heavy sentences after summary trials which do not conform to international standards for fair trials.

Very few trials have been publicized by the Chinese official media since June, but many may have taken place without being publicly reported. Indeed, local courts were instructed in June by the central authorities to expedite the trials of people who had engaged in "counter-revolutionary activities" or had created "social turmoil". On 20 June China's Supreme People's Court issued such instructions to courts in a circular which stressed that the people's courts should, "through studies", "act and think in line with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech". This refers to a speech made

earlier in June by Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of China's Central Military Commission, in which he analysed the cause and nature of the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" and the "correct policy" adopted to deal with it.

More explicitly, the Supreme People's Court asked local courts to strive "to fully understand, through studies, that the objective of the extremely small number of people in engineering the counter-revolutionary rebellion is to strike down the Communist Party, overthrow the socialist system and subvert the People's Republic of China" (Beijing Radio of 20 June 1989, quoted by the BBC-SWB FE/0489, B2/5 to 6, of 22 June 1989). As these are offences punishable under China's Criminal Law, this was clearly an instruction that those who "engineered" the rebellion should be found guilty.

Most of those tried in June and July whose trial has been publicly reported, were charged with ordinary criminal offences committed during protests in various cities or during the army intervention in Beijing in early June. These offences involve disrupting traffic, damaging vehicles, attacking soldiers, setting fire to buses or military vehicles, and sabotage.

One man, however, was officially reported in July to have been tried and sentenced on purely political charges. He is Xiao Bin, a 42-year-old worker in Dalian (Liaoning Province). He was arrested on 11 June after he was shown on national television speaking to an American ABC television crew. During the interview with the ABC crew, Xiao Bin said that 20,000 people had been killed during the army intervention in Beijing on 4 June and that some had been crushed by tanks. He was denounced on Chinese television as a "rumour-monger" and, shortly afterwards, two women who recognized him after seeing him on television reported him to the authorities. The two women were reportedly given a large financial reward. Xiao Bin's trial and sentence were announced on Chinese television on 13 July. At his trial in Dalian, he was found guilty of spreading rumours and "vilifying the righteous act of the martial law troops". He was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment under Article 102 of China's Criminal Law for carrying out "counter-revolutionary incitement". Amnesty International considers Xiao Bin to be a prisoner of conscience imprisoned for the peaceful exercise of his right to freedom of expression.

Neither in this case, nor in those of other people officially reported to have been tried, has any information been made public about the procedures followed at the trials. Judging from previous reports of trials in China, Amnesty International believes that they had little chance of getting a fair trial.

### 6.1 Fair trial issues

Trial procedures for cases heard before the people's courts (basic, intermediate and high) are set down in the Criminal Procedure Law that came into force in January 1980. The procedures established in law do not meet the minimum standards for a fair trial set out in international human rights standards - notably the right to adequate time and facilities to prepare the defence, the right to be presumed innocent before being proved guilty in a court of law, the right to cross-examine prosecution witnesses and to call witnesses for the defence. Furthermore, in practice, the guilt of the accused - and the sentence - is generally determined by those in authority before the trial hearing even takes place. Chinese jurists openly refer to this practice as "verdict first, trial second", or the "deciding on the verdict before the trial".

Since 1987, members of the Chinese legal profession have expressed dissatisfaction at routine practices in contravention of Chinese law. Criticisms have been published in numerous articles in the official legal press concerning the use of torture to induce confessions; the extreme limitations on the role of defence lawyers; and the practice of "verdict first, trial second".

Unfair trial procedures were acknowledged by top legal officials in comments published in November 1988. Liu Huisheng, a member of the Supreme People's Court, said a reform of the court system was needed to compensate for society's "prejudiced view" of lawyers, to overcome the trend towards "verdict first, trial second" and in particular to strengthen the role of the panel of judges in court proceedings. Ju Yongchun, a member of the Supreme People's Procuratorate (the highest level of the state



prosecutor's system), urged the improvement and modification of "the current system whereby some courts first decide internally upon the level of sentencing (sic) and then only afterwards carry out the actual trial, and also the system whereby (some courts) do not conduct trials of second instance in open hearings" (*Fazhi Ribao*, Legal News 18 November 1988; the article summarized the proceedings of a Beijing symposium on "The role of the lawyer in the criminal defence system").

The Criminal Procedure Law provides that court presidents, "when they consider it necessary", should submit "all major and difficult cases" for "discussion and decision" to the "adjudication committee" (a body set up in each court to supervise judicial work). This appears to empower court presidents to decide which cases should be examined by the adjudication committees. In practice, however, all cases are decided first, before trial, by the adjudication committees, and judgments may also be submitted for examination and approval before trial to Party committees in charge of political-legal work. A Chinese legal magazine noted in 1987:

"This internal process of examination and approval (of judgments) has to be carried out, and a decision reached, before the start of open trial. This inevitably leads, on both procedural and substantive levels, to the phenomenon of 'deciding on the verdict before trial'.

"This practice makes the open trial degenerate into a mere formality . . . and inevitably results in false and unjust cases . . . To put the matter more sharply, the practice of 'deciding on verdicts before trial' amounts simply to a refurbished version of the presumption of guilt."

(*Faxue*, Science of Law, early 1987, pages 15 to 16)

Another authority observed in November 1988 that the courts simply disregarded the legal procedure prescribed in law, as:

"All criminal cases, whether major or minor, are dealt with and decided upon – lock, stock and barrel – by the adjudication committees. This reduces the system of defence by lawyer to an empty formality. This trend is especially manifest in practices such as 'verdict first, trial second', whereby (the judge takes the attitude of) 'You get on with presenting your defence, and I'll get on with giving my verdict, regardless'."

(*Fazhi Ribao*, 18 November 1988)

Thus in practice the adjudication committees, which discuss cases in the absence of both defence and prosecution, determine the nature of a case, and issue instructions to the court concerning the presumed guilt of the accused and a recommended sentence. When a case is heard by an intermediate or high people's court, the case is usually assessed by the Politics and Law Committee or the Party Committee of the area where the court has jurisdiction. These committees, too, issue opinions to the courts which in practice serve as an instruction on verdicts and sentencing. The Politics and Law Committees are made up of heads of government agencies and legal bodies; the Secretary of the committee, moreover, is often the head of the Public Security Bureau (chief of police) in the area of the court's jurisdiction. A report in a legal magazine stated in July 1988.

"Even if they (the Political and Law Committee) reach an erroneous verdict, the collegial panel (the trial court) must nonetheless submit to it completely and unconditionally: there is no room allowed for debate or disagreement by the panel . . . 'Verdict first, trial second' gives the green light to (the practice of) people substituting themselves and their own word in place of the law; it interferes with the independence of the judiciary, and obstructs the lawful handling of cases".

(*Minzhu Yu Fazhi*, Democracy and Legal System, No. 7 1988, pages 10 and 11)

A further common practice outside the law is the submission of cases by the courts (on the authority of court presidents), for a pre-trial decision, to local government authorities. Chinese legal journals refer to such practices having arisen as a consequence of the delays involved in referring cases to some adjudication committees. The request for a formal opinion from government officials before a hearing might also be encouraged by a desire of the courts to reach a "correct" verdict in cases that are "major and

difficult" because of their political significance. A decision offered a people's court by political authorities – whether or not at the initiative of the court – might be decisive whatever the facts of the case, even if not channelled through the formal structures of the courts. The author of a 1988 article observed:

"(The courts) frequently take it upon themselves to refer these cases for settlement and decision by the leaders of the administrative organs. (In addition) when major divergences of opinion arise regarding the handling of particular cases, between the collegial panel on the one hand and the leaders of the administrative organs on the other, then the latter will resort to using their administrative powers as a means of persuading the personnel in charge of dealing with those cases to abandon their opinions on the matter. Such practices directly contravene the stipulations of the law."

(*Renmin fayuan yi zeng she yizhong shenpan zuzhi*, *Fazhi Ribao*, 26 October 1988)

The "collegial panel" (or trial court) is composed of a presiding judge and (a jury of) people's assessors without legal training. The people's assessors are not expected to question predetermined verdicts. A man who had served for several years as a people's assessor wrote the following to a friend who had recently been called by a court to do service:

"In March of 1986 I was informed by the court that I was to perform my first period of service as a people's assessor at a trial. Before the trial commenced the judge informed us (there was also a woman comrade there) that, since things were a bit rushed, there would be no time for us to familiarize ourselves with the details of the case in hand. (He said:) 'You must just listen to what you are told to do'. During the discussions of the collegial panel, the judge also said that the court president (*yuanzhang*) had already issued a directive regarding both the verdict and the level of sentencing that was to be applied. Thereupon, he took out a pre-written verdict sheet (*zao yi xiehao de panjueshu*), read it out once, and asked us whether we had any comments to make. I ask you, what comments could we be expected to have?! So, although we felt somewhat uncomfortable about it, the case was simply 'collegially' decided upon in this way."

(*Peishenyuan Liangdi shu*, *Fazhi Ribao*, 25 August 1988)

## 6.2 Lawyers and the courts

The practical restrictions on the work of defence lawyers represent a further major obstacle to fair trial. Lawyers are usually able to start working on the case and contact the defendant only a few days before the trial or even, in some cases, when the trial starts. They have thus very little or no time to prepare a proper defence. The most overwhelming obstacle to fair trial is posed by the normal practice through which the outcome of the trial is predetermined, and the lawyer's role expected to be limited to one of mitigation, rather than a challenge to the correctness of the indictment.

Those lawyers who do choose to vigorously pursue the defence of their clients also face formidable obstacles and potential sanctions should they effectively state their case.

Lawyers face the danger of themselves facing charges if they defend a "criminal" in the courts – a role that is often regarded as "conniving with crime". They are officially described as "legal workers of the state" and are expected to defend the collective interests of the state as much as those of their client. Thus, they rarely dare to try to prove the innocence of the accused. An article in a Chinese legal magazine recently state:

"Lawyers . . . suffer interference in their work from party and government organs, especially from the organs of judicial administration. For example, some Justice Bureaux have a regulation that if a lawyer wished to present a defence of 'not guilty' in a criminal case, then he must first obtain authorization from the party organization of the Justice Bureau in question."

(*Faxue*, No. 2, 1988, pages 43 to 45)

Various instances of lawyers being demoted, detained or even beaten for trying to give their client a proper defence have been reported in the official Chinese press in recent years. One Chinese legal magazine remarked in 1986: 'Even if he manages to produce a

solid defence, the lawyer's unlikely to get the attention of the collegial panel". (*Faxue Yanjiu*, Studies in Law, No. 2, 1986, pages 81 to 83)

The legal press published an account in July 1988 of a lawyer, appointed to the defence just three or four days before a trial began, who was himself accused of having "instigated" the retraction of a "confession" by the defendant - even though the retraction had been made some three months before the lawyer was assigned the case:

"The lawyer was suspended from duty and placed under investigation, without being given any alternative equivalent work. The leaders of the departments concerned criticized him by name at a variety of meetings, both large and small, and ordered that he be expelled from his profession as a lawyer. It was only after a series of investigations had shown that it was definitely not the lawyer who had instigated the accused to overturn his confession, that the suspicions were dispelled."

(*Lushimen de husheng: xingshi bianhu nanti duo*, *Fazhi Ribao*, 8 July 1988)

## 7. THE DEATH PENALTY AND SUMMARY EXECUTIONS

Amnesty International fears that many people may have been summarily executed for their participation in the recent pro-democracy protests or for resisting troops during the army intervention in Beijing in early June. Although only dozens of death sentences have been publicly reported, many of those arrested have been charged with offences punishable by death and local courts have been instructed to expedite the trials of people who created the recent "social turmoil".

People regarded as "criminals who seriously jeopardize public security" - a definition which applies to many people arrested in China since early June - may be sentenced to death and executed within a few days of arrest under 1983 legislation. This introduced summary procedures for the trial and appeal of offenders charged with offences punishable by death.

This legislation was adopted on 2 September 1983 at the start of a nationwide "anti-crime campaign" and is still in force. Thousands of people were executed within a few months at the start of the anti-crime campaign. The summary procedures provided by the 1983 legislation have already been used in the trials of dozens of people arrested after 4 June 1989 who were executed. The 1983 "Decision of the National People's Congress Standing Committee on the Procedure to Swiftly Try Criminals who seriously Jeopardize Public Security", applies to cases of homicide, rape, robbery, explosions and "other activities that seriously threaten public security". Other offences liable to the death penalty under China's Criminal Law would still be tried according to previous legislation.

The decision specified that "criminals" accused of the offences listed above "who warrant the death penalty should be tried swiftly if the major facts of the crime are clear, the evidence is conclusive and they have incurred great popular indignation". In order to speed up trial procedures in such cases, this decision allows the courts to bring defendants to trial without giving them a copy of the indictment in advance, and without giving advance notice of the trial or serving summonses in advance to all parties involved. This means, among other things, that defendants are not able to see a lawyer before the trial starts. Such advance notification had previously been required by the Law of Criminal Procedure (Article 110). The decision also specifies that the time limit for appeals against a judgment had been reduced from 10 to three days.

As indicated by its title and text, the aim of the decision was "to swiftly and severely punish criminals who seriously jeopardize public security and to safeguard the interests of the state and the people". No time limit on its application was specified when it was adopted and it remains in force in 1989.

On 20 June 1989 the Chinese Supreme People's Court issued a circular on "promptly trying, according to the law, serious criminal offenders and counter-revolutionaries who staged the counter-

revolutionary rebellion and created the social turmoil". The circular was addressed to all high people's courts and military courts of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. It made clear that courts should try cases promptly and mete out severe punishments, and that the 1983 Decision on "severely punishing criminals who seriously jeopardize public security" was applicable to offenders who participated in the "rebellion".

The Supreme Court circular directed courts to punish severely the following categories of people: "instigators, organizers and provocateurs of the counter-revolutionary rebellion and social turmoil"; "criminals who have gathered masses to carry out beating, smashing, looting and murder"; and "criminals who have run away from the law and committed crimes everywhere". The circular also asked courts to "pay attention to publicity, selecting typical major cases and extensively publicizing them through radio and television stations, newspapers and other mass media". (Beijing Radio, 20 June 1989, as translated in the BBC-SWB, FE/0489 B2/5 to 22 June 1989)

This circular was issued shortly after three workers were sentenced to death by a court in Shanghai, in the first publicized trial of people involved in the recent protests. The three workers, Xu Guomin, Bian Hanwu and Yan Xuerong, were convicted on 15 June of "sabotaging means of transport and equipment" for their alleged involvement in setting fire to a train after it ran into and killed at least six people in Shanghai on 6 June. The incident took place at the Guangxing road junction in Shanghai, where student protesters had erected barricades and organized a peaceful sit-in. After the train ran into the protesters, some in the angry crowd of onlookers reportedly set fire to one of the carriages. According to an official report on the incident, no one was killed as a result of the fire. Eye-witnesses on the scene gave foreigners an account of the incident which differs from the official report.

The three workers were charged and sentenced under Article 110 of China's Criminal Law. Their trial lasted two days and they had three days to appeal. Their trial was officially reported to have been open to the public, but relatives reportedly were not allowed into the courtroom and learned of the death sentences on television. Their appeal was turned down by Shanghai High People's Court and they were executed on 21 June after being taken to a last court appearance where the final verdict was announced. This last appearance was shown on Chinese national television. The three men were seen standing with their hands held behind their backs by security officers. A cord ran around their necks. Prisoners sentenced to death are commonly reported to have a cord tied around the neck before execution, so that soldiers or police escorting them can tighten the cord to prevent them from speaking or shouting.

Seventeen people, tried among a group of 45 "criminals" who had "seriously jeopardized public security", were also executed on 21 June in Jinan, capital of Shandong Province. The authorities stressed that they were ordinary criminal offenders and it is not clear whether any of them were charged with offences related to the recent protests.

Seven of eight "rioters" who were sentenced to death in Beijing on 17 June, were executed on 22 June. They had been convicted of wounding soldiers, stealing weapons and setting fire to buses and military vehicles during the army operations in Beijing on 4 June. The seven were named as Lin Shaorong, Zhang Wenkui, Chen Jian, Zu Jianjun, Wang Hanwu, Luo Hongjun and Ban Huijie. The eighth defendant, Wang Lianxi, was apparently not executed because his defence lawyer had argued that he was mentally retarded.

On 1 July, two people were also sentenced to death in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province. Wang Guiyuan and Zhou Xiangcheng were found guilty of setting fire to vehicles during rioting in the city on 5 June. They have now been executed.

On 29 July two men were reportedly executed immediately after being sentenced to death in Wuhan, the capital of Hubei Province. Guo Zhenghua and Yu Chunting were convicted of killing a pregnant woman and a girl while robbing a private residence, as well as "beating, smashing, looting, burning and killing during the recent turmoil". The 31 July edition of the national *Guangming Daily* also accused the men of trying to steal

guns and ammunition on several occasions. The court in Wuhan sentenced 12 others the same day for a variety of offences – beating police, damaging property, setting up roadblocks, and inciting people to attack government offices – during violent protests in the city.

On 11 August Hong Kong's South China Morning Post (SCMP) quoted Chinese sources in Beijing as saying that a total of 28 men had been executed in the capital for alleged "counter-revolutionary" offences on 4 June. The executions, carried out in four groups of seven prisoners each, had taken place near "prison grounds" on the outskirts of Beijing, according to a source said by the SCMP to have "close ties to the public security system". All those executed were described as young men accused of attacking martial law troops on 4 June – none were intellectuals or students.

These cases are the only ones concerning people clearly involved in the recent protests which have been publicly reported by the Chinese Official media. The summary nature of their trials and the absence of adequate safeguards for defence do not allow Amnesty International to make a clear judgment on the validity of the charges brought against the defendants.

Other death sentences were also passed in June and July on people convicted of offences not related to the recent protest, including officials found guilty of corruption.

Amnesty International believes that many more of those detained since the military crackdown in Beijing may by now have been sentenced to death and executed. By mid-June, there were already reports that summary executions had taken place in Beijing. On 15 June, for instance, the Hong Kong newspaper Mingbao cited sources in Beijing as saying that, among some 1,200 people arrested in Beijing between 7 and 12 June, about 400 "rebels" were executed. The newspaper said that those executed were charged with various criminal offences such as "beating, smashing and looting; no famous intellectuals or student leaders were among them and most of those executed were workers and citizens. The newspaper said they included members of the "Flying Tiger Brigade and the "Dare-to-die Corps", two groups formed during the student demonstrations in Beijing before the army intervention on 4 June. Eleven members of the "Flying Tiger Brigade", a team of motorcyclists mainly composed of private businessmen who had acted as couriers for the student protesters, were arrested in Beijing on 30 May. Officially described as a "motorcycle gang", they were accused of preventing military vehicles from entering Beijing after martial law was imposed in the capital on 20 May, of distributing leaflets, spreading rumours and inciting workers to strike. The "Dare-to-die Corps" is one of several organizations formed during the student protests which have recently been banned by the authorities.

There are other credible reports that more executions are taking place in secret. On 28 July the Hong Kong SCMP published an article by the Beijing correspondent of *United Press International*, according to which more than 40 people had been shot during the previous two weeks at the Marco Polo bridge on the southwestern outskirts of Beijing. Residents of a local village disclosed that single shots had been heard regularly in the hours before dawn, and that whereas previously notices would be posted prior to executions inviting the villagers to attend, there were now no public announcements. Soldiers from a nearby military encampment were guarding the area, keeping onlookers away.

Though these reports have remained unconfirmed, it is very likely that some trials have taken place without publicity, allowing the authorities to pass death sentences on those detained in connection with pro-democracy protests without international scrutiny.

Amnesty International opposes the death penalty in all cases on the grounds that it is a violation of the right to life and the ultimate form of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment.

Prior to the recent crackdown the Chinese legal press had recently publicized cases in which people were sentenced to death on the basis of confessions extracted under torture but were found innocent before they were executed. One account in the official newspaper *Fazhi Ribao*, concerned a case in which a lawyer made extraordinary efforts on a client's behalf in a murder case. The client was wrongly sentenced to death but freed after nearly two

years on death row. The author of the article in *Fazhi Ribao* contrasted the efforts of the lawyer with the normal defence role:

"At most, the defence argument would be expected to concern itself only with such matters as the accused's motivation for committing the crime, the extent to which he or she had confessed and shown proper contrition and the level of sentencing which was to be imposed."

(*Fazhi Ribao*, 20 October 1988)

Another case reported in the legal press in 1985 involved the trial and apparent execution in 1984 of a man named Xu Jun on a charge of rape, although the charge appeared to have been unsubstantiated. The emphasis of the published case study was on the victimization of Xu Jun's defence lawyers. In October 1984, after Xu's unsuccessful appeal to the Liaoning Provincial High People's Court, the lawyers were themselves arrested and detained for six months on charges of "shielding a criminal". They were accused in particular of "instigating" Xu to change his original plea of guilty to not guilty and, after Xu was convicted, of writing an appeal on his behalf arguing that the charge of rape was unfounded. This latter initiative appeared to have broken all precedents in legal defence. Eventually, through the intervention of the highest authorities in Beijing, the lawyers were cleared of the charges and released in mid-1985. The article says: "Dragging their extremely enfeebled bodies along, Wang Baiyi, Chairman of Taxian county Legal Advisory Office, and lawyer Wang Licheng, who were arrested and imprisoned for a full six months, have returned angry and dissatisfied to the dust-filled county capital of Taian." The article did not confirm Xu Jun's fate but said his appeal was rejected and the death sentence upheld. Execution is usually carried out shortly after appeal when a high court has approved the sentence. (*Minzhu Yu Fazhi*, No. 8, 1985)

The Chinese legal establishment has acknowledged that miscarriages of justice can occur. A Chinese magazine, calling for a system of compensation for the victims of judicial errors, commented in 1988: "Owing to the objective complexity of criminal cases and to subjective errors on the part of judicial personnel, it will also, in certain specific circumstances, be hard to avoid completely the occurrence of unjust false and erroneous cases in the future." (*Zhongguo Faxue Chinese Law*, No. 2, 1988, pages 96 to 100)

Judicial errors can occur in any legal system. However, the chances are greater when there is no protection of the rights of the accused, when the outcome of trials is decided in advance and when the appeal procedure is a mere formality. In death penalty cases, judicial errors are irreparable. This was stressed by Mao Zedong in 1956:

"Once a head is chopped off, history shows it can't be restored, nor can it grow again as chives do, after being cut. If you cut off a head by mistake, there is no way to rectify the mistake, even if you want to."

(Mao Zedong, "On the ten major relationships", 1956; *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. 5, Beijing 1977, pages 299 to 300)

## 8. UNITED NATIONS CODE OF CONDUCT: ARTICLE 3 CODE OF CONDUCT FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

### Article 3

Law enforcement officials may use force only when strictly necessary and to the extent required for the performance of their duty.

### Commentary:

a) This provision emphasizes that the use of force by law enforcement officials should be exceptional; while it implies that law enforcement officials may be authorized to use force as is reasonably necessary under the circumstances for the prevention of crime or in effecting or assisting in the lawful arrest of offenders or suspected offenders, no force going beyond that may be used.

b) National law ordinarily restricts the use of force by law

enforcement officials in accordance with a principle of proportionality. It is to be understood that such national principles of proportionality are to be respected in the interpretation of this provision. In no case should this provision be interpreted to authorize the use of force which is disproportional to the legitimate objective to be achieved.

c) The use of firearms is considered an extreme measure.

Every effort should be made to exclude the use of firearms, especially against children. In general, firearms should not be used except when a suspected offender offers armed resistance or otherwise jeopardizes the lives of others and less extreme measures are not sufficient to restrain or apprehend the suspected offender. In every instance in which a firearm is discharged, a report should be made promptly to the competent authorities.



5.

**REPORT  
FROM  
ILHR  
AND  
AD HOC STUDY GROUP  
ON HRC**





# WINTER IN BEIJING:

## CONTINUING REPRESSION SINCE THE JUNE MASSACRE

A Report by the International League for Human Rights and the Ad Hoc Study Group  
on Human Rights in China

February 18, 1990

### I. INTRODUCTION

In June 1989 the Chinese government ordered a crackdown on the pro-democracy movement which had flourished openly in the country in the preceding few months.

The immediate consequences of the crackdown were the deaths of many hundreds, and probably thousands, of innocent Chinese citizens and injury to many thousands more. The June massacre was followed immediately by a campaign of arrests, trials and executions and other repressive measures designed to extirpate the pro-democracy movement. The Chinese government publicized these actions widely and until the end of June provided in the Chinese media much explicit coverage of individual exemplary cases of people allegedly involved in the pro-democracy movement being arrested, interrogated and appropriately punished for their participation in what the Chinese authorities labelled "counter-revolutionary turmoil".

Since late June, however, coverage of the continuing repression has been given a much lower profile, apparently in response to the local and international opposition such coverage was arousing. Despite this decrease in media coverage, it is nonetheless clear from official government pronouncements, laws and decrees, and information from Chinese and English language media, as well as from other reliable sources, that the campaign of repression has continued relentlessly, and that the Chinese government has reasserted its control in countless formal and informal ways. These include new restrictions on political activities, continuing incommunicado detention of thousands and attempts to purge those believed to have been involved even peripherally with the pro-democracy movement or who sympathize with its aims.

This first phase of the crackdown has now been documented in detail in reports prepared by human rights organizations, journalists and others. They include the report *Massacre in Beijing*, issued in August 1989 by the International League for Human Rights (a New York-based international human rights organization) and the Ad Hoc Study Group on Human Rights in China (a group of Hong Kong-based professionals, academics and human rights activists).

The present report, *WINTER IN BEIJING: CONTINUING REPRESSION SINCE THE JUNE MASSACRE*, supplements the earlier report by our two organizations and demonstrates that, despite the Chinese authorities' laboured attempts to portray recent moves as a relaxation of the controls that were imposed in the course of last summer, institutionalized violations of fundamental human rights in China continue apace. It demonstrates that, despite the lifting of martial law, little has changed and that there is a consistent pattern of abuse both before and after the lifting of martial law.

Despite the clear evidence that massive violations of human rights have been committed without a let-up since last year, the Chinese government has intransigently refused to acknowledge this. It has resorted to various stratagems to meet criticism of its conduct. These have included denials that particular violations ever occurred in fact (the so-called "Big Lie" concerning the extent of the massacre in Beijing in June) and the incommunicado detention of thousands and the secret trial and sentencing of others (while refusing even to acknowledge that they are holding the victims in prison).

Further, the Chinese government has argued at length the untenable position that violations on a massive scale of human rights standards by which China is bound are a purely internal affair which the international community has no legitimate right to scrutinize.

The Chinese authorities have also argued that all human rights guarantees are relative and, in any event, can legitimately be made subject to restrictions and limitations. What the Chinese authorities ignore is that international law does not permit each and every restriction that a national government chooses to enact as part of its laws. Rather, permissible restrictions are narrowly limited, the more so in the case of rights from which derogation is not permitted even in time of public emergency-rights such as the right to life and the right not to be subjected to torture, which have been so clearly violated in China in the last 8 months (and earlier).

The lifting of martial law in Beijing has been the most recent attempt by the Chinese government to defuse international criticism of and to distract attention from the continuing abuses. As is explained below, this is largely a cosmetic measure - it has done little to change the repression under which people live - that has merely been institutionalized in many formal and informal ways.

In short, the Chinese government has signally failed to live up to the international standards to which it has willingly subscribed, a failure exacerbated by its persistent refusal to acknowledge the occurrence or wrongfulness of many of these violations.

The campaign waged against the pro-democracy movement has taken many forms since last June. They include an extensive campaign of thought control and thought "rectification" inflicted upon millions of citizens, the unrelenting arrest, imprisonment and ill-treatment of those considered sympathetic to the movement, flagrant denials of due process in the public judicial process and secret trials and sentencing, and the imposition of new restrictions on freedom of association and expression. The government has lifted martial law and released some prisoners. The few rather pathetic and token steps the government has taken for public relations purposes cannot dispel the harsh repressive measures it continues to inflict.

## II. THE "BIG CHILL": CHINESE "THOUGHT REFORM" AND NEW PURGES

### A) THOUGHT POLICE AND THOUGHT CONTROL

In the months following the massacre, the Chinese authorities mounted a major campaign of thought policing, designed to identify those who had supported the pro-democracy movement in their actions or thoughts, as well as to ensure that those who might have had the "wrong" ideas about the nature of the movement came to understand their "errors" and what the "true" position should be. For millions in their workplaces, this campaign involved an extensive program of study of the pronouncements of Deng Xiaoping and others, as well as the requirement that individuals write essays detailing their activities during the April-June 1989 period when the movement was active and their attitude towards it.

This campaign is confirmed by accounts from numerous sources, media as well as first hand accounts available to the League and the Ad Hoc Group.

*Ming Pao Monthly*, for example, reported in its September 1989 issue (33-34) that intellectuals had been required to write an account of their behaviour for the 52-day period from the beginning of the movement until 4 June and to produce witnesses who could corroborate their accounts.

*Pai Shing Semi-Monthly*, in its 1 October 1989 issue (49-51) reported that, as in the middle of July, those working in government organs or departments, enterprises, or work units in Beijing were all required to write accounts of whether they had participated in or watched demonstrations, donated money, shouted slogans, written banners, and so on. These accounts were placed in each individual's personal file, for use immediately or in the future. In its 1 November 1989 issue (25-28) *Pai Shing Semi-Monthly* estimated that nearly one million people in Beijing alone had been subjected to this type of scrutiny.

Journalist Jonathan Mirsky, writing in the *New York Review of Books* (2 February 1990), reported that, for some accused of being "counter-revolutionaries" or "bourgeois liberals", questioning sessions have lasted eight hours a day, for 6 days a week since June. The techniques, he reports, consists of the following:

Victims must memorize and repeat official policy statements verbatim and then explain at length why they once believed something else. If they say right away that they now accept government policy, this is immediately rejected as mere groveling; once the confession appears sincere, the victims must then explain the stages by which they changed their minds. They must also give detailed accounts of meetings they attended at which disloyal statements were supposed to have been made and must say who was there, who said what, and who kept silent. Telephone conversations ... must also be explained. If the victim hesitates, he is assured that his interrogators already know all the facts; only a confession that withholds nothing shows a repentant attitude and can help the victim avoid more serious punishment ... (p.24)

Those being interrogated in these sessions are often at their workplace, and not in prison cells. Yet the chilling procedure they are put through resembles nothing so much as round-the-clock sessions of the most intense interrogation by law enforcement officials.

The importance of confession and penitence by those who stray from official norms of behavior permeates many aspects of the Chinese justice system. Asia Watch, a New York-based human rights organization, recently recalled that Chinese prison cells prominently display a large sign that declares "lenience to those who confess, severity to those who resist." (*Punishment Season: Human Rights in China After Martial Law*, January 1990, 42-3)

Indeed, in a 20 November 1989 interview with the West German paper, *Die Welt*, Premier Li Peng drew attention to the importance of "thought reform", confession and leniency. He stated that legal action would not be taken against many of the participants in the marches and demonstrations. But the individuals, he said, "must themselves collect experiences and realize that what they have done wrong." According to Asia Watch, the US-based newspaper *Shijie Ribao* reported that an

unnamed Chinese source told them that Li Peng's statement was solely for propaganda effect abroad, as an internal directive had instructed local officials to take particularly harsh measures against pro-democracy activists. (*Punishment Season*, 5)

Earlier, *Cheng Ming* magazine (October 1989, 12), reported that, according to an important internal party document issued in July or August 1989, some 19 categories of persons were to be purged. Of these, 10 categories, including leaders of "counter-revolutionary organizations", were to be "severely attacked"; the other 9 categories, including those who had engaged in the spreading of "political rumours", were to be targets of "internal cleansing". Such purges of workplaces, the party, and other organizations are normally conducted separate from the judicial system and would not be, as Li Peng suggested, "legal" measures against the demonstrators. Indeed they are often decidedly extra-legal.

### B) "RE-EDUCATING" STUDENTS

Students in Beijing were subjected to similar treatment. In an interview conducted by a Granada Television team in Beijing in late 1989, a student described the various assignments that Beijing students had to carry out. At the commencement of the university year in fall 1989, students at various Beijing universities were required to undertake three weeks of political education, which included the memorization of various pronouncements and speeches by Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng and Chen Xitong (the Mayor of Beijing). Students were also required to write three 3,000-character essays: one detailing their daily activities from 15 April to 4 June 1989, one providing a self-review of their thoughts during that period, and a third setting out their understanding of the definition of social democracy. This account has been confirmed by many other similar ones. According to the *Washington Post* (3 December 1989), written statements were required a second time from students at Beijing Normal University, which was among the most active institutions during the pro-democracy movement.

Beijing University, a centre of the student pro-democracy movement, has been singled out for particularly harsh treatment. In addition to reducing the numbers in the freshman class for fall 1989 to 800 (approximately half the size of previous years), the entire class was sent for the year to Shijiazhuang Army Academy in Hebei province for military and political training (*South China Morning Post*, 3 January 1990, 10; *China Update*, No. 2, December 1989, 24-26). The State Education Commission has reportedly decided that none of these students will be permitted to major in the social sciences when they return to the campus in fall 1990; there have also been no new graduate students or teachers in the social sciences at Beijing University this year (*China Update*, No. 2, December 1989, 24-26).

In a November 1989 interview, a Chinese government official reaffirmed imposition of the 1984 policy that university graduates must go to work at the "grass-roots" level (that is, in the countryside) for "tempering" before they can be considered for government or party jobs. According to Liaowang Overseas service (FBIS, 5 December 1989, 17-30), the official stated that "working for three years at institutions which specialize in non-social science studies and are subordinate to the party and government can also be accepted as having undergone tempering at the grass-roots level."

On 17 November 1989 a new Code of Conduct for College Students became effective. *Xinhua* stated that the code "demands that students have a firm and correct political orientation, fervently love the leadership and socialist system, and study Marxism diligently." (*Daily Report: China*, Foreign Broadcast Information

Service (hereafter "FBIS"), 27 November 1989)

Some accounts report that the number of plain clothes police sent on to campuses has also been increased (*South China Morning Post*, 3 January 1990, 10). A student also told Granada TV's reporter in late 1989 that students were discouraged from congregating in groups on campus and that if any of them began to sing, plain clothes police immediately told them to stop, making various threats.

According to news reports, several student groups who had applied for permits for demonstrations in Beijing in late 1989 were refused permission to demonstrate. Further, following the dramatic events in Romania at the year's end, the Chinese Minister for the State Education Commission warned students not to take part in politics. (*South China Morning Post*, 3 January 1990)

In February 1990, the authorities introduced harsh new regulations to restrict further student activities on campuses, as well as access to study abroad. (*United Press International*, 9 February 1990). Under the new rules, there is a total ban on campus posters and mandatory participation in political meetings. While students are technically permitted to participate in demonstrations as provided for by law, university authorities have the power to stop any activity not approved in advance. Various student publications are banned under the new regulations. "Reactionary" publications and posters are reported to have been banned from campuses (*South China Morning Post*, 10 February 1990, 8)

Furthermore, in the future, students will not be permitted to study abroad unless they have worked for five years in the country or reimburse their universities for the full amount of the tuition for each year short of the target, a sum more than twice the yearly salary of the average college graduate. The measure will sharply reduce the numbers of students eligible for overseas study.

### C) "CLEANSING" THE PARTY

Shortly before the Lunar New Year (late January 1990) the Communist Party initiated a purge of its 48 million members to rid itself of "unreliable" members, namely those who expressed support for the pro-democracy movement last year or actually took part in demonstrations. The *Hong Kong Standard* of 3 February 1990 reported that, in the re-registration, party members will have to reveal their ideological stand and their role in the student demonstrations. *United Press International* (hereafter, *UPI*) reported that each member reapplying will have to appear before a review panel to detail his/her experiences. More senior party officials would then review these decisions. (*UPI*, 3 January 1990) According to sources relied on by the *Hong Kong Standard*, party members who had committed "mistakes" last June would be given a warning, removed from party posts or even dismissed from the party. The purge was to begin in the most "troubled spots", such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou.

This new purge was apparently a follow-up to earlier scrutiny of party members who sympathized with the aims of the pro-democracy movement which, in the eyes of senior officials, was apparently not effective enough. *Ming Pao* reported that an official Communist Party study stated that only 5,000 party members were involved in the pro-democracy movement in Beijing. *The Washington Post* (3 December 1989) and *UPI* (3 January 1990) both cited reports stating that Beijing party secretary Li Ximing was angered by these low figures. The *Post* says although he had demanded completion of the party purge by the end of 1989, the process was being extended, reportedly "because party members were unwilling to confess to any wrongdoing and would not inform on one another."

Similar resistance by party members was reported by *Ming Pao* (4 January 1990) and *UPI* (3 January 1990), with the latter quoting Chen Guangwen, chief of the Beijing Party Committee's Organization section, as criticizing the party for harboring ideological confusion, organizational impurity and low discipline.

Nonetheless, considerable numbers of party members in Beijing had already been subjected to scrutiny and a number had been punished before the new stage of the purge was announced. Quoting sources in Beijing, the magazine *Pai Shing Semi-Monthly* (16 December 1989) reported that, by the end of November, more than 200 party cadres at or above bureau or departmental level had been repeatedly forced to write self-confessions (up to 7 times). More than 150 of them had been punished: some were expelled from the Party, some were deprived of their posts, and others were demoted or suffered salary cuts. (*South China Morning Post* 20 December 1989, 10; FBIS, 19 December 1989, 16)

The number of party cadres who will be caught up in the renewed "cleansing" is still unclear. The Hong-Kong-based *Ming Pao* (4 January 1990, FBIS, 4 January 1990), quoted Beijing Ribao, the official paper of the Beijing communist party, as stating that 910,000 party members in the city will be re-registered and will receive political and ideological reeducation.

*Ming Pao* reported on 15 January 1990 that, as part of this renewed campaign, Guangdong provincial officials had been instructed to re-register all Party members. All Party members were to be required to obtain collective endorsement of their self-examination (consisting, it seems, of verified statements of their activities during the period April/June 1989) before they can be re-registered. Failure to obtain this collective endorsement is likely to lead to disciplinary action. The newspaper also reported that provincial officials had been called on to take action against intellectuals previously passed over in the crackdown.

The policy of purging pro-democracy supporters has been carried through in a number of areas. The measures reported to have been proposed or adopted have been draconian in many cases. In its September 1989 issue (83-84) *Ming Pao Monthly*, a Hong Kong publication, reported the contents of an internal document signed by Deng Xiaoping. The report was based upon information obtained through the children of senior party cadres. According to this account Deng had personally ordered that, of the 10,000 intellectuals who had been arrested, over half should be sent to the remote districts of Qinghai and Xinjiang for "reform through labour" and should never be allowed to return to Beijing, while the other half should be sentenced to imprisonment. The document is also reported to have stated that these intellectuals should not be tried in public, no matter what the length of the period of imprisonment or exile imposed.

It is unclear whether and to what extent the policy of banishing intellectuals away from Beijing to remote parts of the country has been carried out. According to a report in the Hong Kong magazine *Pai Shing Semi-Monthly* (October 1989, 52-53), many of those arrested had been exiled to Qinghai and their home registration in Beijing cancelled. However, *Pai Shing* also reported on 16 December 1989 that Wang Zheng, State vice-president, had proposed at a recent party meeting that 4,000 intellectuals in Beijing who were opposed to the Party be exiled to Xinjiang. (*South China Morning Post*, 20 December 1989, 10; FBIS, 19 December 1989, 16). At present it is almost impossible to know how many people have been subjected to this treatment. However, the fact that the authorities continue to make such threats is a clear manifestation of their general attitude to those who may hold different political opinions to those they hold.

### III. PRISONERS

#### A) ARRESTS AND DETENTIONS

Thousands of people have been arrested nationwide in the course of the crackdown. While some of these have been released, it appears clear that many thousands are still being held in prison, often incommunicado and without charges being laid against them.

On 17 July 1989 *Ming Pao* reported that, after 4 June, all persons in Beijing with previous criminal records – 30,000 in total – were detained and interrogated, and those among them who failed to account adequately for their activities during the pro-democracy movement were all formally arrested. On 24 July 1989, the same Hong Kong newspaper quoted diplomatic sources in Beijing as saying that more than 5,000 persons were under arrest in Beijing. In mid-September, security personnel started checking the identity papers of Beijing's 10 million citizens, making door-to-door searches commonly at night. Reportedly an additional 212 persons suspected of resisting the army on 3-4 June were arrested by 19 September.

Even official Chinese government figures put the numbers in the thousands. In December 1989, the official *Beijing Youth News*, citing figures from the city's Reform-through-Labour Work Administration Bureau, disclosed that 2,578 persons described as "ruffians" were arrested in Beijing in the 24 days following 4 June, confirming earlier reports. Only 190 of these had been released by December 1989.

The campaign of arrests took place outside Beijing as well. On 27 July 1989 the *South China Morning Post* quoted a report in the *Xinhua Daily* of Jiangsu Province stating that more than 3,000 people had been arrested in the province between 13 and 15 July 1989 alone. *Cheng Ming* magazine estimated in September 1989 (45) that 20,000 persons had also been arrested in Hunan province.

By 10 September 1989, China reported over 4,000 arrests nationwide, a figure which Amnesty International also cited in mid-August. According to Asia Watch, Western diplomats reportedly estimate 10,000 – 30,000 arrests nationwide in the course of the crackdown.

In its recent detailed report, Asia Watch stated that it had established the identities and documented the circumstances (where known) of more than 500 of those arrested by the Chinese authorities since last June on account of their involvement in the pro-democracy movement. According to all independent estimates, this total represents only a small fraction of the true number of arrests, most of which have never been publicly announced by the authorities. (*Punishment Season*, 18)

Official figures almost certainly give an inaccurate picture of the total number arrested. The shift in policy in late June from maximum publicity for arrests to relatively limited coverage certainly means that many more people have been arrested than government sources have publicly acknowledged; the full extent of the detentions is difficult to estimate, even taking into account unofficial reports. For example, the figures of "ruffians" arrested understate considerably the total number arrested, as the term "ruffian" is used to describe only those civilians who are alleged to have attacked soldiers, police or military equipment on the night of 3-4 June. It would not include students and workers jailed for their political beliefs.

The vast majority of those arrested appear to have been detained for non-violent actions, such as "spreading rumours", "shouting reactionary slogans" or "distributing counter-revolutionary handbills". Some of those arrested have been charged with acts of violence against troops, security forces and government properties. In many cases the alleged acts took place in response to violent measures taken by troops and other security forces to suppress public demonstrations. It also appears that the official media, when reporting arrests, have focused on cases in which violence is alleged or in which some of those arrested are alleged to

have previous convictions.

The government has gone to considerable lengths to denounce detainees who have allegedly engaged in violence or who allegedly have prior criminal records. The inference can be drawn that those not denounced in this way have done little more than peacefully exercise their rights to freedom of association, assembly and expression. The political nature of this repression is only too apparent.

Nor are the investigations, arrests and secret trials things of the past. The *Washington Post* (11 January 1990) reported that widespread investigations of suspected participants in the democracy movement were continuing and that there had been unconfirmed reports of a number of arrests made recently on Beijing campuses. The same paper also quoted a Chinese source with access to internal legal documents who said that hundreds of persons have been sentenced in unannounced trials for divulging state secrets or engaging in counter-revolutionary propaganda, charges which would include distributing anti-government leaflets or shouting anti-government slogans. On 17 January, the *Post* provided further details, citing "well-placed Communist Party sources" who said that more than 800 Chinese have been convicted and sentenced to prison in recent months for "counter-revolutionary" crimes in connection with the pro-democracy movement. Many were said to be sentenced to ten years in prison for their actions. The Chinese government has denounced the *Post's* report.

Although the Chinese government has condemned some reports of independent journalists and observers as wrong, it has signally failed to make public information that would allow the world to conclude whether its denials have any basis in fact. The failure to make known the fact of a person's detention and his or her whereabouts, secret "trials" or administrative sentencing proceedings and secret executions all violate fundamental standards of international law. Such information as having escaped the Chinese government's net of secrecy gives rise to serious concerns that all of these violations have occurred and are still occurring in China today. More than eight months after the Beijing massacre there still has been no independent public investigation into the killings. No official list of those killed has been published. In response to a reporter's question at a Foreign Ministry briefing, spokesman Yuan Mu stated that

Local governments and relevant units have made appropriate arrangements for those who were accidentally injured. . . . The Chinese government has solicited opinions from the general public, including family members of those who were accidentally injured, about the question of making public the name list of those who were accidentally injured. A considerable number of people do not wish the name list to be made public. So the question of making public the name list still needs further consideration. (*Zhongguo Xinwen She* 11 January 1990, in FBIS, 12 January 1990, 11)

In view of its disregard for the privacy rights of its citizens, as witnessed in part by the extensive thought reform process and interrogations described earlier in this report, the Chinese government's claim, coming some seven months after the Beijing massacre, that its continuing secrecy on the killings and injury since 3 June is because a vaguely defined "considerable number of people" wished to keep this information private, rings very hollow.

If the Chinese government wishes to prove to the world that, despite the clear evidence of widespread and continuing human rights violations, the reality is different, it must lift the veil of secrecy by making more information publicly available and by permitting independent international verification of its claims.

#### B) TREATMENT OF DETAINEES

It is well-known that torture and other forms of maltreatment

are pervasive in the Chinese authorities' treatment of detainees. It appears from the limited number of accounts that have been reported that the normal *modus operandi* of Chinese law enforcement, involving detention in appalling physical conditions and regular beatings to extract confessions, has been applied to many of those who have been arrested in the crackdown.

The number of accounts by those who have been tortured or who witnessed or heard about the torture of others continues to grow. However, it seems probable that many of those who have been released from detention are unlikely to talk publicly about their experiences for fear of further reprisals.

In the immediate aftermath of the massacre, the frequent television coverage showed detainees with clearly visible bruises and cuts. *Pai Shing* magazine (1 October 1989, 49-51) reported that beatings regularly formed the first step in the interrogation of many of those arrested in Beijing in the period from June to September.

The Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Pao* reported on 20 July 1989 that, after the poet Ye Wenfu was arrested, he was subjected to several rounds of severe beatings at the hands of soldiers, resulting in a number of attempts by the poet to commit suicide.

There have been many other similar cases. According to a Reuter report, quoted in the *South China Morning Post* of 24 July 1989, in many cases prisoners were being kept in extremely cramped conditions — 40-60 persons in small, hot cells with so little room that the prisoners could not lie down. The report also recounted evidence of two sources that interrogations were sometimes preceded by beatings, giving the examples of student who was hit with an electric cattle prod and a writer who was bashed with rifle butts. Other detailed accounts of unacceptable prison conditions and maltreatment of detainees have also appeared in the press (for example, *The Nineties*, September 1989, 22-23; *Ming Pao Monthly*, September 1989, 33-34; *Pai Shing*, 1 October 1989, 54-57; *Pai Shing*, 1 November 1989, 28-29).

Both Amnesty International (in its 1987 report, *China: Torture and Ill-Treatment of Prisoners*) and Asia Watch (in *Punishment Season*, 32-37) have provided substantial detailed information about the prevalence of reports of torture in China. Amnesty has identified means of torture in China to include beatings and suspension by the arms, the use of extremely tight handcuffs and shackles that lead to a loss of blood circulation, assaults with electric batons or cattle prods, confinement in box-like rooms, and solitary confinement. It describes conditions facilitating torture as including incommunicado detention, interrogation procedures, administrative detention, and the role of informal security units. In its recent report, Asia Watch refers to substantial evidence in the legal literature in China, notably in the *Law Daily*, describing how common beatings are and other forms of torture. Over one hundred cases are detailed in the legal reports that began to be published in Chinese journals in 1985 and ended last year. Indeed, it has recently been reported that the editor of *Law Daily* has now been replaced by a person more in tune with the current leadership's policies.

To demonstrate how few safeguards exist for prisoners, Asia Watch (p. 32) cited reports in *Ming Pao* that interrogations are normally conducted by the prison guards themselves, a common practice in China.

In the official Chinese press, however, a generally very positive article about Beijing Prison No. 1 acknowledges maltreatment of prisoners may occur, but explains that it is not a matter of policy: "of course, some officers have been punished for beating and scolding the prisoners. But these are only individual cases" (Zhongguo Xinwen She, 28 November 1989, in FBIS, 1 December 1989, 17).

Still, the fact that torture remains a problem is highlighted by the inclusion, in the new disciplinary rules for Procuratorial

personnel announced by *Xinhua* on 5 January 1990, of a directive to obtain proof through investigation and a warning "not to extract a confession by torture." (in FBIS, 17 January 1990).

## C) RELEASE OF PRISONERS

On 17 January 1990, the Ministry of Public Security said that 573 "lawbreakers" jailed for participating in the June unrest "have been released because during investigations they pleaded guilty and showed repentance." The announcement, reported by *UPI* (18 January 1990), continued by noting that officials are seeking others to plead guilty and seek leniency. However, it appears that these "releases" are in many cases not unconditional and that many of the persons released were required to report on a regular basis to their local police stations. Moreover, the 573 represent only a small portion of those held in Chinese prisons and labor camps.

Another was Gao Xin, who had been one of the hunger strikers in Tiananmen Square and who had been arrested in June for his support of the students. He was released in late January 1990 never having been charged with any crime — because the investigation into his activities had now been completed.

Extracts from an Associated Press report (4 February 1990) give some idea of the conditions of imprisonment in China. It highlights the fact that, despite having been released without charge, Gao is nonetheless subject to continuing penalties for his role in the pro-democracy movement, being unable to find employment in the state-controlled labor market.

Gao says he was strolling outside his fiancée's apartment on June 14 when an unmarked car stopped. Four men got out and told him to come along, he recalls.

He was taken to a small jail where prisoners were held for short periods before being tried or executed. There, he says, he shared a 90-square-foot cell with at least seven men at a time, most of them accused of crimes such as rape, murder or theft.

Only twice in his six-month stay was he let out for exercise, he says. The cell had a small window, but the heat was overwhelming. The light was kept burning at night. No books or newspapers were allowed. Four men could sleep on a wooden platform that filled half the cell. The others slept on bedrolls on the floor.

Relatives could not visit. Gao's family was not even told of his arrest. His fiancée, Zhang Xiaomei, went from police station to station seeking news of his whereabouts, but was told each time, "We aren't clear." Only in October was Gao allowed to send her a postcard with a list of clothing and toiletries for her to bring to him. Guards took the package in to Gao.

But in other ways, he says, the guards treated him with courtesy not afforded the common criminals in his cell.

"The others got only two steamed rolls at lunch and dinner, but the guards gave me as many as I wanted, because they sympathized with me," he says. "I think they had consciences and a sense of justice."

The other prisoners were told to sit quietly, but Gao was allowed to pace back and forth, he says. He estimates he walked over 10 miles a day.

Gao was questioned only rarely, and was given no clue about his eventual fate. "The loneliness of the spirit was terrible," he recalls.

Gao was released on Dec. 16, but two of his fellow hunger strikers, Zhou Duo and Liu Xiaobo, remain jailed, he says. The fourth man, Taiwanese pop star Hou Dejian, took refuge in the Australian Embassy and left in August with Chinese guarantees he would not be arrested.

Ordinary criminals freed from jail often are given their old jobs back to aid their rehabilitation. But Gao says that when he went back to Beijing Normal University, the school refused to let him resume work.

It did not formally fire him, either, meaning that in China's controlled job market he is not free to seek new work. So he is taking turns living with friends — Hou, Zhang and others.

"They told me to wait, so I'm waiting," he says. Meanwhile, Gao says he can no longer think of marrying Zhang: "What can I give her?"

Gao appears to be one of the "lucky" ones; many thousands still wait in prison, waiting for the time when they too may be told that the investigation into their conduct has now been completed while being denied the opportunity to have contact with their families, to know what the charges against them are and to seek some form of legal assistance to protect themselves, however ineffectually, against the both public and secret Chinese system of justice.

## IV. TRIALS AND SENTENCING

Although it is likely that thousands of individuals are still being held in prisons incommunicado and without being charged while "investigations" are carried out, the authorities have also used the judicial system as a means of punishing those whom they consider were involved in or sympathetic to the pro-democracy activities.

In the immediate aftermath of the massacre there were a number of public pronouncements of sentences on defendants, many of whom were sentenced to death and executed under procedures which patently violated international human rights standards. These procedures are analyzed in detail in *Massacre in Beijing*.

These exemplary cases appear to be just the tip of the iceberg. *United Press International*, citing a report in the state-run *Beijing Daily*, recently reported figures announced at a conference on China's courts detailing the number of trials resulting from alleged offences during the pro-democracy movement (reported in *South China Morning Post*, 11 February 1990, 5). The report stated that there had already been more than 200 criminal trials of persons accused of offences stemming from the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" of spring 1989. In addition, the official compilation stated that the courts had also handled 3,549 involving "crimes of severely disrupting social disorder", representing an increase in this category of cases of 47% over 1988. The report did not give a detailed breakdown of the cases, but it seems highly likely that at least some of these cases involve the prosecution of individuals for their activities in support of the pro-democracy movement.

As is suggested above, it is suspected that many of those who have been arrested may have been sentenced in secret proceedings to imprisonment or "reform through labour".

To date there do not appear to have been any public trials of

students involved in peaceful pro-democracy activities and many are still held in incommunicado detention. According to a *UPI* report dated 15 November 1989, student leader Wang Dan and 40 leaders of the democracy movement were then still being held in Qincheng prison, to be tried, according to an unnamed Chinese source, on "counter-revolutionary" charges.

Yao Yongzhan, a Hong Kong student studying in Shanghai, was arrested in Shanghai in the first half of June and was held in incommunicado detention for months. (Apart from receiving a visit from his mother at Christmas, he has been denied outside contact; the British Consulate-General in Shanghai has also been denied access to him.) By January 1990, he had still not had a charge formally brought against him nor had he been given the opportunity to obtain legal assistance.

Even though there have not been any public trials of students, the *South China Morning Post* reported on 12 December 1989 that there were secret trials of students being held and that some students had been sentenced to between 7 and 10 years' imprisonment for their involvement in the pro-democracy movement.

There are disturbing indications that much of the punishment imposed on actual or suspected supporters of the pro-democracy movement has involved non-judicial measures, including loss of jobs and related benefits such as housing, and such administrative punishments as internal exile and reform through labour or reeducation. These actions have been the result of a deliberate policy by the leadership of the Communist Party to purge it and other institutions of those who might have opinions that challenge the ruling elite's power. That policy is described in section II above.

## V. MORE OF THE SAME UNDER NEW LAWS AND PROCEDURES

As part of the martial law regime imposed on Beijing by the Chinese government in May and June 1989, the Beijing authorities issued a series of decrees that defined proscribed organizations and activities, that authorized state authorities to use "any" means to quell proscribed behavior, and that threatened participants in demonstrations and other aspects of the alleged "counter-revolutionary rebellion" to surrender voluntarily or else expect particularly harsh treatment if captured or turned in by others.

In the period since June the Chinese government, provincial and local authorities, at the instigation of the central government, have pursued two major courses of action:

(1) They have taken measures to apprehend and punish participants in the pro-democracy movement by carrying out extensive searches, arrests, trials, incarceration, and "thought reform" indoctrination/intimidation sessions.

(2) They have begun to codify the main features of martial law into national and regional laws and administrative regulations. The national government has adopted several new laws defining the registration of public organizations and laying down procedures for and limitations on the holding of public assemblies and demonstrations. Laws banning "harmful" publications have also been adopted. Provincial and municipal authorities have in many

cases adopted their own measures to implement national laws or the repressive policies embodied in them.

As a result of these actions, Premier Li Peng was able to announce the "lifting" of martial law on 10 January 1990 without substantially reducing the restrictions on rights already imposed on the Chinese people, and without reducing the already over-broad discretionary power of the state and party authorities to limit the enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms.

Li Peng's claim that the initial imposition of martial law was justified by the "counterrevolutionary rebellion" and that now the country had achieved "stability" that justified the lifting of martial law has received widespread international criticism. The aims of the pro-democracy movement were peaceful and well-defined (see *Massacre in Beijing*, 21-15) and it is clear that the attempt to portray the peaceful movement as "turmoil" was little more than a tactic employed by the ruling elite in its struggle to cling to power at any cost.

The repression that continues – searches, arrests, incarceration, and thought reform – has been severe. These measures, in some cases in violation of Chinese law itself, have been now bolstered by very broadly defined legal prohibitions on all sorts of expressions of public dissent from the official line. There are few, if any,



guidelines as to what is permissible activity, save those which the authorities choose to define as permitted at a given moment.

Organizations, activities, even thoughts are prohibited if they run counter to the "four basic principles" in the Constitution: socialism, leadership of the Communist Party, Mao Zedong thought, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Article 51 of the 1982 Chinese Constitution prohibits the exercise of rights guaranteed therein if they "infringe upon the interests of the state, of society, and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens." Article 54 prohibits acts "detrimental to the motherland".

The wide discretion granted to the government agencies which are now empowered to register social organizations or approve requests for assemblies, parades, or demonstrations means that the rights of expression and association do not effectively exist except where the authorities and the leadership of the Communist party specifically choose to permit it. Those who seek to form independent or unauthorized "autonomous" organizations risk persecution of various types, ranging from job dismissals and loss of certain benefits to arrest and lengthy incarceration, often without any charges being brought.

## A) NEW REGULATIONS FOR THE REGISTRATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

On 31 October 1989, Fan Baojun, vice-minister of the Ministry of Civil Affairs announced that new regulations on social organizations were approved at the 49th executive meeting of the State Council and took effect immediately. According to *China Daily* (1 November 1989, in FBIS, same date, 19-20), no social organization is now considered legal unless it is registered with the appropriate authorities. The Ministry of Civil Affairs and its departments have the authority to approve and disband social groups and, according to the article, will now begin to review the "qualifications and legality of existing organizations." Of approximately 100,000 organizations, some were said to present problems: some are reportedly too close to government departments, some underworld gangs have been revived, some have engaged in illegal business activities, and then there are those that have "already caused severe damage to the State and the party . . . such as the Autonomous Student Union of Beijing Universities which stirred up antirevolutionary rebellion . . . last spring."

Clearly, it is to avoid formation of such latter groups or others viewed as undesirable that the new regulation grants the government organization the power of approval and of continued review of the organization. A commentator in the official *Renmin Ribao* (9 November 1989, 14-15) explained that the new regulations guarantee the citizen's rights to freedom of association, but check "any abuse of such rights." Thus, legal registration as required by the regulation "is not only a manifestation of the right of association but also a concrete measure intended for its administration." The article acknowledges the importance of this ongoing activist role by drawing attention to the key issue of the regulation's implementation, and calls on all responsible government personnel to enforce the regulations "strictly."

The key question is indeed whether this law is designed to protect the right of citizens to associate freely with others, that is, to form associations as guaranteed in international human rights law (see, for example, the Universal Declaration and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which embody customary international law standards) or to regulate and limit that right in accordance with the state's desire to promote the "four basic principles".

The timing of this new regulation – the first dealing with this subject since 1950 – its approval almost simultaneously with a new law on demonstrations, and the power it confers on public authorities not only to approve registration but also to disband organizations if necessary, all suggest that the primary purpose of the new regulation is prohibitory, and that it is aimed at strengthening the formal legal power of government authorities to control organizations.

The law thus appears to exceed international legal guidelines that call for no restrictions except those necessary in a democratic

society (ICCPR, Art. 22). Monitoring the implementation of the law, as with the new law on demonstrations, will reveal more about its true purpose, but its very existence will no doubt have a chilling effect on freedom of association.

## B) NEW LAWS ON ASSEMBLIES, PARADES AND DEMONSTRATIONS

The new PRC "Law on Assemblies, Parades or Demonstrations" was passed on October 31 and promulgated immediately. [31 October 1989, *Xinhua News Agency*, in FBIS, 1 November 1989, 16-19]

Like the regulations on organizations noted above, the new law contains substantial restrictive provisions. It claims to simultaneously protect citizens right to assemble and "to safeguard social stability and public order."

At the outset the law sets forth the obligation that citizens who exercise the right to assemble, parade or demonstrate must not violate the basic principles in the Constitution "nor infringe upon the interests of the state, society and collectives . . .". These interests are, however, not defined with any specificity and there is no indication that they will be interpreted narrowly in accordance with international standards which require a clear demonstration of the need for restrictions on these rights. The remainder of the law defines the procedure for obtaining permits for assemblies and demonstrations. The law formally vests the power to decide these matters in "public security bureaus" throughout the country.

By specifically noting that no permits are needed for certain events such as state – approved celebrations and commemorations, and by exempting religious, sports, and recreational organizations, the text itself emphasizes the fact that law's concern is to limit the public expression of political, social, and labor demands by groups whose views are not in accordance with those of the authorities.

To apply for a permit, a written application must be lodged with the relevant authority; the application must include detailed information on matters such as the specific slogans and placards to be used, as well as more usual items such as location, routes, etc. Specific individual sponsors must provide their names and addresses with the applications for a permit and they are criminally liable if the demonstration exceeds permissible bounds. They are even required, for example, to "strictly prevent other people from joining in " their demonstration. The authorities are required to respond to the application within a specified time period, no later than least two days before the planned date of the event. If the authorities consider that a change in venue is warranted for traffic or other reasons, they have the power to make the change. A procedure is laid under which an applicant can seek review of a rejected application.

Further prohibitions are detailed: neither non-residents nor foreigners can start, organize or participate in demonstrations. Moreover, an array of state offices or facilities may be cordoned off as off-limits for demonstrations ("state organs, military organs, radio and TV stations, foreign embassies . . . and other units"). Unless the State council or local government authorities specifically approve, assemblies are not allowed within 10 to 300 meters of key government offices, military installations, and air, rail and sea ports.

Should they consider that there is a threat to public security or social order, police officials are granted the specific power to disperse the demonstration and to use "the necessary methods in accordance with the relevant regulations" (including use of force) to disperse the crowd or detain participants. Punishments for violation of the law may range from 15 days detention to longer, unspecified periods in accordance with criminal law provisions. Public security officials specifically "have the right to detain or send back by force" any non-resident demonstrators.

The law also provides for the option of punishments of up to 5 years' imprisonment for "ringleaders" who "disturb social order" in a demonstration to such an extent that work or education cannot continue and "the state and society suffer serious losses", as well as for those "ringleaders" who block or undermine "traffic order" and/or cause other specific disruptions. The law states that any participant who "violates gun control regulations" faces a maximum

term of imprisonment of two years' imprisonment.

Subsequent "Procedures" have been adopted in Beijing and Shanghai to implement the law. In Beijing, *Xinhua* reported that "the new procedures clearly and definitely stipulate that without the approval from the State Council and the Municipal People's Government, no one is permitted to hold assembly, parade, and demonstration in Tiananmen Square." (28 December 1989, in FBIS, 29 December 1989, 21) In Shanghai, similar restrictions apply to the People's Square and the Bund. [Zhongguo Winwen She, 9 January 1990, in FBIS, 10 January 1990, 49]

The intent of the Law on Assemblies, to institutionalize martial law prohibitions and prevent a recurrence of the spring's pro-democracy demonstrations, was made plain at a forum in Beijing, as reported on the "National Hookup" program on Beijing Television Service. (28 November 1989, in FBIS, same date, 14-15) There, legal experts explained that the law "is of utmost significance for consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and unity," terms used repeatedly by Li Peng and others to characterize the post-martial law period. The jurists explained that a one-sided emphasis on the individual's right to demonstrate is harmful to the "interests of the state." They referred further to those who whipped up turmoil and "counterrevolutionary rebellion" in this fashion in Beijing, and declared that the implementation of the new Law on demonstrations "is a major political event in the political life of Chinese citizens" which must become well known to everyone.

The restrictive nature of the national law and the municipal laws implementing it is plain. The purpose of the laws is clearly to vest the authorities vested with substantial power to prevent demonstrations rather than to ensure that citizens can exercise their right to demonstrate subject only to such restrictions as can be shown to be "necessary in a democratic society." The powers granted are broad, the definitions lack specificity, and criminal penalties can be substantial. Like the new law on social organizations, this law will undoubtedly have a chilling effect on public expression and association rights in the PRC.

### C) DENIALS OF PERMISSION TO ASSEMBLE

These legislative schemes, purportedly for the orderly "regulation" of the right to assemble and demonstrate, will do little more than provide a cloak of legality for the denial of the enjoyment of citizens' right to assembly, association and free expression. This is clear from the way the authorities have dealt with applications made under these and previous laws.

According to the *South China Morning Post* (3 January 1990, 10), student groups in Beijing and other cities had applied in December for permits to hold demonstrations. The authorities are reported to have rejected these applications. The *South China Morning Post* also reported that in early January 100 students at the Beijing College of Aeronautics attempted to bicycle in a group off campus in a silent show of support for the uprising in Romania, but were stopped at the gate (6 January 1990, 8). Similar efforts at two other universities were also reported. According to the *Post*, one source said that security forces had been authorised to shoot if necessary to stop students from marching off campuses.

### D) REPRESSING WORKERS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS

As explained in Massacre in Beijing, members or supporters of independent workers' associations have been subjected to many instances of government repression since June 1989. The Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation ("BWAf") has been a prime target. The BWAf, formed in May 1989, was part of an attempt to establish autonomous workers' groups independent of the government-sponsored All China Federation of Trade Unions. The BWAf claimed to represent workers in more than 40 industries in Beijing and supported many of the students' goals.

The BWAf was declared illegal by Martial Law Decree No. 10, issued on 12 June 1989. Some of its leaders and members were subsequently arrested and detained; some are on "wanted" lists; some have been tried and executed. The government's campaign of suppression has also extended to workers' organizations in other

largest proportion of known detainees, suffer harsh prison conditions and torture, and some have been summarily executed. Further, according to scholars specializing in Chinese affairs, one of the greatest concerns of the present Chinese leadership is the fear of a "Solidarity-like movement in China. Some have argued that the intensity with which they hold this view led to even sharper repression against workers and newly autonomous labor organizations than against other social groups.

The new decrees on public organizations and on the right to demonstrate will no doubt be directed to outlaw independent trade unions and workers' organizations in China.

### E) MUZZLING OF THE PRESS

The authorities followed the massacre with an extensive purging of journalists and editors who were believed to be sympathetic to the pro-democracy movement and many "subversive" publications were closed down. Our earlier report detailed a number of those actions.

The repression has continued. In December 1989 the *New China News Agency* ("NCNA") reported that some 400 publishers were to lose their licences. In many cases the reason for the withdrawal of the licences is that these publishers diverged from the Party line before the June crackdown or have done so since that time. The measure was described by the NCNA as the enforcement of a recent series of government directives aimed at "rectifying China's book market", the official jargon for the campaign to control media accused of ideological deviations during the spring pro-democracy movement. (*South China Morning Post*, 9 December 1989, 8)

The assertion of control has also taken the form of new legislation in some areas. On 26 November 1989 in Shanghai, for example, the Shanghai Municipal People's Government adopted provisions restricting the circulation of "harmful" publications. The provisions deal, among other types of publications, with "reactionary publications" (art. IV). "Reactionary publications" are defined as those which "oppose the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system, and include publications containing material of the following sorts:

1. Opposing the Communist Party of China;
2. Attacking the People's Republic of China and opposing taking the socialist road;
3. Attacking and vilifying the people's democratic dictatorship;
4. Denying the guiding position of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought;
5. Seriously distorting historical facts, advocating division of the state and people, and vilifying the Chinese people."

(Shanghai *Jiefang Ribao*, 5 December 1989, in FBIS, 10 January 1990, 50)

The sanctions for those who produce or publish such publications include, in addition to the confiscation of published material and income derived from it, being handed over to public security departments for education through labour; their units can be subject to fines; and those guilty of criminal offences are to be handed over to the prosecutorial authorities for prosecution.

Measures to purge the press of "undesirable elements" have also been reported in other parts of the country. *Ming Pao* (13 January 1990, 7; FBIS, 16 January 1990, 35-36) reported that "working groups" (whose task is that of "rectification") had been stationed in a number of press organizations in Guangzhou and Shenzhen. Editors and staff of a number of organizations are being "examined" and required to write self-examinations and statements giving details of any participation in the pro-democracy movement. A number of organizations have been closed "for the time being", pending rectification.

In February the official media continued the attack on demands for a free press. The *People's Daily* (15 February 1990) accused the Chinese media of failing the party during the spring pro-democracy movement by "allowing the rotten ideology and way of life of the bourgeois class to corrupt the soul of the people". The article stated that it is "strictly forbidden to deviate from the principles of the party" and that critical articles should be secondary to positive reporting." Total control must be maintained", it stated. (*Associated Press*, 15 February 1990)

## F) FURTHER RESTRICTIONS ON JOURNALISTS

### A. Foreign Journalists

In late January 1990 new regulations on foreign journalists residing in the mainland were announced. Although in large measure the restrictions are already on the books, a number of them have not been fully enforced. The announcement of "new" regulations, to limit "foreign interference" in China's "domestic affairs", is significant in that it clearly manifests the intention of the authorities to exert even more control over foreign journalists who venture to be critical of China in any way.

The new restrictions, intended to replace the martial law restrictions on foreign journalists' newsgathering activities, provide that "foreign journalists may not engage in those activities deemed harmful to the public interest". As the China News Agency (Taiwan) puts it, "translated into simple English, that means any foreign journalist who reports anything bad about [China] is subject to censure, detention and expulsion". (9 February 1990).

Peking has always restricted the movement and activities of foreign reporters. Technically, they have been required to obtain permits to travel and must have their agendas and topics approved in advance. Unauthorized interviews with individual citizens or others are banned. Foreign news agencies are also not permitted to hire local staff freely, but must accept persons provided by the government.

### B. Hong Kong/Macao

The Chinese authorities have singled out the Hong Kong and Macao media for particularly restrictive treatment, apparently in retaliation for the detailed and often unfavourable coverage of the events of last year. On 26 October 1989 a spokesperson for the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office gave details of new procedures which had to be followed by Hong Kong and Macao journalists who wished to come to the mainland for reporting. (FBIS, 27 October 1989, 43).

The requirements imposed are clearly designed to frustrate independent and timely reporting of events in China and to subject the activities of Hong Kong and Macao journalists to tight

administrative control. The journalists are required to submit an application and a certificate of appointment issued by their news organization to the Hong Kong branch of the New China News Agency, China's "unofficial embassy" in Hong Kong. The application is required to contain details of their planned itinerary, the topics they wish to raise in interviews, the names of people they wish to interview.

The regulations also provide that if the reporters, after obtaining approval, wish to report from Beijing or pass through Beijing on their way to other places, they are required to register and apply for an interview permit with the All-China Journalists Association. Journalists going to a number of other regions are also required to seek reporting permits from the local branch of the Journalists Association.

There are other restrictions as well, all of which are designed to impede the access of Hong Kong and Macao journalists to China and thus to restrict the two-way flow of information that that access brings with it. The Vice-Chairman of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office admitted during a November interview with Hong Kong reporters that there was a connection between the promulgation of the seven restrictions and the coverage of the pro-democracy movement by the Hong Kong press. He was of the view that the Hong Kong press had ignored martial law restrictions in Beijing and failed to observe the general rules restricting the movement of journalists throughout China. (*Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 19 November 1989).

The Chinese authorities have also singled out a number of Hong Kong magazines and banned their journalists from entering China to cover even Hong Kong related events such as the proceedings of the committee drafting the Basic Law for Hong Kong after its reversion to Chinese rule in 1997. On two occasions applications by reporters from *Pai Shing Semi-Monthly* and *Contemporary* magazines to cover the two Basic Law drafting meetings held this year both have been turned down. The reason given by senior NCNA officials for the denials was the magazines' editorial line and viewpoints. (*South China Morning Post*, 8 February 1990, 7)

## VI. THE LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW

On 10 January 1990 the Premier of the State Council, Li Peng, signed an order lifting as of 11 January 1990 the martial law which had been imposed on parts of Beijing in May 1989. The decision was announced amidst a welter of self-congratulation and self-justification, reiterating the official line that the initial imposition of martial law had been necessary and justified and that it was the brave actions of those who put down the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" which had brought about the stability that now made it possible to lift martial law.

The Chinese government has made much internationally of its lifting of martial law in Beijing. However, it would be a mistake to view this as anything other than a cosmetic measure. The ad hoc martial law restrictions have been largely replaced by an extensive system of legal and administrative control, both in Beijing and throughout the country. These measures include restrictions on the formation of organizations, on demonstration and assembly, on "subversive" publications and other activities that might permit the public expression of a voice opposed to those who currently hold power. In a number of instances the new regulatory measures prohibit absolutely activities protected under international human rights guarantees or make them illegal if the approval of the relevant authorities – who possess a broad, unreviewable discretion to be exercised no doubt in accordance with current political dictates – has not been obtained.

After Li Peng announced the order rescinding martial law in

accordance with the provisions of the PRC Constitution, State radio followed with a concert of decidedly martial music. That symbolism was not accidental. It reflects the institutionalized repression that is prevalent in China today: martial law without the uniforms.

The most visible sign of martial law was the presence of armed troops throughout Beijing. When martial law was rescinded, news reports noted that troops and armed police marched off Tiananmen Square promptly at midnight. However, *The South China Morning Post* reported that on the next day, before noon, about one thousand troops were camped on the east side of the Square. (*South China Morning Post*, 12 January 1989).

Officially, maintenance of public order in the Square and elsewhere in the capital is now the responsibility of the public security police and the armed police, as affirmed by top government spokesman Yuan Mu (11 January 1990, interview with *Zhongguo Winwen She*). But again, the shift of formal responsibility does not mean a real change for Beijing.

Press reports have indicated that members of the armed forces had been given commissions in the armed police during late 1989. The *New York Times* reported on 15 February 1990 that "one of three military regiments still in the capital has been turned into a police regiment. Soldiers in the other regiments nominally remain in the army but have been given police uniforms to wear when they go in public."

Despite the lifting of martial law, troop presence in and around Beijing is still being maintained at high levels. According to UPI (11 January 1990), Western intelligence sources reportedly stated that up to 15,000 soldiers from other regions remained in Beijing to reinforce Beijing's normal troop garrison. The normal Beijing garrison is estimated to be around 60,000 troops. (About 150,000 out-of-town troops were in Beijing at the height of the crackdown last year.)

The significance of the presence of out-of-town troops is clear from the events of last June. According to Yang Baibing, a senior leader of the People's Liberation Army in a speech made in Beijing in December 1989, some 1,500 members of the Beijing-based 38th Group army either refused to take orders or left their posts during the military assault on Beijing in June. These soldiers included the commander, 110 officers and 1,400 soldiers of the 38th Army (*South China Morning Post*, 28 December 1989, 1). China Premier Li Peng acknowledged in late November that "shortly after the declaration of the state of emergency . . . individual soldiers did not completely understand the operations . . ." but asserts nonetheless that the Army itself indeed obeyed the Communist Party's orders. (Interview with *Die Welt*, 20 Nov. 1989 in FBIS, 22 Nov. 1989)

It was widely believed in the summer that the government had brought into Beijing large numbers of troops who came from other areas of the country precisely because they would more readily follow government orders to take repressive measures against the local Beijing population.

The announcement that there is now "stability" rings hollow in the face of so substantial and pervasive a continuing repressive apparatus. Thus, while the Chinese press spokesmen highlight stability as "more important than anything else", they also acknowledge that the fight is not yet completely over and there remains a need to continue strict measures of social and political control. For example, the need to remain "vigilant" was highlighted in the official *Renmin Ribao* editorial just after martial law was lifted:

The lifting of martial law does not mean peace and tranquility across the land . . . A handful of stubborn bourgeois liberals at home are not reconciled to their defeat. After our victory . . . and the lifting of martial law, we must not lose our vigilance. We should carry out a thoroughgoing education and struggle in opposing bourgeois liberalization. (FBIS, 10 January 1990, 13)

Such attacks on "hostile forces" and "anti-Party elements" have continued to be reinforced by efforts to purge a wide variety of party and public organizations as described above.

Furthermore, the authorities continue to hunt actively for leaders of the pro-democracy movement who have so far managed to elude capture. In early January 1990 Chinese border defence units in Zhuhai were reported to have stepped up the search for three student activists who were believed trying to escape to Macao. An unsuccessful attempt, during which shots were fired, was made to capture the students (*South China Morning Post*, 6 January 1990, 8). It was later reported widely in Hong Kong papers that these students included Chai Ling, one of the Tienanmen protest leaders, and that she was captured but escaped. (*Hong Kong Standard*, 11 Jan. 1990).

Borders have been sealed and efforts continue to close prospects for illegal exit from the country. Beijing's *China Daily* reported that during the first nine months of 1989 border officials

had successfully stopped over 400 people from leaving the country with false papers (16 December 1989, in FBIS 28 December 1989) and that they would take further steps to stem this flow.

The lifting of martial law is certainly no significant concession to those who had been claiming their right to enjoy the rights guaranteed to them under international human rights law. Thousands are still in prison or undergoing reform through labour. Hundreds of thousands have been subjected to thought policing. Thousands have been and are still being persecuted because of their political opinions. All of these hapless victims of continuing Chinese repression expose the lifting of martial law for the largely empty gesture that it is.

Whether martial law is in force in Beijing or not, the concentration of power already in the hands of party officials is overwhelming. As detailed in *Massacre in Beijing*, the criminal justice system – from arrest through what are often summary trials without a semblance of the due process guarantees international law calls for – has been molded into a model of repression. The absence of a rule of law is illustrated well by the ease and speed with which the death penalty may be invoked. Further, the fact that prisoners remain incommunicado and without having charges brought against them reveal a system in which abusive practices appear to be the norm. Law and justice are not only subordinated to the party's leaders, but this is trumpeted by leading officials, such as the President of the Supreme People's Court, as the way things *should* be.

The martial law decrees (See Appendix, *Massacre in Beijing*) provided before government authorities with the power to use "any method" to enforce their provisions, even on the face of it, this is a dangerous and unbounded authorization for the use of "official" force on behalf of the state.

The martial law decrees forbade a wide variety of nonviolent activities from protests, to strikes, to delivering unauthorized speeches or preparing handbills, to attacks on broadcasting facilities, party or government leaders, or foreign diplomatic missions. They declared several independently organized student and worker organizations to be organizers of the "counter-revolutionary turmoil."

The decrees also called upon lawbreakers to turn themselves in to authorities, in return for leniency – with the promise in decree after decree of more severe punishments for those who do not do so. Citizens are encouraged to inform on others or turn them in.

The lifting of martial law has not reversed the practical effect of the martial law decrees that outlawed independent worker and student organizations with peaceful objectives. Apparently, those organizations continue to be unlawful. The lifting of martial law does nothing to bring back those who have been killed or secretly executed because of their role in these organizations. Nor can it bring much solace to those still languishing in prison whose best hope appears to be that, if they confess their "guilt", they may one day be released.

Moreover, new national and local laws have been adopted that sharply limit the activities of organizations, the right to freedom of assembly and to demonstrate, thus ensuring extensive additional legal and administrative control over potential opponents of the dominant elite.

## VII. THE CLAIM THAT CHINA'S VIOLATIONS OF ITS CITIZENS' RIGHTS ARE SOLELY AN INTERNAL AFFAIR

Since the Beijing massacre, in response to the inquiries and expressions of concern by governments and various United Nations bodies the Chinese government has repeatedly argued that the massive violations of its citizens rights which it has perpetrated and continues to commit are something with which the international community has no right to be concerned and that any and all criticism is illegitimate.

Such a claim is completely at odds with the well-established body of international human rights law and practice, and is inconsistent with the actions and rhetoric of the Chinese government when it comes to the condemnation of countries whose human rights record it finds objectionable. For these reasons, China's claim is simply untenable.

### A) China's obligations to respect human rights under the Charter, human rights treaties and customary international law

As a member of the UN, China has obligations to respect the human rights of its citizens under the UN Charter. Moreover, the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, many of which have become part of customary international law, extends these obligations.

Under Articles 55 and 56 of the UN Charter, China assumed an obligation to take joint and separate action "to promote . . . universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all." Further, one of the four purposes of the UN (Article I (1) of the Charter), is to achieve international cooperation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

At the United Nations General Assembly, on December 8, 1988, during a solemn commemorative meeting devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Chinese representative, Mr. Ding Yuanhong, clearly affirmed the significance of the Universal Declaration. He stated that:

The significance of the Declaration lies in its reflection of the aspiration of the world's people for equality and freedom. Its influence has increased with the continuous enrichment and development of its original content . . .

Additionally, China has voluntarily become party to a number of international human rights treaties. In so doing, it has voluntarily agreed to adhere to certain international standards regarding the treatment of its own citizens. Among them are the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) (1981), the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1980), the Convention Against Torture and Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1988), and the Convention Against Genocide (1983).

In becoming party to these treaties, China has voluntarily taken on certain substantive obligations regarding its own human rights practices, as well as accepting the international supervision of its human rights performance. Each of the treaties mentioned above establishes measures for the international examination of the practices of states parties that violate the obligations of the treaty.

Further, the obligations that a party to the treaty accepts are not narrowly defined. For example, in Article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), governments undertake to guarantee a range of basic civil, political, economic, and social and cultural rights to their citizens on an equal basis before the law. The

treaty's supervisory monitoring committee, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) has followed the practice – and states have accepted this practice – of examining the broad issue of state's respect for the rights listed in Article 5 for all citizens in the state. Thus, China is expected not only to avoid discrimination against its citizens on the basis of race, but also to ensure most of the fundamental civil and political rights in the Universal Declaration and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to all its citizens.

### B) China's participation in the human rights bodies of the United Nations and its acceptance of the legitimacy of international criticism

The People's Republic of China has taken its place as a full member of the international community in the human rights bodies of the United Nations. It is a member of the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights. A Chinese national has been elected to the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

As a member of the UN Commission on Human Rights, China has repeatedly throughout the 1980s acknowledged the right of the international community to scrutinize human rights conditions in particular countries by voting in favor of resolutions that dispatch UN investigators to examine human rights conditions in particular countries. It has voted in favor of such resolutions for South Africa (which it sometimes even sponsors), for Chile, and Afghanistan, and has joined the consensus on El Salvador, Guatemala, Burma and Cuba. While it has sometimes chosen not to participate in such votes (on Iran, for example), it has more commonly taken a position for or against country-specific resolutions (on Romania, for example) calling for a special rapporteur to investigate.

China has responded to expressions of concern over its human rights practices by various international mechanisms and private organizations. For example, the UN Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions, Amos Wako, has corresponded with the Chinese Government a number of times. In 1988, the Government replied to him, concerning killings in Tibet. Earlier in 1989, three Special Rapporteurs (those examining Religion, Torture, and Arbitrary Executions) addressed letters of concern to the Chinese government – and China replied.

Further, China has repeatedly indicated its support for the actions and inquiries about human rights conditions by the Special Rapporteurs of the Commission on Human Rights by joining in the consensus on resolutions concerning the activities of these specialized "enforcement" mechanisms. For example, at the 1989 session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, China joined the consensus resolution critical of those countries that *do not* reply to the inquiries of the UN Special Rapporteurs, thereby confirming both the importance and the validity of such scrutiny.

### C) Conclusion

In sum, the People's Republic of China is part of the international community and is bound by an array of international human rights standards. The "right" of the international community to concern itself with the human rights practices of individual states is well established. Concern over massive violations of human rights is an international – not an "internal" – matter. China has voluntarily accepted international standards regarding its own

behavior. Moreover, it has repeatedly demonstrated its own view that such issues are a legitimate matter of international scrutiny when applied to other countries.

It is abundantly evident from all of the above that China's own

behavior is at odds with its claim that the suppression of the pro-democracy movement is an "internal affair" which the international community has no right to scrutinize.

## VIII. CHINA'S CLAIM THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ALL NECESSARILY SUBJECT TO LIMITATIONS

Since the June massacre, the Chinese government has developed yet another defence of its actions and subsequent campaign of repression. It has argued that all rights are subject to limitation and that the restrictions and limitations it has imposed are therefore legitimate and excuse it from liability for any *prima facie* violations of protected rights.

However, this argument pointedly ignores both the nature of some of the rights China is accused of violating and the narrow range of limitations on the enjoyment of rights that are permissible under international law.

The official Chinese position, focusing on rights such as freedom of association, assembly and expression, completely ignores a number of fundamental rights – most prominently the right to life and the right not to be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment – which are non-derogable even in times of public emergency and which are not subject even to the same restrictions as are the rights cited by the Chinese government. The right to life may be infringed if the violation is not arbitrary, but international practice construes that restriction extremely narrowly; it is clear that the killings in June and the executions since would not fall within the scope of the permissible exceptions. Nor would torture, which is non-derogable.

Nor does the Chinese government address the gross denials of the right to liberty and security of the person and the right to be free from arbitrary arrest. Once again, nothing that happened during May/June 1989 or that has happened since would meet the international requirements for justifying the gross violations of those rights which the Chinese authorities have committed.

Even in the case of those rights which are explicitly subjected to restrictions, it is well-established that such restrictions are to be narrowly construed and that the State bears a heavy onus to show that the restrictions are necessary in a democratic society to achieve a legitimate aim. In *Massacre in Beijing*, we argued that the Chinese government had at no stage satisfied this test in relation to the violations it had committed up to the beginning of August. Nothing has changed since that time. Essentially the goal and justification of the repressive restrictions on the enjoyment of rights imposed by the government remains the same: the elite's desire to preserve its own power and to ensure that the peaceful expression of dissent and alternative views is not permitted. As we stated in August, under international law, that is not enough. It is still not enough, no matter how often the Chinese government repeats its patently insufficient justifications.

## IX. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In our earlier report, the International League and the Ad Hoc Group addressed a number of recommendations to the People's Republic of China, the international community and the United Nations. The Chinese government has in large measure failed to respond to those recommendations, many of which have also been made to it by governments, non-governmental organizations and intergovernmental bodies. The failure of the Chinese government to respond and the new phase of the repression makes nearly all of those recommendations just as pertinent today as when they were first made in August 1989.

We recall again that China, as a member of the United Nations, its Commission on Human Rights, and a party to many United Nations human rights treaties, has an obligation to extend to its citizens the human rights guarantees enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant treaties. We urge the Chinese government to accept fully the responsibility it has undertaken as a member of the community of nations.

We call on the government of the People's Republic of China:

1. (a) Immediately release those detained and arrested persons who peacefully exercised their fundamental rights of political expression or association in connection with the pro-democracy movement in China.

(b) Cease further investigations, arrests, and repressive measures against other persons said to be connected to or involved in those

events.

2. In relation to those detained in connection with the pro-democracy movement and the events of 3-4 June, the Government should:

- (i) ensure that the rights of those detained, accused, charged or tried on capital charges are fully protected in accordance with relevant international standards of due process;
- (ii) cease utilizing expedited or summary trial proceedings in all cases and especially in capital cases;
- (iii) ensure that detainees are not held incommunicado, but are granted prompt access to their relatives and to legal assistance; and
- (iv) make public the names, reasons for arrest and the whereabouts of those detained in connection with the pro-democracy movement, and bring such persons to trial on recognizably criminal charges or immediately release them.

3. Take immediate steps to put an end to the torture and other ill-treatment of persons in detention.

4. Immediately undertake a series of remedial and preventive measures to protect the internationally guaranteed rights of its citizens and to ensure that the violations that have occurred to date will not be repeated – in particular to repeal laws and abrogate practices which unjustifiably limit its citizens' rights to freedom of expression, association and assembly.



5. Provide a full and public accounting of the fate of those who died during the events of 3-4 June 1989 and their aftermath, including, where necessary, providing family members with access to an adequate autopsy, as provided for under international law. Further, the Government should also take steps to ensure that individuals making enquiries into the whereabouts of family members are not subjected to reprisals as a result of their inquiries.
6. Allow independent observers free access to China in order to:
  - (a) investigate conditions in that country following the tragic events of 3-4 June 1989;
  - (b) visit persons detained or imprisoned as a result of the campaign of suppression of the pro-democracy movement and those who have been recently released;
  - (c) attend and observe their trials.
7. Respect the rights of its citizens to freedom of thought and expression by putting an end to the widespread campaigns of "thought rectification" of those who supported the goals of the pro-democracy movement.

\* \* \*

In view of the seriousness of the events in China, we further recommend that the international community, as represented in the United Nations and its human rights bodies, including the Commission on Human Rights, condemn the egregious violations of human rights that have occurred there and take immediate steps to press the Government of the People's Republic of China to adopt the measures recommended above.

In particular, we call on the Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur to investigate the allegations of human rights abuses in China.

**The International League for Human Rights**, founded in 1942, works to end torture, disappearances, religious intolerance,

censorship and other human rights abuses. It is a private, non-governmental human rights group that has consultative status with the United Nations, where it often speaks out against human rights violations by member states. As a matter of principle, the League accepts no funding from any government or intergovernmental body. The President of the League is Leo Nevas, its Chairman is Jerome J. Shestack, and its Executive Director is Felice D. Gaer.

#### **The Ad Hoc Study Group on Human Rights in China**

consists of a number of lawyers, scholars, journalists, and students from Hong Kong.

\* \* \*

Publications on China:

(1) *Massacre in Beijing: The Events of 3-4 June 1989 and Their Aftermath*, August 4, 1989.

A detailed account of the Beijing massacre and an analysis of international human rights laws applicable to it.

(2) *In Brief: Human Rights in China: The Repression Continues*, January 1990.

A summary of *Massacre in Beijing* and updated information submitted to the United Nations.

(3) *Winter in Beijing: Continuing Repression Since the June Massacre*, February 17, 1990.

A companion to and update of *Massacre in Beijing* that discusses specific continuing repression in China, including events since the lifting of martial law.

Copies of these reports may be obtained from  
The International League for Human Rights  
432 Park Avenue South

New York, NY 10016 USA  
Telephone: 212-684-1221



6.

**REPORT  
FROM  
ASIA WATCH**





# PUNISHMENT SEASON

## 秋後算帳

### Human Rights in China after Martial Law

Asia Watch

February 7, 1990

#### Acknowledgements

This report was written by Robin Munro, Asia Watch's staff specialist on China. A long-time observer of China's democracy movement, Robin Munro was in Beijing during the weeks leading up to the June 3-4 attack by the Chinese military on the demonstrating students and workers. He was in Tiananmen Square throughout the night of the assault and remained in Beijing until June 20.

The chapter entitled "The Bush Administration's Response" was written by Holly Burkhalter, the Washington Director of Human Rights Watch.

\*The title of this report- "Punishment Season"-derives from a Chinese saying that was often used by the students in Tiananmen Square: "qiu hou suan zhang" (the Chinese characters on the front cover). Literally, the saying means "to settle accounts after the autumn harvest", but its real meaning is: "to take vengeance when the time is ripe". The students always knew that the government, sooner or later, would "qiu hou suan zhang". The government, right up until June 4, indignantly denied this...

#### Introduction

The recent lifting of martial law in Beijing (though not, it should be remembered, in Lhasa) has little significance if viewed as anything other than a public relations exercise-and as one designed largely for international, and especially US Congressional, consumption. Having successfully bludgeoned the population of Beijing into temporary submission, and having installed a fearsome network of vigilante, police and paramilitary forces throughout the Chinese capital in order to maintain the repression, the authorities can now easily afford to dispense with the formal institution of martial law and to return the People's Liberation Army to barracks. Western diplomats in Beijing report that the troops have largely been relocated in the suburbs of the capital, rather than having been returned to their original provinces. They also note that tens of thousands of them still remain in the capital, having merely exchanged their PLA uniforms for those of the semi-civilian, paramilitary People's Armed Police.<sup>1</sup>

Other world leaders were not impressed by this move, but President Bush, anxious to be able to show some kind of result from his excessively conciliatory policy towards Beijing since last June, uncritically endorsed it as being "a good sign" and "a very sound step."<sup>2</sup>

The US administration's expectation that tangible improvements in the human rights situation in China are just around the corner, and its view that the best way to ensure these is to minimize the degree of external diplomatic criticism and pressure that is brought to bear upon the present Chinese regime, are entirely unsupported by the facts. Although less visible than before, the repression-the "big chill"-nonetheless continues to develop apace, and in certain respects has substantially deepened. On November 29, the New China News Agency quoted a senior official of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, Zhang Siqing, as saying that China's prosecutors would give high priority next year to cracking down on "anti-government rioters and other major criminals." In

1990, prosecutors would continue "to comb out and suppress anti-government rioters and other criminals, including beaters, smashers, looters, burners and killers" (the official codewords for last year's pro-democracy demonstrators).<sup>3</sup> This sentiment was reiterated as recently as January 8, 1990 by the President of the supreme People's Court, Ren Jianxin: "Priority should also be given to cracking down on criminals harmful to social stability and dealing with the criminal cases arising from last year's unrest and riots."<sup>4</sup>

On December 3, 1989 the Washington Post, citing Chinese sources, reported:

"The authorities recently launched a new wave of investigations aimed at tracking down and prosecuting participants in the student-led democracy movement. The targets of the unannounced dragnet include student 'anti-government rioters' and Communist Party 'scum' who supported the movement last spring. In a recent, unpublicized speech, Beijing's hard-line party chief, Li Ximing, expressed his dissatisfaction with the slowness of the hunt. . . ."

On China's campuses, which served as the main incubators of last year's pro-democracy movement, the atmosphere is grim. According to the Hong Kong newspaper Ming Pao of December 26, 1989:

"The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has suggested that severe punishment be meted out to those young and middle-aged university teachers who still refuse to repent and mend their ways and who are suspected of 'acting as evil backstage manipulators.'<sup>5</sup>

The recent announcement by the Chinese authorities (again, apparently, timed to coincide with the re-opening of Congress) that 573 detainees have now been released<sup>6</sup> is in essence a publicity stunt. If true, the move is of course to be welcomed. But the fact is that anywhere between 10,000 and 30,000 people, according to independent Western estimates, remain behind bars in China on account of their pro-democracy activities last summer. The great majority of these are ordinary workers who (unlike many of the detained students and intellectuals) have no contact whatever with the outside world, and their fate is thus impossible to monitor at present. The Chinese government has shown an iron fist to the extensive independent workers' movement that emerged throughout China last May, and there is no indication that it will slacken, even slightly, this campaign of repression at the grassroots level.

As a minimum step, the Chinese authorities should now publish a full list of names of the 573 persons recently reported to have been released. Furthermore, Asia Watch invites the Chinese government to allow our organization to send, with US Congressional representation, a formal mission to Beijing in order to verify the releases and to ascertain the numbers of those still detained and their conditions of detention.

While presenting internationally the lifting of martial law as being a proof of the crackdown's end, the authorities have taken pains to ensure that the Chinese people receive a different message. According to a People's Daily editorial of January 11:

The lifting of martial law does not mean peace and tranquillity across the land. International reactionary forces are bent on subjugating our country. A handful of stubborn bourgeois liberalists at

home are not reconciled to their defeat. After our victory in curbing the turmoil and quelling the counterrevolutionary rebellion and the lifting of martial law, we must not lose our vigilance....We should deal a timely and forceful blow at the sabotage by hostile forces, and those who violate the law should be sternly dealt with according to law.<sup>7</sup>

Chinese sources report an official but undeclared policy of "outward relaxation, internal intensification" (waisong neijin) to be now operating as regards the crackdown in China. According to the US-based Shijie Ribao (World Journal, December 14, 1989), Premier Li Peng's recent statement to the editor of the West German Die Welt that "those who took part in marches, demonstrations or hunger strikes, and those who supported them . . . will all be dealt with leniently . . . and not punished at all," was later flatly contradicted in an internal directive issued to the provinces by the Office of the Communist Party Central Committee. Citing an unnamed official from the latter organ, Shijie Ribao revealed that this internal directive had ordered the localities, in dealing with pro-democracy activists, "to eradicate the evil once and for all, and to leave no vestiges of the plague"; Li Peng's comment to Die Welt was merely "directed to the outside world, for propaganda effect," said the official.

On the very day of the ostensible lifting of martial law in Beijing, at least four people were arrested in Tiananmen Square: two for attempting to lay a wreath in the Square, discreetly marked "in memory of those killed here by accident"; an elderly man for making sarcastic comments to policemen stationed at the Monument to the People's Heroes; and a middle-aged woman for daring to talk with a British television team.<sup>8</sup> All this is unrepentant Stalinism at its most wearily familiar, and it requires considerable naivete to see the recent cosmetic face-lift in Beijing as representing any substantive progress towards human rights.

In this report, Asia Watch seeks to underline the continuing serious nature of the repression in China by cataloguing in summary form the wide range of human rights abuses recently and currently being committed by the Chinese authorities.<sup>9</sup>

## 1. Arrests and Executions

What are human rights? As understood by Western scholars, they are the innate rights of human beings, or the basic rights and freedoms enjoyed by a person as a human. They primarily consist of the rights to life, freedom, equality, property, self-defense and happiness, and the right to oppose persecution. These rights are innate, permanent, universal, and nontransferrable. They cannot be taken away . . . .

In the context of Marxism, [however,] such an interpretation of human rights is unscientific, incorrect, contrived, biased and idealistically metaphysical . . . Human rights, like democracy and freedom, are concrete and class-oriented. (Guangming Daily, 17 November 1989)

Since June 1989, the Chinese authorities have again been waging a war against the so-called "class enemy"—an elastic term that has been used to stigmatize countless different groups of people in China over the past forty years, but which currently denotes the students, workers and intellectuals who actively promoted or took part in last year's pro-democracy movement. Several hundred and perhaps as many as a thousand of these "counterrevolutionaries" were killed on the streets of Beijing by the Chinese army as it converged from all directions on Tiananmen Square on the night of June 3-4, and many thousands more have been hunted down and placed in incommunicado detention by the security forces since then. There have been at least 40 officially announced executions of pro-democracy demonstrators, and secret executions may also have occurred.<sup>10</sup> On November 4, 1989, Reuters quoted William Webster, head of the CIA, as saying that "probably thousands of people have been killed" since the crackdown first began.

In late June or early July, following the international outcry over the scale and severity of the crackdown, the authorities issued a confidential directive sharply curtailing the open reporting of arrests and executions in the Chinese media, in an effort to convey the impression that it had somehow diminished. But the arrests

have continued, largely in secret, right through to the present, and reports of further executions having recently been carried out continue to appear in the provincial press, to which foreign observers have only restricted access.

According to Asia Watch's information, most of those detained have neither been charged nor brought to trial, and often their families have not even been informed as to their place of detention. Those people who have been brought to trial have been subjected to expedited and summary trial proceedings, under a system of justice which specifically rejects the principle of the presumption of innocence and in which (according to the Chinese authorities themselves) verdicts are usually decided upon before the trial even begins.

The Majority of those brought to trial have been convicted on charges of "counterrevolution," a blatantly political category of criminal offense, and the sentences handed down in such cases have simply been sentenced without any trial at all—usually to three year terms of "re-education through labor," a form of incarceration that is dispensed solely on the authority of the police.

In most cases, the Prison sentences handed down by the courts have been entirely disproportionate to the alleged crimes. In July 1989 for example, three men accused of throwing ink and paint-filled eggshells at Mao's portrait in Tiananmen Square in May were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 16 years to life. And on December 7, 1989, a worker in Changsha was sentenced to 13 years imprisonment for making pro-democracy speeches and engaging in independent labor union activity.

Evidence that the Chinese authorities are specifically trying to conceal from the outside world the fact that the political trials still continue was provided by the Washington Post in December 1989:

Two trial notices were posted outside the People's Intermediate Court in Beijing this week. One of the defendants was charged with 'counterrevolutionary sabotage'; the other with espionage and 'counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation.' Court officials reached by telephone, declined to comment on the two cases. One of them told a foreign reporter, 'you know that it's not permitted to ask questions like that.' When the reporter went to the official to photograph the posted trial notices, a court official ripped them down.<sup>12</sup>

The question of how many people have been arrested or detained since last June is—like the question of how many died in the military crackdown—extremely difficult to answer with any precision, and estimates vary greatly. By adding up various scattered figures put out by the Chinese authorities themselves, Western journalists last summer arrived at a total official arrest figure of at least 6000. In early December, Beijing Youth News disclosed that 2578 people had been arrested in connection with the pro-democracy movement in Beijing in the 24-day period following June 4, and that only 190 have since been released; moreover, this total referred only to so-called "ruffians" (or "thugs"), and it excludes all workers or students detained on non-violent and purely political charges.<sup>13</sup>

Other sources (cited by UPI), indicated that 6000 people had been arrested in Beijing alone by the end of July, and the Washington Post last October cited "sources with access to internal government documents" as putting the figure at more than 10,000 nationwide. Western diplomats interviewed in Beijing last November estimated that anywhere between 10,000 and 30,000 people had probably been arrested in China since the commencement of the crackdown. Citing "well-placed Communist Party sources," a recent article in the Washington Post (January 17, 1990) reported that more than 800 of those involved in last year's movement had already been tried and sentenced to prison terms in recent months, many for ten years on charges of divulging "state secrets" or disseminating "counterrevolutionary propaganda."

Even those injured by government troops on the night of June 3-4 reportedly continue to be persecuted by the authorities. According to an interview conducted in China in October 1989 by the Star Tribune:

Wang was on a Beijing street, a curious bystander, when a soldier's bullet shattered his bones and marked him with a label he may never shed. As China continues its crackdown on the democracy movement that erupted in June, Wang and the other



wounded are in great danger. The dead are beyond reach, the unmarked cannot be found, and so official wrath is focused on the injured. Investigators have endless questions. Why was he out in the streets? What slogans did he shout? What banner did he wave? Who else was around him?<sup>14</sup>

In addition, large numbers of students and workers are currently under active investigation by the authorities, on campuses and in the workplace, for their alleged activities during the events of last summer; to facilitate the purge, people are being cajoled by the authorities to inform upon one another. At one of Beijing's elite universities recently, a teacher interviewed by the New York Times "described a faculty meeting with the Party secretary, who complained that while some students had informed on others, no teachers had done so, behavior that set a bad example.... We felt he had no sense of shame." <sup>15</sup> In at least two recent reported cases, students have committed suicide as a result of this intense official harassment and pressure.<sup>16</sup>

As for China's long-suffering intellectuals, who have been the target of repeated campaigns of persecution and intimidation since 1949, there are signs that their present plight may worsen still further. In December 1989, the Hong Kong journal *Bai Xing* reported that Wang Zhen, Vice-President of the PRC, had, "proposed at a recent Party meeting that 4000 intellectuals in Beijing who Stand opposed to the Party be sent into exile in Xingjiang," the north-west frontier province where China's vast Gulag lies, "so that they could be transformed there."<sup>17</sup>

Despite the crude severity of the government repression, China's pro-democracy movement has not been silenced completely. In a remarkable act of courage, 30 students from the Beijing Institute of Aeronautics on December 9, 1989 defied martial law by staging a protest march along central Chang'an Avenue and carrying banners saying "Freedom and Democracy" and "Why is China so poor?" They were promptly set upon and beaten by the police, and eight of them were taken into custody, though one later escaped. Onlookers, who had begged them to disperse, reportedly wept openly as the students were hauled away.<sup>18</sup> Revealing a striking-but characteristic-presumption of guilt, an Education Ministry spokesman later told Reuters: "These students' illegal assembly and speeches...break martial law. They are detained and awaiting their sentences."

## (i) Arrests

The Chinese authorities' relentless hunt for scapegoats to blame for their drastic recent loss of popular support and legitimacy continues. Asia Watch has documented several dozen further arrests and trials of pro-democracy individuals that took place between October 1989 and January 1990, and has received reliable reports that many others (though names are not yet known) were arrested or tried over the same period. The following examples convey the general flavor of the continuing repression in China.

\*Wang Juntao and Chen Ziming, two intellectuals who headed one of the Chinese authorities' 'most wanted lists,' together with Chen's pregnant wife, Wang Zhihong, were arrested near Canton last October while reportedly trying to escape to Hong Kong. Three Hong Kong residents, Luo Haixing, Li Peicheng and Li Longging, alleged to have been active in the underground rescue network, were also, between October and December, arrested in China in connection with the case. Wang Juntao and Chen Ziming are largely unknown in the West, but they were key figures in the 1989 pro-democracy movement. Indeed, both have played a major role in China's dissident movement ever since 1976, when they were arrested and jailed for helping "to organize the popular mass demonstrations in Tiananmen Square against the regime of the 'Gang of Four.'" During the "Democracy Wall" movement of 1978-80 (the forerunner of last year's movement), Wang Juntao founded and edited an unofficial pro-democracy magazine called *Beijing Spring*. And in 1980 he stood as an independent candidate for the local Beijing legislature, in the first openly-contested elections ever to be held in the People's Republic.

Prior to last year's crackdown, Wang, 31, was a leading member of the Beijing Institute of Social and Economic Sciences and associate chief editor of the influential (and now banned)

*Economic Studies Weekly*. Chen Ziming, 37 years old and from Zhejiang Province, is also a leading veteran of the Democracy Wall movement. Until June 4, he was director of the Beijing Institute of Social and Economic Sciences, a pioneering private research organization and think-tank that worked closely with the Party's reform faction headed by Zhao Ziyang.

\*On November 5, 1989, a man named Zhao Sujian was arrested in Henan Province for having allegedly spread "counterrevolutionary slogans." According to the *Henan Daily* of December 3:

On 20 May this year, more than 30 slogan posters with extremely reactionary contents were discovered on some main streets, the downtown district, and at the gates of some institutions, schools and factories in Kaifeng City.... The Kaifeng Public Security Bureau organized nearly 100 cadres and policemen to handle this case. Through nearly five months' hard work, they eventually ferreted out the hidden criminal.

"On 20 May this year, more than 30 slogan posters with Kaifeng Housing Construction Company. He began to write and put up counterrevolutionary slogans with extremely reactionary contents in 1987. In the spring and summer of this year, when turmoil and a counterrevolutionary rebellion occurred in Beijing, Criminal Zhao took advantage of the opportunity and twice wrote and put up 36 counterrevolutionary posters on 25 April and 20 May [i.e., the day on which martial law was declared in Beijing], thus adding fuel to the flames in the counterrevolutionary rebellion.

In the interrogation, Criminal Zhao confessed his crimes of writing counterrevolutionary slogans three times, organizing illegal demonstrations, giving counterrevolutionary speeches at Henan University, openly spreading what Voice of America broadcast in his own company, together with other illegal and criminal activities."<sup>19</sup>

Two points stand out clearly from this classic piece of demagoguery: first, that Zhao Sujian is being persecuted and charged with "counterrevolution"-the most serious crime possible in China; and potentially a capital offense - purely on account of his exercise of the right to free expression; and second, that the release of such prejudicial pre-trial commentary on the case by the authorities, with its manifest presumption of guilt, erases all possibility of Zhao ever receiving a fair trial. Such strongly prejudicial commentary by the authorities is found in virtually all of the Chinese press reports on pro-democracy arrests seen by Asia Watch since last June.

\*On December 7, the Changsha Intermediate Court in Hunan Province tried and convicted two workers, Zhang Jingsheng, 35, and Wang Chunhuai, 38, on charges relating to their non-violent activities during last year's pro-democracy movement. According to the *Hunan Daily* of December 9, Zhang Jingsheng, a casual laborer in Shaoguan, was sentenced to 13 years imprisonment for making pro-democracy speeches at Hunan University, joining an illegal workers union, writing anti-government leaflets and inciting workers to strike and students to boycott classes.

A Hunan Radio broadcast added that Zhang, on May 4 last year, had given a speech at the Changsha Martyr's Memorial calling for the release and rehabilitation of Wei Jingsheng, who was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in 1979 and is China's best known jailed dissident. A veteran of the Democracy Wall movement himself, Zhang has already spent four years in prison, during the early 1980s, after his conviction on charges of "counter-revolutionary propaganda" for founding and editing a dissident magazine. In true Orwellian vein, the *Hunan Daily* pointed out that Zhang had "continued to have a hostile attitude towards the people after his release."

Wang Chunhuai, formerly a worker at the Changsha Automobile Factory, on May 22 joined the recently-set-up Autonomous Workers Federation, quickly becoming head of its organization and propaganda sections. "Awed by the power of policy and law, Wang surrendered to the public security organs on 15 June," according to Hunan Radio, and he was given a sentence of three years imprisonment at his trial last December.

\*In a significant new development, the authorities recently held secret trials of students detained in the aftermath of the pro-democracy movement. Previously, the great majority of those

brought to trial and sentenced since June 4 for their activities during the movement had been either workers or unemployed. According to Reuters (December 11, 1989), however, six students from Beijing's College of Foreign Affairs, a prestigious institute for the training of future diplomats, went on trial in November. Requesting anonymity, sources told Reuters that four of the students were convicted of "counterrevolution," and the other two on charges of theft; the court imposed punishments ranging from seven to ten years imprisonment. Reportedly, the trials were closed even to the accused's families, and the names of the students are not yet known.

Between December 1989 and February 1990, dozens of priests, bishops and laymen belonging to the underground Roman Catholic church in northern and western China were arrested, according to several sources. The underground church remains loyal to the Vatican, as opposed to the officially-sanctioned Catholic Patriotic Association, which does not recognize the Pope and which continues to use the Latin mass. In an interview with Reuters, the head of the Catholic Patriotic Association stressed that the arrests were political, not religious in nature: to be a member of the underground church was to oppose the government. The wave of arrests may be directly related to the suppression of the pro-democracy movement, as those close to the underground movement reported a surge in the numbers of conversions to Catholicism following the June 4 crackdown.\*

In early February 1990, Politburo member Li Ruihuan assured a foreign journalist that only "about a dozen to 20" intellectuals would eventually be tried and sentenced in connection with the events of last year. Similar official statements have often been made concerning the students. If true, then there can be no justification whatever for the authorities' continued detention of large numbers of students and intellectuals throughout the country, who are not facing trial. They should be freed forthwith. More likely, however, given that secret trials are already known to be underway, is that the great majority of currently detained students and intellectuals are also destined for secret trials, and that only the trials of a very select few will be offered up for public consumption.

Asia Watch has established the identities and documented the circumstances (where known) of more than 500 of those arrested by the Chinese authorities since last June on account of their involvement in the pro-democracy movement. According to all independent estimates, this total represents only a small fraction of the true number of arrests, most of which have never been publicly announced by the authorities. People from virtually all walks of life—students, professors, journalists, artists, engineers, government officials, businessmen and, above all, ordinary workers—have been arrested for their involvement in last year's pro-democracy movement. Many have been accused of committing acts of violence during and after the government's June 3-4 assault on Tiananmen Square. Many others, however, have been accused solely of non-violent activities relating to their free expression of political and other beliefs and on account of their involvement in peaceful protest demonstrations. The majority of those still held have, as far as is known, never been charged at all. The most recent reported arrests were of eight student activists in Lanzhou, north-west China, in early January 1990.<sup>20</sup>

The detainees fall into four broad categories:

**First,** workers who organized or participated in independent labor organizations that were set up in Beijing and elsewhere in May and early June last year. The most prominent of these groups was the Beijing Autonomous Workers Federation, whose headquarters were sited in the north-west corner of Tiananmen Square. Similar workers' groups, sometimes with very sizeable memberships, appeared in most other major cities in China around the same time. The aim of these independent labor organizations was to provide authentic representation of workers' interests, both economically and politically.

**Second,** students who played key roles in the formation of such groups as the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation, the Autonomous Federation of Students from Outside Beijing and numerous other independent campus organizations; students who participated in the mass occupation of Tiananmen Square and the week-long hunger strike there; those who organized and ran

independent printing presses and published pro-democracy literature of various kinds; and those who acted as liaison links between students in Beijing and in the provinces. Towards the end of the pro-democracy movement, there were at least as many students from the provinces in Tiananmen Square as from Beijing itself; however, because of the present difficulty in obtaining information, the fate of most of those students who made it back to their home towns after June 4 is not known.

**Third,** leading intellectual figures, journalists, Party theoreticians and college professors, all so-called "black hands" of the movement, whose public statements and writings prior to last spring are said by the authorities to have embodied "bourgeois liberal" thought and hence to have laid the ideological basis for the "counterrevolutionary rebellion" of June 3-4; those who openly sided with the students and workers' cause and who played key roles by organizing large protest demonstrations in Beijing and elsewhere; those who organized such influential groups as the Association for Liaison between All Circles in the Capital; and those who helped coordinate funding for the pro-democracy movement and supplied various kinds of material assistance.

**Fourth,** the huge numbers of ordinary workers and urban residents, both men and women, who physically confronted the army troops and security forces on the streets of Beijing on the night of the massacre, in a desperate attempt to protect the students in Tiananmen Square; those who helped to shelter fugitive students and workers who had been placed on government wanted lists after June 4; those who took part in demonstrations all over China to protest the crackdown in Beijing;<sup>21</sup> and those who continued to offer even the slightest resistance to the martial law regime—including such things as shouting slogans at troops and holding aloft banners (many of these people were simply shot on the spot)—in the immediate aftermath of the military crackdown.

As can be seen, the scope of the repression is immense. Asia Watch and other organizations have published details of many of those arrested from each of these groups since last June, and some of the more prominent of them are already fairly well known outside of China. They include such people as Wang Dan, the student leader from Beijing University who helped originate the protest movement, and several other student leaders who were placed on the government's "most wanted list," including Liu Gang and Zheng Xuguang; leading establishment intellectuals and theoreticians, such as Li Honglin, a prominent Party historian, and Bao Tong, the senior advisor to ousted Party leader Zhao Ziyang; outspoken pro-democracy journalists such as Dai Qing, who has perversely been accused by the authorities of inciting the students when in reality she tried to persuade them to quit while they were still ahead, and Wang Ruowang, a 71-year old writer who was expelled from the Party along with Fang Lizhi in 1987 following the student demonstrations of the previous winter; and the organizers of China's first independent labor movement since 1949, including Han Dongfang and Liu Qiang, both leaders of the Beijing Autonomous Workers Federation.

None of the above persons has yet been brought to trial or even, so far as is known, formally charged, and all have been held incommunicado since their initial detention. In both these respects, their continued detention—like that apparently of the vast majority of these held by the authorities since the crackdown began—is in violation of the Criminal Procedure Law of China, 1979, and hence unlawful.

The Chinese authorities' arrest and incarceration without trial of these and unknown thousands of other pro-democracy activists and demonstrators constitutes an egregious violation of internationally recognized human rights. The US government should not allow its attention to be diverted from the central fact of these continued mass detentions by such possible impending moves by the Chinese authorities as the selective release of certain of the better-known detainees—or by the granting of permission to Fang Lizhi and his wife, Li Shuxian, to leave China (highly welcome though such measures would be).

Only the granting of a government amnesty to all of those now detained for non-violent expression or association, together with fair and open trials attended by impartial outside observers for all those against whom valid criminal charges can be laid, will suffice as an indication of genuine good faith on the part of the Chinese

government. This is what the Reagan administration demanded from the government of Poland as the price for lifting the sanctions imposed by the United States following the imposition of martial law in December 1981, the repression of Solidarity and the arrest of thousands. Indeed, in the case of Poland, the sanctions were not lifted until all the counterparts of China's pro-democracy prisoners were amnestied. In the absence of such an amnesty, selective releases of well-known pro-democracy figures in China can be regarded as no more than a carefully calculated ploy, aimed at fostering an improvement in China's international image and its diplomatic relations with the West.

## (ii) Executions

Under Chinese law more than 40 different criminal offenses, notably that of "counterrevolution," may be punished by imposition of the death penalty, and executions are extremely common in China.<sup>22</sup> In 1983, the National People's Congress enacted legislative measures designed to speed up the adjudication of internal security cases and cases involving capital offenses, thereby reducing still further the already woefully inadequate procedural safeguards in Chinese law against the occurrence of wrongful execution. While not actually admitting to the latter, the Chinese legal press has in recent years (that is, the period of relative openness that preceded last June's crackdown) publicized a number of cases in which death sentences had been wrongfully imposed on people solely on the basis of confessions extorted through torture, and where the victims were spared execution only as a result of the fortuitous emergence of the truth or because of frantic last-minute efforts by defense lawyers. According to the official *China Law Daily* of September 5, 1988:

"A particularly serious case occurred [recently] in Anhui Province in which Xie Bingjin, chief of police and former deputy secretary of the Huanggang district Party Committee in Funan County, together with Zhu Gui, the deputy chief of police, used torture to extract confessions from suspects. As a result, two people were subsequently given wrongful sentences of death at the trial of first instance, and one person received a suspended death sentence; another was given life imprisonment and ended up being unjustly jailed."

It is likely that many of those executed for alleged violent offenses since June 1989 were in fact innocent, and had given confessions under duress or been convicted on the basis of grossly insufficient evidence. In addition, one man executed in Shanghai in late June, 1989 on charges of setting fire to a train was said to be mentally retarded, and in the widely televised 'trial' proceedings he appeared not to understand what was going on. (Shanghai TV, June 21, 1989; *Wenhui Bao*, Shanghai, June 21, 1989)

The peremptory, almost sly casualness with which the Chinese legal system often seems to regard the question of judicial execution may be seen from the following statement, which is taken from a discussion in an official legal textbook of 1986 regarding the provision in Chinese law that pregnant women are to be exempted from capital punishment.<sup>23</sup> Reveals the author:

In the view of some [Chinese jurists], if the accused woman is given an abortion prior to the court hearing, then since she will no longer be pregnant by the time the trial began, she can be given the death penalty. And similarly, if the court (sic) performs an abortion on the accused at the time of the trial, then she will likewise become eligible for the death penalty.<sup>24</sup>

In Chinese criminal law, which is held by the authorities to be a mere "tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat," loopholes are always available when needed.

As mentioned, at least 40 people have already been executed in connection with the events of last June. Many of them had been convicted of crimes involving no use of violence against the person, but only of crimes against property-typically, such things as "burning vehicles," "setting fire to trains" and "obstructing traffic." Others were executed for having allegedly killed martial law troops and armed policemen on the night of June 3-4. Some soldiers and police were certainly killed (the government has so far identified only a dozen or so of them, though claiming much higher fatalities) but in at least some of those cases eye-witnesses report that the killings by crowds took place only after the soldiers and policemen had shot and killed unarmed civilians.

In addition, troubling allegations of large-scale extrajudicial executions having been carried out in China continue to surface occasionally. A Granada Television documentary screened in Britain late last October contained interviews, filmed secretly inside China, in which Chinese citizens claimed (according to the Hong Kong *South China Morning Post*, October 23, 1989) "that since the imposition of martial law thousands have been killed in police raids and executions." Those interviewed also stated: "Students travelling to Fujian and Hebei to spread the news of the massacre [in Beijing] have been unceremoniously killed by local police." In addition: "One family was said to have been offered 4000 pounds sterling (HK\$50,000) and access to a new apartment, modern appliances and cheap televisions to keep silent after their son was killed by mistake by the secret police."

Reports of new death sentences and of judicial executions of pro-democracy activists recently carried out still continue to appear in the Chinese press. In view of China's past reporting practices on such matters, moreover, it is likely that those announced in the official press only represent a small portion of the total number of recent executions. The following are some of the cases that have been documented by Asia Watch from Chinese press and radio sources:

\*A man named Sun Baohe was executed in Jinan, Shandong Province on October 14, 1989 according to the *Jinan Masses Daily* of the following day. He had been charged only with the crime of having set fire to and burned a "Shanghai-brand" vehicle in the course of a demonstration on June 6.

\*Three men-Zhou Qi, He Xiaokang and Chen Guangping-were executed on November 7, 1989 in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, following their conviction on charges of "beating, smashing, looting and burning" during the period June 4-6. According to Chengdu Radio, the three had attacked the police, engaged in robbery, set fire to a movie theatre and destroyed shops. An official of the Chengdu External Affairs Department stated that they had been publicly paraded at a mass rally and then immediately executed.

\*An execution that was carried out in Beijing on November 30, 1989, that of a man named Liu Baode, gives strong cause for concern that pro-democracy activists may have been tried and executed without the true reasons for their execution (namely their involvement in the protest demonstrations of last May and June) actually being made public. An article in the *Beijing Daily* of December 1, 1989 provided a detailed account of several cases of violent crime that had recently been brought to trial, giving the names of those charged, listing their precise criminal activities and stating what the court's sentences on the men had been. All these sentences were of various terms of imprisonment - there were no death sentences imposed.

The same report, however, stated that Liu Baode, whom it referred to merely as "a hooligan," had been executed by shooting after his sentencing on November 30 by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court. No further details, nor any indication of what the charges might have been, were given. Similarly, the report stated that Su Peng, also "a hooligan," had been sentenced to death with a two-year stay of execution, but again the charges were simply not mentioned. This is unique in Asia Watch's experience of monitoring the Chinese press, and given the particular context of this striking omission, one can only assume that the authorities had something to hide - or rather, that their aim was to 'inform' (the Chinese people) without 'revealing' (to the outside world).

To sum up: the continuing arrests and executions in China form the cutting edge of a protracted, government-led campaign of punitive repression, and they serve a purely political purpose. As Anthony Dicks, an eminent Hong Kong barrister and professor of law at London University, noted recently in *The China Quarterly*:

In the afternoon of 4 June 1989 . . . the Supreme People's Court roundly endorsed the counter-revolutionary character of the demonstrations, foreclosing any real possibility of contesting this designation in criminal proceedings in the lower courts . . . The subsequent arrests and trials of alleged counter-revolutionaries have shown once again how easily the procedural safeguards of the criminal law can be swept aside for the convenience of those in power.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. Prison Conditions and the Use of Torture

As a result of the clampdown on sensitive information in China today, little specific is known about conditions of detention for those arrested. However, reports that have emerged in recent months indicate that prison conditions are both harsh and brutal. The reports speak of gross overcrowding in cells, severely inadequate diet and widespread infectious diseases—and of frequent beatings and worse.

On July 2, 1989, student leader Wang Dan, who topped the government's "most wanted list" after June 4, was arrested in Beijing when he tried to meet secretly with a Taiwan journalist. Both the journalist and his Chinese driver, a man named Wang Yang, were arrested around the same time. The journalist was later released, but Wang Yang was jailed for 45 days. Now in Australia and seeking political asylum, Wang recently told the Hong Kong newspaper *Singtao News* of his conditions of treatment in detention. For the entire 45 days, he said, he was kept shackled by handcuffs and leg-irons, and on each of his daily interrogations by the police he was badly beaten. His cell, a dingy room of only 18 square meters, held no less than 19 prisoners. He explained that he was put on a regime known as "the four dishes and one soup, with permission to wear a watch"—prison jargon which, far from denoting any special privileges, actually meant that his only food was a broth made of four ingredients, and that he had to be kept shackled hand and foot.<sup>26</sup>

Qincheng Prison, a maximum security facility on the outskirts of Beijing used mainly for the confinement of top political prisoners, is presently reported to contain several hundred student activists and intellectuals from last year's pro-democracy movement. According to the *Washington Post*:

Chinese sources said that the prisoners in the secretive Qincheng Prison are under psychological pressures commonly applied to political prisoners. They are denied contact with their families and given political indoctrination courses aimed at getting them to confess to their "errors". . . . None of these prisoners is accused of engaging in violence. The authorities have apparently not brought formal charges against most of them. . . . Sources say that many of those detained were beaten at the outset of their detention, particularly during the initial interrogation period.<sup>27</sup>

Conditions at Qincheng are generally believed to be better than in most other prisons in China. On January 2, 1990, however, the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Pao* published an article based on an interview with a Chinese graduate student, one of the Tiananmen Square hunger strikers, who had recently been released from Qincheng.

According to the student, the majority of those detained at Qincheng bear wounds and injuries inflicted as a result of severe beatings by prison guards, many have given false confessions under duress, and others have become mentally ill. Influenza, lung infections and other diseases were said to be spreading throughout the prison, and "pitiful wailing sounds" could be heard coming from many of the cells. The student added that the interrogation of prisoners was being carried out by the prison guards themselves (this is in fact the norm in China), and that they were being forced to write fresh confessions every day. The student said that he himself had signed an officially prepared statement of confession after being unable to withstand the beatings inflicted upon him, and that he had then been charged with the "crime of deceiving the public security organs" and sentenced to 100 days further detention.

Another person detained at Qincheng Prison is Bao Tong, the advisor to Zhao Ziyang. According to one report in the February 20, 1990 edition of the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Pao*, Bao Tong was being held in solitary confinement, unable to receive visits from family members. The article said he was suffering from malnutrition and that he was not permitted to read newspapers. Asia Watch has not been able to verify the report independently.

On June 2, 1989, as the final act in the student occupation of Tiananmen Square, three leading intellectuals and a well-known popular singer from Taiwan embarked on a 72-hour hunger strike

on the monument in the center of the Square. Three of them were subsequently arrested—Liu Xiaobo, Gao Xin and Zhou Duo. On December 16, 1989, Gao Xin was released, but Liu and Zhou remain behind bars. In early February 1990, Gao Xin broke silence on the time he had spent in prison, and gave an interview to Associated Press:

Gao Xin, a young editor who was denounced by Chinese authorities as a counterrevolutionary plotter, walked out of jail after 185 days—thinner, unemployed and unsure of what life now holds for him. . . .

But in releasing him, authorities didn't say Gao was rehabilitated, forgiven or even cleared. They never formally charged him. Gao said the guards simply told him the investigation into his activities was completed. . . .

When the student crackdown came before dawn June 4, Gao said he and his friends led the student in a peaceful retreat from Tiananmen Square. . . .

Interestingly, the prison guards had "treated Gao with a kind of courtesy not afforded the common criminals in his cell"—an observation consistent with other reports that intellectuals, particularly prominent ones, have received much better treatment than detained rank-and-file participants of the pro-democracy movement. The article described Gao's conditions of incarceration as follows:

He was taken to a small Beijing jail where prisoners were held for short periods before being tried or executed. He shared a 10-square-meter cell with at least seven men at a time, who were accused variously of rape, murder or theft.

Only twice in his six-month stay was he let out for exercise, he said. The cell had a small window, but the heat was overwhelming in late summer. The light was kept burning at night. No books or newspapers were allowed. Four men could sleep on a wooden platform that filled half the cell. Others slept on bedrolls on the floor.

Relatives could not visit. Gao's family was not even told of his arrest. His fiancée went from police station to station seeking news of his whereabouts, but was told each time: "We aren't clear" . . .

Gao said he was questioned by jail authorities only rarely. He said he was given no clue about his eventual fate. "The loneliness of the spirit was terrible."

The anonymous majority of workers and ordinary urban residents detained since June 4 are believed to be held in local police cells, where torture and other ill-treatment is common, and in various types of so-called "administrative detention centers." The latter are normally used for the confinement of people sentenced solely on police authority, without trial, to short-term periods of imprisonment; legal supervision by outside agencies such as the procuracy is reportedly non-existent in these centers.

Every year, many thousands of "offenders" are transferred from such centers, without trial, to serve "administrative sentences" of up to three years' duration in "labor re-education camps," where conditions are reportedly often no less harsh than those in penal colonies proper ("labor reform camps"), which hold court-sentenced criminals.

Chinese press reports have also mentioned the recent use of "shelter and investigation centers" to confine pro-democracy detainees. The purpose of these centers is to hold, for indefinite periods, "suspects" upon whom the police have gathered insufficient evidence of guilt to warrant the issuance of proper criminal charges. Conditions in them are said to be abominable. As one Chinese law journal complained in 1987, in a remarkably candid expose: "At present, there is still no formal legislation concerning shelter and investigation work; nor does such work fall within the orbit of the legal-supervisory organs of the state." The article added: "Some shelter and investigation centers are extremely deficient in terms of health and sanitation conditions, so illness and disease frequently break out in them." Moreover: "Those taken in for shelter and investigation often escape, commit suicide or behave violently."

### (i) A Prisoner's testimony

An account just recently obtained by Asia Watch from a pro-

democracy detainee who was released in late 1989 and who now resides in a European country, provides us with a rare picture of the general conditions of life in one Beijing detention center where those arrested since last June are currently being held. This account, which describes the treatment of prisoners in a "shelter and investigation center" at No. 21 Paoju Lane, Beijing, is the first really full and detailed one to have emerged from China's prisons since the start of the crackdown. It both confirms the details given in other accounts and also adds a wide range of further information concerning current abuses in Chinese detention centers. Paoju Lane's most famous inmate is Han Dongfang, leader of the Beijing workers Autonomous Federation (see next chapter for details of Han's imprisonment.)

The informant, a research employee of an institute in Beijing, was arrested without warrant or formal charge in early September 1989 on suspicion of having "concealed guns" after the June 3-4 military crackdown. The police investigation into his case revealed no basis for this allegation, and he was released in late November 1989, along with around 90 others from the same detention center. However, he was first made to sign a statement admitting that he had "violated martial law," an accusation referring to his having merely "stayed on the streets on June 3 and 4... collecting leaflets and taking pictures." Moreover:

The Public Security Bureau didn't give my work-unit any written document, no explanation for my arrest, nor for my release. So I was arrested without being told why and released without being told why... the interrogators were not interested in finding the person who had made the false allegation...

The account confirms reports that intellectuals (and probably students also) detained since last June are being treated considerably more humanely than detained workers and others:

I must say objectively that I had a better deal than all the others in the jail. When the wardens found out my identity they were very polite and did me some favors so I was comforted slightly.

The following are the key points from his account of detention conditions in No. 21 Paoju Lane. At the time of his release, the center held approximately 1000 prisoners, half of whom were political prisoners and half of whom were ordinary criminal offenders. According to the account: "Common criminals and political prisoners were held together in the same cells." While the Paoju authorities reportedly were effective in preventing fights between the two groups, the informant stated that in the rest of Beijing: "There were occurrences of common criminals beating political prisoners in cells in every district of the city."

In Paoju Lane, the prisoners are crowded into cells like so many cattle. The former inmate noted that his 14 square meter cell held 23 or 24 people, which seemed to be standard, as opposed to the pre-June average of about 15 people. He said prisoners slept on the floor, on bed rolls supplied by their families. The cells were equipped with a basin and urinal, and the hygiene conditions were "appalling." He noted that there was a small window which let in some natural light, and that a single bulb suspended from the ceiling was left on 24 hours.

Because of the severe overcrowding in the cells, most prisoners caught the skin disease scabies ("hardly anyone avoided this fate"), and they were plagued by lice ("in the cracks of the floor, the bedding, clothes-lice everywhere"). At night, sleeping was often impossible:

The floor was always wet. At night we had to sleep on the floor so the quilt and cushions were often damp... On average, each person had only 0.55 square metres floorspace, so everyone had to squeeze in and be careful how they slept. It was impossible to lie down flat, everybody had to lie on their sides and keep the same side till dawn. When we got up we were aching all over.

Daylight brought little relief from the torment. From reveille at 6.30 a.m. through until bedtime at 9.30 p.m., apart from two meal periods at 10 a.m. and 4.30 p.m., the prisoners had to sit on the floor in four rows of six persons each, without moving or talking. Meals were brought to the cells, and the inmates were allowed out of the cells for only two five-minute trips to the

latrines each day. "People were rarely called out to do work. In our cell only one person was summoned to do two days' labor." Access to exercise and fresh-air was scant in the extreme:

About once or twice a month we were allowed to run around a small yard accompanied by a policeman, and spend 20 minutes moving around... Because I sat without moving for long periods of time, the day after I was released I suddenly felt I couldn't walk, I couldn't move my legs, my knees felt unbearably painful and I had to go to the hospital.

Inevitably, with such severe overcrowding in the cells:

The air was bad. It stank all day long... I had never realized how precious a thing fresh air is... We urinated in the cells and sometimes even defecated there, because at the toilet times one couldn't always go... The stench was quite often unbearable.

The "no talking" rule was apparently relaxed slightly after National Day, on October 1, and prisoners were sometimes allowed to read People's Daily ("one copy between several cells"). However:

We were not allowed to read books. Even the most basic law books were not allowed... There were no paper or pens in the cells... We were not allowed to write letters to our families, nor could we receive letters from our families... Throughout the period of detention we weren't allowed to meet any relatives, friends or colleagues.

The only "contact" allowed was via a single postcard (dictated to the prison officer) requesting families to send clothes, bedding, towels, soap, toothpaste and other daily necessities.

The prisoner's diet in Paoju lane is grossly inadequate, according to the informant. The staple food was wotou, a rough steamed bread made of cornflour, with a small quantity of seasonal meat and vegetables added. Most of the former prisoner's fellow inmates lost between five and ten kilograms.

The worst time was just after the crackdown, when a starvation diet was imposed: "In the three months before I was put in the cell, prisoners more or less ate the steamed bread on its own, and the bread was only half-cooked, really horrible to eat." After September 1989, nutritional standards were improved somewhat. (Significantly, this was said by the informant to be partly due to "international protests" which had produced "a certain amount of pressure and some results.") However, wotou were often withheld by the wardens as a way of punishing prisoners. In addition: "Food, especially vegetables and meat, were prevented from being given out by the cooking staff. They were not police but they were worse." Starving prisoners who tried to claim extra portions were sometimes beaten and handcuffed by the wardens as a punishment, and one prisoner who tried to hoard food was reportedly shackled for almost ten days.

According to the informant, physical violence against prisoners is less common at Paoju Lane than in other detention facilities in Beijing. For example: "As far as I know, only in Paoju Lane were newly arrived prisoners (when they were put in cells) not beaten by the old prisoners." However:

If the wardens and interrogators were in a bad mood or if you said something wrong, you would very likely be reprimanded, beaten or sworn at... Some prisoners got beaten up. Torture did happen, but not often.

Other distinctive features of the Paoju Lane detention regime, suggesting that it is considerably better run than is the norm in China, include the fact that interrogations are reportedly carried out by outside officials, rather than by the prison guards themselves. Infringements of prison regulations, however, are dealt with sternly at Paoju:

Any slight violations were punished. Punishments ranged from standing up for long periods of time to being handcuffed... A young political prisoner in my cell was caught by the duty-policeman sharpening a needle with a collar fastener, and he wouldn't admit to it. He was slapped around the face a dozen times by the wardens, and was handcuffed for more than ten days, even whilst eating and going to the toilet. His hands became swollen due to the bad circulation.

Prisoners who fell ill were generally allowed access to the prison doctor. However, medical care was reportedly poor, and



medication was issued for one day only: "If this didn't cure the condition, you had to beg to be taken back the next day.

Interrogations were carried out by three-person teams: the interrogator, his deputy and a recorder, with each team being responsible for handling three to five cases.

If serious, then the interrogations would be frequent, sometimes two or three times a day, night and day. If the case was not serious, the interrogations were less frequent. I was only interrogated twice . . . I did not know the names of my interrogators because we weren't allowed to ask.

The interrogations at Paoju produced three categories of prisoners: first, those who were "proven to be guilty and then sentenced"; second, those who (without benefit of trial) were found "guilty of petty crimes" and then sentenced to "a minimum of two years" in "re-education through labor"; and third: "releases... these cases are few."

The informant concludes his account of life in No. 21 Paoju Lane with the comment: "I really tasted what it feels like to be deprived of human dignity. It's unbearable."

## (ii) Prevalence of torture: the immediate pre-crackdown period

Torture is far from being a minor problem in China. During an exceptional period of 'judicial glasnost' which began in 1985 and ended last year, the Chinese legal press openly published more than 100 reports exposing several hundred serious cases of torture that had recently been committed by public security and prison officials bent on forcing confessions from criminal suspects. In many of the reported cases, the victims had either died as a result of their ill-treatment or had been left crippled.

Moreover, it appeared from further official statements that the cases revealed were only the tip of the iceberg. According to an article published in the official *China Law Daily* on May 31, 1985:

The problem is extremely serious in certain areas and units, indeed it has virtually become a "chronic disease", giving the masses the false impression that if one merely enters a public security bureau one will inevitably be beaten. How has it ever been possible for the extracting of confessions through torture to become such a "chronic disease"?

The incidence of torture in police custody showed a steady rise in the second half of the 1980s, particularly in pre-trial detention centers and in the various types of "administrative" holding centers. For example, the 1987 article from *Faxue* magazine, cited above, stated bluntly:

Administrators and officials in charge of handling case-work in shelter and investigation centers subject the inmates to extensive corporal punishment and abuse, and inflict torture in order to obtain confessions.

The most common forms of torture used by police and other interrogating officials in China include vicious and prolonged beatings, often resulting in damage to the internal organs; applying ropes or handcuffs so tightly to prisoners' wrists that nerves are compressed and blood circulation is stopped, causing extreme pain and sometimes permanent loss of function; and, perhaps most widespread of all, applying electric batons (cattle prods) to various sensitive parts of the body, including the face.

On September 23, 1988, the *Law Daily* described a fairly typical case of torture that had recently taken place in Cangzhou, Hebei Province. Zhu Yongshun, a mentally retarded deaf mute, had been seized by police officers merely for innocently "overhearing" a conversation between them; the man's cousin, Sun Mingdi, then tried to intervene but he too was promptly seized. In the police station the next morning:

Officer Zhou Linhua first of all tightened up the ropes binding Sun and Zhu, and then began giving the two of them hard karate chops to the back of their necks. The ropes cut deeply into their flesh, causing so much pain that sweat was soon pouring off of them and their breathing came only in gasps. Officer Sun Xiliang then came across and lashed them both viciously across the ears, and, digging his fingers under the ropes, he placed his knees across their abdomens and forced his weight hard down on top of them. Sun Mingdi lost consciousness there and then.

That evening, the mentally retarded Zhu was sentenced to ten days 'administrative detention' by the police officers. As for Sun Mingdi:

By 22:00, he was on the verge of death, and had to be taken to the county hospital for emergency treatment. The surgeons extracted 1200 ml. of blood from his abdominal cavity, together with 500 ml. of congealed blood clots, and they excised a 15 cm. length of Sun's small intestine, which had been irreparably damaged. To this day, Sun is still hospitalized.

Another typical case was recounted in *Law Daily* on August 17, 1988 involving a drunk man named Wang Hai'an, who had been detained by police in Zhengzhou, Henan Province on an entirely groundless accusation of "trafficking in children." According to the report:

Three officers began to interrogate Wang, who had not yet recovered from his state of drunkenness, and to beat and kick him. Officer Mao Yanxi kicked Wang down the stairs, causing him to fall flat on the floor, and he then jumped off a 40 cm. high step directly on to Wang's chest, thereby breaking eight of Wang's ribs. Next, the chief of the police station, Wang Bailing, and Officers Huang Zhihui and Huang Mingxing proceeded to subject Wang to a series of severe beatings. In addition, Officer Mao Yanxi and others struck Wang on the hands and face with their electric batons.

Wang was later released, but on his way home he was suddenly terrified by the sight of three of the policemen pursuing him on a motorbike. Somewhat improbably, the report then states: "Wang thereupon fell into a shallow pool of water and died by drowning."

In addition to physical torture, various kinds of psychological torture are commonly used in Chinese prisons and detention centers—especially for political prisoners. The most ubiquitous form involves endless "study" sessions in which prisoners are forced to internalize the value-system and version of the facts presented to them by the authorities. On his recent release from prison, Gao Xin, one of the Tiananmen hunger strikers, told his fellow hunger striker Hou Dejian of the "very bad treatment" he had endured in prison. "Gao was made to confess his mistakes and express the Communist Party's opinions about what the protests represented and what happened in June," Hou told *Reuters*.<sup>28</sup> Round-the-clock interrogations and denial of all rights to fresh air and exercise are other common forms of psychological torture found in China.

Perhaps the most serious of all, however, is the use of prolonged solitary confinement. Wei Jingsheng has been held in solitary since his conviction in 1979, and is thought to have developed schizophrenia as a result. Another leading figure from the Democracy Wall period, Xu Wenli, has also been held in solitary in Beijing No.1 Prison ever since his sentence to 15 years imprisonment in 1982. After the smuggling out and publication abroad of his prison notes in 1985, Xu was for several years confined in a tiny, windowless cell to which the only access was through a trapdoor located in the ceiling. When a reporter from the *South China Morning Post* visited Beijing No.1 Prison in September, 1989 she was told by the vice-warden, Song Wenbo, that Xu Wenli was still in solitary confinement. Solitude, declared Song, was "beneficial to Xu's individual reform."<sup>29</sup>

Despite a prolonged campaign from 1985 onwards by the authorities to eradicate the use of torture in China, the *Law Daily* nonetheless noted on September 5, 1988 that there had been "a constant increase" in the incidence of physical torture and other types of rights-violation over the past two years. And as Anthony Dicks recently observed, regarding the televised trials of "counterrevolutionaries" in China last summer:

Scenes of prisoners being humiliated and manhandled as they were paraded before the courts for sentencing...were a reminder to the world of how flimsy are the legal safeguards against torture and physical abuse of prisoners in China.<sup>30</sup>

In view of the drastic deterioration in the general standard of human rights observance that has occurred in China since the government crackdown of June 1989, there is strong reason to believe that the incidence of serious torture in police custody is now higher than ever.



### 3. Suppression of the Workers Movement ("The Polish Disease")

The pro-democracy movement of 1989 was initiated by the students, through their mass occupation of Tiananmen Square and through the week-long hunger strike they conducted there. But at its height, the movement commanded active support from virtually all sectors of society, and particularly from the workers. By the end of May, independent labor organizations had sprung up spontaneously in numerous other major cities in China, including Shanghai, Nanjing, Changsha, Xi'an, Hangzhou, Guizhou and Wuhan. This posed a formidable challenge to the Communist Party authorities, whose legitimacy rests upon their claim to be "the vanguard of the proletariat."

Not surprisingly therefore (although this has largely gone unnoticed in the West), it is the workers in China who have in fact borne the brunt of the recent and continuing repression. They form the great majority of those who have been detained, their conditions of detention ("30 to a cell," according to UPI Nov4, 1989) are much harsher than those of other groups, and they have been handed down exemplary prison sentences by the courts. They are also the ones most likely to be subjected to torture and other forms of gross ill-treatment during police interrogation. Significantly, all those known to have been executed since June 4 were either workers or unemployed.

The unsung nature of the independent labor movement in China is well illustrated by the fate since last June of Han Dongfang, 26-year-old leader of the Beijing Autonomous Workers Federation. Han, a railway maintenance worker who deserves to be better known as "China's Lech Walesa," has been held in secret incommunicado detention by the authorities in Beijing ever since late June, 1989. Although his name, like those of the main student leaders from Tiananmen Square, such as Wang Dan and Wu'erkaixi, topped the government's "most wanted" lists just after the massacre in Beijing, the authorities have never announced or made public the fact of Han's arrest. According to sources inside the public security service, Han Dongfang is now gravely ill. Unable to hold down any food, he has just been hospitalized for the sixth time and is currently on an intravenous drip.

Further detailed information on Han's condition has just recently become available, through the remarkable account - cited in the previous chapter - of life in Paoju Lane detention center, where Han has been incarcerated since last June. According to the account:

At first, Han Dongfang was kept in a large cell like the other political prisoners. But because he wouldn't admit to any mistakes and used to talk provocatively, he was later kept in "isolation." Han had a stomach problem in and around July, due to the summer heat and poor food. The trouble started up again. At first, the police thought that he was pretending and wouldn't take him to the doctor. He was very depressed. After other cell-mates begged on his behalf, the police agreed to take him.

He took the opportunity to shout in the corridor: "How pitiful we Chinese are! We don't even respect our own kind. I wouldn't want to be a Chinese again in my next life." He shouted his head off and refused to go to the hospital. "I swear I'll never ask to see the doctor again. I'll be damned if I will!" Then he returned to his cell. His shouting was heard by all the prisoners in the second-floor cells. Everyone was very agitated and felt very sympathetic towards Han for the unjust treatment he was receiving. Many of them shed tears.

The police got scared, and the prison governor brought a doctor to see Han. Shortly afterwards, however, they put him into the "Small Cell" [a tiny isolation cell used for punishment purposes], separating him from all the other prisoners.

The Beijing Autonomous Workers Federation (BWAf) was formed by Han Dongfang and a small number of other workers on May 19, the eve of the declaration of martial law. Apart from a small, short-lived workers group that was set up in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province in the winter of 1980, the BWAf is thought to have been the first truly independent labor organization in China since the

founding of the People's Republic. Based in two small tents set up in the northwest corner of Tiananmen Square, the BWAf was a fledgling organization, but it appears to have enjoyed wide support from within key sections of the Beijing workforce. Through its small broadcasting station on the Square, the organization gave out nightly programs of news, commentary and political analysis, attracting enthusiastic audiences of several thousands, sometimes until dawn.

In its Provisional Outline, adopted in the Square on May 25, 1989, the BWAf made clear its intention to operate openly and in full conformity with the laws and constitution of the PRC. The main aims and principles of the BWAf were as follows:

The Federation shall be an entirely independent and autonomous organization, built up by the workers on a voluntary basis and through democratic processes; it should not be subject to control by other organizations.

The founding principle of the Federation shall be to address the political and economic demands of the workers, and it should not serve merely as a welfare body.

The Federation shall perform the role of monitoring the party of the proletariat-the Chinese Communist Party. Within the bounds of the law and constitution, it shall strive to protect all legal rights of its members.

On June 2, 1989 the BWAf was declared by the authorities to be a "counterrevolutionary" organization. The federation's tents were to be the first target of attack by the massive PLA force which arrived at the Square in the early hours of June 4, and many of its members were hunted down and arrested in the weeks and months thereafter. The day before the massacre in Beijing, Han Dongfang said:

"We fully expect the authorities to take action against us. We've taken certain precautions. But if they use violence against us, well, we are unarmed and we will not resort to the use of violence against them. We are prepared to go to prison, and we are not afraid to die. I only hope that the international community will rally to our defense if the government does try to suppress us."

The reason for the unaccustomed discretion shown by the authorities, in their failure publicly to reveal the fact of Han's arrest, is plain enough. For China's leaders are above all concerned to prevent the emergence of what they refer to as the "Polish disease"-namely, organized industrial unrest. Just after the declaration of martial law on May 20, Han Dongfang's BWAf proposed a general strike in support of the students in the Square. Had it transpired, Deng Xiaoping and his colleagues might now be collecting their retirement pensions, or worse.

### 4. Defects of the Criminal Justice System

Perhaps the most important human rights concern in China today is the question of what is going to happen to all the thousands of people currently being held in police detention. Since most of them will probably be brought to trial eventually, it is worth examining in some detail the nature of the judicial system through which they must pass. Without doubt, China's criminal justice system is among the most deeply flawed in the world - indeed, it is essentially pre-modern.

First, there is no such thing as the presumption of innocence in China. The Chinese legal system, going against both the spirit and the letter of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, explicitly rejects the principle that a detained person should be presumed innocent until proven guilty. In its place, judicial officials are blandly instructed merely "to take facts as the basis and use law as the yardstick" when handling criminal suspects. The argument given is that to presume people's innocence would be to prejudge the issue, and would mean that China's police would never be justified in arresting anyone at all.

Thus, although China claims not to presume guilt, the first thing detainees see when they enter police cells is a large sign on the wall saying: "lenience to those who confess, severity to those who resist." Penitence is essential, and any attempt to argue innocence is generally taken as evidence of a "bad attitude" and as further proof of guilt. This stress on the importance of the prison

confession accounts, in turn, for the authorities' frequent recourse to the baleful rituals of torture. Releases or acquittals are rare, for they imply that the judicial officers concerned have made some mistake, and this brings loss of face.

Second, the system of legal defense is woefully inadequate. Criminal detainees are expressly denied access to a lawyer throughout the period of pre-trial custody and interrogation, and may only seek legal counsel once the indictment has been issued and the case is ready to go to court—which is usually no more than two to three days before the start of trial. This more or less ensures that the lawyer has insufficient time in which to gather evidence and prepare a proper case. It also means that throughout the crucial period of the police interrogation, detainees have no-one at hand to advise them of their rights or to ensure that they are not ill-treated, beaten or tortured.

In addition, lawyers are subjected to blatant political control and interference in the execution of their duties. According to an article in *Faxde* (Law Studies) magazine in February 1988:

Some local justice departments have a regulation that if a lawyer wants to present a defense of "not guilty" in a criminal case, then he must first of all obtain permission from the Party organization of the justice department concerned.

Evidently, the political authorities in China are even able to prevent defendants from trying to plead innocent.

Fourth, not only is there no independence of the judiciary in China (since judges are answerable to Party-dominated "adjudication committees" and "politics and law committees"), but the verdicts themselves are usually decided upon before the trial even begins. In fact, this unique system of justice — known in China (as in the topsy-turvy world of *Alice in Wonderland*) as "verdict first, trial second"—is openly acknowledged to be the norm. As the Shanghai magazine *Minzhu Yu Fazhi* (Democracy and Law) explained in July 1988:

Our current trial practice in all cases, regardless of whether they are major or minor, criminal, civil, economic or administrative ones, is that the adjudicative committee must first give its opinion on what the appropriate ruling should be, and this is then implemented [in court] by the panel of judges.

Continued the article:

'Verdict first, trial second' is tantamount to walking along a road on the top of one's head: it violates the law of proper procedure . . . "Brilliant luminaries," who have not carried out any investigations or even read the case dossier, but have instead merely listened to an oral report on the case, are allowed to make the ruling in advance [of the trial]. Even if they reach an erroneous verdict, the panel of judges must submit to it completely and unconditionally; there is no room allowed for debate or disagreement.

And finally:

The practice of "verdict first, trial second" can easily give rise to serious miscarriages of justice . . . It gives the green light to those who seek to put their own word before the law . . . It deprives the parties of their right of appeal . . . It reduces the whole series of legally-established procedures and principles to the level of an empty formality. All such things as "public trial," "the judges panel," "people's assessors," "legal defense" and "withdrawal" are stripped of all practical meaning and significance.

The prevalence of such practices demonstrates the full and bitter irony of the Chinese authorities' claim to be pursuing the current crackdown against dissent 'strictly in accordance with the rule of law.' For in reality, the 'rule of law' in China today is a one-edged sword which can only cut downwards. The criminal justice system has always operated at the whim of the political authorities, but since last June it has been used as a direct instrument of wholesale political repression. So far as the many thousands of imprisoned Chinese supporters of democracy now awaiting trial are concerned, there is simply no rule of law in China worth mentioning, and no justice can be expected.

## 5. Suppression of Freedom of Expression

The Monument to the People's Heroes is surrounded with

chains, and tourists are not allowed to set foot on the steps. On the four sides of the monument stand wooden notices about one square meter in size, on which are inscribed the regulations to be observed in paying respects to the monument. One of the regulations forbids any painting, drawing, inscribing, posting, hanging and placing of any slogans, big- or small-character posters, or any other propaganda materials in any form. Anybody who wishes to lay wreaths at the monument must seek approval from the duty personnel, and the wreaths must be laid at designated spots.

(Report of the official China News Service, on January 11, the day of the lifting of martial law) 37

The enchainment of the monument in the centre of Tiananmen Square, where the students made their last stand in the early hours of June 4, 1989 aptly symbolizes the state of freedom of expression in China as a whole as the country enters the new decade. The domestic press, which had shown signs of supporting the pro-democracy cause last spring was comprehensively muzzled at the outset of the crackdown, and it still remains so; fresh restrictions upon foreign journalists, deftly replacing those imposed under Martial Law Order No.3, have just been issued by the authorities; stringent censorship regulations are being passed in various cities, simultaneously banning "anti-socialist writings" and "obscene literature"; and a nationwide purge of publishing houses is fast getting under way. Regulations restricting the formation of "social organizations" have been rushed into force, and (showing a previously unsuspected sense of humor) the authorities have even chosen recently to promulgate China's first-ever law on "freedom of assembly and demonstration."

The continued maintenance by the Chinese authorities of their false version of what actually happened last May and June has required strenuous efforts in the realm of press control. Jiang Zemin, the Party's general secretary, last November summed up the regime's main charge against the news media as follows:

We must be soberly aware that the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization has run unchecked in the past few years and led to the turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion at the turn of spring and summer this year. This has exposed many problems, some very serious, in media circles. Instead of exposing and criticizing bourgeois liberalization and stopping the turmoil, certain media units provided a forum for the instigators and supporters of the turmoil and rebellion, thus stirring up the turmoil and adding fuel to the flame of the rebellion. This has caused great ideological confusion among the masses.

In a generous mood, Jiang then went on to spell out — though quite unintentionally — the true meaning and content of the Party's concept of press freedom in China:

Certainly, requiring propaganda and mass media to maintain political unity with the Party Central Committee propaganda does not mean mechanical parroting of political slogans. Rather, it requires them to keep to the stand of the Party and people and, by way of diverse forms, to accurately and vividly reflect and instill the Party's political standpoint, principles and policies into news stories, newsletters, commentaries, photos, headlines and layout.<sup>34</sup>

After the June 4 crackdown, propaganda officers of the PLA took over control of all the main newspapers in Beijing, and editorial departments were thoroughly overhauled. Qin Benli, chief editor of *Shijie Jingji Daobao* (World Economic Herald), the outspokenly pro-reform Shanghai newspaper, had been sacked even before the crackdown, and his Beijing deputy editor, Ruan Jianyun, was arrested last October. Yu Haocheng, former director of the Masses Publishing House (the organ of the public security authorities) and a leading advocate of legal reform, was arrested sometime last summer; and Dai Qing, China's most famous woman journalist, has been in prison since last July. Eleven other journalists or editors are known to have been arrested, but the true figure is probably much higher.

Many editors in China have been making strenuous efforts to shield and protect their journalists from the authorities' continuing purge of "unreliable media elements." Latest reports indicate, however, that a high-level decision has now been made to remove these editors themselves, so that the purge may proceed more smoothly. On January 13, 1990 Reuters reported the recent sacking of Guan Zhihao, director of *Law Daily* (and prime architect of the post-1985 period of "judicial glasnost" referred to earlier), and also

that of Xie Yongwang, liberal-minded editor of the Shanghai journal Literature and Arts. According to Reuters, the two have been sacked for seeking to protect their journalists from government retribution and for publishing articles last summer supportive of the students' demands.

On January 20, the Hong Kong newspaper Ming Pao reported that the CPC Propaganda Department had issued an order sometime after New Year calling for a renewed and intensified purge of the news media, so that editors who had failed to fall into line after June 4 could be replaced and the "cleaning out" of journalistic ranks could begin properly. Mu Qing, director of the New China News Agency, and Zhou Bingde, deputy director of Voice of China and the niece of Premier Zhou Enlai, head the list of senior press officials about to be sacked, according to the report.

Next in line for official "cleansing" is the publishing world as a whole. On December 6, 1989, the New China News Agency reported that the Press and Publications Administration of China had decided to abolish or suspend the licenses of 10 percent of all existing publishing houses: "Newspaper and magazine offices which publish pornographic stories or articles which run counter to the Party's line will be deprived of their licences." On January 11, 1990, the agency revealed that the Press and Publication Administration had issued a circular requiring all publishing houses to register anew between January 15 and the end of the month. "The circular points out that in recent years publications with serious political errors and obscene and violent content have appeared despite repeated prohibitions."<sup>35</sup>

The precise meaning of the terms "anti-socialist" and "reactionary," as applied to writing and literature in China, have been formally codified by the authorities in recent weeks.

According to Article 4 of the Temporary Provisions of the Shanghai Municipality on the Banning of Harmful Publications, enacted on November 26, 1989:

Reactionary publications refer to those opposing the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system, and include publications containing one of the following contents:

1. Opposing the Communist Party of China and its leadership.
2. Attacking the People's Republic of China and opposing taking the socialist road.
3. Attacking and vilifying the people's democratic dictatorship.
4. Denying the guiding position of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.
5. Seriously distorting historical facts, advocating division of the state and people, and vilifying the Chinese people.<sup>36</sup>

The penalties for infringing these regulations range from a maximum fine of 30,000 yuan to criminal prosecution and unspecified terms of imprisonment.

Finally, on December 22, 1989 senior legislators meeting in Beijing to discuss a new draft law on authors' rights stated that henceforth "any anti-socialist and anti-communist works should be banned in China." According to the New China News Agency: "The basic principle of anti-bourgeois liberalization should be spelled out in the draft...and the rights of authors who produce anti-socialist and anti-communist works should never be protected."<sup>37</sup>

The vitriolic outpourings of criticism against the Western media, and especially that of the US, continue as before for domestic audiences, although they are now less prominent in the externally-directed media. In a sustained diatribe against the evils of Western-style "news authenticity," for example, an article of last December declared:

The "Voice of America," which has always claimed to be "objective and just," has been condemned by the people of the world and regarded as a "rumormonger." The "news authenticity" which the bourgeoisie has bragged about has been seen through by more and more people.

To drive home its main thesis - the essential duplicity of the Western press - the article cited (inappropriately enough) the Watergate Affair:

For example, the world-shaking "Watergate Scandal" revealed by the Washington Post and other newspapers and journals was a farce which reflected the open strife and veiled struggle between the financial groups in the eastern and western parts of the United States.<sup>38</sup>

In light of this essentially conspiratorial view of the foreign press, it is perhaps small wonder that only nine days after the lifting of martial law in Beijing the authorities should have seen fit to impose a fresh set of regulations on the news-reporting activities of foreign journalists, to replace those imposed as part of the post-June 4, 1989 clampdown. The new regulations ban all articles by foreigners that in the authorities' view "distort facts" or "violate the public interest," and journalists may be expelled if faulted on these counts. As was the case under the martial law rules, foreign journalists are prohibited from conducting interviews with any "work unit" unless prior approval has been obtained from the authorities, and they may not deviate from the agreed program.<sup>39</sup> As one Western diplomat commented, regarding the new press regulations for foreigners: "If they feel like it, they can get you on whatever they want." Noted another: "In real terms, nothing has changed."<sup>40</sup>

In addition, restrictions on access by Chinese people to foreign television broadcasts have also been imposed recently. According to the Hong Kong Standard, a municipal directive was issued by the authorities in Canton on January 1, 1990 banning the installation in the city of aerials capable of receiving television signals from outside of China. This ends a 10-year period during which the residents of Canton have been able to watch Hong Kong television programs freely. As a local cadre commented in the report: "The authorities obviously want to stop people from being influenced by overseas reports on important issues, including the dramatic upheavals in Eastern Europe."<sup>41</sup>

News censorship has been heavily evident in China throughout the recent events in Eastern Europe. Mandarin-language broadcasts of both the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation have been jammed by the authorities, and China's own press coverage of the major political turnarounds in the Eastern Bloc has been tightly controlled. Radical political change and moves towards democracy in the Eastern Bloc countries have been presented as being mainly the result of elite leadership decisions, rather than public pressure, and as constituting steps "to perfect socialism" and ensure "stability and unity."<sup>42</sup> More generally, the upheavals in Eastern Europe have been presented by the Chinese authorities as merely proving their claim that the West is applying a "capitalist strategy of peaceful evolution" against the socialist world.<sup>43</sup>

As mentioned above, a series of laws and regulations governing Chinese citizens' rights of assembly, demonstration and association have been enacted in recent months and weeks. The net effect of these is to restrict still further the almost negligible prospects for free assembly, demonstration and association in China, by formalizing the role and prerogatives of the state authorities in the regulation of these various types of civil activity. In the case of the Regulations on the Registration of Social Organizations, issued by the State Council in October, 1989 for example, it is clear that a primary purpose of the document is to render unlawful any future formation of the kinds of student and worker organizations which sprang up all around the country last May and June. Commenting in November on the issuance of the new regulations, Fan Baojun, the Vice-Minister of Civil Affairs, in effect compared these pro-democracy organizations to the Chinese Triads:

There are an estimated 100,000 local community groups in the country. But there are some problems with these... Moreover, some secret societies or underworld gangs that existed before 1949 have been revived in some backward and coastal areas. Some illegal organizations have already caused severe damage to the State and the Party, such as the "Autonomous Student Union of Beijing Universities," which stirred up counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing last spring.<sup>44</sup>

The Law of the PRC on Assemblies, Parades and Demonstrations, adopted on October 31, 1989, is also clearly aimed at preventing the re-emergence of any sign or inkling of the kinds of mass public activity seen last summer in Beijing. Among other things, the law prohibits citizens from "starting or organizing assemblies, parades or demonstrations in cities where they are not residents, nor shall they participate in activities held by the local people"; and it forbids foreigners from taking part in all such activities without prior permission from the authorities. The police

are granted sweeping powers to determine all aspects of any assemblies and demonstrations. In addition, the law pointedly bans all unauthorized parades and demonstrations within a 300-meter radius of a series of government institutions in central Beijing, the effect of which is to make it unlawful for any future protest demonstrations to be held in Tiananmen Square. Penalties of up to five years imprisonment are laid down for those who violate the law.<sup>45</sup> On January 9, the Shanghai municipal-authorities adopted a set of regulations for the law's specific enforcement, and the Beijing authorities did likewise on January 12, the day after martial law was lifted.<sup>46</sup>

One would think that such comprehensively restrictive measures, when viewed in the light of the current repression as a whole, would surely suffice to deter most potential "counterrevolutionaries" from even trying to demonstrate openly. Astonishingly, however, it seems that Chinese workers and students have in fact been flocking to the authorities in the hundreds of thousands in recent months, in order to test the value of the new laws' promises regarding freedom of association and the right to demonstrate.

According to the New York Times of January 8, 1990 for example:

Party sources said groups representing thousands of workers across the country who have been suffering under the government's economic austerity program, which has reduced inflation but brought the country to the brink of recession, have sought permission to air their grievances.

Moreover:

The South China Morning Post . . . reported last week that workers in more than 30 Chinese cities had applied to carry out legal demonstrations involving a total of more than 500,000, but said worker discontent was widespread and involved most of the country's provinces.

Clearly, the "Polish disease" has already gone well past the merely incubatory stage in China today. The response of the Chinese authorities to these polite requests for the observance of their rights by workers was, however, predictably churlish:

According to the sources, the leadership issued an order to security forces that they use 'whatever force is necessary' to crush any demonstrations staged by workers.

The full shock-waves of the recent events in Eastern Europe are, of course, still to come.

## 6. Harassment of Chinese Students in the US

"Frankly speaking, the United States was involved too deeply in the turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion that occurred in Beijing not long ago."

(Deng to Nixon, November 1989)<sup>47</sup>

For the more than 40,000 Chinese students now living and studying in the US, the past seven months or so have been a time of deep anxiety and insecurity. Although insulated for the present from the full traumatic impact of China's continuing campaign against the twisted proponents of "bourgeois liberalism" and the cringing residues of last year's "counterrevolutionary rebellion," many of them know that they are but a plane ticket away from an unenviably vulnerable position at the front line. Over the past decade, the Chinese leadership has waged a protracted struggle to try to stem the rising tide of so-called "spiritual pollution" from the West, culminating in the recent all-out war in China against "bourgeois liberalism," its political twin. These two phenomena—the "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" of Dengist demonology—are viewed by the present Chinese leadership as being essentially American in origin. For this reason, Chinese who come here to study must be carefully monitored, lest they transport the 'problem pair' back to China with them on their return.

Several of the ways in which this monitoring of Chinese students has been carried out by the authorities since June 4, 1989, however, amount under US law to serious harassment and restriction of the right to free expression. In the immediate aftermath of the crackdown, Chinese Embassy staff were widely reported to have been videotaping students who took part in protest demonstrations and issuing them with veiled threats by

telephone concerning the safety of their relatives back home.<sup>48</sup>

In late September, 1989 more such reports were heard as Chinese students prepared to carry out nationwide protest demonstrations on October 1, China's national day. According to the New York Times, "They [Chinese Embassy officials] have been calling students nationwide and threatening them . . . Chinese students [have] been told that their passports might not be extended and that their relatives back home might suffer if the students expressed support for China's democracy movement." Jack Brooks, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, added that the Chinese Government was "keeping blacklists of pro-democracy students here in America." And according to a report prepared in September by the recently-formed Independent Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars: "The Chinese Embassy and its consulates around the country have dramatically stepped up their efforts to intimidate Chinese students."<sup>49</sup>

The Chinese authorities have been particularly concerned at the formation overseas in recent months by Chinese nationals of a number of quite large and well-organized opposition groups, in particular the Paris-based Federation for a Democratic China, which has offices in several cities in the US. Recent press reports assert that the Chinese authorities have begun dispatching teams of security agents to monitor the activities of these overseas groups and to ascertain their Chinese student memberships.<sup>50</sup>

A common reprisal reportedly being taken by Chinese consular officials against students who participated in last year's protest demonstrations in the US, or who for example resigned their Party memberships in protest at the crackdown, is to refuse to extend their passports upon expiration. According to the Independent Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars, "more than 100" and possibly "as many as 400 or 500" such cases have occurred recently.<sup>51</sup>

The complaint most widely voiced by Chinese students in the US, however, is that their mail is being routinely interfered with by the authorities in China. According to the results of a survey carried out recently by Congressman Benjamin A. Gilman, (Benjamin A. Gilman, Report of November 9, 1989) more than 92% of Chinese student respondents said that their mail either to or from China had been intercepted, delayed or tampered with in some way by the Chinese authorities. In certain cases, this harassment had been extended to their families in China as well, in the form of visits and threats from public security officials regarding the content of letters they had received.

Asia Watch recently received the following account written by a Chinese student in the US. We reproduce it here in full, for it vividly conveys both the nature of the abuse and the sense of outrage felt—and also the taste of victory won which, though small, seems somehow to catch the essence of the present struggle for human rights in China.

June 8, 1989. I sent a letter to my mother and brothers, which had contents about the 'June 4' massacre. My family received it at the end of June. My family is in Xi'an township, Taoyuan county, Hunan Province.

July 13. In the morning, two public security agents went into my village to investigate. In the afternoon, my third brother (who had highest education in my village except me: elementary school graduate) was ordered to go to the township government to submit my letter. My brother refused. Four officials interrogated him from afternoon to the night. At about 1:30am after midnight, my brother gave in.

October 6. I knew part of the facts. I wrote a letter to the Hunan Public Security Bureau and the PRC Embassy in Washington. I asked the government to return my letter and apologize to my family, because they violated Article 40 of the "PRC Constitution," which protect the freedom and privacy of citizens' correspondence. I also cited words from Chinese government, which repeatedly promised that overseas Chinese students will not be punished for their participation in democracy movement. I said I will publish this story two months later if they do not respond. A copy of this letter was sent to the PRC Consulate in Chicago.

I received a letter from the Chicago Consulate. They said they knew nothing about this case before receiving my letter. They had written to the Hunan Public Security Bureau and the Embassy in

Washington and asked the government to deal with this case seriously.

November 16, I knew more facts and wrote to the government in my township. A copy of this letter was sent to Hunan Public Security Bureau, PRC Embassy, and Chicago Consulate.

I received a message. The government has not yet returned my letter but instead on November 16 investigated my brothers and sisters and my previous letters to them. The officials asked my brother to transfer a message to me: Do not make a hard time to the government.

If the government do not return my letter to my family, I will publish the story in news media in a few months. The title will be: "In Mainland China, son does not have freedom to write to his mother." In order for China to have democracy, we need to fight within the system. If more Chinese fight for their rights, China has hope. Protecting individuals' rights could be more important than protesting or demonstrating in some instances. From November I only need two weeks to receive letter from my family, which is in a remote mountain area (before it took four weeks).

## 7. Tibet: Abuses Unchecked

Arrests, trials and torture continue as before in Tibet. Martial law, imposed in Lhasa in March 1989, may well have been the model for what took place in Beijing just three months later. The use of excessive force on June 4 to suppress non-violent demonstrators based in Tiananmen Square has even been seen by some observers as the "tibetanization" of Beijing. The human rights abuses in Lhasa before and after demonstrations there in March were virtual laboratory for what came later to students, workers, intellectuals and ordinary citizens in the Chinese capital. In fact, had there been sufficient international attention and protests against the shooting, detention and torture of peaceful demonstrators in Lhasa between September 1987 and March 1989, the outcome of events in Beijing might have been different. Asia Watch is currently compiling a report, to be published separately, that will provide data on recent abuses in Tibet. Here are a few of the matters that will be covered.

Six nuns, who demonstrated for Tibetan independence on Barkhor Street in Lhasa in October 1989 in front of martial law troops were seized "with the swiftness of a thunderbolt" by the Lhasa Public Security Bureau, according to a November 8, 1989 report in *The Guardian* (London). Nine others were detained after having interrupted a performance of a Tibetan opera in Norbulinka Park in Lhasa on September 2. Four Tibetan monks were sent without trial to labor camps for three years in early November for "shouting reactionary slogans" during a demonstration near Jokhang Temple, Tibet's holiest shrine, on October 25. Eleven other Tibetans, including ten monks, were sentenced at a mass rally in Lhasa on November 30 for the non-violent crimes of advocating Tibetan independence and printing "reactionary" leaflets. These cases are only a handful of some 50 cases of arrests or trials reported from Tibet since September, and Asia Watch believes they are a fraction of the total.

Tibet may also have become a laboratory of torture techniques for the Chinese security forces. One of the men sentenced on November 30, Dhundup Dorje, 43, a driver at the Lhasa Shoe and Hat Factory, is believed to have been regularly beaten, resulting in partial deafness, and to have been chained hand and foot for three months in a cell he shared with 20 others. Nuns in custody appear to face a wide range of sexual abuse including rape and use of electric prods in the vagina. One horrific report dated March 2, 1989 and published in *The Guardian* (November 8, 1989) of a prisoner arrested after a one-hour demonstration in Lhasa in April 1988 says in part:

Another two or three men touched my body all over with about 11 burning cigarettes, continuously for two hours. The Chinese used their belts so much that the metal buckle came off. They broke a chair over me. Then they had to stop for a rest because they were so tired.

After that dogs bit me on the feet. Blood came out and my clothes were all ripped . . .

The account conforms to other accounts documented most

recently in a November 1989 report by Physicians for Human Rights entitled "The Suppression of a People: Accounts of Torture and Imprisonment in Tibet."

The tactic which emerged in Beijing and other cities following the June 4 crackdown of encouraging, persuading or forcing people to inform on one another was already in effect in Tibet even before martial law was declared in Lhasa. In many cases, the torture seems to have been inflicted as a way of getting more names of protestors from those in custody.

## 8. The Bush Administration's Response

The Bush administration's policy towards China has been one of maintaining relations at any cost and explicitly sacrificing human rights in the process. The near-silence of the Reagan administration on human rights violations in China juxtaposed with its stridency on the Soviet Union showed a clear double standard. The Bush administration, however, has shown outright hypocrisy by coupling its public expressions of concern with behind-the-scenes efforts to patch things up with those responsible for the slaughter and arrests following the June 4 crackdown. The symbolism of a top-level US delegation meeting in secret on the Fourth of July with the Chinese leadership who crushed the democracy movement, and again on International Human Rights Day, December 10, will stand as the hallmark of the Bush Administration's human rights policy this year.

The Bush administration's willingness to ignore human rights and let the Chinese government set the terms of US-China relations became evident in February when President Bush visited Beijing. On February 26, he hosted a barbecue to which the American ambassador, Winston Lord, had invited Professor Fang Lizhi, China's most outspoken dissident and human rights activist. Embassy officials told the press that the invitation was meant to signal concern about human rights.

But that concern was not shared by the White House which made it known before the event that the President would probably not meet with Professor Fang. In any case, there was no opportunity: uniformed Chinese police physically prevented Fang from attending the dinner.

In final meetings with Chinese leaders before his departure, the President expressed only "regret" over the incident. The White House then went out of its way to say that the invitation to Fang had not been the President's idea and blamed the US embassy for the fiasco. The message could not have been clearer: President Bush was more concerned with soothing the sensibilities of the Chinese authorities than with defending human rights.

Quite apart from his studied avoidance of China's most famous advocate of basic freedoms, the President also ignored "talking points" on human rights prepared for him by his staff for use at the dinner. Throughout January and February, intellectuals in China, inspired by Professor Fang, had sent petitions to Deng Xiaoping and the National People's Congress urging that political prisoners such as Wei Jingsheng, imprisoned since 1979 for writing an article urging that China's modernization program include democracy, be amnestied. Their hopes that the US President would give a boost to their efforts were dashed.

In March, martial law was declared in Tibet following a demonstration on March 5-7 in which Chinese troops followed Politburo member Qiao Shi's exhortation to be "merciless." Dozens were killed, more than 300 arrested. The State Department made a public statement deploring the violence and excessive use of force against demonstrators, but it did not mention China by name and did not express its views directly to the Chinese leadership-undoubtedly to avoid offense.

From mid-April onward as student demonstrations in Beijing and elsewhere gathered strength, avoiding offense appeared to become a guiding principle of the Bush administration. The President and Secretary of State studiously avoided any comment on the growing democracy movement, and at no time did they publicly suggest that there would be serious repercussions if the authorities responded violently. Lower level officials were only marginally more forthcoming.



The administration refrained from public comment when martial law was declared on May 20. Administration sources have said President Bush made private demarches to Deng Xiaoping, urging him not to use force against the students, but it is not clear how forcefully that message was conveyed.

After the tanks rolled in to Tiananmen Square, the administration wasted precious hours "watching and waiting" before condemning the random massacre of civilians. Secretary Baker, appearing on Cable News Network just after massive violations had been extensively reported, said that, "it would appear that there may be some violence being used here on both sides." He declined to discuss whether the Bush Administration would consider sanctions against the Chinese, stating that "Before we get into hypothetical situations, let's see how this most recent and extremely deplorable development unfolds . . ." It was already abundantly clear what would unfold, and Baker's refusal to hypothesize was a refusal to condemn human rights violations.

On June 6, after considerable prodding by the Congress, the Administration reluctantly imposed limited sanctions on China, including a suspension of sales of military items, suspension of visits between US and Chinese military leaders, and a "sympathetic review" of requests of Chinese students for asylum. But it was clear even as he announced the sanctions, that President Bush was unenthusiastic about applying economic pressure on China.<sup>52</sup> At a news conference, the President stated that "I don't want to hurt the Chinese people. I happen to believe that commercial contacts have led, in essence, to this quest for more freedom." The President went on to state that "I think that it's important to keep saying to those elements in the Chinese military, 'Restraint. Continue to show the restraint that many of you have shown.'"<sup>53</sup> The ferocity of the army's action against the demonstrators and the subsequent round-up of democracy movement participants can hardly be called "restraint."

Not content with the Bush Administration's tepid response, the US Congress responded almost immediately to the crackdown.

Within days, dozens of sanctions bills had been introduced by both Republicans and Democrats in the Congress. On June 20, the House Banking Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance held a hearing to discuss the United States position on loans to China in the multilateral development banks.<sup>54</sup> The Administration refused to send a witness to the hearing, but faced with the near certainty of the Congress taking legislative action to force it to vote against China, it announced later that day that it would seek to postpone new multilateral development bank loans to China. It also suspended "participation in all high-level exchanges of Government officials" with the People's Republic of China.<sup>55</sup>

The sanctions announced by President Bush on June 6 and the subsequent decision to oppose loans to China in the banks was as far as the Administration was willing to go, despite calls in Congress for more extensive measures, such as suspension of China's Most Favored Nation trade status and an end to high technology exports. Though the President promised to review other aspects of the US-China relationship, there appears to have been no consideration of additional sanctions, notwithstanding the country's deteriorating human rights situation. Moreover, at no time did the Administration state clearly what the United States expected from the Chinese if sanctions were to be lifted. Worse, the Administration began undercutting the few sanctions it did impose almost immediately.

On July 9, the Administration announced its decision to sell three Boeing jetliners to China, valued at \$150 million. (A fourth aircraft was delivered in August.) The delivery had been halted, along with all other military sales, in June. The items are considered "dual-use" because their navigational equipment can be used for military purposes. The change in policy was justified by White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, who stated that "There was some indication a few days ago by the leaders in China that they were going to try to extend the hand [of conciliation] back to the students. That was a constructive step."<sup>56</sup> No such "constructive step" took place; in fact, the repression got worse.

In October, the ban on military sales was further weakened when the 42 Chinese military officers assigned to work on Project

Peace Pearl, a \$500 million program to upgrade Chinese fighter aircraft, were permitted to resume their work. The officials had been taken off the project at the time of the President's announced sanctions. On December 20, President Bush waived a Congressional ban on the export of three communications satellites to China.<sup>57</sup> Secretary Baker justified the sale - which should have been prohibited under the President's own sanctions package - as being in the United States "national interest."

According to press reports, the only arms deal with China which now remains on hold is the shipment of an \$8.2 million contract for submarine torpedoes and torpedo launchers.<sup>58</sup>

The Administration also undermined other aspects of the sanctions package. Immediately following the events of June 3-4, the Export-Import Bank (a US corporation which provides loans to US businesses seeking to invest overseas) quietly stopped processing Chinese loan applications. The State Department held up the application for two weeks, then began processing loan applications as if nothing had happened.

The Bush Administration attempted to export its own tepid response to China to its Asian allies. On July 6, Secretary Baker met with foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and urged them not to adopt additional sanctions against China. When meeting with the Japanese Prime Minister, Baker apparently warned Japan not to "isolate" China. This effort to lobby other countries against forceful measures to protest the killings and arrests sent another signal to the Chinese that the US was not concerned about human rights.

And despite the alleged ban on meetings between Chinese and US officials, Secretary Baker met with the Chinese Minister in July during an international conference on Cambodia. In October, to the delight of the Chinese leadership the US Ambassador to China, James Lilley, attended a major aeronautics show in Beijing in which a large number of military aircraft were displayed; representatives of the Western European countries were conspicuously absent. And in September, representatives from the US Trade Representative's office held meetings with Chinese officials to discuss China's entrance into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) - a move ardently sought by the Chinese government. Although in conversations with Human Rights Watch, USTR officials stated that they conveyed their opposition to China's admittance to the GATT in conversations with the visiting officials, they also admitted that as a result of the widely publicized meeting, Chinese entrance was brought a step closer.

By October, administration officials were quietly testing Congressional waters about the feasibility of resuming support for China in the multilateral development banks. House and Senate leaders, however, made clear their opposition to such a move.

The speed with which the Bush Administration dismantled its own sanctions policy caught Congress off guard. Despite a flurry of Congressional activity on China sanctions, legislation was not completely enacted before Congress adjourned in November for the year. Sanctions against China (including a ban on arms sales, US satellite exports and police equipment, an end to nuclear cooperation, a ban on further liberalization of export controls, and a suspension of investment insurance by the US Overseas Private Investment Corporation) were actually passed by the House and Senate, and a conference report was drafted and adopted by the House of representatives over strong Administration protests.<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately, due to a legislative technicality, the Senate failed to approve the conference report, and the bill languished.

Symbolically, the most important action by the Bush Administration of the year was its decision to send a high-level delegation, including National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft and Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger to China on December 9. (Ironically, President Reagan had sent Eagleburger to Poland in July 1983 under similar circumstances but with a very different message: that the US would lift some sanctions imposed after martial law only if Poland released all its political prisoners.)

Anticipating the outrage which greeted the news of the Scowcroft-Eagleburger mission, the administration's decision was made in absolute secrecy. Congress was not consulted, and, it appears, even the State Department's Asia Bureau seemed unaware of the plan. The enduring symbol of the Bush



Administration's human rights policy towards China will be the televised image of General Scowcroft, drink in hand, toasting the Chinese leadership with these words: "We extend our hand in friendship and hope you will do the same." He then went on to say in a callous slap at those Chinese now in prison for their advocacy of peaceful change, "In both our societies there are voices of those who seek to redirect or frustrate our cooperation. We both must take bold measures to overcome these negative forces."<sup>60</sup>

The symbolic significance of the December visit cannot be overstated. The posture of the US delegation was clearly meant to placate Beijing and apologize for the rupture in ties imposed by Washington after Tiananmen Square, despite the fact that the Chinese did not make a single move toward curbing human rights abuses.

Faced with a barrage of criticism, President Bush did further damage, justifying his decision by stating that he is looking for ways to find "common ground" with Beijing, and noted that "We have contacts with countries that have egregious records on human rights."<sup>61</sup> Secretary Baker attempted to justify the mission by stating that human rights were on the agenda, and noted that China's leaders "[are] going to have to help us" if good relations between China and the US were to be restored.<sup>62</sup> President Bush made it abundantly plain that the West should not expect any reciprocity in the near future from the Chinese for the United States' extraordinary gesture, stating that "time is required" before Beijing's full response can be evaluated.<sup>63</sup>

There would be yet one more revelation in 1989 which eclipsed even the December mission. On December 18, the White House revealed that National Security Advisor Scowcroft had made a secret trip to China in July, just weeks after the crushing of the democracy movement. The trip had been kept secret and was only revealed when it was reported by Cable News Network. (The Secretary of State apparently deliberately misled the Congress about the July visit when he said that the December trip was the first high level visit by the US)

The Administration stated that the purpose of the July mission was "to show the sense of purpose and direction of the US Government." But it clearly violated the President's June 20 statement, suspending all high-level exchanges with China.

In November, the Administration opposed an important Congressional initiative which would have granted safe haven to Chinese students with J-1 visas in the US. On November 30, the President announced that it would veto legislation to permit Chinese students to stay in the United States, and, instead, said that he would grant the students a four-year extension in the US through administrative fiat.<sup>64</sup> Because the actual benefits to Chinese in the US under the President's action are at least arguably more generous than the Congressional measure, it can only be assumed that the President vetoed the legislation to avoid offending the Chinese by disassociating himself from the hugely popular Congressional measure. The President's success on January 25, 1990, in sustaining his veto by obtaining 37 votes for it in the US Senate—four more than the one third of the Senate he needed—was greeted by his Administration as an endorsement, or a mandate, for the Administration's China policy.

The Chinese were offended anyway. An official response published by Xinhua News Agency (and issued on the very day of Brent Scowcroft's arrival in Beijing) said the decision to implement the extension of stays by administrative means "grossly interferes in China's internal affairs, runs counter to Sino-US agreements on education exchanges and hurts Sino-US relations. China's State Education Commission hereby expresses its great indignation and strong protest against it."

The Bush Administration also exhibited a singular lack of generosity towards Chinese nationals who fled their country after the June 4 crackdown. A group of more than 100 student leaders, dissident writers, intellectuals and independent trade unionists escaped to Hong Kong following the crackdown. France, alone among the Western democracies, speedily accommodated the asylum requests of about 70 of them. The rest remained in limbo, fearing detention and possible repatriation if they revealed their whereabouts to the authorities. Instead of making it known that the Chinese would be welcome, the US threw up bureaucratic obstacles

and admitted only a handful.

Perhaps the one salutary response made by the Administration after the Tiananmen Square bloodbath was the welcome decision to offer sanctuary to Fang Lizhi and his wife, Li Shuxian, at the US Embassy in Beijing on June 6. Unfortunately, similar concern was not demonstrated about the fate of dozens of other activists. Ren Wanding, a human rights activist imprisoned during the Democracy Wall movement and prominent among the demonstrators in Tiananmen Square, went to the US Embassy after the June 3-4 crackdown. Instead of being treated like a person in imminent danger and in need of assistance, he was read bureaucratic regulations and eventually left. He was arrested shortly thereafter and remains in detention.

By the beginning of January, President Bush was fishing for examples of positive measures which he could cite as evidence that the Chinese authorities were reciprocating his efforts to mend relations. In his news conference on January 5, the President cited China's granting permission to a Voice of America reporter to return to Beijing and its reiteration of a pledge not to sell missiles to the Middle East as a manifestation of progress. Letting a VOA reporter in is not the same as releasing prisoners and the promises on missiles have almost certainly been broken already.

On January 11, the Chinese government announced the lifting of martial law and the administration immediately took credit, with Vice-President Quayle calling it a "dividend" of the Scowcroft-Eagleburger missions. Without even querying whether the lifting of martial law would have any effect on the ongoing repression in China, the administration immediately announced its support for World Bank lending for loans for humanitarian assistance such as earthquake relief.

The administration's eagerness to let the Chinese off the hook must be contrasted again with the Reagan position on Poland. When Poland announced the lifting of martial law in July 1983, it also announced a limited amnesty, almost certainly in response to message from the Reagan administration that some sanctions would be lifted if political prisoners were released. But it then promulgated a package of new laws that left the most repressive aspects of martial law intact. The Chinese have done the same. But where the Bush administration rushed to welcome the end to martial law in China, the Reagan administration was far more cautious. "We're going to go by deeds, not words," said President Reagan and refused to lift the sanctions which were far more stringent than those imposed on China. The most important sanction of all as far as Poland was concerned—a veto on Poland's application to join the International Monetary Fund—was not lifted until all Solidarity prisoners were released.

The contrast with the Bush administration's refusal to acknowledge the thousands in prison in China could not be more obvious.

## 9. Conclusion

When asked how they view the West and its people, ordinary Chinese often reply: "In the West, we're told, human feelings are as thin as paper." This negative image of the West is one that has been assiduously propagated by the government-controlled media in China over several decades as a means of bolstering and validating official claims of the "superiority of socialism," and to fend off the allegedly "corrupting" influence of Western-style "bourgeois liberalism". For the countless Chinese citizens who either participated in or supported last summer's pro-democracy movement in Beijing and other cities of China, the Bush Administration's unseemly haste in moving to restore normal relations with the present Chinese regime, a mere seven months after the massacre by Chinese government troops of somewhere near a thousand unarmed civilians in Beijing, can only have served to reinforce this impression of superficiality and inconstancy on the part of the West.

The contrasts and ironies of the time are manifest. In an inverse proof of the "domino theory," Eastern Europe has all of a sudden moved in the direction of the open society, showing the enormous resources of peaceful popular uprisings against a type of social system whose outward display of strength and immovability

merely served-and in China's case still serves-to conceal a profound brittleness. Violent repression by Eastern Bloc leaders was always a possibility during the recent uprisings, and the so-called "Tiananmen solution" was reportedly under active consideration by East Germany's former ruler, Erich Honecker, at the time of his ouster. But in the event only in Romania, the most repressive of the Eastern Bloc states, did the depth of antagonism between rulers and ruled lead to an attempted, indeed expanded, replay of Tiananmen scenario, bringing massive violent confrontation and widespread killings before the ending of tyranny could be achieved. China's leadership, which only last November sent an official communique to Ceausescu expressing its desire for still closer links with "socialist Romania, that wonderful country,"<sup>65</sup> was thrown into consternation by the fall of its one remaining ally in Eastern Europe, and responded by drastically stepping up security measures in Beijing.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, we saw the Bush administration all but encouraging the Soviet military to intervene on the side of the Romanian people in order to ensure their victory over tyranny.

The administration however, cleaving to a flawed and outmoded strategic analysis which holds the maintenance of close ties with China to be the key to any successful containment of Soviet expansionism has reverted since June 4 to a shabby double standard insofar as the question of human rights in China is concerned. Ever since Deng Xiaoping's return to power in 1978 and throughout the subsequent decade of reform in China, successive US administrations have allowed the geopolitical assessment to submerge any concern that they may have felt at the well-documented continuance of serious human rights abuses in Deng's China, starting with the suppression of the Democracy Wall movement in 1979 (many of whose leading figures, such as Wei Jingsheng, still languish in Chinese prisons today). As a result of this *realpolitik* approach by the US and other leading Western nations, China's leadership has come to feel that it can violate the human rights of its citizens with virtual impunity, with no major cost to its international diplomatic and business relations. Witness the comment made by Deng Xiaoping some years ago: "When we imprisoned Wei Jingsheng, the West did nothing."<sup>67</sup>

From various statements made by Chinese leaders after the Tiananmen crackdown last June, it is clear that they were genuinely surprised at even the very limited condemnatory measures subsequently adopted by West. Indeed, had the West only been more vocal and insistent in its advocacy of the cause of human rights in China during Deng Xiaoping's decade of reforms, it is conceivable that the Chinese leadership, weighing the likely costs and consequences of its actions, might have pulled back from the brink and refrained from ordering the bloody military assault on Tiananmen Square last June. Instead of a major tragedy, significant progress towards democracy in China such as that recently seen in Eastern Europe could well have ensued. And in view of Deng Xiaoping's reported recent characterization of Mikhail Gorbachev as being the chief culprit responsible for the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe (a "dirty flood of revolts"),<sup>68</sup> it is surely time that the US proponents of old-style 'China card' diplomacy began to reassess their former assumption that a greater geopolitical interest requires the curtailment of US expressions of concern about human rights in China.

The argument given by President Bush against the adoption by the US administration of firm and resolute measures to condemn the gross violations of human rights committed by the Chinese regime on and since June 4, 1989, has consistently been that he does not want "to isolate the Chinese people". But why, apparently, did such commendable scruples and anxieties not arise in the course of the administration's wholeheartedly enthusiastic response to the recent epochal events in Eastern Europe? Had Nicolai Ceausescu's last-ditch resort to wholesale violence and bloodshed by the hated Securitate forces succeeded, rather than leading as it did to his own overthrow and execution, would the Romanian people too have been "isolated" by the inevitable Western reaction-the imposition of severe economic and diplomatic sanctions? The people of Beijing and of other Chinese cities last summer were no less determined in their demands for fundamental social and political change in China than were the people of Romania last month-and on the night of June 3-4, 1989 they were every bit as insurgent, fighting the tanks of the ironically-named

People's Liberation Army with their bare hands.

The crux of the matter, as regards President Bush's expressed desire not to isolate the Chinese people, is his clearly implied view that the interests of the Chinese people are best served by not upsetting or challenging the interests of the present Chinese leadership. But here again, if radical political change and the overthrow of entrenched elites is good for Eastern Europe, why is the main thrust of US policy now towards maintaining all possible links with those who ordered the massacre in Beijing and, at every opportunity, to draw a discreet veil over the brutal events of last summer?

Even when judged by its own standards, this *realpolitik* approach is both short-sighted and self-defeating. For the fact is that the post-June 4 regime in China is unquestionably more deeply unpopular, despised and hated by its citizens, particularly in the cities, than any since 1949-and its days are clearly numbered. When Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng and Yang Shangkun ordered the troops into Beijing and authorized them to open fire on the peacefully insurgent citizenry, they crossed their Rubicon just as surely as Ceausescu crossed his when he ordered the massacring of innocents at Timisoara. The crucial difference (and perhaps the only salient one) between the uprisings in China and in Romania, was that in the latter case the army eventually sided with the people. There was, however, clear evidence in the former case of widespread disaffection among PLA soldiers and officers, and it is possible that the Chinese military, having examined the Romanian example, will react quite differently next time. Previously respected by the people, the PLA has suffered an enormous loss of popular prestige as a result of the crackdown, and it must be aware that there is only one clear way to restore its credentials.<sup>69</sup>

In weighing how to respond to the tragic events in China, it should be firmly borne in mind that the main political casualty of the post-June 4 repression in China has been the very sizeable constituency of reform-minded intellectuals, policy-makers and senior Party and government officials that was previously moving steadily towards a commanding position. This constituency extends throughout the country, is particularly strong in the coastal provinces and in the capital, and it undoubtedly represents the main hope for future democratic reform and economic renewal in China. The cautious indifference of the West towards the failure of the popular democratic movement in China, and its increasing eagerness to return to business as usual with an outwardly triumphant but internally beleaguered regime, only serves to delay the eventual return to power of this reformist camp and to diminish its current ability to resist and assert itself.

For the present Chinese leadership, there can be no going back-any resumption of democratization or of real political reform is manifestly out of the question, for it was these very processes which brought the regime into confrontation with its own people in the first place, in crisis to which the regime knew and offered only one answer: bloody repression. Wholesale intimidation and tight authoritarian control are the only instruments by which the present Chinese regime can maintain its position of power over society, and it cannot afford to relax these except in superficial ways useful for external purposes. Amid the nauseatingly self-congratulatory rhetoric accompanying the lifting of martial law ("The martial law has fulfilled its historic mission . . . It added a shining chapter to the history of the republic")<sup>70</sup>, the regime is even now preparing for the next round of violent confrontation with its citizens.

An article in the Liberation Army Daily on December 2, 1989, for example, described in considerable detail the various items of repressive equipment that China's "mobile forces" urgently need to obtain, including: "A certain number of high-speed vehicles for pursuit and patrolling purposes . . . and some special vehicles with large engines that are collision resistant and bulletproof so that they can be used to remove all roadblocks and intercept armed thugs." In addition: "Other vehicles should be improved in their technical properties so that their tires cannot be punctured, their doors and windows cannot be smashed and their bodies cannot be approached or burned." Plans for computerized anti-riot command centers, "in the [PLA'S] headquarters and in all general brigades," were said to be already at the implementation stage.<sup>71</sup>

The Chinese, perhaps more than any other nation, look to

history for answers, and in this case they do not have to look very far. In April 1976, three months after the death of Premier Zhou Enlai, hundreds of thousands of Chinese gathered in Tiananmen Square to express their grief and to protest the recent rise to power of the ultra-leftist "Gang of Four," Mao's closest allies. The security forces and the People's Militia were promptly unleashed on the crowds, and hundreds were injured before the Square was finally cleared of demonstrators and "returned to the people." This first "Tiananmen Incident" was at the time declared by the authorities to have been a "serious counterrevolutionary disturbance," and a period of deep repression followed throughout China. The population was cowed, and it soon retreated into sullen acquiescence; but it never forgave the regime for the bloodshed in the Square.

In September 1976 Mao Zedong died—his political reputation and popular esteem in tatters—and within days the more progressive elements of the Chinese leadership had staged a peaceful coup. The "Gang of Four" was placed under military arrest, activists imprisoned after the April demonstrations in the Square were released and rehabilitated, and the Tiananmen Incident itself was soon declared by the new regime to have been after all, a "wholly revolutionary action" on the part of the people of Beijing. Deng Xiaoping's time had come at last, and the reforms soon began.

The scale and size of last summer's popular protests in China against official corruption and lack of democracy simply dwarfed that of the 1976 protests in Tiananmen Square. Then, the military was not used, nor has it ever been proven that a single person died in the course of that crackdown; but the regime of the "Gang of Four" was nonetheless doomed by its actions then. Several hundred and perhaps as many as a thousand Chinese citizens, the overwhelming majority of whom were unarmed peaceful demonstrators or just plain onlookers, were slaughtered on the streets of Beijing last June. The Chinese people—who doubtless recall well that even at the height of the civil war between Communists and Nationalists in late 1948, the KMT military commander of Beijing chose to surrender peacefully to the People's Liberation Army rather than allow fighting and bloodshed among Chinese to take place in the capital—will sooner or later exact retribution from those who ordered this act. Deng Xiaoping, once a hero to his people, has now destroyed his own reputation just as Mao did.

Having prevailed thus far in its battles with Congress over China policy, the Bush Administration has a responsibility to alter its course radically, if it is not to inspire universal cynicism over its claims to espouse human rights. Yet the very fact the Administration has scored a political victory such as the January 25 vote in the Senate that fell short of overriding the President's veto of legislation on the Chinese students in the US makes it unlikely that such an alteration of course will take place. Accordingly, the burden of trying to shape a policy that reflects concern for human rights still rests largely on the Congress.

The choice before the US Congress, as it debates how best to respond to the administration's shamefully supine policy in recent months towards the unrepentant tyrants of Beijing and their ongoing suppression of the pro-democracy movement, should be decided by one consideration above all others. Namely, does the US want to signal to the Chinese people, and to the reform-minded majority of its intellectual and governmental elite who will inevitably return to power some day soon, its resolute commitment to the cause of democratization and freedom in the communist world? Or will it, by default and inaction, rest content to convey the message that the US people and its government are but fair-weather friends of that cause, so betraying the hopes of countless numbers of Chinese citizens who last summer looked to the West, and the US in particular, as a source of inspiration? If so, the impressions of America that will stick in China are, firstly, of how its television camera crews were always there in the Square to record the scenes of exultation and triumph before June 4, and to take home the sound-bites for prime time audiences; and secondly, of how once the ensuing bloodshed had begun and the movement's crushing defect had been thoroughly recorded, the camera crews—and with them the interest and concern of the US government—simply packed up and went elsewhere.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Washington Post*, January 11, 1990. According to Ming Bao (January 12), 40,000 troops have been re-equipped as People's Armed Police.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Times*, January 12, 1990.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in *South China Morning Post*, November 30, 1989.

<sup>4</sup> *FBIS*, January 11, 1990.

<sup>5</sup> In *FBIS*, December 26, 1989.

<sup>6</sup> *New York Times*, January 19, 1990. Significantly: "A public security official said those released had pleaded guilty and shown repentance." Note that no "innocent" people were released. In China, "lenience" is the reward of contrition, not of innocence.

<sup>7</sup> In *FBIS*, January 10, 1989.

<sup>8</sup> *PUI*, January 12, 1990; *Shijie Ribao*, January 13; *South China Morning Post*, January 12, in *FBIS*, same day.

<sup>9</sup> Since the focus of this report is upon the recent and continuing human rights disaster in China, the report does not attempt to describe or summarize the wholesale and egregious violations of human rights committed by the Chinese authorities on June 3-4, 1989 and during the immediate aftermath.

<sup>10</sup> The Beijing correspondent of *UPI* reported on July 27, 1989 that more than 40 people had been secretly executed during the previous two weeks at Lugouqiao ('Marco Polo Bridge') in the suburbs of Beijing.

<sup>11</sup> The chief "legal" basis for the practice of re-education through labor is the 1957 *Decision of the State Council on the Question of Re-education Through Labor*. Theoretically, a reform of 1979 embodied in the *Supplementary Regulations on Re-education through Labor* extended the power to impose this "administrative sanction" to bodies comprising authorities other than just the public security organs, in order to make its use less arbitrary. According to the *Supplementary Regulations*: "The people's governments at provincial, municipal and autonomous-regional levels, and those of large and medium-sized cities, shall establish Labor Re-Education Administrative Committees (LRACs), comprising responsible members of the departments of civil affairs, public security and labor deployment, in order to lead and administer the work of re-education through labor . . . [These committees] shall examine and approve the cases of all persons requiring to undergo re-education." This reform remained a dead letter, however. According to the official *Law Daily* of February 10, 1988: "[Even now,] the work of examining and approving, and also of implementing, re-education through labor, is carried out solely by the public security authorities . . . In practice, the majority of LRACs exist only in name. Some of them meet barely once a year, so the question of their being able to examine or approve cases is purely rhetorical."

<sup>12</sup> *Washington Post*, December 3, 1989.

<sup>13</sup> *Agence France Press*, December 5, 1989; in *FBIS*, January 3, 1990.

<sup>14</sup> *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, Minn.), December 24, 1989.

<sup>15</sup> *New York Times*, January 2, 1990. Reportedly: "The Party secretary was particularly outraged because he had received anonymous letters purporting to inform on him." According to another, slightly earlier interview: "A professor, heaving a sigh, said: 'My students become cynical, suffer agonies, fall into despair, and are at a loss, and the school and students are changed beyond recognition.'" (*FBIS*, December 27, 1989.)

<sup>16</sup> Both were from Qinghua University, Beijing. According to the *Hong Kong Standard* of December 1, 1989, a postgraduate student named Tang Zujie, 23, jumped from a sixth-floor window on campus on October 1, China's National Day. An economics postgraduate named Guo Wei, 24, killed himself on November 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Bai Xing*, December 16, 1989; in *FBIS*, December 19.

<sup>18</sup> *Washington Post*, December 14, 1989.

<sup>19</sup> In *FBIS*, December 15, 1989.

<sup>20</sup> *Agence France Presses*, January 8, 1990. In *FBIS*, same day.

<sup>21</sup> The largest of these protests took place in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, on June 5-6, 1989. Dozens of people (some accounts claim as many as 300) were killed by the security forces in the ensuing clashes in the city center.

<sup>22</sup> For example, Human Radio announced on December 27,

1989 that 18 criminals had been executed the previous day (FBIS January 8, 1989); and on January 11, 1990 the China News Service announced the execution the same day of no less than 31 criminals in Canton (Ming Bao January 12, 1990).

<sup>23</sup> Criminal Law of the PRC, Article 154.

<sup>24</sup> Xin Zhongguo Xingfaxue Yanjiu Zongshu, 1949-1985 (A General Study of Criminological Research in New China). Gao Mingxuan (ed.). Henan People's Publishing House, p.422.

<sup>25</sup> "The Chinese Legal System: Reforms in the Balance." The China Quarterly No.119, September 1989, p.573.

<sup>26</sup> See *Shijie Ribao*, January 23, 1990.

<sup>27</sup> *Washington Post*, October 10, 1989.

<sup>28</sup> Reuters, January 9, 1990.

<sup>29</sup> *South China Morning Post*, September 1, 1989.

<sup>30</sup> Op cit, p.574.

<sup>31</sup> A book entitled *The Great Prisons of Western China* ("Zhongguo Xibu Da Jianyu", published by the Jiangsu Literature and Art Publishing House in September 1986) gives the following graphic description of the nature and uses of China's notorious "small cells" (Xiao Hao): "Every prison has its 'Small Cell'. This is a room of two or three square metres in area, with a steel door carrying a small aperture which provides the only source of light. Apart from a small bed, there is nothing in the room at all. It is like a single guest-room for convicts. Living in it, one suffers from neither sunshine, wind nor sand. But after a few days, one turns all white and pasty . . . The 'Small Cell' is certainly no guest house. It is an operating table for felons. Loneliness is the scalpel, used for performing surgery upon the souls of those overly fond of fun and excitement . . . Only the most outstanding police officers know how to use their electric baton and the 'Small Cell' to best effect." The book then describes the effect of the "Small Cell" upon a prisoner who spent only a few days in one: "Day 1: They lock him up in the 'Small Cell' for a spell of forced introspection . . . Day 2: He's still lying on the bed, feeling quite happy. Day 3: He feels a little lonely . . . Day 4: He starts to feel rather afraid. The ray of light piercing the little aperture has been mercilessly halved in size by a steel bar. The room is like some dim cave. Day 5: He is plunged into terror. The ghostly shadows of loneliness play over the four white walls all around, seeming to grin hideously at him. He involuntarily breaks out in a cold shiver. He screams insanely and bangs on the steel door. He jumps up and down on the bed, and then starts rolling around underneath it. Over the next few days, he begins to repent."

<sup>32</sup> The guidelines set by Ren Jianin, President of the Supreme People's Court, for handling the trials of pro-democracy demonstrators forcefully reiterated this time-honored 'principle' of Chinese law: "In the course of adjudication, we must combine punishment with leniency. We must deal with those who confess their crimes with leniency and inflict severe punishment on those who refuse to do so." (*Beijing Television*, July 15, 1989; in FBIS, July 17, 1989)

<sup>33</sup> In FBIS, January 12, 1990.

<sup>34</sup> "Jiang Zemin gives speech on mass media work," *New China News Agency*, November 29, 1989; in FBIS, December 7.

<sup>35</sup> *New China News Agency*, in FBIS, January 11, 1990.

<sup>36</sup> *Jiefang Ribao*, December 5, 1989; in FBIS, January 10, 1990.

<sup>37</sup> *New China News Agency*, December 22, 1989; in FBIS, December 27.

<sup>38</sup> FBIS, December 19, 1989.

<sup>39</sup> There are seven signs that the English language itself is now considered to be subversive. Beijing's highly popular "English Corner", where Chinese of all ages used to come to practise their conversation, was just recently closed down by the authorities. According to the *New York Times* of December 19, 1989: "In mid-November, the area was cordoned off and notices went up, saying, 'English Corner has been withdrawn'. The university teachers, the notices said, no longer had the time."

<sup>40</sup> Reuters, January 20, 1990; *New York Times*, January 21; and *Shijie Ribao*, January 22.

<sup>41</sup> *Hong Kong Standard*, January 6, 1990.

<sup>42</sup> *New York Times*, December 24, 1989.

<sup>43</sup> *New York Times*, December 22, 1989. The charge that the West is trying to make China "peacefully evolve into a bourgeois

republic" was first made by Deng Xiaoping, directly after the June 4 massacre. As the *People's Daily* explained on December 1, 1989: "The international reactionary forces . . . will work in coordination with the turmoil created in socialist countries in an attempt to force them to make concessions to them so that socialist countries may 'peacefully evolve' into capitalist countries, thus turning those socialist countries into their vassal states. Imperialists have openly declared that their principle is to implement political pluralism and market economy in socialist countries; in other words, they want to implement the bourgeois multiparty system and rotatory term of office, while driving the Communist Party out of office and eventually restoring capitalism."

<sup>44</sup> *China Daily*, November 1, 1989; in FBIS, same day.

<sup>45</sup> Text of the law is in FBIS, November 1, 1989.

<sup>46</sup> FBIS, January 10, 1989; *Shijie Ribao*, January 13.

<sup>47</sup> *Washington Post*, November 1, 1989.

<sup>48</sup> *Washington Post*, June 14, 1989; *Hong Kong Standard*, June 14, 1989.

<sup>49</sup> *New York Times*, September 27, 1989.

<sup>50</sup> See for example *Shijie Ribao*, January 19, 1990; and Taipei CNA, December 15, 1989, in FBIS December 19.

<sup>51</sup> *Shijie Ribao*, November 30, 1989.

<sup>52</sup> The President's fears about "hurting people" was rather disingenuous--no such concern was expressed when the US imposed sanctions against Nicaragua, Cuba, or Vietnam.

<sup>53</sup> *The Washington Post*, June 6, 1989.

<sup>54</sup> By law (Section 701 of the International Financial Institutions Act) the United States representatives to the multilateral development banks are required to vote against loans to governments engaged in a pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights.

<sup>55</sup> *The New York Times*, December 19, 1989.

<sup>56</sup> *The Washington Post*, July 10, 1989.

<sup>57</sup> The ban had been imposed at the initiative of Senator Albert Gore (D-TN).

<sup>58</sup> *The Washington Post*, December 12, 1989.

<sup>59</sup> Thanks to extensive lobby--led by Brent Scowcroft--the bill was weakened to allow a presidential waiver of the sanctions on "national interest" grounds.

<sup>60</sup> *The Washington Post*, December 10, 1989.

<sup>61</sup> *The Washington Post*, December 12, 1989.

<sup>62</sup> *The Washington Post*, December 11, 1989.

<sup>63</sup> *The Washington Post*, December 17, 1989.

<sup>64</sup> The president did not technically veto the bill. Since Congress had adjourned, presidential inaction on the bill would normally have constituted a "pocket veto." Instead, President Bush sent a memorandum of disapproval to the Congress indicating that he was returning the bill to the legislative branch.

<sup>65</sup> AFP, December 23, 1989; in FBIS, December 26.

<sup>66</sup> See for example, *Washington Post*, December 26, 1989.

<sup>67</sup> Quoted in the CPC Central Committee's *Document No.1*, January 1987.

<sup>68</sup> *Washington Post*, January 8, 1990. See also *New York Times*, December 28, 1989.

<sup>69</sup> According to the *South China Morning Post* of December 28, 1989, Yang Baibing, Chief Political Commissar of the PLA, revealed in an unpublished speech made in early December that: "The commander of the Beijing-based 38th Group Army and another 110 officers and 1,400 soldiers refused to take orders or left their posts during the People's Liberation Army crackdown on the pro-democracy movement in April and June." Continued the Post: "According to Mr Yang, 21 officers and cadres with ranks of divisional commander or above, 36 officers with ranks of regimental or battalion commander, and 54 officers with the rank of company chief 'breached discipline in a serious manner during the struggle to crush the counterrevolutionary rebellion' in June. In addition, 1400 soldiers 'shed their weapons and ran away.'" Finally: "Mr Xu Qinxian, head of the Beijing-based 38th Group Army . . . was reportedly court-martialled in the autumn and given a stiff sentence." And according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of January 4, 1990: "One well-placed [Western intelligence] analyst estimates that the number of PLA personnel court-martialled or executed around June 4 1989 was 'in the low hundreds.'"

<sup>70</sup> **People's Daily**, January 11, 1989.

<sup>71</sup> **FBIS**, December 28, 1989. Moreover, according to the **Wall Street Journal**, January 2, 1989: "At the highest level, China has created a group under the Communist Party's Central Committee

to deal with potential disturbances, according to Chinese sources. The **Urgent Contingency Preparatory Group** is headed by 85-year-old Deng Xiaoping."





7.

NAME

LIST

**Partial list of persons who are  
wanted, arrested or executed since June '89.**

**The following list of names and personal data is compiled according to news releases and official documents. Reports from Amnesty International and Asia Watch are our main sources.**

**Just before printing this book, Central TV of Beijing announced on 10 May, 1990 the release of 200 more persons involved in the democratic movement in 1989.**

**Ai Qilong (艾其龍)**

Ai Qilong. Arrested. See Sun Manhong

**An Baojing (安保靖)**

An Baojing, Zhao Demin, Xu Ying, Bao Hongjing, Ren Xiyang and Chang Ximin were reportedly arrested prior to 25 June for being key members of an illegal organization – the Xian Workers Picket Corps, said to be set up by An & Zhao in late May. The Corps is said to have instigated people to demonstrate and to have stopped and barricaded vehicles in Xi'an in 4, 5 and 6 June (Amnesty International)

**Bai Dongping (白東平)**

Bai Dongping, a Central Committee Member of the illegal "Beijing Autonomous Workers "Union", was a 26-year-old Beijing railway worker, accused of inciting protestors and engaging in counter-revolutionary revolt, fled to Chengdu on June 4 and was caught on 17th June 1989 at Zhongjiang county, Sichuan. (CCTV news 19.6.89)

**Bai Fengying (白鳳瑩)**

Bai Fengying. Arrested. See Zhang Yansheng.

**Bai Nanfeng (白南風)**

Bai Nanfeng. Member of the Social Studies Department of the System Reform Institute. Sociologist; student of interest group theory. Arrested approximately on June 26, 1989. (World Journal 6-30-89)

**Bai Nansheng (白南生)**

Bai Nansheng. Director of Social Development Office of the Research Center for Rural Development (under the State Council). Arrested in mid July 1989 or earlier. One of the signers of the May 19 "Six Point Declaration". He is the brother of Bai Nanfeng. (Tansuo, 6-6-89, p. 17)

**Bai Wenbo (白文博)**

Bai Wenbo was arrested on June 11 for allegedly burning a military vehicle and giving a counter-revolutionary speech (Beijing Daily, 13 June, 1989)

**Bai Xinyu (白信禹)**

Bai Xinyu. Sentenced. See Zhang Jianzhong.

**Bai Zenglu (白增錄)**

Bai Zenglu. Arrested. See Sun Baocheng.

**Ban Huijie (班會傑)**

Eight workers were sentenced to death on 17th June for their participation in the 'counter-revolutionary' rioting (CCTV news). Their appeal was rejected, except for one. The seven that were executed on 22 June, 1989 were: Ban Huijie, male, former peasant in Hebei, contract worker in Hebei, contract worker in Beijing. Said to have beaten a soldier at about 8 p.m. on 3rd June. Lin Zhaorong, male, worker at Huiming Hospital, Beijing. Said to have burnt down an army truck and stolen the seven uniforms in it in the early hours of 5th June. Zhang Wenkui, Chen Jian, Zhu Jianjun, Wang Hanwu, Luo Hongjun.

**Bao Hongjian (包洪堅)**

Bao Hongjian. Reported to have been arrested. See An Baojing.

**Bao Tong (鮑彤)**

Bao Tong, M/56, former secretary to Zhao Ziyang, and Director of State Commission on Reform of Central Government Structure and adviser to Zhao Zhiyang. He proposed in April 1989 to clean up the widespread corruption practices. Arrested on 28th May. (Hong Kong Wen Wei Po, 25th June). Attacked on 6 July in a report presented by the mayor of Beijing to the National People's Congress, accusing him of leaking party secrets and supporting the 'counter-revolutionary turmoil'.

**Bao Zunxin (包遵信)**

Bao Zunxin. Noted Chinese philosopher. Actively involved in many events in the Spring 1989 to urge the political reform. During the democracy movement, he was named as the honorable professor of Tiananmen Square Democracy University. After June 4, he was accused of being the major promoter of student "riot" and criticized by all major newspapers. Unofficial Chinese sources in Beijing had reported the arrest of Bao Zunxin, according to United Press International on 30 June. Sources reported that he was detained in Chaobaihe Prison. Three other intellectuals among seven reportedly named in "non-public" arrest warrants have also been arrested, according the same sources, bringing to five the number of those reported detained among the seven. (UP, 6-30-89)

**Bian Hanwu (卞漢武)**

Bian Hanwu, confessed to have set carriages alight and vandalising railway property. (See Xu Guoming)

**Cai Sheng (蔡盛)**

Cai Sheng, a Grade 2 student at Wuchang Senior Middle School, was handed over to the police by Harbin Engineering University on 8 June, 1989. According to the 7 June edition of Heilongjiang ribao (in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service), Cai asked for leave on 3 June and took a train to Harbin. On June 6, he made a speech at Harbin Engineering University, lying that his sister was a student at the Politics and Law Department of Beijing University and was shot in the chest, and that he witnessed the killing of many students at Tiananmen Square.

**Cai Chaojun (蔡朝軍)**

Cai Chaojun. Described as an unemployed worker. Charged by the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau with being the founder of the Shanghai Workers' Autonomous Federation on May 25 (until May 17 known as the Shanghai Workers Voluntary Supporting Group). Had previously been incarcerated in a labor camp. (Zhongguo Tongxun, HK, 8-16-89; World Journal 9-19-89)

**Cao Qihui (曹齊輝)**

Cao Qihui. Worker in Beijing. Member of Auto Team, which supported students in the democratic movement. Arrested on July 8. (Solidarity News, 9-5-89)

**Cao Weiguo (曹衛國)**

Cao Weiguo. Alleged Chinese Nationalist Agent, arrested in Shanghai on June 20, 1989.

**Cao Yingyun (曹應運)**

Cao Yingyun, aged 36, worker of the Second Machine Tool Factory in Beijing. Accused of spreading material that 'attacked the leader of the Party and the Government'. Arrested in Fengtai district of Beijing on May 24 when destroying slogans that supported Li Peng. (Beijing Evening News, 3 June 1989)

**Cao Zihui (曹子輝)**

Cao Zihui, a car-plant worker and member of the 'dare-to-die' motorcycle gang that joined the protests. Arrested in Tianjin in June and turned over to the Beijing public security (reported in the 'People's Public Security news', 5th July).

**Chang Ximin (常喜民)**

Chang Ximin. Reportedly arrested. See An Baojing.

**Che Hongnian (車宏年)**

Che Hongnian. Arrested. See Liu Yubin.

**Cheng Bo (陳博)**

Cheng Bo, from Beijing University; Wu Jiayang of the Chinese Community Party Central office, and Wang Xiaoping, an editor at the Workers' Publishing House, have all been arrested (Asia Watch 2 Jan. 1990)

**Chen Dali (陳大力)**

Chen Dali. Instructor in History Department, Chengdu



University. Demonstration leader in Chengdu during the student movement. Arrested after the massacre in that city.

**Chen Dao (陳道)**

Chen Dao, Jiang Zhi'an, Dai Yue and Yang Xiuping have been arrested for organizing a broadcasting station, Voice of Democracy and Freedom, in Shanghai's People's Square. The dates and places of their arrests are unknown. Jiang, a worker for the Shanghai Construction Company's 301 Team and the others are said to have begun "counter-revolutionary propaganda broadcasts" on May 23, 1989. (Jiefang Ribao, August 23, 1989)

**Chen Deqing (陳德清)**

Chen Deqing has been arrested for blocking and attacking trains in Shanghai on June 6, 1989. According to a report in Jiefang Ribao (August 23), Chen joined with others from Shanghai to show support for pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing. The date of his arrest is unknown.

**Chen Guangping (陳廣平)**

Chen Guangping. Convicted. See Zhou Qi.

**Chen Honggen (陳紅根)**

Chen Honggen. Sentenced. See Tang Jianzhong.

**Chen Jiahu (陳家護)**

Chen Jiahu. Arrested. See Li Xingfu.

**Chen Jian (陳堅)**

Chen Jian. Sentenced to death. See Ban Huijie.

**Chen Jinliang (陳進良)**

Chen Jinliang, Li Yi, Ma Zhiqiang, Sun Xisheng, Wang Baomei, Yang Jian and Zhang Hongfu, all members of the Shanghai Workers Autonomous Federation are alleged to have held secret meetings, advocated strikes and chanted reactionary slogans (Renmin Ribao, June 11, 1989; Jiefang Ribao, August 25, 1989; Amnesty International). Dai Zhenping, accused of "spreading rumors" in connection with the deaths of demonstrators on June 6, 1989 at the Shanghai railway station, has also been arrested. (Jiefang Ribao, August 23, 1989). The date of his arrest is uncertain, but he, too, may have been seized on June 9 along with Wang Miaogen and the other Shanghai worker leaders. According to the reports, Wang and Dai, along with Chen Shengfu and Cai Chaojun were instrumental in organizing the Workers Federation on May 25; Zhang and Sun with nine others planned the strikes and traffic disruptions on June 5; Wang, in a June 8 public meeting, asked people to organize to overthrow the government; Dai gathered 300 people at Zhabei Hospital to recover the bodies of those killed by trains; and Ma, Chen, Li and Yang planned to organize a "People's Party", committed to military struggle. The organization was declared illegal on June 9, 1989.

**Chen Lebo (陳樂波)**

Chen Lebo, director of the Economy Section of World Economic Herald. Arrested for joining the 'pro-democracy movement and 'counter-revolutionary propaganda'. (Shijie Ribao 19 Oct. 1989)

**Chen Lianru (陳蓮如)**

Chen Lianru, Chen Yonghong and Wang Guangxing, students from Hebei province who had joined the democracy movement in May. Said to have taken part in an armed robbery on May 24, and arrested. Sentenced by the Miyun County Court (Beijing) to prison terms of 8-10 years (Beijing Evening News 6-7-89, relayed by UPI & AFP).

**Chen Minchun (陳敏純)**

Chen Minchun, unemployed, Fang Xu and Wang Chunfu, both workers, were convicted for crimes allegedly committed during the pro-democracy demonstrations in Nanjing (Jiangsu Fazhi Bao in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service November 20, 1989). Fang and Wang, who allegedly had previous records for theft, were sentenced to seven years each by a Nanjing court for

forcing two drivers from their vehicles on May 18 in Nanjing and for wounding passers-by who tried to stop them. Fang was also convicted of attacking a vendor with a knife the following day. Chen was sentenced to five years for provoking fights during May and June, result in injury to six people at a town market. He too is alleged to have a criminal record.

**Chen Mingxia (陳明夏)**

Chen Mingxia, treasurer in the Beijing student movement, arrested in Beijing in July. Subsequently, the police of Jiangsu province carried out a massive raid on 13th-15th July, arrested 3,782 persons and recovered the 10,000 Cheng hid there, mainly in foreign currency (Xin Hua Daily 22/7, relayed by AFP)

**Chen Peisi (陳佩斯)**

Chen Peisi. A noted comedian, Chen was arrested around July 25, 1989, for involvement in the democratic movement. (Press Freedom Herald, no. 5, 7-27-89)

**Chen Qisheng (陳其勝)**

Chen Qisheng. Helped He Wensheng to hide a machine gun on June 6. Both of them were members of Black Panther Shock Brigade of Autonomous Union of Beijing Citizens. Arrested after June 11. (Beijing Daily 4 July 1989)

**Chen Qiwei (陳其衛)**

Chen Qiwei, aged 33, vice-director of Economics Department at East China Normal University, Shanghai. He promoted the idea that political reform should be accomplished before economic reform. He provided many articles and lectures during the period of democratic movement. Arrested in August. (Shijie Ribao 10 Oct. 1989) He and Chen Lebo and Ruan Jianyun are all believed to be held incommunicado at No. 1 Detention Centre in Shanghai (Asia Watch 2 Jan. 1990)

**Chen Shengfu (陳盛福)**

Chen Shengfu. On June 9, nine worker leaders in Shanghai were arrested. The nine, including Chen Shengfu, Wang Miaogen and Wang Hong, were leaders of the Shanghai Autonomous Workers Union. They were accused of holding secret meetings, advocating strikes, and chanting reactionary slogans. "They also vilified the Shanghai Council of Trade Unions as being totally paralyzed." (Remin Ribao, 6-15-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-12-89)

**Cheng Ting (陳庭)**

Cheng Ting and Liang Jianshe were the Deputy heads of the Workers' Volunteer Brigade of Hefei, Anhui, were arrested in Wenzhou, Zhejiang. Apparently active demonstrators in June 4-9, (Asia Watch 1 Aug. 1989)

**Chen Wei (陳偉)**

Chen Wei. Arrested. See Hu Liangbing.

**Chen Weidong (陳偉東)**

Chen Weidong. Student. Member of AUBU. Arrested on June 19, 1989. (China Concern Group, Hong Kong University)

**Chen Weidong (陳偉棟)**

Chen Weidong. Four student leaders including Chen Weidong and Liu Jianing were arrested in Zhangjiakou over the weekend, and six students from the Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities were arrested in Beijing. Accused of holding secret meetings, advocating strikes, and chanting reactionary slogans.

**Chen Shidong or Chen Xuedong (陳世冬)**

Chen Shidong or Chen Xuedong, Nanjing University student, leader of Nanjing College Students Autonomous Federation, who "organised several demonstration, shouted reactionary slogans and wrote counter-revolutionary poster". Arrested on 13th or 14th June in Nanjing. (South China Morning Post 16 June)

**Chen Yang (陳揚)**

Chen Yang. Aged 22, a law student of China University of Politics and Law, who was said to have been the director of the Beijing Citizens' Autonomous Federation, was arrested in Shenyang (Liaoning province) on June 15. He was accused of helping to organize the citizens' federation, of "spreading counter-revolutionary leaflets", and of participating in the "counter-revolutionary rebellion activities to resist the martial law enforcement troops". He may have been taken back to Beijing to face charges. (US Foreign Broadcasting Information Service 6-19-89)

**Chen Yong (陳勇)**

Chen Yong. The one given life sentence was Chen Yong, a worker from Tanshan.

**Chen Yonggang (陳勇剛)**

Chen Yonggang. Arrested. See Sun Yanru.

**Chen Yonghong (陳永紅)**

Chen Yonghong. Sentenced. See Chen Lianru.

**Chen Zewei (陳澤偉)**

Chen Zewei. In connection with the arrest of Beijing student Zheng Xugang, five students were arrested. Two of whom have since been released. They are: (Their arrest was officially confirmed by NCNA on 25 December, 1989.) Chen Zewei, aged 29, a Macau resident, and Chinese Literature student of Jinan University. Detained by the police of Guangzhou city on 27 July. His elder brother was told that he was being "educated" (Ming Pao 24 Aug.); Xie Zhenrong, Hong Kong resident and student of Jinan University. Detained by Guangzhou police. He and Chen above were said to lead the move to help Zheng flee the country. (Ming Pao 25 Aug.)

**Chen Ziming (陳子明)**

Chen Ziming, aged 37, director of Beijing Economics and Technology Development Center, the first-ever private research organization in China. Active in liberal political causes for a long time. Earlier reports of his arrest were erroneous. Was put back on the wanted-list in September. Arrested together with 20 other people, including Wang Juntao and Wang Zhihong. Wang Zhihong was Deputy Director of the Center for Human Resource Evaluation and a member of the Board of the Social and Economic Research Institute (SERI). She is Chen's wife. (World Journal, 7-1-89, 11-7-89, TS)

**Cheng Hong (程虹)**

Cheng Hong, female, aged 22, reporter of China Daily. Arrested for contacting with foreigners. (Asia Watch)

**Cheng Qiyang (程其洋)**

Cheng Qiyang. Arrested. See Liu Jian.

**Cheng Yong (程勇)**

Cheng Yong, given life sentence on July 8 for participating in the Chengdu incident. (Asia Watch 17 July)

**Cheng Zhedong (程哲東)**

Cheng Zhedong. Arrested. See Chen Weidong.

**Cui Guojin (崔國錦)**

Cui Guojin. Arrested in Huanghua, Hebei in July 1989. See Wang Shuangqing.

**Cui Jianchang (崔健昌)**

Cui Jianchang, aged 26, student of Zhejiang College of Arts. On 5th June, he climbed up the Zhejiang Provincial Government Building and lowered the national flag to mourn the dead in Beijing. Fled to Nanchong on the 10th and arrested there on 20th June. (AFP Beijing 24 June, Wen Wei Po 25 June)

**Dai Donghai (戴東海)**

Several students and intellectuals, including two known to be

detained (Liu Xiaobo and Zhou Duo), are quoted in a Xinhua article of September 18, 1989, entitled "Witnesses Report No Deaths at Tiananmen Square". The article says it interviewed one of the witnesses, singer Hou Dejian, at his home. No location is given for the other interviews and the context suggests the individuals may either have been interviewed in prison or the quotations were taken from "confessions." Those quoted include Gao Xin, one of the last hunger strikers; Song Song, a surgeon of the Beijing Union Medical College Hospital; Shan Gangzhi, a neurologist on duty in Tiananmen Square; Zou Ming, Engineering and Physics Department, Qinghua University; Dai Donghai, student in the Department of Thermo-energy, Qinghua University; Liu Wei, Chemical Engineering Department, Qinghua University; Zhao Ming, member of the preparatory committee of the autonomous student union at Qinghua University and student of the Department of Engineering and Physics.

**Dai Qing (戴晴)**

Dai Qing. Early 40's. This prominent columnist for the "Guangming Daily" was detained after plainclothes police search her apartment on July 14, confiscating manuscripts and articles. She had been ordered to write a detailed account of her activities in connection with the democratic movement, and what she had written had failed to satisfy her interrogators. She had signed an appeal in the May 15 "Guangming Daily" asking the government to recognize the legality of the student movement. She had also rallied journalists to the support of Qin Benli after he had been fired from his editorial post at the Shanghai World Economic Herald in April 1989. After the crackdown she was accused of slandering the government and belonging to an illegal organization. She was both Party member (openly withdrew from the Party after June 4) and a popular columnist. She made her reputation publishing hitherto repressed news, such as the story of the repression of Trotskyist cadres in the 1950s. had tried to persuade students to abandon Tiananmen Square before the crackdown. In November, she and Wang Luxiang were reported to be released. However, Hong Kong reporters failed to get the confirmation from Dai's family members. Other sources said that Dai, Zhang Xianyang, and Cao Siyuan have been released on parole. (South China Morning Post, 7-18-89; US Foreign Broadcasting Information Service, 7-18-89; Wall Street Journal, 8-8-89; Feature-length article: PEER, 8-10-89; Jiushi Niandai, 4-89, No. 231, p. 24; Transl. US Joint Publications Research Service CAR-89-090, p. 4; Asiaweek, 7-28-89; World Journal, 11-1-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 11-1-89, p.30)

**Dai Weiping (戴維平)**

Dai Weiping, resident of Chongqing, Sichuan, and leader of a counter-revolutionary organization. He joined demonstrations last spring, gave speeches and 'instigated riot'. After May 21, he organized 'Patriotic Federation of Chongqing'. After June 4, he continued to hold secret meetings and plan an "underground military force". Arrested in October with three other core members (Shijie Ribao 30 Oct. 1989)

**Dai Yue (戴岳)**

Dai Yue. Arrested. See Chen Dao.

**Dai Zhong (戴忠)**

Dai Zhong, Member of Shanghai Dare-to-Die Corps. Sentenced to 3-7 years imprisonment in Shanghai. (Asia Watch 6 July 89)

**Ding Jie (丁潔)**

Ding Jie. Arrested. See Ding Peilin.

**Ding Peilin (丁沛霖)**

Ding Peilin, along with his son Ding Jie, were arrested in Xingtai, Hebei, for allegedly beating martial law enforcement troops during the crackdown in Beijing. (Hebei Ribao & Radio Shijiazhuang, 12 July)

**Dong Jin (董進)**

Dong Jin. Arrested in Shanghai on June 7-8. Accused of



deflating tyres of a vehicle to block a road (Renmin Ribao 21 June 1989, in Amnesty International)

**Dong Shengkun (董生坤)**

Dong Shengkun. Sentenced. See Zhang Jianzhong.

**Duan Xiaoguang (段孝廣)**

Duan Xiaoguang, a Nanjing University professor of philosophy in his early 30's, was reportedly arrested in Shenzhen around 30 August, 1989 while attempting to leave for Hong Kong (Asia Watch 2 January, 1990.)

**Fan Changjiang (范長江)**

Fan Changjiang. Unemployed. Sentenced to 12 years for his role in the April 22 Riot in Xi'an. Said to have stolen audio tapes and looted a clothing store. (Workers' Daily, 8-17-89; Asia Watch 8-22-89)

**Fan Jinchun (范錦純)**

Fan Jinchun, Shanghai worker, has been arrested and accused of spreading such rumors as "Police beat people" and "Deng Xiaoping was killed". (Jiefang Ribao, August 23, 1989).

**Fang Lizhi (方勵之)**

Fang Lizhi, well-known astrophysicist, and his wife, Li Shuxian, both active campaigners for democracy in China and vocal critic of the government. Taken refuge in US Consulate in Beijing after 5 June. Warrant for their arrest formally issued on 11 June. Dismissed from his researcher post and deprived of his title of 'outstanding young scientist'. (NCNA Beijing 6 November 1989)

**Fang Xu (方煦)**

Fang Xu. Convicted. See Chen Minchun.

**Fei Yuan (費元)**

Fei Yuan, another editor of the now banned "Economic Studies Weekly", was also reported to be arrested. (South China Morning Post 10 Nov. 1989)

**Fei Yuan (費遠)**

Fei Yuan. Graduate of Beida. During the election campaign of 1980, he was an aide to candidate Xia Shen. He served as general manager for the Beijing reformist newspaper, "Economic Weekly." During the spring activities he remained in the background, with the intention of doing nothing that would ever implicate him, so that he could continue to publish the newspaper. Nonetheless, he was detained after June 4, then arrested again in November in connection with the Wang Juntao case.

**Feng Guowei (馮國衛)**

Feng Guowei, and Ye Fuzhan, both recently released from labour camps. Arrested in Tianjin for participating in a 'residents support group' for the student demonstration and shouted reactionary slogans. (Tianjin Ribao, 12 June)

**Feng Jun (馮軍)**

Feng Jun. Arrested. See Qiu Lin.

**Feng Shuangqing (馮雙慶)**

Five people were sentenced to imprisonment by the Xi'an People's Court on September 23-24 (Ming Pao 26 Sept). All were accused of taking part in riots in Xi'an on April 21 and 22, 1989. According to 22 Sept. edition of Xi'an Wanbao, four were named: Feng Shuangqing, a worker at pharmaceutical plant in Xi'an; Yu Yong, a worker; Liu Gang, identified as an unemployed worker, not to be confused with the student leader of the same name, also under arrest. Given life imprisonment; and Zhao Ping, a peasant.

**Fu Liyong (傅勵勇)**

Fu Liyong has been identified as another of the workers arrested in Shanghai for blocking traffic and deflating tires on June 6 (Jiefang Ribao, August 23, 1989)

**Gan Huijie (甘會傑)**

Gan Huijie. Arrested in Beijing on June 3. Accused of attacking members of the armed forces. (Renmin Ribao, 6-21-89)

**Gao Feng (高風)**

Gao Feng, unemployed. On May 19, he went to Xi'an from Beijing to stir up people and urged them to hold a hunger strike on Xingcheng Square. On May 20 and 22, he spread rumours in Northwest Industry University and pretended to be a reporter of China Youth Daily. (China Youth Daily, 1 July 1989)

**Gao Hao (高豪)**

Gao Hao, was seized at the Shanghai railroad station on Nov. 7, for burning military vehicles during the 'counter-revolutionary rebellion' in Beijing (Washington Post, 3 Dec. 1989)

**Gao Hong (高紅)**

Gao Hong. Arrested. See Sun Yanru

**Gao Jintang (高錦堂)**

Gao Jintang. A worker at the factory of Clothing Research Institute. Organized the Autonomous Workers Union in Hangzhou to fight for democracy, freedom, and human rights. Arrested on June 10 together with Zhu Guanghua, Li Xiaohu, and four others. (Beijing Daily, 6-13-89)

**Gao Liuyou (高留有)**

Gao Liuyou. Arrested. See Song Zhengsheng.

**Gao Xiaoshi (高曉時)**

Gao Xiaoshi, aged 32, worked in a theatre company in Ningxia. Arrested on 2 June for stirring up trouble and spying for KMT (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service 23 June 1989, in Amnesty International)

**Gao Yu (高瑜)**

Gao Yu, reporter of "Economics Weekly", was arrested on 3rd June (Ming Pao 18-6-89)

**Gao Yunming (高雲明)**

Gao Yunming, aged 31, worker in the Mutual Inductance Instrument Factory in Shenyang city. Among 37 persons arrested in Shenyang on June 8 and one of the eight to be tried; others will be released after re-education. (Xinhua radio broadcast on June 9)

**Geng Xiuchong (耿修崇)**

Geng Xiuchong, aged 30, a resident of Shanghai. He was accused of faking, on June 5, 'a piece of bloody cloth as evidence of the Beijing massacre'. (Beijing Daily, 29 June 1989)

**Gong Chencheng (龔晨澄)**

Gong Chencheng. Arrested. See Zhang Renfu.

**Gong Chuanchang (龔傳昌)**

Gong Chuanchang. Arrested in Beijing on June 10 for "looting". (Renmin Ribao, 6-21-89)

**Gong Hui (龔會)**

Gong Hui. Arrested. See Shi Jingang

**Gu Peijun (古培君)**

Gu Peijun. Sentenced. See Liu Yajie.

**Guan Zhihao (關志浩)**

The Central Propaganda Bureau issued an order in early January to deepen the purging of any official who failed to toe the party line faithfully in accounting for the June 4 event, starting with the leaders of news media units (Ming Pao 20 Jan. 1990). As a result, Guan Zhihao, director of 'China Fazhi Bao' and Xie Yongwang, editor-in-chief of 'Wen Yi Bao', have both been replaced and are now subject of investigation (Reuters, Beijing 12 Jan. 1990). The deputy editors-in-chief of 'Wen Yi Bao': Chen Danchen and Zhong Yibing were both dismissed, and there would

be two chief editors in this literary publication in the future (Wen Wei Po 18 Jan. 1990). Further, there was a radical change of leadership in the literary section of Renmin Ribao. Its chief Lan Ling and his assistant Shu Zhan, were both dismissed (Wen Wei Po 18 Jan. 1990). Those facing dismissal include: Mu Qing, present director of NCNA; Huang Hiquan, present director of Beijing Radio-Television; Zhou Bingde, deputy director of 'Hua Sheng Bao', a publication for overseas Chinese.

**Guo (or Gao) Guihong (郭貴洪)**

Guo (or Gao) Guihong, aged 26, self-employed, was sentenced on 29 June by the Shanghai Railway Transportation Court to five years imprisonment for disrupting traffic during demonstrations in Shanghai on June 5 and 6. He was charged with gathering crowds to stop three passenger trains at a railway crossing and stopping the vehicles near the same spot (US Foreign Broadcasting Information Service, 7 July 1989)

**Guo Luxiang (郭陸祥)**

Guo Luxiang. Arrested. See Jin Wenqing

**Guo Yaxiong (郭亞雄)**

Guo Yaxiong, native of Henan and member of the autonomous Union of Beijing Workers. He drafted a 'Declaration of the Dragon' and 'distributed it here and there in an effort to egg on people to make trouble'. Was arrested in mid-June, according to Beijing television broadcast of June 14.

**Guo Yonggang (郭勇剛)**

Guo Yonggang. Arrested at the Denzhou railway station on June 15, 1989 and handed over to the Beijing Public Security Bureau. (Radio Jinan 6-22-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-23-89, p.9). See Shi Jingang.

**Guo Zhenghua (郭正華)**

Guo Zhenghua. On 29 July, two men were executed immediately after being sentenced to death for killing a pregnant woman and girl while robbing a private residence, as well as "beating, smashing, looting, burning and killing during the recent turmoil". They were: Guo Zhenghua and Yu Chunting. (CNCA, Amnesty International 3 Aug.)

**Han Dongfang (韓東方)**

Han Dongfang, aged 26, a railroad worker in the Fengtai Locomotive Maintenance Section. Leader of Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation. Went to hide after June 4. Was listed as one of the three most wanted worker leaders by the government on June 14. He turned himself in to the authorities in latter June. (Asia Watch, 10-15-89)

**Han Xiaodong (韓曉東)**

Han Xiaodong, 3rd year physics student of Nanjing University and leader of the Nanjing University Students Autonomous Federation, was outlawed on 14 June. He was said to have organised citizens to sabotage the railway on 7 June. His arrest announced on CCTV news on 16 June.

**Han Yanjun (韓燕軍)**

Han Yanjun, aged 24, from Dingzhou in Hebei. Member of Dare-to-Die Corps accused of spreading rumors that martial law troops had "caused bloodshed" in Tiananmen. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service 6-19-89) (Comment on the "Dare-to-Die Corps": In June 8, Beijing television reported that eight members of a youth "Dare-to-Die Corps" were arrested in Taipei, Harbin, Heilongjiang Province. They had ridden through the streets reportedly shouting, "Long Live Dao Qiang Pao"; Dao Qiang Pao translates as "Knife, Gun, Artillery" and according to the television, was the name of a gang responsible for murder and arson.)

**Hao Fuyuan (郝福源)**

Hao Fuyuan. Aged 37. A villager from Haojia village, Tianzhen township, Gaoqing county (Shandong Province). He was

officially reported to have been detained prior to June 19 for "spreading reactionary statements and inciting peasants to create disturbances". His detention was reported by Jinan radio (Shandong provincial service) on June 19. According to the radio report, he went to Beijing in May and returned to Gaoqing after the army intervention in Beijing on June 4, taking with him "counter-revolutionary leaflets and cassette tapes". He was accused of having subsequently "created rumors everywhere" and of inciting peasants not to sell grain to the state and not to pay taxes. (Radio Jinan, 6-19-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-21-89)

**Hao Jingguang (郝京廣)**

Hao Jingguang. Arrested. See Shi Jingang.

**He Bochuan (何博傳)**

He Bochuan. The assistant philosophy professor of Zhongshan University, He Bochuan had been questioned over the appeal of one of his publications, "China at the Mountain Pass" especially to students from the North, and he had been denied permission to attend an academic conference in Hungary.

**He Heng (何恆)**

He Heng. Arrested in Shanghai on June 7 or 8, accused of obstructing a number of vehicles with roadblocks, deflating tires of 5 vehicles, and beating up the drivers. (Renmin Ribao, 6-21-89)

**He Jiang (何江)**

He Jiang condemned to death, with a reprieve of two years, for arson in the Chengdu incident (reported in the July 9 edition of Sichuan Daily).

**He Lili (賀力力)**

He Lili. Warrant issued on 14 June for the arrest of (HK TVB news 15 June): Han Dongfang, aged 26, railroad worker of the Fengtai Locomotive Maintenance Section; He Lili, aged 36, of Beijing Machinery Factory, & Liu Qiang; They were key leaders of the Beijing Autonomous Workers' Union. Their detention on 30th May by the Beijing Public Security Bureau led to a demonstration and protest by students and citizens, and they were released on the following day. He Lili and Liu Qiang were re-arrested on 15 June (CCTV news 16 June). Han went into hiding after June 4 but turned himself in late June. (Asia Watch 15 Oct. 1989)

**He Qunying (何羣蔭)**

He Qunying and You Dianqi, two 'core members' of the Beijing Autonomous Workers Union, were captured in Xi'an on June 14, according to a U.P.I. report. Both were accused of taking part in a May 28 protest outside Beijing police headquarters to demand the release of detained workers. They were also accused of attacking army troops. (Asia Watch 15 Nov. 1989)

**He Weilin (何維林)**

He Weiling. There are conflicting reports as to whether Mr. He is a prisoner, but according to one report he was arrested in front of home. Had been a member of System Reform Institute. Had been in US as liaison to Atlantic Council. Not active in student movement but rather tried to serve as a mediator. One report said that he tried to stop Beida students' hunger strike, in exchange, the government had to withdraw the April 27 editorial in People's Daily.

**He Wensheng (何文昇)**

He Wensheng. Arrested. See Chen Qisheng

**He Xiaokang (何小康)**

He Xiao Kang. Sentenced to death. See Zhou Qi

**He Yongpei (何勇培)**

He Yongpei. Arrested. See Sun Yanru

**He Zhaohui (何兆匯)**

He Zhaohui. Arrested. See Zhang Xudong.

**Hou Zujun (侯祖鈞)**

Hou Zujun. Arrested. See Zhang Cunyong.

**Hu Ji (胡績)**

Hu Ji, a history professor at North-West University and author of two books on Shaanxi history. He was said to have given speeches in Xin Cheng Square in Xi'an supporting the students, and according to a Ming Pao report, he was arrested on September 16, 1989. (Asia Watch 15 Oct. 1989)

**Hu Jiahao (胡家豪)**

Hu Jiahao. Arrested in Shanghai on June 7-8, accused of obstructing a number of vehicles with roadblocks, deflating tires of 5 vehicles, and beating up the drivers. (Renmin Ribao, 6-21-89)

**Hu Kesheng (胡可勝)**

Hu Kesheng. Arrested. See He Heng.

**Hu Liangbing (胡良兵)**

Hu Liangbing, Yang Gechuang, Chen Wei and Jin Tao were the workers of Wuhan arrested on 7 June with 19 others for burning cars, blocking traffics and soldiers on the Yangtze Bridge (CNCA Wuhan 8 June, 1989)

**Hu Linying (胡林英)**

Hu Linying, Kong Diming, Li Ronglin and Shen Minghui were arrested in Shanghai on June 5-6. Accused of overturning a vehicle and inciting others to deflate tyres. (JR 21 June 89)

**Huang Huiqun (黃惠羣)**

Huang Huiqun. Dismissed. See Guan Zhihao.

**Huang Jianhu (黃鑒湖)**

Huang Jianhu, an assembly worker at the water meter plant of the Shanghai Water Company. Arrested on June 8 for directing a 'flying vehicle squad' with about 200 members. The squad set up road barricades, shouted 'reactionary slogans' and incited workers to strike. (Shanghai Radio, June 10, 1989)

**Huang Jun (黃鈞)**

Huang Jun, aged 35, native of Huantai County, Shandong. Had been punished in 1983 for 'criminal acts'. Now, charged with being a spy for Taiwan authorities. (Jinan Radio 28 Aug. 89, in Amnesty International)

**Huang Lianxi (黃廉希)**

Huang Lianxi. Arrested in Beijing on 6 June. Accused of setting fire to the chairs of a tandem bus (Renmin Ribao 21 June, 1989, in Amnesty International)

**Huang Yongxiang (黃勇祥)**

Huang Yongxiang, a graduate student of Nanjing University and standing committee member of the Autonomous Federation of Nanjing Students; and Wu Jianlin, student of Provincial Institute of Business Management cadres and deputy commander-in-chief of the solidarity group in the north, reportedly turned themselves in before 15 June (Beijing Domestic Service 21 June, in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service 21 June)

**Huo Liansheng (霍連勝)**

Huo Liansheng, aged 22, peasant of Miyun county near Beijing. Accused of stealing a gun. Arrested on June 4. (Beijing Evening News, 10 June 1989)

**Ji Funian (紀福年)**

Ji Funian, a leader in charge of logistics, was arrested in Wushui county, Hebei, on 15th June, (Hebei Ribao 12 July 89) together with Wang Zhigang (Amnesty International 6-7-89)

**Ji Kunxing (紀坤興)**

Ji Kunxing. Arrested. See Shi Ying.

**Jia Changlin (賈長林)**

Jia Changlin, from Siping near Tianjin, was accused of having "openly incited some people to storm department stores, smash glass and narrowly avoiding major incidents". (Tianjin Ribao, 12 June 89)

**Jiang Xiaodong (江小東)**

Jiang Xiaodong. Arrested. See Jin Wenqing

**Jiang Xiaodong (江小東)**

Jiang Xiaodong. Graduate of Beijing Science and Technology University, where he had been a "self-supported" member of the class of '88. Arrested on June 15 in Feicheng County, Shandong and extradited to Beijing. Accused of blocking and burning military vehicles in Haidian. See Shi Jiangang. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-23-89)

**Jiang Xidi (江希棧)**

Jiang Xidi. According to Shanghai "Wen Wei Po", (15 July, relayed by A.F.P. Beijing 16 July) four workers were convicted on 15th July for "disturbing the social order" during the demonstrations. They were: Jiang Xidi, to 12 years imprisonment for beating up 2 train drivers; Yang Jinfa, to 11 years imprisonment for shouting anti-revolutionary slogans and refusing to repent; Li Jian, self-employed, to 3 years for setting road blocks; Yao Shanbai, farm worker, to 4 years for setting road blocks.

**Jiang Zhi'an (江志安)**

Jiang Zhi'an. Arrested. See Chen Dao.

**Jiang Zhu (江柱)**

Jiang Zhu. Arrested. See Wang Shuangqing.

**Jiao Zhixin (焦志新)**

Jiao Zhixin, a salesman, accused of forming a 'counter-revolutionary organization', the China Democratic Political Party, during the time of student demonstrations. Arrested in Dalian on June 13. (China Youth Daily, 14 June, 1989)

**Jin Tao (金濤)**

Jin Tao. Arrested. See Hu Liangbing.

**Jin Wenqing (金文清)**

Jin Wenqing, graduate student of Beijing Teachers' Training University. Accused with Jiang Xiaodong and Guo Luxiang, geology student of Beijing University of having directed people to intercept, smash and burn 31 military vehicles in Haidian, Beijing (Asia Watch 29 June). (Jinan Radio 22 June)

**Jin Yan (金妍)**

Jin Yan, an employee at the Children's Film Studio, was arrested in Guangzhou after the government had secretly video-taped her making an one-hour public speech protesting the June 4 massacre. (Asia Watch 15 Oct. 1989)

**Jing Weidong (荊衛東)**

Jing Weidong, farmer from Yuegezhuang, near Beijing. Arrested in June for shooting soldiers when driving a truck. (Renmin Ribao 19 June in Amnesty International)

**Kang Yaoqing (康堯靖)**

Kang Yaoqing, was arrested in Beijing and accused of smashing and burning military vehicles. (Renmin Ribao 21 June 89)

**Kong Diming (孔迪明)**

Kong Diming. Arrested. See Hu Linying.

**Lai Bihu (賴碧湖)**

Lai Bihu and Lin Qiangquo among 5 pro-democracy people in Chengdu convicted. These two were each sentenced to 10 years, according to a report in Shijie Ribao (based on a broadcast) 10 Aug. 1989.

**Lan Ling (藍翎)**

Lan Ling. Dismissed. See Guan Zhihao.

**Leng Wangbao (冷望保)**

Leng Wang Bao. Arrested. See Tang Yuanjun.

**Li Bing (李冰)**

Li Bing, a leader of a Beijing workers' independent organisation, was arrested in Beijing on June 21 for allegedly killing a soldier, and for trying to block military vehicles from entering Tiananmen Square (Beijing Daily, in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 26 June)

**Li Cuiping (李翠萍)**

Li Cuiping, secretary-general of the Autonomous Federation of Non-Beijing students. Arrested in Baoding, Hebei. (Hebei Ribao 12 July 89)

**Li Dan (李丹)**

Li Dan, English announcer of Radio Beijing, reportedly arrested on 4th June after he made a personal broadcast about the thousands killed in Tiananmen Square. (Asia Watch, 12 June 89)

**Li Guiren (李貴仁)**

Li Guiren, editor-in-chief of Hua Yue, the government cultural publishing house of Shaanxi Province, was arrested in early July (according to July 11 edition of Shaanxi Law Weekly). He was accused of calling for a strike to protest against the June 4 massacre and of writing inflammatory slogans.

**Li Honglin (李洪林)**

Li Honglin, aged 64. Born in Manchuria, where he also spent some time in internal exile during the Cultural Revolution. A well-known scholar who once taught in Lanzhou, he was a research fellow at the Fujian Academy of Social Sciences. A strong advocate of democracy, he likes to say: "It is not the people who should be loyal to the leader, but the leader should be loyal to the people." He wrote an article entitled "No Democracy, No Modernization." In February he was among those advocating the release of political prisoners. Li was "detained for questioning" on July 6 or 7, 1989. His homes in Fuzhou and Beijing had both been searched; his manuscripts, letters, and address book were confiscated. He is believed now to be held in the Public Security Bureau of Fuzhou. Professor Li is a social scientist who has long written about political theory relating to democracy and human rights. He has been a visiting scholar at Columbia and Princeton Universities. Li is one of several intellectuals named in a report presented on July 6 by Beijing mayor, Chen Xitong, to the standing committee of the National People's Congress (China's parliament). The intellectuals named in the report are accused of having encouraged the student protests in Beijing in May. The report, which gives a detailed account of what the government calls the "counter-revolutionary rebellion", says that Li Honglin, together with 40 other people, wrote a letter to the party central committee earlier this year, calling for the release of political prisoners in China. According to the report, he also signed an appeal entitled "our urgent appeal on the current situation", which was issued by 12 prominent intellectuals on May 14, demanding that the student protests be declared a "patriotic democratic movement" and that the AUBU be declared legal. The report further says that "these people also went to Tiananmen square many times to make speeches and agitate". (Wall Street Journal, 8-8-89) revolutionary.

**Li Hongyu (李紅宇)**

Li Hongyu, psychology student of Beijing Normal University. Arrested in Chengdu on July 30 and taken to Beijing. Implicated in a cache of Y58,000 belonging to the Autonomous Federation of Beijing University Students found at her boyfriend (unnamed). (Reuters 16 Aug.)

**Li Huanxin (李換新)**

Li Huanxin. Arrested. See Sun Yanru.

**Li Hui (李輝)**

Li Hui, A leader of the Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities. Arrested in Tianjin, and sent to Beijing on June 15. Accused of "counter-revolutionary instigation", blocking military vehicles, and circulating information in Tianjin about the Beijing massacre after he arrived Tianjin on June 7. (Tianjin Daily, 7-17-89; Asia Watch, 7-17-89)

**Li Huling (李虎靈)**

Li Huling. Arrested. See Zhu Huiming.

**Li Jian (李健)**

Li Jian. Arrested. See Zhang Xudong.

**Li Jian (李健)**

Li Jian. Convicted. See Jiang Xidi.

**Li Jiang (李江)**

Li Jiang, Member of the Beijing Autonomous Workers' Union 'dare-to-die' squad. Said to have surrendered to the authorities on 11-6-89, and confessed his involvement in burning 3 army trucks and a bank on 4-6-89. (NCNA Beijing 17 June)

**Li Jiangfeng (李江風)**

Li Jiangfeng, male, 21 years old, student at the Beijing Iron & Steel Institute and key member of the Autonomous Federation of Beijing University Students. Had been living in the staff quarters of Qinhuangdao City Port (Post) Office. Arrested in Qinhuangdao by the public security bureau and accused of burning 6 military vehicles. (Hebei Ribao 17 June 89)

**Li Jiaoming (李交明)**

Li Jiaoming. The Intermediate People's Court in Guangzhou sentenced 3 men for crimes committed during a student-led march on June 6 to protest against the June 4 crackdown. (South China Morning Post, 11 Oct. 89) They were: Li Jiaoming, unemployed, to 18 years; Li Jinhua, unemployed, to 13 years, both for obstructing traffic, destroying vehicles, molesting women and robbery; Zeng Yidong, peasant, to 5 years, for obstructing traffic, beating up drivers and stealing food from vendors.

**Li Jiawei (李家維)**

Li Jiawei. Arrested. See Zhang Li.

**Li Jijun (李際均)**

Li Jijun, Commander of the 38th Army of People's Liberation Army. Accused of refusing to obey the military order in Beijing last June. Sentenced to 10 years in prison by a martial court. His sentence had been included in a document distributed to high-ranking military officers (Express News 13 Nov. 89, World Journal 14 Nov. 89)

**Li Jing (李敬)**

Li Jing. Arrested. See Wang Zhilin

**Li Jinhua (李金華)**

Li Jinhua. Convicted. See Li Jiaoming.

**Li Jinjin (李今進)**

Li Jinjin, about 30, was arrested on June 12 at his home in Wuhan. He was a doctoral student in constitutional law at Beijing University and instructor at the Institute of Law and Politics in Beijing. He was said to have been arrested at gunpoint and transferred to a detention facility in Beijing. His family had not been able to see him since late August. (Asia Watch, 15 Oct. 1989)

**Li Long-qing (李龍慶)**

Li Long-qing. Arrested. See Luo Hai-xing.

**Li Mingxian (李明先)**

Li Mingxian, aged 30, unemployed worker from Gaixian county. Went to Beijing on May 13 and joined the demonstrations. Arrested there on June 3-4 but escaped to Fushun. Re-arrested on

June 16 in Fushun, Liaoning. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 16 June)

**Li Mou (李謀)**

Li Mou, employee of Merchant and Industry Station at Huilongguan, Changping county. Member of Beijing Workers 'Dare-to-Die' Corps. Said to have joined the riots on June 3 and 4. Arrested on June 13 in Huoying, Changping county (Beijing Daily 15 June 1989)

**Li Nianbing (李念冰)**

Li Nianbing. 24 July edition of Jiangxi Daily (relayed by Agence France Press) reported the sentencing of 5 workers for public order offences committed during a demonstration to commemorate the May 4 Movement, held in the Central Square of Nanchang city. They were: Li Nianbing, a worker, to 4 years; Yu Chunsheng, a company employee, to 3 years; Wan Yong, unemployed, to 3 years; Wan Guoping, a worker, to 3 years; Wang Zhongshou, self employed, to 2 years.

**Li Peicheng (黎沛成)**

Li Peicheng. Arrested. See Luo Hai-xing

**Li Rongfu (李榮富)**

Li Rongfu, aged 39, taxi driver, was arrested on June 7 and accused of approaching a group of students gathered at the intersection of Siping and Xingang Roads and urging them to adopt new 'struggle tactics' including setting up road blocks. (Shanghai Radio)

**Li Ronglin (李榮林)**

Li Ronglin. Arrested. See Hu Linying.

**Li Shaopin (李少萍)**

Li Shaopin, medical student of Shengyang University and representative of students outside Beijing, was arrested on 18th June at Baoding. (CCTV news 18-6-89)

**Li Shiquan (李士泉)**

Li Shiquan. Worker at North Suburb Farm, near Beijing. Accused of not turning in his son, who was active in the demonstration. Arrested on June 20, and on June 22 shown on television with a pistol his son had taken from a soldier, as well as a walky-talky and 7,500 Yuan cash. Also arrested was the son, no given name indicated. The younger Li had apparently been a liaison between the students and independent workers' union, and Vice General Commander on Tiananmen Square. (Beijing Evening News, 6-23-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-20-89, p. 44)

**Li Shuxian (李淑嫻)**

Li Shuxian. Taking refuge in US Consulate in Beijing. See Fang Lizhi.

**Li Tao (李濤)**

Li Tao. Arrested. See Ma Hong Liang.

**Li Wei (李衛)**

Li Wei. Arrested. See Tang Yuanjun.

**Li Weidong (李維東)**

Li Weidong. Arrested. See Zhao Yuetang

**Li Weidong (李衛東)**

Li Weidong. (Distinguish from adjacent entry) Worker of Hunan fire fighting equipment factory. Arrested in Changsha for joining the "turmoil" on April 22. Condemned to death with sentence suspended for two years. (World Journal, 6-23-89; China Concern Group, Hong Kong University)

**Li Weiguo (李衛國)**

Li Weiguo. Age 22. A peasant from Shili village, Mazhai township, Juancheng county, Shandong, was arrested on June 8 for

having taken part in the Beijing "Dare to Die Corps" and for distributing leaflets about "The Truth of June 3" in front of the Heze Specialized Teachers School. According to Shandong radio, Li went to Beijing on May 15 to support the student hunger strikers. He made contact there with students from Heze and through them entered the 'dare-to-die corps' (see Han Yanjun). On June 5, he left Beijing to go to Qingdao and Yantai to make contact with unidentified persons. He returned to Heze on June 8 and was promptly arrested.

**Li Weihong (李衛紅)**

Li Weihong, a worker of Hunan fire fighting equipments factory, who took part in the riots in Changsha on 22nd April, was sentenced to death on 22nd June, with a reprieve of 2 years. (NCNA Changsha, 26/6). For the same crime, Xia Changchun was sentenced a prison term of 15 years, and 25 others to prison term of 1 - 15 years. (NCNA Changsha, 23/6)

**Li Wenbao (李文保)**

Li Wenbao. Sentenced to death. See Zhang Jianzhong.

**Li Xianglu (李湘魯)**

Li Xianglu, economist and head of the International section of Chinese International Trust and Investment Company. Believed to be arrested but not verified (Amnesty International, 3rd July).

**Li Xiaofeng (李孝風)**

Li Xiaofeng. Arrested. See Wang Zhilin.

**Li Xiao Hu (李小虎)**

Li Xiao Hu. Arrested. See Gao Jintang.

**Li Xiaohua (李小華)**

Li Xiaohua. Age around 35. An editor with the PLA Literature Publication House in Beijing, was the recipient of 1988 national poem awards. He was accused of "helping to collect donation for Beijing students and leaking secret information to Hong Kong reporters". He went to Guangzhou from Beijing on about June 10 and arrested in Guangzhou two days later. Because he has military rank, will presumably face military courts. (World Journal, 10-21-89)

**Li Xiaojun (李小軍)**

Li Xiaojun. Wang Juntao was said to have assumed the pseudonym of Li Xiaojun. Later reported to be arrested in early November in southern Guangdong Province, while trying to flee the country, according to Communist Party Central Committee document. (South China Morning Post, 10 Nov. 1989)

**Li Xiaolu (李小魯)**

Li Xiaolu, student of Beijing Normal University. He tried to hide a sub-machine gun on June 6 with two other students of that University, Xia Ming and Yang Jun. Turned in by informers after June 20 (Beijing Daily, 4 July 1989)

**Li Xinfu (李信福)**

Li Xinfu. Leader of an underground party, Chinese Liberal Party of Three People's Principles. Arrested in early November in Guizhou together with 10 people who were accused of joining the "counter-revolutionary organization". (Fazhi Bao, 11-7-89; World Journal 11-7-89)

**Li Xiuping (李秀萍)**

Li Xiuping. On June 18, state television announced the arrest of Li Xiuping, a young woman student leader from Shengyang College of Medicine, and Yang Zhiwei, both of whom were reported to have been detained in Baoding. Both had taken part in talks between the State Council and the independent student movement. (Hong Kong Standard, 6-19-89; China Daily News, 6-27-89)

**Li Yi (李義)**

Li Yi. Arrested. See Chen Jin Liang.



**Li Ying (李英)**

Li Ying, with three others: Wu Baiming, Li Ying and Yang Jin, were executed on charges of murder and theft apparently (but not certainly) unrelated to the June pro-democracy events. All appeals before the Sichuan Provincial High People's Court were rejected, according to Amnesty International (17/98/89 November 16, 1989). A public sentencing rally preceded the executions. Chengdu was the scene of a major conflict between police and demonstrators in June, in which as many as several dozen people were killed by the security forces.

**Li Yongsheng (李永勝)**

Li Yongsheng, unemployed, was arrested in Tianjin around June 11, and accused of organising a 'Tianjin Residents Petitioning Team' and of rumour-mongering. (Tianjin Ribao, in Asia Watch, 15 July, 1989)

**Li Zhengtian (李正天)**

Li Zhengtian. Another well-known democracy campaigner. Li Zhengtian, teacher at the provincial Arts College, it is heard that Li is kept under close surveillance. He has to report 2-3 times a week to the public security bureau and is constantly followed.

**Li Zhibo (李志博)**

Li Zhibo. Worker. Leader of Shanghai Autonomous Workers Union. Arrested in early June.

**Li Zhiguo (李治國)**

Li Zhiguo. Arrested by the Shanghai Public Security Bureau on 10th June reported by Beijing Radio. Beginning in March, he established the Freedom Society through which he advocated the founding of a "Kingdom of Greater Freedom". He "sent letters of comfort to troublemaking students in various localities and instigated them to fight the reactionary government to the end." He urged that a military camp be set up, and created a national flag, emblem, flower and currency for the new kingdom. (Renmin Ribao, 6-12-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-12-89)

**Lian Zhengguo (連政國)**

Lian Zhengguo. Arrested in Beijing on June 10 for "looting". See Lu Zhongshu.

**Liang Hong Chen (梁紅晨)**

Liang Hong Chen. Sentenced to death. See Zhang Jianzhong.

**Liang Jianshe (梁建社)**

Liang Jianshe and Chen Ting, deputy heads of the Workers Volunteer Brigade of Hefei (Anhui), were arrested in Wenzhou (Zhejiang). Both had apparently been active in demonstrations during June 4-9. (Asia Watch, 8-6-89)

**Liang Qiang (梁強)**

Liang Qiang, aged 36, cadre of a Beijing factory. Arrested on June 11 for going to universities to stir up trouble. Alleged to be a Nationalist agent, had written articles for the autonomous unions, and prepared a manifesto for a new "Chinese Solidarity Party". (CCTV evening news 23-6-89). Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment and deprivation of political rights for 3 years (Wen Wei Po 5 Jan. 1990)

**Liang Qingtun (梁擘墩)**

Liang Qingtun, alias Liang Zhaoer, native of Sichuan, male, aged 20, psychology student of Beijing Normal University.

**Liang Xiang (梁湘)**

Liang Xiang. Under house arrest. Was Hainan Provincial Governor, and a protege of Zhao Ziyang, and long associated with the effort to open up various parts of south China for international commerce. (Ming Bao, 7-14-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-24-89)

**Liang Zaohua (梁灶華)**

Liang Zaohua. Arrested. See Chen Zewei.

**Liang Zhenyun (梁振運)**

Liang Zhenyun, a self-employed auto mechanic, was reported by the Beijing Evening News to have been arrested for taking a machine-gun and a pistol from a soldier on June 4 (UPI report on 14 July, 1989)

**Lin Qiang (林強)**

Lin Qiang. Another 5 charged with 'disturbing social order' during the pro-democracy protests were sentenced by a Beijing district court on 6th July. (Beijing Evening New, 6/7, relayed by UPI & AFP), including: Lin Qiang and Wang Liqiang; Yi Jingyao, aged 20, driver for city government, to 4 years imprisonment; Tan Minglu, also a driver, to 3 years. All of them said to have incited workers of Capital Steel Works on May 20 to join the democracy movement and soon arrested.

**Lin Qiangquo (林強國)**

Lin Qiangquo. Convicted. See Lai Bihu.

**Lin Shengli (林勝利)**

Lin Shengli, aged 21, native of Xinan, Henan, and law student at Zhengzhou University. Organiser of Zhengzhou Autonomous Federation of University Students, and president of Independent Student Union of Zhengzhou University. On May 22, he organised a massive demonstration in Zhengzhou. On May 23, he commanded 'dare-to-die squads' to stop trains carrying soldiers. On June 4, he led students to plants to picket workers. Arrested on June 13 in Zhengzhou, Henan, together with two other student leaders, Zhang Wei and Liu Feng below. (Henan Legal News 30 Aug. 1989, US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 23 Aug. 1989)

**Lin Weiming (林偉明)**

Lin Weiming. Hong Kong resident. Arrested with Xiao Shifu and Li Lixin on July 15 in Guangzhou. Lin was said to have sold fake Singapore passports to Xiao and Li, who intended to seek asylum abroad. These are not clearly political cases (more information needed). (Wen Hui Bao, Hong Kong, 8-7-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service 8-7-89)

**Lin Zhaorong (林昭榮)**

Lin Zhaorong. Executed. See Ban Huijie.

**Liu Baode (劉寶德)**

A "hooligan", was executed by shooting after his sentencing on November 30, 1989, by the Municipal Intermediate People's Court in Beijing. In an unprecedented move, the sentence was announced in the official press without details as to the time and place of arrest or the alleged crimes. (Beijing Ribao, December 1, 1989 in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, December 20, 1989). At the same time, Su Peng, a "hooligan", was sentenced to death. (Beijing Ribao, December 1, 1989 in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service December 20, 1989). His sentence was suspended for two years and he was deprived of his political rights for life. Neither Liu's nor Su Peng's connection to the pro-democracy movement is known, but the way in which their sentences were reported gives strong reason to suspect that they were in fact pro-democracy activists.

**Liu Chengwu (劉承武)**

Liu Chengwu, aged 25, an unemployed Shenyang resident, was arrested on 30 Oct. for 'openly propagating reactionary words and disrupting order'. According to the 7 Nov. edition of Liaoning Legal News, Liu set up a radio outside his mother's restaurant on 7 June to transmit Voice of America news about the Beijing massacre. "Many people stopped to listen to the radio. As a result, traffic was seriously disrupted". (Asia Watch, 2 Jan. 1990)

**Liu Congshu (劉從書)**

Liu Congshu. A leader of the Xi'an Autonomous Workers

Union, was arrested around June 11, and accused of inciting citizens to "besiege" the Xi'an City Federation of Trade Unions, smash its signboard and go on strike. The "reactionary declaration made by this group of people and their letter to all workers throughout the city viciously attacked the leaders of the party and state in an organized, planned way." )Xi'an Radio, 6-12-89; Renmin Ribao, 6-13-89)

#### **Liu Feng (劉豐)**

Liu Feng, aged 19, a native of Jiaozuo, Henan. A student in the 1987 class of the Department of Public Health, Henan University of Medicine. A leader of Zhengzhou College Students' Autonomous Federation. On May 22, he led students in boarding buses by force and headed for Beijing. He was arrested on two charges - the crime of counterrevolutionary propaganda and the offence of disturbing of public order. See Lin Shengli. (Henan Legal News 30 Aug. 1989, US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 23 Aug. 1989)

#### **Liu Fu'an (劉福安)**

Liu Fu'an, student of Beijing Medical College. Said to have organised the student medical team in Tiananmen Square in May. Arrested on 23rd June at Zhangjiakou, outside Beijing, together with Zhao Yigian and Qin Weizhong. (Hebei Ribao 17-6-89, Ming Pao 24-6-89)

#### **Liu Gang (劉剛)**

Liu Gang, male, 28 years old, on the wanted list, former physics graduate student of Beijing University. Was leader of student movement in Hefei, Anhui, in 1986-7, for which he lost his job. Returned to Beijing to find employment with research institutes there. Arrested after being recognized by a ticket-seller at a train station in Boading, Hebei on 20th June 1989 (CCTV news 21/6). May or may not be a person by the same name given a life sentence by the Xi'an People's Court on 24 Sept. as no description was given. (Ming Pao, 26 Sept.).

#### **Liu Gang (劉剛)**

Liu Gang. Sentenced See Feng Shuangqing.

#### **Liu Huanwen (劉桓文)**

Liu Huanwen, age 28, no. 1 on the list of wanted Beijing Labor leaders, and described by authorities as "general commander of the workers pickets under the Beijing Workers Autonomous Union." Liu Huanwen had been a worker of the Special Steel Branch Company of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company but had received unemployment insurance since the end of 1987. He was accused of having incited sit-ins and demonstrations. After fleeing Beijing on June 9, he was arrested at 10 pm on June 13 by police of the Yong'an Street Police Station of the Qiaoxi Sub-bureau of the Shijiazhuang City Public Security Bureau under the report of local residents. In his possession there were reportedly passes signed by Uerkesh (Wuerkaixi). (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-15-89; Hebei Ribao, 7-12-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-31-89, p. 65, Beijing TV, 6-14-89; Renmin Ribao, 6-16-89)

#### **Liu Jian (劉建)**

Liu Jian was arrested on 15 th June in Xianghe county, Hebei. Said to be a standing-committee member of the A.F.B.U.S. and leader of the pickets west of the Monument of the People's Heroes. (Hebei Ribao, 12 July 89)

#### **Liu Jian (劉建)**

Liu Jian, Worker of the No. 1 Shanghai Aluminum Alloy Plant, Zhu Genhao of the Shanghai Corporation, and Cheng Qiyang, occupation unknown, were arrested between June 6 and June 9, accused of setting up road blocks in Shanghai and instigating others to do the same. Cheng above was accused of letting out the tyres of 36 vehicles apparently during a demonstration to protest the Beijing massacre. (Hebei Ribao 12 July 89)

#### **Liu Jianan (劉建安)**

On December 7, 1989, Liu Jianan, 38, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and deprived of his political rights for two years by the Changsha Intermediate People's Court (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, December 14, 1989). According to the official Hunan Ribao, Liu is said to have listened to "the enemy radio" of Taiwan from May 1989 on, and to have tried to maintain contact with the station. Liu, a former teacher at Changsha's 25th Middle School, is also accused of sending 16 counter-revolutionary letters from Changsha, Yueyang and Wuhan to KMT secret agents, and of "organizing, publishing and distributing reactionary books".

#### **Liu Jianli (劉建禮)**

Liu Jianli. A member of Beijing Autonomous Workers Union. Arrested on June 15 together with Liu Gang. See Liu Gang.

#### **Liu Jianqiang (劉建強)**

Liu Jianqiang. Native of Beijing. "Major participant" in democracy movement. Arrested on June 15 at Dezhou railway station, Shandong. See Shi Jingang. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-23-89, p. 9; Asia Watch, 6-29-89)

#### **Liu Jiayu (劉家裕)**

Liu Jiayu. Student leader Arrested on June 18 in Zhangjiakou. (China Daily News, 6-27-89)

#### **Liu Jinliang (劉錦良)**

Liu Jinliang. Arrested in Nanpi, Hebei. See Wang Shuangqing.

#### **Liu Qiang (劉強)**

Liu Qiang, worker of Beijing 3209 Factory, one of the three leaders of the Beijing Autonomous Workers' Union on a special 'wanted list', fled to Inner Mongolia on 9 June, arrested in Wucun county by 15 June. (NCNA Beijing, 15 June, reported in Wen Wei Po 16 June)

#### **Liu Ronglin (劉榮林)**

Liu Ronglin. Arrested in Shanghai on June 5 or 6. Alleged offence: butting the tires of three vehicles. (Renmin Ribao, 6-21-89)

#### **Liu Wei (劉偉)**

Liu Wei. Arrested. See Dai Donghai.

#### **Liu Weidong (劉衛東)**

Liu Weidong. Student leader arrested on June 18 in Zhangjiakou together with Zhao Yiqiang and Liu Jianing. (China Daily News, 6-27-89)

#### **Liu Weipu (劉會普)**

Liu Weipu, Zhang Shaoying and Wu Zhijun were seen on CCTV news (16/6) as being paraded in a public trial, wearing placards that announced their charge as 'counter-revolutionary propaganda and their sentence as 'labour re-education'.

#### **Liu Xiaobo (劉曉波)**

Liu Xiaobo. Aged 34. A native of Jilin Province. Lecturer in the Chinese Department of Beijing Normal University. Graduated from Jilin University and just finished his doctoral dissertation at Beijing Normal University on the aesthetics of Chinese literature. A well-known literary critic. Liu is the author of several books and articles, and once wrote for "Shenzhen Youth Daily". In April 1989, while visiting the U.S., he published an article entitled "Contemporary Chinese Intellectuals and Politics" in which he strongly criticized some of the passive mentality of old Chinese intellectuals. He returned to China in late April to take part in the democracy movement. Following the declaration of martial law, three other activists began a hunger strike on June 2 at the Monument of the people Heroes in Tiananmen Square. In a proclamation before starting strike, the four stated, "Through our hunger strike we want also to tell the people that what the government media refer to as small bunch of trouble-makers is in

fact the whole nation. We may not be students, but we are citizens whose sense of duty makes us support the democracy movement started by the college students . . . " The government accused him of "instigating and participating in the rioting". Arrested on 6 June (Renmin Ribao, Overseas Edition, 6-24-89, 7-11-89; us Foreyn Broadcast Information Service; Beijing Daily; 6-24-89)

**Liu Xiaofeng (劉曉風)**

Liu Xiaofeng, deputy director of the Research Institute for the Reform of the Economic Structure, and nine other academics of that Institute, were arrested. (Asia Watch, 2 Jan. 1990)

**Liu Xiaolong (劉曉龍)**

Liu Xiaolong. Arrested See Ma Hongliang.

**Liu Xiaoqiu (劉小秋)**

Liu Xiaoqiu, aged 27, and Lu Zhuru, aged 29, both women are apparently teachers from Wenzhou, Zhejiang. They were arrested at Beijing Airport sometime during the week of June 19 as they were preparing to board a plane for Paris. They were reportedly using passports mailed to them from outside China, and a customs official spotted faked entry stamps. Their case was reportedly related to the riot. (Beijing Daily, 21 June, 1989; South China Morning Post, 23 June)

**Liu Xingqui (劉杏祺)**

Liu Xingqui. Arrested See Zhang Xudong.

**Liu Yajie (劉亞潔)**

Liu Yajie. On June 23, the Yangpu District People's Court sentenced 6 persons to prison terms for 'inciting the masses', 'sabotaging vehicles,' 'gathering together a bunch of hoodlums to make trouble', and 'obstructing public order' during the first ten days of June. The following were 2 of the 6: Liu Yajie, a young worker at a plant under the Shanghai Harbour Bureau, sentenced to 5 years for shouting slogans and 'gathering together hoodlums to disrupt traffic; Yu Jiasong, Gu Peijun and Zhang Kegin were sentenced to 3-4 years in prison. (Shanghai City Service, 23 June, in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 26 June 89)

**Liu Yihai (劉義海)**

Liu Yihai, a worker of Trucking Unit No. 5 of the Harbin City Bus Transport Co., was among 33 people arrested on June 6 by the city's PSB according to a Xinhua radio broadcast. A report in Heilongjiang Ribao (June 9, 1989) said the group went to several colleges at 11 pm, shouted at the students, threw rocks at trucks and tried to protest in front of the P.S.B. itself. Liu had a criminal record for pickpocketing, and reportedly confessed to joining in the incident to 'vent his spite upon the government'. He was also accused of robbing trucks in the Nangang district of Harbin City (Asia Watch, 15 Nov. 89)

**Liu Yubin (劉玉斌)**

Liu Yubin, Che Honglian, Zhang Xinchao, Shao Liangchen and Hao Jingguang were members of Autonomous Federation of Various Circles in Jinan City, arrested on 15th June (Jinan Radio, 15 June)

**Liu Zhihou (劉志厚)**

Liu Zhihou, aged 33, head of the Capital Residents' Hunger Strike Special Marshal Force, was arrested with 15 other members of the force. (People's Daily, 16 June; South China Morning Post, 17 June) All were accused of having helped to set up the Goddess of Democracy statue in Tiananmen Square, set up a 'Freedom Village' in the Square and setting fire to military vehicles.

**Long Xiangping (龍湘萍)**

Long Xiangping, female, aged 35-36, married with one child, a teacher of English in the Foreign Languages Department of Xiangtan University, Hunan. Had participated in student protests and tried to organize strikes in factories, was arrested some time before mid-August. (Asia Watch, 15 Oct. 1989)

**Lu Decheng (魯德成)**

Lu Decheng. Aged 26. Worker from Liuyang, Hunan. Joined May 28 demonstration at Tiananmen. With 2 others accused of splashing paint on Mao's portrait, and of conspiring to organize a Liuyang Branch of the Hunan Delegation in Support of Beijing Students. All three were said to have pleaded guilty. Lu received a 16-year prison sentence for "counter-revolutionary propaganda." (Renmin Ribao, 8-14-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8-24-89)

**Lu Feng (呂鋒)**

Lu Feng, also student of Beijing University of Medical Sciences. Arrested on 24th June, 1989.

**Lü Guodong (呂國棟)**

Wu Qihao, a Shanghai worker, and Lu Guodong were arrested for their alleged June 8 attempt to lower the flag on the Huangpu District Government Building out of respect for victims of the Beijing massacre. (Jiefang Ribao, August 23, 1989). Arrest dates are unknown.

**Lü Jiamin (呂家敏)**

Lü Jiamin, aged 42-43 an official in the All-China Federation of Trade Union. Graduate of Institution of Marxism-Leninism in Beijing and active participant of Democracy Wall Movement in 1979. Said to be arrested shortly before mid-October (Asia Watch, 15 Oct. 1989)

**Lu Jieming (呂潔明)**

Lu Jieming. Student Arrested on June 1989. (China Concern Group, Hong Kong University)

**Lu Liling (呂麗玲)**

Lu Liling. Arrested See Ouyang Ping.

**Lü Zhaixing (呂摘星)**

Lü Zhaixing. Arrested See Zhang Xudong.

**Lu Zhengqing (魯政清)**

Lu Zhengqing. Arrested See Qiu Lin.

**Lu Zhongshu (盧忠恕)**

Lu Zhongshu, born in Hebei. Arrested on June 4 for burning military truck (Renmin Ribao, 12 June 89; World Journal, 11 June, 1989)

**Lu Zhuru (盧竹如)**

Lu Zhuru. Arrested See Liu Xiaoqui.

**Luan Jikui (鑾吉奎)**

Luan Jikue, arrested for setting military trucks on fire in Hebei (Amnesty International)

**Luan Zhetang (鑾哲棠)**

Luan Zhetang, a worker at the Jining Textile Machinery Plant in Shandong, was arrested at Tianjin railway station around June 7, 1989. Accused of smashing military vehicles and beating corpses of dead soldiers in Beijing on June 4. (Asia Watch, 17 July 89)

**Luo Haixing (羅海星)**

Luo Haixing. NCNA announced on 25 December 1989 that the Guangzhou Public Security Bureau had lawfully arrested the following Hong Kong residents for attempting to smuggle wanted dissidents out of China, and warned on CCTV that these men would be punished severely. Apart from Chen Zewei and Xie Zhenrong above, the others arrested were:

**Luo Hongjun (羅紅軍)**

Luo Hongjun. Executed See Ban Huijie.

**Ma Hongliang (馬宏良)**

Ma Hong Liang, student of Xian Metallurgical Architecture College, leader of the Autonomous University Students Federation,

Shanxi Province. Charged with inflaming students to attack provincial government institutions, setting up an illegal broadcast system and instigating workers to strike. Arrested on 11th June, 1989. (NCNA Xian 12 June) Other members of the Federation arrested are: Liu Xiaolong, Zhu Lin, Yu Yungang, Xu Tao, Pang Zibin, Wang Jianjun and Wei Yongbin were arrested on 11 June when they met in a park in Xi'an to plan 'new conspiracy'. Described by Renmin Ribao as members of a dare-to-die contingent from Xi'an.

**Ma Jianxin (馬建新)**

Ma Jianxin. Arrested See Sun Baochen.

**Ma Lianggang (馬良剛)**

Ma Lianggang, Anhui student. Described as a key member of the Hefei Independent Students Union. Arrested in Haikou, Hainan. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 31 July 89)

**Ma Shaofang (馬少方)**

Ma Shao Fang, male, 25 years old, student at Beijing Film Academy, on the wanted list, escaped to Guangzhou on 9th June 1989, turned himself in on 14th June, 1989. (Guangzhou Daily, 15 June 1989)

**Ma Shaohua (馬少華)**

Ma Shaohua, a native of Sichuan, arrested on 16th June in Zhigong of Baitian township, Hunan Province and transferred back to Beijing. Student of China People's University and key member of the Autonomous Federation of Beijing University Students. Reportedly in possession of 'reactionary propaganda' material (Changsha, Hunan Provincial Service, 19 June 89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 20 June 1989)

**Ma Ziyi (馬子儀)**

Ma Ziyi, aged 38, a lecturer in the History Department at East China Normal University, is believed to have been arrested shortly after the capture of student leader Wang Dan on 2 July 1989, as he had given refuge to Wang for a short period prior to his arrest. (Asia Watch, 2 Jan. 1990)

**Meng Duo (孟多)**

Meng Duo. On 8th Dec. 1989, the Beijing People's Intermediate Court sentenced two workers to death and a third to life imprisonment for killing a 20-year-old policeman Li Guorui at 5 : 00 am on June 4, as the army was entering the Tiananmen Square (Ming Pao, 9 Dec. 1989).

**Meng Fangjun (孟方俊)**

Meng Fangjun, was jailed for 13 years for stealing a machine-gun from a burned-out tank and then hiding it at home; two brothers (unnamed) who helped him were each jailed for 10 years. The trial of these three, together with four others on similar charges, was shown on CCTV on 8 September, according to Reuter. The seven men, their heads shaven, received sentences ranging from two to thirteen years imprisonment.

**Meng Junquan (孟君泉)**

Meng Junquan, 22-year-old male. Had been living at 603, fourth gate, Yuetanzi St., Xicheng district, Beijing. Arrested by the Wanzhuang Public Security Station (under the Langfang Public Security Bureau) for burning 7 military vehicles, looting a machinegun and raping a woman. (Hebei Ribao, 17 June 89)

**Miao Desun (苗德順)**

Miao Desun. Sentenced See Zhang Jianzhong.

**Mu Qing (穆青)**

Mu Qing. Facing dismissal. See Guan Zhihao.

**Ni Erfu (倪爾甫)**

Ni Erfu, given life sentence on July 8 for participating in the Chengdu incident. (Asia Watch, 17 July 1989)

**Niu Shengchang (紐盛昌)**

Niu Shengchang. Age 38. Described as a villager from Yunshan in Dongping county of Shandong Province, is officially reported to have been arrested on June 16 by Tengzhou city police for writing "reactionary" posters and putting up "counter-revolutionary" leaflets in various localities in the Province. He reportedly went to Beijing on May 18 and participated in the Beijing Peasants Autonomous Federation. Together with students, he allegedly "resisted" the martial law troops in Beijing and returned to his home after June 4. He is said to have had a record of dissatisfaction: between 1984 and 1986, he reportedly went to Beijing eight times to present unspecified "appeals" to the higher authorities there. It seems likely that Niu Shengchang will be held in Shandong Province since he allegedly conducted "counter-revolutionary propaganda" there. However, he may also be sent to Beijing for investigation of his activities there. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-20-89; Asia Watch, 6-29-89)

**Ou Zongyou (歐宗佑)**

Ou Zhongyou. Aged 48. Self-employed painter, arrested on June 22 in Guiyang as KMT spy. Accused of spreading rumors, slandering the Chinese Communist Party, collecting banned publications, and taking pictures of "anti-state demonstrations." According to Legal Daily, he joined Taiwan information agency in 1988 when visiting Hong Kong. Sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment by a court in Guiyang. (Renmin Ribao, Overseas Edition, 6-22-89; Legal Daily 11-23-89; World Journal, 11-24-89)

**Ouyang Ping (歐陽平)**

Ouyang Ping, Sociology lecturer at Beijing University. Arrested at end of June together with Sun Li, aged 24, Sociology graduate student of Beijing University and Lü Liling, female, aged 35, member of Editorial Department of the Research Institute for the Reform of Economic Structure. (China co-group of Amnesty International, 30 Oct. 1989)

**Pan Qiang (潘強)**

Pan Qiang. In addition to the seven named in the Shi Jingang case, Pan Qiang, a student at Shandong University's Foreign Literature Department, is reported to have been arrested at the University on June 20. An official report said he was a "ringleader" of the Outside-Beijing Autonomous Student Federation, a group formed by students from various provinces who came to Beijing during the protests in May. Pan Qiang "colluded" with others to lead the Shandong University's supporting group to Beijing on May 18. While in Beijing, he was reportedly responsible for external liaison work and "participated in and plotted the counter-revolutionary riot". He returned to Shandong Province after June 4. He was wanted by Beijing police and would soon be sent back there under escort for further investigation and trial. (Radio Jinan, 6-22-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-23-89, p. 10)

**Pang Zibin (龐子斌)**

Pang Zibin. Arrested. See Ma Hong Liang.

**Peng Fuzhong (彭扶忠)**

Peng Fuzhong, a peasant from Shanxi Province. Burned military vehicles on June 4. Arrested on June 14 in Beijing. (Beijing Daily, 15 June 1989)

**Peng Ke (彭珂)**

Peng Ke. Reported to have surrendered to authorities in Wuhan, Hubei on June 12, and to have admitted being a leader of an outlawed student syndicate. (Amnesty International, 6-16-89 Release)

**Peng Jiamin (彭家品)**

Peng Jiamin, arrested on June 10 in Shanghai after the burning of a train in Shanghai. See Ai Qilong and Sun Manhong. (Renmin Ribao, 6-11-89)

**Peng Jing (彭靜)**

Peng Jing. Worker at Wuhan Pharmaceutical Factory. Said to

be a member of the Beijing Citizens' "Dare-to-die" Corps. Was officially reported to have been arrested on June 16 in Wuhan (Hubei Province). He reportedly went to Beijing on May 20 and returned to Wuhan presumably after June 4. After his return to Wuhan, he is said to have made speeches "to fabricate rumors" and allegedly "took part in such activities as intercepting trains and blocking railway traffic". He was shown on Chinese television around 18 June being questioned by two uniformed men. He may be taken back to Beijing for investigation and trial.

**Pu Yong ( 溥勇 )**

Pu Yong, aged 22, was arrested in connection with 'a major counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement case' (Sichuan Ribao, in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 1 Nov. 1989). Pu, a worker at the Nanjiang County Hospital of Traditional Chinese Medicine, and elected deputy director of Liangshui township, had allegedly 'listened to the Voice of America, read reactionary publications and worshipped the capitalist social system practised in Western countries'. During the 'counter-revolutionary rebellion', he had posted slogans in Nanjiang county. On the night of Oct. 29-30, he secretly wrote more than 400 leaflets and distributed them in 13 places in Nanjiang's downtown area. He also 'took down and threw away the signboard of a government and party organ', and 'viciously attacked the Chinese Communist Party and China's socialist system and slandered its leaders.'

**Qi Hongjun ( 齊紅軍 )**

Qi Hongjun, was sentenced to 12 years, and Zhou Hongbing to 10 years for setting fire to trains in the June 8 demonstration in Shanghai Shijie Ribao, 16 Sept. 1989)

**Qi Minglian ( 齊明連 )**

Qi Minglian, worker, arrested on return to Beijing from hiding in Anhui Province, accused of stealing army property during the June 3-4 riot in Beijing (22 July, 1989 edition of Xiu Hua Daily, relayed by Agence France Presse)

**Qian Jitun ( 錢濟屯 )**

Qian Jitun. Arrested See Wang Sufeng.

**Qian Rongmian ( 錢榮勉 )**

Qian Rongmian, cadre of a Beijing factory. Arrested June 23 in Zhangjiakou. Accused of being recruited by Wang Changhong above to be a Nationalist agent and stirring people up. (CCTV evening news 23-6-89) Sentenced to 6 years, imprisonment and deprivation of political rights for 1 year (Wen Wei Po 5 Jan. 1990)

**Qian Yumin ( 錢玉民 )**

On the wanted list.

**Qin Benli ( 欽本立 )**

Qin Benli, former chief-editor of Shanghai-based "World Economic Herald". Said to be receiving political 'education'. (Ming Pao, 9 August, 1989)

**Qin Guodong ( 秦國東 )**

Qin Guodong. Arrested See Chen Zewei.

**Qin Weidong ( 秦維東 )**

Qin Weidong, arrested sometime before July 6, was a leader of a student self-governing union organized by Beijing Medical University, according to a report in Hebei Ribao. (July 12, 1989)

**Qin Weizhong ( 秦爲忠 )**

Qin Weizhong. Student of Beijing Steel Institute. Arrested on June 24 in Zhangjiakou. Had been a leader of the Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities (Hebei Ribao, 7-12-89; Radio Shijiazhuang, US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-31-89, p. 65)

**Qiu Lin ( 邱麟 )**

Qiu Lin. Shanghai Radio announced on 14 January, 1990 the arrest and beginning of court for trial five persons accused of

collecting information during the anti-government demonstration in Shanghai and relaying such to Taiwan agents. Their arrest around June 20 was shown on CCTV evening news 23 June, 1989. They were: Qiu Lin, aged 30, Shanghai reporter and Zhao Yan, Lu Zhengqing, Feng Jun and Cao Weigo; But no other detail on their identity was given (Reuters, Beijing 14 Jan., Ming Pao, 15 Jan. 1990)

**Qu Yutang ( 曲宇堂 )**

Qu Yutang. Arrested See Xiao Zhongwu.

**Qu Zuojie ( 曲作杰 )**

Qu Zuojie. Aged 26. Alleged Chinese Nationalist Agent. Shenyang worker. Turned himself in on May 25 (before crackdown). Said to have joined KMT organization in March, 1989. Was sent back (from Hong Kong) to support student movement. (Renmin Ribao, Overseas Edition, 6-23-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-23-89 p. 43)

**Quan Baogui ( 全寶貴 )**

Quan Baogui. Arrested See Yang Dongju

**Ren Hepeng ( 任和朋 )**

Ren Hepeng. On June 3, he joined in stopping military vehicles and shouting 'counter-revolutionary slogans'. On June 4, he attacked soldiers. Wang Yong was in the same case. (Beijing Daily, 15 June 1989; China Youth Daily, 15 June 1989)

**Ren Wanding ( 任曉町 )**

Ren Wanding. One of the few activists from the Democracy Wall movement period (1978-79) to have taken an active role in the 1989 demonstrations. The founder of the China Human Rights League, Ren was denounced together with Wei Jingsheng as a non-Marxist when the crackdown on the Democracy Wall movement came in 1979. He was arrested and spent four years in prison; his initial sentence having been extended when he refused to make an acceptable self-criticism. In 1988, he wrote an article for the "New York Times" on the tenth anniversary of Democracy Wall, calling on activist students to speak out for those in prison and on the business community to make an investment in China conditional on an end to suppression of dissidents (see attached). He is reported to have been arrested on June 9, about 8 pm. (Ren's manifesto of Human Rights League in 1979 appears in Seymour book, "Fifth Modernization", P. 31; Op-ed piece by Ren, New York Times, 12-28-88)

**Ren Xiying ( 任喜英 )**

Ren Xiying. Arrested See An Baojing.

**Ren Yingjun ( 任英俊 )**

Ren Yingjun. Peasant from Beijing's Fengtai district. Said to have taken part in the June 4 rock-throwing attack on the headquarters of the Ministry of Radio, Television and Film. With him was another peasant, Zhao Lisheng, from the same village. He refused his father's plea to surrender, and on June 17 was turned in by informants according to a TV document, "The Facts about Beijing Counter-revolutionary Riot", showed on June 8 (Beijing Daily, 7-5-89)

**Ruan Jianyan ( 阮健顏 )**

Ruan Jianyan, journalist, cited as 'agitator' in an article in a 28 June edition of Shanghai Wen Hui Bao, arrested in summer/autumn, 1989 (Asia Watch, 2 Jan. 1990)

**Ruan Ning ( 阮寧 )**

Ruan Ning, another employee at the Beijing office of "World Economic Herald", was also reported to have been reported. ("Contemporary," 2 Dec. 1989)

**Rui Chaoyang ( 芮朝陽 )**

Rui Chaoyang, temporary employee of the Huangbao Boiler Co., Xi'an. Accused of participating in a riot in Xi'an Xicheng Square following a memorial service for Hu Yaobang (Gongren



Xibao, 17 Aug. 89) He was found guilty of breaking into a government compound, throwing stones at police and smashing the windows of a tourist bus, and sentenced to life imprisonment, according to a Reuter release of August 17 (Asia Watch, 17 Aug. 1989)

**Rui Tonghu (芮同虎)**

Rui Tonghu. Arrested. See Zhu Huiming.

**Shan Gangzhi (單剛志)**

Shan Gangzhi. Arrested. See Dai Donghai.

**Shang Jingzhong (尚精忠)**

Shang Jingzhong. Arrested. See Shi Ying.

**Shao Jiang (邵江)**

Shao Jiang, 22-year-old, mathematics student of Beijing University, and standing committee member of the Autonomous Federation of Beijing University Students. Was arrested in the early hours of 1st Sept. at the border between Macau and Zhuhai while trying to flee the country. (Hong Kong New China News Agency, 3 Sept. 1989)

**Shao Liangzhan (邵良展)**

Shao Liangzhan. Arrested. See Liu Yubin.

**Shen Jizhong (沈繼忠)**

Shen Jizhong, aged about 45, a florist. Reported to have been arrested in Shanghai on May 31 for making a pro-democracy speech (Shijie Ribao, 31 May 1989)

**Shen Minghui (沈明匯)**

Shen Minghui. Arrested. See Hu Linying.

**Shen Yinghan (沈英漢)**

Shen Yinghan, on the wanted list.

**Shen Zhigao (沈志高)**

Shen Zhigao. An employee of a warehouse of the Shanghai Toys Company, was arrested on June 11 for spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda at the People's Square and the Finance and Economics University. He was also accused of carrying out unspecified "instigation" at the gate of Tongji University in Shanghai.

**Shi Binhai (石濱海)**

Shi Binhai and Yu Zhongmin, both reporters for 'Law Monthly' published by East China Institute of Government and Law in Shanghai. Arrested for their involvement in the pro-democracy movement. (Shijie Ribao, 10 Oct. 1989)

**Shi Guoquan (石國存)**

Shi Guoquan. Arrested. See Zhang Jianzhong.

**Shi Jingang (石金剛)**

Shi Jingang. Seven people, who are reported to have participated in several organizations formed by students and other groups in Beijing during the protests there in May, were arrested in Shandong Province in June. Reportedly, they were "ring leaders" of illegal organizations and "major participants" in the Beijing "counter-revolutionary riot". The seven are Shi Jingang, reportedly arrested at a relative's home on 10 June by Laoling City police; Liu Jianqiang, Guo Yonggang and Gong Hui, natives of Beijing who were arrested at the Denzhou Railway Station on June 15; Yu Fangqiang, a student at Beijing Science and Engineering University, who was arrested in his native city of Xintai on June 17; Jiang Xiaodong, a student at Beijing Science University, who is alleged to have participated in blocking and burning military vehicles and was arrested on June 15 in Feicheng County; and Wan Xinjin, a professor of law at the China University of Politics and Law and president of the Beijing Citizens Autonomous Federation, who is reported to have "surrendered" to police in Pingdu County on June 17. The seven are reported to have been handed over to

the Beijing Public Security Bureau. (Radio Jinan 6-22-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-23-89, p. 9)

**Shi Ying (石英)**

Shi Ying. Seven people were tried on Sept. 16, 1989 by a People's Tribunal in Kunming, Yunnan, for "fomenting a counter-revolutionary plot", according to the Sept. 28 edition of the Yunnan Daily. It named the leader of the group as Shi Ying, aged 27, and said that on June 9, Shi had gone to the town of Zhuzhou in Hunan Province where he gave a public speech at the train station, denouncing the military assault in Beijing. He then went to Kunming "to take part in agitation." He and three other co-defendants: Shang Jingzhong, Yu Anmin and Ji Kunxing decided to found a 'counter-revolutionary party'. They then established an underground magazine called "Pioneers", circulated anti-government leaflets and put up counter-revolutionary posters. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 5 Oct. 1989)

**Shu Zhan (舒展)**

Shu Zhan. Dismissed. See Guan Zhihao.

**Song Kai (宋凱)**

Song Kai, aged 34, a service person at Yanjing Drug Store in the West District of Beijing. On June 4, he joined in stopping and attacking soldiers. He later turned himself in and admitted only a minor misconduct in order to get by. Arrested on June 17. (Beijing Evening News, 6 July 1989)

**Song Lin (宋麟)**

Song Lin, a professor of Chinese Literature at East China Normal University in Shanghai, is reported to have been arrested in early September. He led a march of students and workers on June 9 in Shanghai to protest the killings in Beijing. The demonstrators put up barricades to block traffic, though Song himself believed in passive non-cooperation. Was warned in mid-June that he was on a wanted list. (Asia Watch, 15 Oct. 1989)

**Song Mitu (宋彌圖)**

Song Mitu. Arrested. See Wang Hongming.

**Song Ruiyang (宋瑞陽)**

Song Ruiyang, a woman inspector from Jonghu Steel Mill, arrested on June 7 for having 'spread rumours and instigated onlookers during a demonstration, stopped cars and deflated their tyres, and 'falsely claimed that her son was killed in Beijing's massacre. (Shanghai Radio, June 10, 1989)

**Song Song (宋松)**

Song Song. Arrested. See Dai Donghai.

**Song Tianli (宋天理)**

Zheng Jinli, unemployed, is reported to have been arrested in Dalian on June 13 along with Jiao Zhixin and Song Tianli. Zheng was allegedly a leader of a "counter-revolutionary organization" (Zhongguo Qingnian Ribao, June 14, 1989; Amnesty International, Urgent Action: 202), as were Song, unemployed, and Jiao, a salesman. The three allegedly formed the China Democratic Political Party during the student demonstrations and advocated the overthrow of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system. (Amnesty International, Urgent Action: 202, June 22, 1989)

**Song Zhengsheng (宋正生)**

Song Zhengsheng and Gao Liuyou were tried by the Beijing Intermediate Court for burning military vehicles. (Beijing Daily, 1 July 1989)

**Su Peng (蘇鵬)**

Su Peng. Executed. See Liu Baode.

**Sun Baochen (孫保辰)**

Sun Baochen, Bai Zenglu and Ma Jianxin, all from Dingxian county, Hebei. They joined the 'counter-revolutionary riot' in

Beijing. Arrested on June 6 in Zhuozhou city. (China Youth Daily, 14 June 1989)

**Sun Baohe (孫保和)**

Sun Baohe, a gas-furnace worker, was executed on October 14 after being found guilty of burning a car during anti-government protests in June, according to the official "Masses Daily" of Jinan (South China Morning Post, 21 Oct. 1989). Another man, unnamed, was sentenced to 18 years in jail for making counter-revolutionary speeches and blocking traffic, on the same day.

**Sun Chaohui (孫朝輝)**

Sun Chaohui. Temporary worker in the Chengzhong office of the Employment Service Co. of the Xi'an Survey and Drawing School. Sentenced for "disrupting social order" in connection with his role in the April 22 Xi'an riot. (Workers' Daily, 8-17-89)

**Sun Feng (孫峯)**

Sun Feng. A worker, joined student demonstration since May 14. In charge of Broadcasting Station of Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities. Arrested on June 2 together with Wang Wei, a worker pickets leader. Accused of spreading rumor, blocking traffic, and disturbing social order. (Beijing Daily, 6-4-89)

**Sun Guozhong (孫國忠)**

Sun Guozhong. Arrested. See Jing Weidong.

**Sun Hong (孫鴻)**

Sun Hong, aged 18, worker of Fluorescent Lighting Factory in Beijing. On June 4 and 5, he burned military vehicles and stole a gun. Turned in by informer. (Beijing Daily, 15 June 1989)

**Sun Jihong (孫紀紅)**

Sun Jihong. Arrested shortly after the burning of a train in Shanghai. See Ai Qilong.

**Sun Jizhong (孫吉重)**

Sun Jizhong, a worker at Beijing Doudain Brickworks, had been a member of the 'Dare-to-Die' teams formed to prevent army convoys from entering the capital after the May 20 proclamation of martial law. Fearing arrest, he fled to Jilin Province and crossed into North Korea on June 1. He was arrested shortly afterwards by N. Korea police and turned over to Chinese authorities on Sept. 28. (AFPL South China Morning Post, 13 Oct. 1989)

**Sun Liwan (孫麗婉)**

Sun Liwan (or possibly Sun Liyuan). Violinist. On the wanted List.

**Sun Lu (孫祿)**

Sun Lu, graduate of Qinghua University and secretary at Wanke Inc. in Shenzhen. Arrested for involvement in Beijing student movement. (Renmin Ribao, overseas edition, 27 June, 1989)

**Sun Manhong (孫滿宏)**

Sun Manhong. Six Shanghai workers were arrested, convicted and jailed on 22nd June 1989. They were accused of setting a train on fire on 6th June 1989 after it ran over and killed demonstrators. (South China Morning Post 22 June 1989). They are:

**Sun Xisheng (孫希正)**

Sun Xisheng. Arrested. See Chen Jin Liang.

**Sun Yancai (孫彥財)**

Sun Yancai. Arrested in Beijing on June 10 for "looting."

**Sun Yanru (孫艷如)**

Sun Yanru. Twelve people were arrested in Daxin county on June 12 for destroying military vehicles, attacking police and spreading rumours (Beijing Daily, 14 June 1989)

They include:

Sun Yanru, possible female; Zhang Guojun; Li Huanxin, a worker of Zhongmei Model Flour Factory; Xue Nanfang, a driver of Capital Bus Company; He Yongpei, a worker of Wangfuqing Art Store; Gao Hong, a service person of Yongdingmeng Hotel; Chen Yonggang, an operator at Dongdan Telephone Bureau.

**Tan Minglu (譚明露)**

Tan Minglu. Arrested. See Lin Qiang.

**Tang Guoliang (湯國良)**

Tang Guoliang was sentenced on July 6, 1989 to ten years' imprisonment. According to Jiefang Ribao, (July 13, 1989), the 29-year-old unemployed Tang, while pretending to be a Shanghai Railroad Institute student on June 6, incited people to block trains.

**Tang Jianzhong (唐建忠)**

Tang Jianzhong. Fourteen workers went on public trial on 23rd June, for organising a "Wild Goose Dare-to-die Corps" during the student unrest, obstructing traffic, deflating tyres and beating drivers. (Shanghai Wen Hui Bao, reported in South China Morning Post, 27-6-89). Among them: Tang Jianzhong, sentenced to 13 years imprisonment; Chen Honggen to 11 years; Zhan Xinghu to 8 years; Yuan Zhiqiang to 8 years.

**Tang Minglu (湯名陸)**

Tang Minglu. Driver of Red Star Supply and Marketing Cooperative in Daxin County, near Beijing. Convicted of trying on May 20 to incite workers at the Capital Iron and Steel Company to join the democracy movement. Sentenced to three and a half years on June 30, 1989. See Yi Jingyao.

**Tang Yuanjun (唐元俊)**

Tang Yuanjun, arrested on June 10 in Changchun with five other 'counter-revolutionary' workers at an automobile factory. Li Wei and Leng Wangbao were among those arrested. Accused of having 'often secretly gathered together' with other counter-revolutionaries. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 10 July 89) According to a July 19th U.P.I. report, a local radio broadcast said all six had been part of a counter-revolutionary clique which was planning a city-wide strike, designed to 'topple the socialist system' (Asia Watch, 15 Nov. 1989)

**Tao Yongyi (陶勇毅)**

Tao Yongyi, public relations officer of the Autonomous Federation of Beijing University Students. Arrested in Mengcun county, Hebei. (Hebei Ribao, 12 July 89)

**Tian Bomin (田保文)**

Tian Bomin, aged 24, worker at a photography studio in Beijing, member of Beijing's Autonomous Workers' Union. During the turmoil, he tape-recorded the speeches of worker and student leaders, and made 9 video-tapes of the events up to 4 June. After the Massacre, he fled to Shenzhen and then Yunnan, where he continued his counter-revolutionary activities. Arrested in Yunnan on 28 June while trying to flee the country. (reported in 21 July edition of Yunnan Legal Daily, relayed by AFP).

**Tian Qing (田青)**

Tian Qing. A Tianjin native in his early 40's, deputy director of the Institute of Music in the Chinese Academy of Arts and an internally known music scholar, was arrested on September 23, 1989, after being investigated for a lecture he gave on June 4 at the Shanghai Music Conservatory on what he witnessed in Beijing the day before. Believed to be held incommunicado in the Erlong Detention Centre in western Beijing. (Asia Watch, 2 Jan. 1990)

**Tian Suxin (田素信)**

Tian Suxin, a worker in a plant of the Fushun Steel Plant, and two others were arrested in Fushun City and sentenced to 2-3 years of re-education through labour for having shouted slogans and blocking traffic in Fushun City on May 17-18, and beating those who refused to shout the slogans they provided (Liaoning Radio, 15 June, Asia Watch, 15 Nov. 89)

**Wan Guoping (萬國平)**

Wan Guoping. Sentenced. See Li Nianbing.

**Wan Xinjin (萬新金)**

Wan Xinjin. Aged 32. An instructor at the Research Institute of Ancient Law Documents of the China University of Politics and Law, was officially reported to have given himself up to police in Pingdu County, Shandong Province on June 17. He was the president of the Beijing Citizens' Autonomous Federation and is accused of organizing the formation of the group, of making "inflammatory speeches" and fabricating rumors. See Shi Jingang. (Beijing Daily, 6-25-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-23-89, p.9)

**Wan Yong (萬永)**

Wan Yong. Sentenced. See Li Nianbing.

**Wang Baikun (王百坤)**

Wang Baikun, identified as a leader of a Dare-to-die brigade that provided security for students during the 'period of turmoil', was arrested in Shanghai on 16 November (Washington Post, 3 Dec. 1989)

**Wang Baomei (王寶美)**

Wang Baomei. Arrested. See Chen Jin Liang.

**Wang Bin (王斌)**

Wang Bin, member of Beijing Autonomous Students Federation, arrested in Nanjing prior to 16th June, for carrying 'reactionary' leaflets and trying to establish 'illicit' ties in Hehai University in Nanjing. (Amnesty International, 30 June 89)

**Wang Changan (王長安)**

Wang Changan, aged 21, a worker, was arrested after turning himself in to local authorities. He was accused of setting up barricades on roads and railway tracks. (AFP, 24 June in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 26 June 1989)

**Wang Changhong (王長洪)**

Wang Changhong, aged 38, cadre of a factory in Beijing. Arrested around June 20 for spreading rumour and stirring up strike. Alleged to be a Chinese Nationalist agent, recruited while he was abroad in 1988. (Beijing TV, 22 June 89). Sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment and deprivation of political rights for 3 years. (Wen Wei Po, 5 Jan. 1990).

**Wang Changhuai (王長懷)**

Wang Changhuai and Zhang Jinsheng, alleged "counter-revolutionary criminals" were sentenced on December 7, 1989 by the Changsha Intermediate People's Court in a special urban meeting. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, December 14, 1989). According to the official Hunan Ribao dated December 9, Wang, 25, was given a three year sentence for turning himself in on June 15 and was deprived of his rights for one year. Wang, formerly a worker at the Changsha Automobile Engine Factory, had been head of Changsha's Workers Autonomous Federation and its propaganda section chief. Zhang, 35, a former Democracy Wall activist, received a thirteen year sentence and was deprived of his political rights for three years. He had previously served four years for spreading "counter-revolutionary propaganda". Zhang, a casual laborer in a factory in Shaoguan, Hunan Province, is said to have made speeches on May 4, 1989 at Hunan University and at the Changsha Martyrs' Mausoleum calling for the release of Wei Jinsheng, the Democracy Wall activist. On May 21, Zhang joined the Workers Autonomous Federation. He allegedly incited workers to go on strike and students to boycott classes. After the crackdown in Beijing, he wrote a letter of appeal, distributed by the Workers Federation, urging that fighting against the government continue. This is Zhang's second time that he had served a four-year prison term for spreading "counter-revolutionary propaganda".

**Wang Chengzhong (王承忠)**

Wang Chengzhong. Arrested. See Wang Zhilin.

**Wang Chunfu (王純富)**

Wang Chunfu. Sentenced. See Chen Minchun.

**Wang Cun (王村)**

Wang Cun, aged 27, cadre in charge of propaganda work of Yunnan Students Federation. Arrested on 13th June in Kunming for taking advantage of his work to spread rumours.

**Wang Dan (王丹)**

Wang Dan. Aged 21. A student in the History Department of Beijing University (Beida). Wang was one of the top three leaders of the student movement, and the first named in the government's list of 21 most wanted student leaders. Arrested in Beijing on July 6, two days after the arrest of a Taiwanese reporter Huang Teh-pei (Huang Debei), whom he had contacted and met in a car a few days earlier. Wang once said: "I've nothing to be afraid of. I don't think they will be able to imprison me for as long as Wei Jingsheng." He became the most conspicuous leader of the democratic movement around May 23, when many found Uerkesh (Wu er kai xi) insufficiently militant. Wang was conscious of the movement's shortcomings. "I think that the student movements in the future should be firmly based on something concrete, such as the democratization of campus life, or the realization of civil rights according to the Constitution. Otherwise, the result is chaos." He is reported to be imprisoned in the jail of Changping County, north of Beijing. Other sources reported that he is detained in Chaobaihe Prison in Shunyi County. (World Journal, 7-8-89; New York Times, 7-3-89; On Wang Dan as a protege of Li Shuxian, see transcript of Beijing broadcast in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-17-89, p. 27; World Journal, 10-25-89)

**Wang Di (王迪)**

Wang Di. On the wanted List.

**Wang Guangxing (王光興)**

Wang Guangxing. Sentenced. See Chen Liangin.

**Wang Guishen (王貴深)**

Wang Guishen, was arrested on 4th Dec. 89 in Dalian city for writing 'anti-revolutionary' slogans and posting them throughout the city during the democratic movement according to official «Liaoning Legal News». (Ming Pao, 15 Jan. 1990)

**Wang Guiyan (王貴岩)**

Wang Guiyan. Sentenced to death. See Zhou Xiangcheng.

**Wang Guoqiang (王國強)**

Wang Guoqiang. Arrested. See Zhang Jianzhong.

**Wang Hanwu (王漢武)**

Wang Hanwu. Executed. See Ban Huijie.

**Wang Hong (王洪)**

Wang Hong, a second year English student at Zhejiang Teachers' University in Jinhua, was arrested on campus when he returned from summer recess, probably in early September. He is reportedly being held incommunicado, denied visits by his family. He is charged with burning posters bearing quotations from Mao and with using his own blood to write slogans. (Asia Watch, 2 Jan. 1990)

**Wang Hong (王虹)**

Wang Hong. Arrested. See Zhang Qiwang.

**Wang Hongming (王紅明)**

Wang Hongming. Two students of the Shanghai University of Science and Technology who were leaders of the Shanghai Self-governing Union of College Students registered themselves with the Jaiding county's Public Security Bureau on 14 June. They are: Wang Hongming, aged 24, student of Precision Mechanical

Engineering.; and, Song Mitu, aged 31, graduate student in the Department of Radio. (Shanghai City Service June 16, in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 20 June 1989)

**Wang Jianjun (王建军)**

Wang Jianjun. Arrested. See Ma Hong Liang.

**Wang Jiaxiang (王家祥)**

Wang Jiaxiang and Wang Zhaoming were sentenced by a Beijing court on December 7, 1989 for spreading "counter-revolutionary propaganda" and "inciting" rebellion. Neither the dates of their arrests nor the terms of their sentencing have been reported. (South China Morning Post, December 15, 1989)

**Wang Jianxin (王建新)**

Wang Jianxin, deputy director of the Historical Preservation and Museum Science Section of Northwest University in Xi'an, was arrested on campus sometime during the first half of September. Wang had written an independent wall-poster account of the serious clash between police and student demonstrators in Xi'an on April 22, in which he blamed the police for the violence. He also wrote letters to government and Party leaders calling for an investigation into the "April 22 Massacre" in Xi'an and helped organise a protest demonstration there on May 17. He has been held incommunicado since his arrest. (Asia Watch, 15 Nov. 1989)

**Wang Jingji (王京吉)**

Wang Jingji, aged 30, arrested on 10th June in Tianjin, for supporting the students' protests and collecting money for the students. Reported to be in poor health. (Amnesty International, 5th July 1989)

**Wang Juntao (王军涛)**

Wang Juntao. Aged 31. Graduate of Physics Department of Beida. Vice director of Beijing Young Economists Association, and deputy chief editor of "Economic Weekly". He was involved in April 5, 1976 movement, after which he served 6-month prison sentence. Later, he was elected member of central committee of the Youth League. Was active in Democracy Wall in 1978-79 ("Beijing Spring" group). Ran for the position of local people's congress of Haidian District of Beijing in 1980 while openly declared to the voters that he did not believe in Marxism. Was one of the top vote getters. In 1989, he was one of the most important people in Beijing democracy movement, albeit behind the scenes. Arrested in late June in Tianjin as one of seven most wanted intellectuals. Was put back on the wanted-list in September. Again reported to be arrested together with some other 20 people, including Chen Ziming and Luo Haiqing. (World Journal, 6-30-89; 11-7-89)

**Wang Lianxi (王连禧)**

Wang Lianxi. Aged 33. Female worker in Beijing. Sentenced to death on June 17 for burning a public bus on June 6, but not executed after appearing.

**Wang Liqiang (王立强)**

Wang Liqiang. Arrested. See Lin Qiang.

**Wang Lixin (王立新)**

Sun Baohe was executed in Jinan, Shandong Province, on October 14, according to Reuters. (October 20, 1989) The Jinan Masses Daily of October 15 reported that Sun, together with two others, had been convicted of burning a "Shanghai" - brand vehicle on June 6. Sun was sentenced to death, while his co-defendants - Wang Lixin, a factory worker, and Wang Yong, an office worker - each received 10-year prison terms.

**Wang Luxiang (王鲁湘)**

Wang Luxiang, another writer of the TV series 'He Shang'. (Wen Wei Po 6/7) His arrest confirmed by Su Xiaokang in Hong Kong on 13-9-89 A.F.P. Beijing report (31 Oct. 1989) quoted informed sources saying that he had been released back home but put under house arrest and forbidden to speak in public or to

participate in political or professional activities. (Wen Wei Po, Nov. 1, 1989) Not confirmed.

**Wang Miaogen (王妙根)**

Wang Miaogen. Leader of Shanghai workers Union. Arrested on June 9. (Renmin Ribao, 6-11-89). See Zhang Qiwang.

**Wang Peigong (王培公)**

Wang Peigong. Aged 45. A well-known playwright. Reported to have been arrested on June 30 in the southern city of Guiyang (Guizhou Province), according to unofficial Chinese sources. Wang is the author of a controversial play about the 1966-1976 cultural revolution and had publicly renounced his Communist Party membership to show his support for the democracy movement. (Wen Wei Po, Hong Kong 7-7-89; World Journal, 7-3-89)

**Wang Ruoshui (王若水)**

Wang Ruoshui, philosopher. On the wanted list.

**Wang Ruowang (王若望)**

Wang Ruowang, aged 71, veteran CCP member and writer. Expelled twice from the Party for his open-mindedness and appeals for democracy (once in 1957 and once in 1987, together with Fang Lizhi and Liu Binyan). Was active in the student movement and made a personal appeal to Deng Xiaoping. Put under house arrest since June 4 in his home in Shanghai. Recently arrested but Shanghai authorities refused to confirm. (Ming Pao, 14 Sept 1989.)

**Wang Shufeng (王樹風)**

Wang Shufeng. Aged 21. Student of Beida. Core member of Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities. He was a leader of students from Beida, who demonstrated on Tiananmen Square. Was the treasurer for students on the Square. Accused of organizing student demonstration and hunger strike. Arrested on June 20 in Baotou, Inner Mongolia together with Qian Jitun, another member of Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities. The two students and Yuan Cihe, a student from Baotou Teachers School, were sent back to Beijing.

**Wang Shuangqing (王雙慶)**

Wang Shuangqing, said to have surrendered to the Public Security Bureau of Hengshui; Cui Guojin, arrested in Huanghua, Hebei; Jiang Zhu, arrested in Luanping, Hebei and Liu Jinliang. All had been involved in "illegal organization" in Hebei or Beijing. (Hebei Ribao, 11 July 89)

**Wang Wang (王旺)**

Wang Wang. Leader of Shanghai Workers Union. Arrested on June 9. (World Journal, 6-11-89)

**Wang Wei (王瑋)**

Wang Wei. Arrested. See Sun Feng.

**Wang Wei (王偉)**

Wang Wei. He and Zhang Jun, two members of a Citizen's Dare-to-Die Corps in Beijing were arrested on June 11 by the Martial Law Enforcement Command acting in coordination with the Public Security Bureau. Zhang is a native of Hebei and had been in Tian'anmen Square every night from May 20 until the army assault on June 3-4. He was accused of "shielding" the radio station there and spreading rumors against the party and government. Wang was reported to be a leader of the "No. 9 Team" of the Dare-to-Die Corps and was accused of assaulting soldiers with bottles on the night of June 3. "On June 5, while leading corps members in escorting ringleaders of the Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities to flee to other places, he unscrupulously spread counter-revolutionary rumors about a bloodbath on Tian'anmen Square aboard the train." (Beijing TV, 6-12-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 6-14-89)

**Wang Weilin (王維林)**

Wang Weilin, 19-year-old, son of a Beijing factory worker, was arrested by secret police. ('London Express', June 18, 1989)

He was charged with being a "counter-revolutionary, a traitor and a political hooligan" and attempting to subvert members of the People Liberation Army. He had stood defiantly in front of a column of battle tanks near Tiananmen Square. According to the newspaper account, his friends recognised him when CCTV showed a line-up of detainees with their heads shaved. It is feared that he has been executed.

**Wang Xia (王霞)**

Wang Xia, female, worker at the Shanghai No. 7 Weaving Mill. Was accused of inciting people to sit on railway tracks during a demonstration in Shanghai on June 6, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment by the Shanghai Railway Transportation Court. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7 July 1989)

**Wang Xiaoping (王小平)**

Wang Xiaoping. Arrested. See Chen Bo

**Wang Xinlin (王新林)**

Wang Xinlin, aged 24, engineer and former PLA officer (dismissed Nov. 88). Arrested by Jinggangshan police for 'counter-revolutionary' propaganda activities, such as 'viciously attacking' party and state leaders and shouting 'reactionary slogans'. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 23 June 1989; Asia Watch, 29 June 1989)

**Wang Yang (王洋)**

Wang Yang, student of the Nanjing Institute of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering and standing committee member of the Autonomous Union of College Students, was arrested on 14 June (Beijing Domestic Service, 21 June in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 21 June 1989)

**Wang Yang (王揚)**

Wang Yang. Taxi driver for Taiwan journalist, Huang Teh-pei. Arrested on July 2 after he drove Huang and the student leader, Wang Dan for a meeting.

**Wang Yong (王勇)**

Wang Yong. Arrested. See Ren Hepeng.

**Wang Yongqian (王永錢)**

Wang Yongqian, of Chengdu. Arrested. Said to have attacked the city government and beaten up policemen.

**Wang Zhaoming (王朝明)**

Wang Zhaoming. Sentenced. See Wang Jiaxiang.

**Wang Zhengming (王爭鳴)**

Wang Zhengming, a self-employed tailor and leader of a "counter-revolutionary" organisation called the "China Youth Democratic Party", established in 1986. Was arrested on 10th June in Shanghai with other key members of the group. (Wen Wei Po, 12 June 1989) Wang was said to have argued for the necessity of an opposition party in China and gone around to several universities around Shanghai to recruit members for the CYDP.

**Wang Zhengyun (王正雲)**

Wang Zhengyun. Aged 21. From Yunnan. One of the students on the government's 21 "most wanted" list. Not an ethnic Chinese, he was a student at the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing. His arrest has not been officially announced. (China Daily News, 7-18-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-17-89, p. 25)

**Wang Zhigang (王志剛)**

Wang Zhigang. A leader of Beijing Citizens' Autonomous Union. Arrested on June 15 in Chushu County together with Ji Funian and three others. See Ji Funian.

**Wang Zhihong (王之虹)**

Wang Zhihong, female, aged 32, wife of Chen Ziming, arrested together. (South China Morning Post, 10 Nov. 1989)

**Wang Zhilin (王之林)**

Wang Zhilin. Five staff members of the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences are reported to have been arrested in June in Chengdu for carrying out "counter-revolutionary agitation" (Amnesty International 89). The exact date and circumstances of their arrests unknown. They are: Wang Zhilin, aged 35, researcher and editor, library; Du Qiusheng, aged 38, researcher, Institute of Philosophy & Culture; Li Jing, aged 33, researcher, Institute of Philosophy & Culture; Li Xiaofeng, aged 30-35, researcher; Wang Chengzhong, aged 40, researcher.

**Wang Zhixin (王治新)**

Wang Zhixin, male, aged 22, student of Chinese University of Political Science and Law. On the wanted list.

**Wang Zhongshou (王重壽)**

Wang Zhongshou. Self-employed. Accused, with four others, with "serious" public order offenses committed in a Square in Nanchang during the May 4 demonstrations. The five reportedly blocked traffic, smashed and overturned vehicles, set fire to property and attacked people. Wang received a 2-year sentence. (Jiangxi Daily, 7-20-89) See Li Nianbing.

**Wang Zunning (王遵寧)**

Wang Zunning. Peasant from Lantian County. Sentenced to three or four years for "disrupting social order" in connection with his role in the April 22 Xi'an riot. (Workers' Daily, 8-17-89; Asia Watch, 8-22-89) See Fan Changjiang.

**Wei Yinchun (魏因沉)**

Wei Yinchun. Sentenced to imprisonment. See Sun Manhong.

**Wei Yongbin (韋容賓)**

Wei Yongbin. Arrested. See Ma Hongliang.

**Wu Baiming (吳白明)**

Wu Baiming. Executed. See Li Ying.

**Wu Haizhen (吳海真)**

Wu Haizhen, aged 34, foreign language teacher of Yunnan Education Institute. Arrested on 13th June in Kunming for having "attacked the party and government leaders" in talks to students and workers.

**Wu Jiayang (伍家揚)**

Wu Jiayang. Arrested. See Chen Bo.

**Wu Jidong (吳繼東)**

Wu Jidong. Arrested. See Zhang Yi.

**Wu Qiang (吳強)**

Wu Qiang, a 22-year-old worker, was arrested in Beijing on July 2, 1989 and convicted of stealing firearms from a burned tank on 7 June. According to a report on Beijing radio, he would be strictly punished because he had refused to surrender. (Asia Watch, 15 Nov. 1989; Beijing Daily, 4 July, 1989)

**Wu Qihao (吳啓豪)**

Wu Qihao. Arrested. See Lü Guodong.

**Wu Rangyuan (吳讓園)**

Wu Rangyuan, aged 46, female. Research fellow at Semiconductor Institute of Chinese Academy of Science. Arrested on June 9 for spreading rumours and instigating people to burn military vehicles. (Beijing Daily, 17 June, 1989; China Daily News, 26 June, 1989)

**Wu Tianming (吳天明)**

Wu Tianming, director of the Xian Film Studio. On the wanted list.

**Wu Xuechan (吳學燦)**

Wu Xuechan. On the new most wanted list issued by the

Public Security Ministry in late Oct. 1989. Four intellectuals were also named. Three of them: Wang Juntao, Chen Ziming and his wife, and Wang Zhihong, have since been arrested. The remaining one is: Wu Xuechan, male, aged 38, native of Jiangsu. Editor and reporter of overseas edition of Renmin Ribao. ('People's Daily')

**Wu Zhi Jun (吳志軍)**

Wu Zhi Jun. Arrested. See Liu Weipu.

**Xia Changchun (夏長春)**

Xia Changchun. Arrested. See Li Weihong.

**Xia Kai (夏凱)**

Xia Kai, Shenzhen University student arrested in June for involvement in Beijing student movement. (Renmin Ribao, overseas edition, 27 June 1989)

**Xia Ming (夏明)**

Xia Ming. Arrested. See Li Xiaolu.

**Xiang Yongbin (向永斌)**

Xiang Yongbin. Member of "dare-to-die corps" from Xi'an. Arrested at midnight June 11 along with Liu Xiaolong and Zhu Lin.

**Xiao Bin (蕭斌)**

Xiao Bin, aged 42. Worker in Dalian (Liaoning Province). Sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment recently in Dalian for carrying out "counter-revolutionary incitement". Xiao Bing had been arrested on June 11 after he was shown on Chinese television speaking to an American ABC television crew in Beijing early in June. During the interview with the ABC television crew, Xiao Bing said that 20,000 people had been killed during the army intervention in Beijing on June 4 and some crushed by tanks. He was denounced shortly afterwards by two women who saw him on Chinese television and who reportedly were given a large financial reward. At his trial, he was found guilty of spreading rumors and "vilifying the righteous act of the martial law troops". He was tried by Dalian intermediate people's court and sentenced under article 102 of China's criminal law. (Renmin Ribao, 6-12-89; CCTV, 7-13-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-14-89, p. 61; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-21-89, p. 23) He was charged on 19th June with "counter-revolutionary inflammatory propaganda". Sentenced on 13th July to 10 years' imprisonment. (Wen Wei Po, 14-7-89)

**Xiao Han (蕭漢)**

Xiao Han, arrested in Dalian for stirring up 'counter-revolutionary' activities in Beijing and then Dalian (arrest announced by Shenyang Radio on 16th June 1989).

**Xiao Sanfeng (蕭三峯)**

Xiao Sanfeng. Peasant from Lantian County. Sentenced for "disrupting social order" in connection with his role in the April 22 Xi'an riot. (Workers' Daily, 8-17-89)

**Xiao Zhongwu (蕭忠武)**

Xiao Zhongwu and Qu Yutang were arrested in Harbin, Heilongjiang, on June 10 for allegedly inciting passengers to destroy a bus. (Amnesty International)

**Xie Wengqing (謝文清)**

Xie Wengqing. The 2 Dec., 1989 edition of a Hong Kong magazine 'Contemporary' revealed that 258 cadres in governmental organizations, from the rank of bureau chiefs and above, are being 'short-listed' for investigation into their involvement in the student movement. Of these, 159 have been disciplined i.e. expelled from Party membership, dismissed, demoted or suspended from public office.

Xie Wengqing, former vice-director of Hong Kong Branch of NCNA and vice-minister of Broadcast, Film and Television since mid-1980's, was an example. He gave encouragement to his staff and took part in demonstrations during the student movement.

After being forced to self-criticise 7 times he was expelled from Party and demoted.

**Xie Yongwang (謝永旺)**

Xie Yongwang. Dismissed and investigated. See Guan Zhihao

**Xie Zhenrong (謝振榮)**

Xie Zhenrong. Arrested. See Chen Zewei.

**Xiong Dayong (熊大勇)**

Xiong Dayong. Aged 22. Senior student of Chinese Department at Beijing University. Xiong Dayong has been arrested for organizing a July 23 demonstration on the university campus for protesting the policy of assigning jobs for graduates. This was the first reported protest since the student democracy movement was suppressed in early June. Xiong Dayong's arrest was announced by the university authorities in what appears to have been a warning to other students. They said that Xiong Dayong was detained for breaching martial law regulations, but that he had previously been caught stealing bicycles and had been warned for assault. On the evening of July 23, at least 300 students were reported to have gathered outside their dormitories to sing a parody of patriotic songs and mourn the students killed in Beijing. After about an hour, according to participants, the students marched to a point on the campus where political posters had been put up before the crackdown on dissent, singing and beating pots and pans. No attempt was made to break up the demonstration, and no one was arrested on the spot. (World Journal, 8-1-89)

**Xiong Wei (熊煒)**

Xiong Wei. Aged 23. Native of Yingcheng, Hubei. A journalism student of the Department of Radio at Qianghua University. On the "21 Most Wanted" list broadcast on Tuesday night, June 13. Reportedly turned himself in to the authorities on June 14 on NO. 254 Train (from Shenyang to Beijing) in the company of his mother. He had reportedly coordinated the medical teams helping those who staged the hunger strike in Tiananmen Square from May 13 until shortly before the crackdown. (Renmin Ribao, 6-16-89)

**Xiong Yan (熊炎)**

Xiong Yan, Aged 25. Native of Shuangfeng County, Hunan. Graduate law student at Beijing University. One of the 21 most wanted. Arrested on a train outside Datong, northeast of Beijing in Shanxi Province. He was one of a number of student leaders who had met with Premier Li Peng on May 18. At that meeting, he was quoted as saying, "We believe, no matter whether the government does or not, that history will recognize this movement as a patriotic and democratic movement . . . The people want to see whether the government is really a people's government or not." (South China Morning Post, 6-15-89; Renmin Ribao, 6-15-89)

**Xu Bingli (徐秉禮)**

Xu Bingli, worker at the Hongkou district's Housing Management Co. in Shanghai. Arrested on 13th June for setting up an illegal organisation ("China Civil Rights Autonomous Federation") and for counter-revolutionary propaganda. (Amnesty International)

**Xu Chong (許冲)**

Xu Chong, general secretary of Anhui Province Autonomous Students Federation, arrested in a hotel in Nanjing in mid-July (Xin Hua Daily, 22/7, relayed by AFP)

**Xu Guibao (許貴寶)**

Xu Guibao. Arrested in Shanghai June 5-6. Alleged Offense: Inciting others to deflate tires of five vehicles. (Renmin Ribao, 6-21-89)

**Xu Guocai (許國材)**

Xu Guocai, a peasant from Songjiaguo village, Huanhe township, Tieling county, Shenyang; was arrested for sending 13 'counter-revolutionary' letters between April 20 and May 26.



Signed in the name of the "special administrative team of the Northeast China Joint Forces for Saving the Country", they called on military districts in the region to overthrow the government, stage mutinies, and support student unrest, according to a provincial radio broadcast. (Asia Watch, 15 Nov. 89)

**Xu Guoming (徐國明)**

Xu Guoming, a worker at a Shanghai brewery, had set fire to two police motorcycles and attacked firefighters and workers dispatched to help in the rescue operation, confessed his crimes before the panel of judges and a packed court house. Xu Guoming and two other workers, Bian Hanwu and Yan Xuerong, had been sentenced to death on 15 June (NCNA Shanghai) for burning down a train which had ploughed through demonstrators on the track and killing six persons on 6th June. They were allowed three days to appeal. Appeal rejected on 20th June.

**Xu Tao (許濤)**

Xu Tao. Arrested. See Ma Hongliang.

**Xu Xiaomei (許小微)**

Xu Xiaomei. Arrested. See Zhang Weiguo.

**Xu Ying (徐英)**

Xu Ying. Arrested. See An Baojing.

**Xue Nanfang (薛南方)**

Xue Nanfang. Arrested. See Sun Yanru.

**Xun Jianshen (鄒健生)**

Xun Jianshen, aged 34, instructor at school of Communist Youth League in Chongqing, Sichuan. Accused of "attacking the party leaders and People's Liberation Army" in his classroom. He was expelled from the party and arrested in September. (Chongqing Evening News, 14 Sept. 1989, Shijie Ribao 10. Oct. 1989)

**Yan Hongzhe (嚴宏哲)**

Yan Hongzhe and Chen Menghui, aged 20, both students of Ningxia Teachers College. Said to have written essays to slander the Chinese Communist Party. Arrested on 21st July (Ningxia Daily, 28th July 1989, relayed by AFP Beijing; Ming Pao, 2 Aug 1989.)

**Yan Jinchao (嚴金超)**

Yan Jinchao, aged 21, student of Ningxia University. Upon return from Beijing on 4 June, he started spreading 'false' reports about the military crackdown. Arrested in Ningxia on 21st July. (Ningxia Daily, 28 July 1989, relayed by AFP Beijing; Ming Pao, 2 Aug 1989.)

**Yan Tingqui (嚴廷貴)**

Yan Tingqui, one of ten members of the Shanghai Patriotic Workers Organization Supporting Beijing People, has been arrested for allegedly forcing the director of his factory to call a strike in support of the people of Beijing following the crackdown there. According to Jiefang Ribao (August 23, 1989), Yan had a previous gambling conviction for which the Shanghai government paper had labeled him a "bad element".

**Yan Xuerong (嚴雪榮)**

Yan Xuerong. Sentenced to death. See Xu Guoming.

**Yang Baikui (楊百揆)**

Yang Baikui. Administrative law specialist at the Chinese Academy of Social Science (Beijing). Had been a student at Beijing University (late 1970s-early 1980s), majoring in international politics: Communist movements. During the April 1989 demonstrations he advised student leaders like Wu'erkaixi and Wang Dan on such matters as making their names public. Probably arrested July 1989. Detained in Chaobaihe Prison near Beijing. See Wang Yan.

**Yang Dongju (楊東居)**

Yang Dongju, worker at Shenyang Railway Bureau, and Quanbaogui, worker at the No. 4 Vehicle Parts Factory in Dandong City, Heilongjiang Province, both arrested about June 15-20. (Amnesty International 6th July 1989).

**Yang Feng (楊風)**

Yang Feng, chairman of the Autonomous Student Union of Anhui Engineering Institute, Hefei, and alleged ringleader of the 'Voice of the People's' broadcasting station (which may be no more than a loudspeaker, lasted six days). Accused of fabricating and spreading rumors. Arrested June 4 for 'counter-revolutionary propaganda & instigation'. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 10 July 89)

**Yang Fuqiang (楊福強)**

Yang Fuqiang. Aged 27. A leader of the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Union. A worker at the Beijing No. 4 Hydraulic Plant. Arrested on June 10. Yang became a member of the Union on May 22 and was appointed leader of the third picket detachment. Reportedly made a "preliminary confession" that he had instigated people to storm the Beijing Public Security Bureau on May 30. That "confession" may have been extracted by force or intimidation. Yang appeared on a state television program in the presence of an interrogator on June 11, and according to a UPI report, "The prisoner was groggy and his speech was slurred from an apparent beating that swelled his right cheek. Several of the other suspects also appeared to have suffered beatings." (Beijing Daily, 6-12-89)

**Yang Gechuang (楊革闢)**

Yang Gechuang. Arrested. See Hu Liangbin.

**Yang Guansan (楊關山)**

Yang Guansan, economist at the State Commission of Reform of Central Government Structure, arrest reported in 7th July in news of Amnesty International.

**Yang Hong (楊宏)**

Yang Hong, aged 36, Yunnan correspondent of "China Youth" newspaper, and lecturer at the Foreigner Language Department of the Kunming Education College. Said to have made inflammatory speeches in factories. His arrest, on 13th/14th June announced on CCTV evening news. (17-6-89)

**Yang Jian (楊堅)**

Yang Jian. Arrested. See Chen Jinliang.

**Yang Jianhua (楊劍華)**

Yang Jianhua, arrested in Dachang county, Hebei, for burning 30 military vehicles during the 'counter-revolutionary' rebellion. (Hebei Ribao, 12 July 89)

**Yang Jinfa (楊金發)**

Yan Jinfa. Convicted. See Jiang Xidi.

**Yang Jun (楊軍)**

Yang Jun. Arrested. See Li Xiaolu.

**Yang Lujun (楊祿俊)**

Yang Lujun, researcher at Institute of Asia of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. Actively joined the democratic movement and arrested in August. He had visited Hong Kong last May and could be accused of relating to foreign reactionary. (Shijie Ribao, 10 Oct. 1989)

**Yang Shizeng (楊世增)**

A worker. Arrested. See Zhaoyuetang.

**Yang Tao (楊濤)**

Yang Tao. Aged 19. Born in Fuzhou. A history student at Beijing University, who was also on the "most-wanted" list as President of Beida Students' Autonomous Union. Arrested in the

town of Yongdeng in Gansu Province on June 16. (Beijing Daily, 6-18-89)

**Yang Tingfen (楊廷分)**

Yang Tingfen, a railroad worker in the East Shanghai Work Area, has been arrested for helping student demonstrators to block and damage military railroad tracks on June 5, 1989. (Jiefang Ribao, August 23, 1989). The date of Yang's arrest is unknown.

**Yang Wei (楊魏)**

Yang Wei. Aged 33. Was graduate student in biology at University of Arizona. Had been imprisoned for 2 years earlier (1987-89). After his release in January 1989 he remained under some restrictions, and was not allowed to travel abroad. Rearrested July 18, 1989 for "demagogical propaganda for counter-revolutionary ends." Radio Shanghai did not give any clear reason for his second arrest. "After being released from prison on January 9 this year, Yang Wei was assigned to work as a translator in a factory. But he did not show any penitence and continued to maintain contacts with and provide information for the reactionary organization (China Alliance for Democracy), conducted demagogic propaganda, and instigating criminal schemes against the government". (New York Times, 1-10-89, 7-20-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-20-89, p. 39)

**Yang Xiao (楊曉)**

Yang Xiao, aged 28, native of Sichuan, graduated from Department of Sociology, Beijing University, in 1982. Was secretary to Chen Yizi, then director of the System Reform Institute. Arrested since June 4 (Amnesty International)

**Yang Xiao'ao (楊小敖)**

Yang Xiao'ao. Sentenced to imprisonment. See Sun Manhong.

**Yang Xiaohua (楊小華)**

Yang Xiaohua, described as a 'vagrant' and a former member of a singing and dancing troupe. Accused of spying for Taiwan authorities. During the democratic movement, he wrote pamphlets and mingled with students in Yichang (Hubei) and instigated them to storm local party and government organs. Has "confessed" and is reportedly being tried. (Wuhan Radio, 26 Aug. 1989)

**Yang Xiong (楊雄)**

Yang Xiong, Changsha worker and leader member of Changsha Autonomous Workers Union. Arrested with 30 other workers for blocking traffic. (Renmin Ribao, 14 June 1989)

**Yang Xiuping (楊修平)**

Yang Xiuping. Arrested. See Chen Dao.

**Yang Yijun (楊易君)**

Yang Yijun, 21-year-old male. Apparently a recent graduate of a college under the Capital Iron & Steel Works, Beijing. Had been living at Machangdian Village in Niutouya, Funing County, Hebei. Was arrested by the Qinhuangdao City's Public Security as a "ruffian" who had "unbridledly burnt 21 military vehicles during the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing". (Hebei Ribao, 17 June & 12 July 89)

**Yang Yongqian (楊勇乾)**

Yang Yongqian. Said to have attacked city government buildings and beaten up policemen. (China Concern Group, Hong Kong University)

**Yang Zhiwei (楊志偉)**

Yang Zhiwei, student in journalism of Hebei University, representative of students outside Beijing and, Li Xiuping, a young woman student-leader, arrested on 18th June at Baoding (CCTV news 18-6-89). Both had taken part in the talk between State Council and the independent student movement. (Hong Kong Standard, 19 June 1989)

**Yang Zhizan (楊志贊)**

Yang Zhizan. Arrested. See Zhao Yuetang.

**Yao Shanbai (姚善白)**

Yao Shanbai. Convicted. See Jiang Xidi.

**Yao Yongzhan (姚勇戰)**

Yao Yongzhan, Alias Zhang Cai, aged 19, a student activist from Hong Kong, was arrested on June 11 at Shanghai Airport as he was getting ready to depart for Hong Kong on a Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC) flight. He was detained at the passport control section of the Airport by about eight security officers, both uniformed and in plainclothes. British consular staff who accompanied him to the Airport did not receive any response to their inquiries about his whereabouts or the charges against him. He was a first-year student in Economics at Fudan University. (South China Morning Post, 7 29 1989). The arrest was later confirmed by the Political Adviser's Office, almost seven weeks after he was detained. . . He was officially arrested for undertaking "counter-revolutionary propaganda activities aimed at inciting the public". But Shanghai authorities have not yet filed any charge against him. On July 28, the British Embassy in Beijing lodged a formal request to the Chinese Foreign Ministry demanding the release of Yao. Shanghai security officials had said that Yao had not registered his name as a leader of the now outlawed Autonomous Union of Shanghai Universities as required and that he had been carrying "banned material". According to the Hong Kong Government, Yao was detained by Shanghai's Public Security Bureau between June 11 and July 1 for investigations. Representatives of Hongkong Federation of Students, which has been campaigning for Yao's release, petitioned the local branch of the New China News Agency on July 29. The Chinese authorities consider Yao, who was born in Shanghai, as a PRC national. (South China Morning Post, 6-13-89, 7-20-89, 7-29-89, 1-5-90; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 7-21-89, p. 58) On 20 Dec. 1989, his case was transferred to the Shanghai People's Procuratorate, with a recommendation for a public trial. His mother has been allowed to see him around Christmas.

**Ye Wenfu (葉文福)**

Ye Wenfu. Poet and army officer. A singer of the May 16 Petition. Reportedly had been tortured and attempted to commit suicide. (Ming Pao, 7-20-89)

**Yi Jinyao (易金瑤)**

Yi Jinyao. A driver for the Fourth Branch of Construction Company of Beijing Civil Administration Bureau. Convicted of trying on May 20 to incite workers at the Capital Iron and Steel Company to join the democracy movement. Sentenced to 4 years. Four people were tried together. (Beijing Evening News, 7-6-89); Beijing Law Enforcement, 7-6-89) See Lin Qiang.

**You Dianqi (尤典奇)**

You Dianqi. Arrested. See He Qunying.

**Yu Anmin (余安民)**

Yu Anmin. Arrested. See Shi Ying.

**Yu Chunsheng (余春生)**

Yu Chunsheng. Sentenced. See Li Nianbing.

**Yu Chunting (余椿庭)**

Yu Chunting. Executed. See Yuo Zhenghua.

**Yu Dongyue (余東岳)**

Yu Dongyue. Aged 22. From Hunan. Art editor for Liuyang Daily. Joined May 28 demonstration at Tiananmen. With 2 others accused of splashing paint on Mao's portrait. He was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for "counter-revolutionary propaganda" by the Beijing Intermediate Court. (Renmin Ribao, 8-14-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8-24-89)

**Yu Fangqiang (余方強)**

Yu Fangqiang. Student at Beijing Science and Technology

University. "Major" participant in democracy movement. Arrested in his native city of Xintai, Shandong, on June 17, same case as Shi Jingang, q.v.

**Yu Guangyuan (于光遠)**

Yu Guangyuan, member of Central Advisory Commission of the Chinese Communist Party and a veteran economist. On the wanted list.

**Yu Haocheng (于浩成)**

Yu Haocheng, Director and professor of the China Legal System and Social Development Research Institute. A well-known legal scholar in China, is reported to have been arrested at his home in Beijing on 27 June. He was seen being taken away in handcuffs. He was declared a "Rightist" in 1957 and was held in solitary confinement for a long time during the Cultural Revolution. In 1979 again he became a strong advocate of liberalization. He became director (until fired in 1986) of Mass Publishing House, which published numerous "questionable" books including Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago". Author of essay "Problems in the Reform of China's Political Structure and the Development of its Legal System". (Wen Hui Bao, Shanghai, 1-14-89; transl. in US Joint Publications Research Service CAR-89-039, pp. 5-7; China Daily News, 7-7-89)

**Yu Jiasong (余佳頌)**

Yu Jiasong. Sentenced. See Liu Yajie.

**Yu Peiming (余佩明)**

Yu Peiming, aged 59, steel worker in Beijing. He was said to have given speech in Liuliqiao area to attack party leaders and stir people to over-throw the government. He was arrested on June 11. (Beijing Daily 13 June 1989)

**Yu Tieliang (余鐵鏢)**

Yu Tieliang, unemployed, attacked soldiers and burned vehicles on June 3, and was arrested on June 11. (Beijing Daily, 13 June 1989)

**Yu Yong (余勇)**

Yu Yong. Sentenced to imprisonment. See Feng Shuangqing.

**Yu Yungang (于雲剛)**

Yu Yungang. Arrested. See Ma Hongliang.

**Yu Zhenbin (余振斌)**

Yu Zhenbin, aged 27, a staff member of the Qinghai Provincial Archives Bureau, was officially reported to have been arrested on 27 June in Xining, the capital of Qinghai province. He is accused of setting up a "counterrevolutionary" organization called the Chinese People's Democratic Opposition Parties Alliance, in Xining recently. He is accused of having a record of "reactionary" activity and hostility to the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system. During the recent protests in Beijing, he reportedly made three public speeches in Xining, criticizing party and state leaders, and wrote and distributed leaflets calling for a revision of the constitution, a new central government and an end to the one-party rule in China. After martial law was imposed in Beijing on May 20, he reportedly wrote a constitution for the opposition parties alliance, printed registration forms and recruited members. There is no evidence that Yu Zhenbin advocated violence, however, and he appears to be detained for peacefully using his right to freedom of expression and association. He will probably be charged with "organizing a counterrevolutionary group", an offence punishable under article 98 of China's criminal law by a minimum of five years' imprisonment and a maximum of life imprisonment. (Renmin Ribao, 6-29-1989; China Daily News, 6-29-1989)

**Yu Zhijian (余志堅)**

Yu Zhijian. Teacher at Tantou Primary School in Hunan, was accused of smearing the portrait of Mao Zedong at Tiananmen. See Yu Dongyue. He received a life sentence for "counter-

revolutionary sabotage". (Renmin Ribao, 8-14-89; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8-24-1989)

**Yu Zhongmin (余忠民)**

Yu Zhongmin. Arrested. See Shi Binhai.

**Yu Zhongsheng (余崇勝)**

Yu Zhongsheng, identified only as a "company employee", received three-year sentence. See Wang Zhongshou.

**Yuan Cihe (遠賜和)**

Yuan Cihe, aged 23, was accused of organizing student demonstration. He went to Beijing from Baotou, and interviewed by foreign reporters for many times. See Wang Shufeng.

**Yuan Zhimin (袁志民)**

Yuan Zhimin. Worker, arrested, convicted and jailed around 22nd June 1989. He was accused of setting a train on fire on 6th June 1989 after it ran over and killed demonstrators. (South China Morning Post 22 June). See Sun Manhong.

**Yuan Zhiqiang (袁志强)**

Yuan Zhiqiang. Sentenced. See Tang Jianzhong.

**Yue Wenfu (岳文福)**

Yue Wenfu, a student at the Lu Xun Academy of Literature and a leading activist in Tiananmen Square, has been arrested and badly beaten while in prison, according to an Asian Watch source. Yue is thought to have helped erect barricades to block the P.L.A.'s entry into Beijing (Asia Watch, 15 Nov. 1989)

**Zeng Weidong (曾衛東)**

Zeng Weidong, unemployed, was arrested on June 6 during the university students' demonstration on Zhuhai Square (Guangzhou). He was accused of smashing cars, and Sentenced 18 years imprisonment by a court in Guangzhou on October 9 (World Journal, 10-10-1989)

**Zeng Yidong (曾宜東)**

Zeng Yidong. Was Sentenced. See Li Jiaoming.

**Zhai Weimin (翟偉民)**

Zhai Weimin, male 21, student of Beijing Institute of Economics was on the wanted list.

**Zhai Yicun (翟毅存)**

Zhai Yicun was arrested. See Zhang Jianzhang.

**Zhan Xinghu (湛新虎)**

Zhan Xinghu was sentenced. See Tang Jianzhong.

**Zhang Bingbing (張兵兵)**

Zhang Bingbing, contract worker with an installation team, Third Shaanxi Provincial Construction Company, was accused of participating in a riot in Xi'an's Xincheng Square following the memorial service for Hu Yaobang, and was Sentenced 16 years imprisonment. See Rui Chaoyang. (Workers Daily, 8-17-1989)

**Zhang Boli (張伯笠)**

Zhang Boli, male, 26, student at Beijing University, chief organiser of the "Democracy College" at Tiananmen Square, was one of the student leaders still on the wanted list.

**Zhang Cheng or Zhang Zhen (張成)**

Zhang Cheng or Zhang Zhen, former student of Zhejiang Medical College, was once expelled for stealing. He became leader of the autonomous student union and brought back lots of material from Beijing. He was accused of giving counter-revolutionary speeches and blocking trains, and arrested on June 15 in Hangzhou, together with 15 other persons of 18 'counter-revolutionary' organizations from Hangzhou, Ningbo, Wenzhou and Jinhua. (Hangzhou Daily, 23 June 1989, Asia Watch, 10 July).

**Zhang Chunhui (張春輝)**

Zhang Chunhui, aged 24, was arrested in Beijing and accused of helping to kill a soldier during the unrest (the Legal News 29 June, Reuter, 30 June)

**Zhang Cunyong (張存永)**

Zhang Cunyong, aged 27, instructor in Department of Management, Beijing Institute of Steel Industry, was active in the democracy movement until the June 4 crackdown; after which he used a computer to edit and print material about the Beijing massacre. He was arrested on June 15, together with his sister and Hou Xiangjun, who had helped him to print the material. (China Co-group of Amnesty International, 30 Oct. 1989)

**Zhang Guorong (張國榮)**

Zhang Guorong, leader of Workers' Volunteer Brigade of Hefei, Anhui, reportedly turned himself into the Public Security Bureau on June 10. He had been detained twice before and once sent to labour education camp. He was accused of "taking advantage of the social unrest to stage demonstrations, shout slogans, incite strikes and vilify party and state leaders". (Asia Watch, 19 June)

**Zhang Guojun (張國軍)**

Zhang Guojun was arrested. See Sun Yanru.

**Zhang Hongfu (張洪福)**

Zhang Hongfu. Arrested. See Chen Jinliang.

**Zhang Zhenhong (張振鴻)**

Zhang Zhenhong, aged 26, Beijing resident, was arrested in late June together with Bai Xinyu and other seven of burning military vehicles and stealing weapons. Zhang was also accused of burning a soldier's corpse on June 5. (Beijing Daily, 6-27-1989)

**Zhang Jia (張嘉)**

Zhang Jia, arrested in Shahe, Hebei on 16th June was officially described as commander of the pickets of the Autonomous Federation of Beijing University Students. (Hebei Ribao, 12 July 89)

**Zhang Jiangsheng (張勁生)**

Zhang Jiangsheng. Sentenced. See Wang Changhuai.

**Zhang Jianhua (張建華)**

Zhang Jianhua was arrested. See Zhong Zhanguo.

**Zhang Jianzhong (張建忠)**

Zhang Jianzhong. In Beijing, 9 were charged with counter-revolutionary crimes, including setting fire to military vehicles, stealing army equipments and attacking troops, on 3rd and 4th June. They are (Beijing Daily, quoted in South China Morning Post 28/6)

Zhang Jianzhong, aged 26, bodyguard for the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation and for their broadcasting station, was accused of mutilating the body of a dead soldier.

Bai Xinyu, aged 60, former Nationalist soldier allegedly KMT agent, was said to have burnt a military vehicle.

Wang Guo-qiang, Miao Desun, Dong Shengkun, and Shi Guoquan were accused of setting fire.

Zhai Yicun was accused of looting. Li Wenbao, aged 20, was a peasant from Shunyi county, a suburb of Shenyang.

Liang Hong Chen, aged 18, was a peasant from a suburb of Shenyang.

Li and Liang were sentenced to death by the Beijing Intermediate Court after a public trial on 26th July, on the charge of using the period of turmoil and rebellion in Beijing to beat and rob passers -

by posing as security personnel (Beijing Evening News 26 July, relayed by U.P.I. and A.F.P.) Believed to have been executed.

**Zhang Jie (張潔)**

Zhang Jie, aged 22, unemployed in Qingdao, was accused of leading several thousand people to the city government on June 5 to pay respect to those killed in Beijing. After that meeting, he gave several speeches to stir up trouble, and was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment. (Mass Daily, Shandong, 15 Oct. 1989; shijie Ribao, 21 Oct. 1989)

**Zhang Jinfa (張金發)**

Zhang Jinfa. Worker in Shanghai. Accused of joining the counter-revolutionary riot. Sentenced 11 years imprisonment. See Jiang Xidi.

**Zhang Jun (張軍)**

Zhang Jun, a native of Hebei and member of the Beijing Citizens Dare-to-Die Corps, had been in Tiananmen Square every night from May 30 to June 3-4. Accused of 'shielding' the radio station there and spreading rumours against the party and government, he was arrested on June 11. (CCTV news, 12 June)

**Zhang Kebin (張可賓)**

Zhang Kebin. Sentenced See Liu Yajie.

**Zhang Li (張禮)**

Zhang Li and Li Jiawei, respectively director and editor of the publishing house of the Sichuan Provincial Academy of Social Sciences, were expelled from the Party for authorizing the publication of the 'The Complete Biography of Du Yuesheng (a gangster in Shanghai in the 30's who provided important support for Chiang Kai-shek). According to a radio report in Chengdu on 28 August, the two men were accused of 'seriously violating political discipline' and would be dealt with by the judicial organ. So they might have been arrested (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 30 Aug. 1989)

**Zhang Ming (張銘)**

Zhang Ming, aged 24, from Julin City was student at the Automobile Engineering Department of Qinghua University in Beijing, and No. 19 on the most wanted list. Leading member of the Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities, he was reported to have been arrested in Shenzhen, apparently in early September. (New York Time, 6-14-1989, Photo; Ming Bao, 9-14-1989, p.6; US Foreign Broadcast Information Service 9-14-1989, p. 11)

**Zhang Qiwan (張齊旺)**

Zhang Qiwan, a private entrepreneur and key member of the Autonomous Union of Shanghai workers, was arrested on 8th June during a demonstration in the Bund, charged with spreading rumour, putting together an organisation and inciting the people to overthrow the government. Other members of the Union arrested are: Chen Shangfu, Wang Miaogen and Wang Hong (Amnesty International, 15 June). (NCNA Shanghai 10 June) They were accused of holding secret meetings, advocating strikes and 'vilified the Shanghai Council of Trade Unions as being totally paralysed'. Another leader arrested is Cai Chaojun. Indeed, Shanghai Wenhui Bao reported that 72 of the 99 persons that were active in leading the democracy movement in Shanghai, belonging to 11 organisations, had been arrested. (Ming Pao 19 Sept.)

**Zhang Renfu (張仁富)**

Zhang Renfu, worker at Shanghai Aquatic Products Cold Storage Plant, and Zheng Liang, Gong Chencheng were the leading members of Shanghai Patriotic Workers' Organization. They turned themselves in or arrested with 23 others (Beijing TV report, 16 June)

**Zhang Shaoying (張少英)**

Zhang Shaoying was sentenced. See Liu Weipu.

**Zhang Shengming (張聲明)**

Zhang Shengming, engineer of the Guizhou Province Farm Machinery Bureau, accused of sending anonymous letters to the central and provincial governments to criticize the Party, was arrested on 26/6 in Guiyang. (People's Daily, 26/6, South China Morning Post, 27/6)

#### **Zhang Shu (張抒)**

Zhang Shu was one of at least two reporters believed so far to have been arrested from the People's Daily, the newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party. Zhang Shu and six printers from the paper were reportedly arrested for blocking military vehicles in Beijing. According to the human rights' organization Asia Watch, Zhang Shu wrote a special edition of the paper following the execution on June 21 of three workers in Shanghai. This special edition, which was photocopied for circulation but never printed, is said to have described the politburo meeting at which the then communist party general secretary Zhao Ziyang was dismissed. See Chen Hong. (China Daily News, 7-17-1989)

#### **Zhang Wei (張偉)**

Zhang Wei, aged 22, native of Zhengyang, Henan, was student in the 1988 class of the Department of Journalism, Zhengzhou University. Together with Yang Xi, he delivered inflammatory speeches. On June 6, he set up a broadcast station in the city for 'counter-revolutionary propaganda' and was arrested on June 22 (Henan Legal News 30 Aug. 1989, US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 23 Aug.)

#### **Zhang Weiguo (張偉國)**

Zhang Weiguo, male 38 years old, was responsible for the Beijing office of Shanghai-based "World Economic Herald".

After the Herald was taken over by the Party officials, he questioned the legality of the action and tried to institute legal proceedings. He was picked up by plain-clothes on 20th June, in Jinshan, a Shanghai suburb. The person who gave him refuge Xu Xiaomei was also arrested and charged with close association with the Shanghai University Students' Federation. (Wen Wei Po 2/7) Zhang was formally arrested on 20 Sept. 1989, on charges of 'counter-revolution'. He is believed to be held incommunicado at No. 1 Detention Centre in Shanghai, where Wang Ruowang and Xu Xiaomei were also held. Zhang reportedly undertook a one-week hunger strike at a time he expected to be sentenced in secret without a trial (Asia Watch, 2 Jan. 1990).

#### **Zhang Weiping (張爲平)**

Zhang Weiping, aged 25, 4th year student of Zhejiang Fine Arts Institute, was arrested in Hangzhou on 18 June for telling a lie to V.O.A., that the provincial government was forced by students to fly the national flag at half-mast to mourn the dead in Beijing (People's Daily 20 June edition, relayed by AFP 20/6) He was given a 9-year prison term by the Hangzhou Intermediate People's Court for spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda (China Youth News 28 Aug., South China Morning Post, 29 Aug.)

#### **Zhang Wenkui (張文奎)**

Zhang Wenkui was executed. See Ban Huijie.

#### **Zhang Xinchao (張新超)**

Zhang Xinchao was arrested. See Liu Yubin.

#### **Zhang Xingmin (張星明)**

Zhang Xingmin, engineer of farm machinery factory in Guiyang, was arrested for sending anonymous letter to attack the Party and its leaders. (Renmin Ribao, 6-25-1989)

#### **Zhang Yansheng (張延生)**

Zhang Yansheng, Bai Fenqing and three others were arrested on June 21 and accused of confiscating cameras used by the authorities to spy on the democratic movement and attacking official reporters stationed at the headquarters of the Armed Police Forces (Beijing Radio, 22 June, in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 23 June)

#### **Zhang Yi (張益)**

Two were tried by the Guangzhou Intermediate People's Court on espionage charges and sentenced to imprisonment of 13 and 10 years respectively. (N.C.N.A. Guangzhou 23 Oct. 1989, Wen Wei Po, 24 Oct. 1989). They were accused of sending reports to KMT agents during the turmoil on the student demonstrations and hunger strikes in Beijing and Guangzhou. They were: Zhang Yi, aged 25, unemployed, was arrested in Guangzhou for spreading rumours and stirring up trouble (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service 23 June)

Wu Jidong, aged 23, was a hotel worker.

#### **Zhang You (張有)**

Zhang You was given life sentence on July 8, 1989. He was convicted of participating in the Chengdu incident. (Said to have participated in a sit-in, attacked security agents with bricks and bottles, and burned down the Peoples Shopping arcade.) (Asia Watch, 7-17-1989)

#### **Zhang Yu (張裕)**

Zhang Yu, a reporter for "People's Daily", was arrested for supporting the democracy movement. (Ming Bao, 8-1989)

#### **Zhang Zhiqing (張志清)**

Zhang Zhiqing, male, 25, student at Chinese University of Political Science and Law was one of the student leaders still on the wanted list.

#### **Zhang Zhongli (章宗力)**

Zhang Zhongli, economist with the Shanghai Academy Social Sciences, was believed to be secretly arrested on 4th June. (New York Times, 12 July)

#### **Zhao Demin (趙德民)**

Zhao Demin was arrested. See An Baojing.

#### **Zhao Guoliang (趙國良)**

Zhao Guoliang, aged 22, self-employed garment seller from Wuhai City, had participated in the Dare-to-Die Corps in Tiananmen. Authorities assert that he kidnapped two public security personnel and stormed the Beijing PSB. Said to have helped Chai Ling on June 4 he was arrested by the public security bureau of Chi Feng City on June 5, according to a Hohot (Inner Mongolia) radio broadcast (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 19 June, 1989)

#### **Zhao Guozheng (趙國政)**

Zhao Guozheng has been arrested and accused of blocking traffic and deflating tires on June 8, 1989 in connection with the Shanghai demonstrations in support of Beijing's pro-democracy movement. (Jiefang Ribao, August 23, 1989). The date of Zhao's arrest is unknown.

#### **Zhao Jian (趙建)**

Zhao Jian, temporary worker at the Xi'an Institute of Metallurgical and Architectural Engineering, was sentenced to three or four years for "disrupting social order" in connection with his role in the April 22 Xi'an riot. (Asia Watch, 8-22-1989)

#### **Zhao Jianming (趙建明)**

Zhao Jianming. Sentenced to imprisonment. See Sun Manhong.

#### **Zhao Junan (趙均安)**

Zhao Junan, temporary worker of Xi'an Institute of metallurgical and Architectural Engineering, got a 4-year sentence for disturbing social order (Gongren Yibao, 17 Aug. 1989)

#### **Zhao Junlu (趙君祿)**

Zhao Junlu was arrested in June by Tieling city police in Liaoning province, for inciting students of Fuxin city to storm the police headquarters there on 2nd June (Amnesty International, 6

July 1989)

**Zhao Lisheng (趙立生)**

Zhao Lisheng was arrested. See Ren Yingjun.

**Zhao Ming (趙銘)**

Zhao Ming. Arrested. See Dai Donghai.

**Zhao Ping (趙平)**

Zhao Ping was sentenced to imprisonment. See Feng Shuangqing.

**Zhao Shujian (趙書劍)**

Zhao Shujian, aged 33, a cadre in the Kaifeng Housing Construction Company, were arrested on Nov. 7, 1989 for 'counter-revolutionary' crimes. According to the 20 Nov. edition of Henan Legal Daily, Zhao had painted more than 30 reactionary slogans on May 20 on streets, schools and factories, organised illegal demonstrations and spread the content of V.O.A. broadcasts at his own worksite. He was also said to have written posters on April 25, 1989 and Jan 18, 1987, and to have confessed to all his crimes (South China Morning Post, 21 Nov. 1989, US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 15 Dec. 1989)

**Zhao Yan (趙炎)**

Zhao Yan was arrested. See Qiulin.

**Zhao Yasui (趙亞穗)**

Zhao Yasui, aged 28, was arrested in Beijing for beating soldiers and stealing a rifle. (Beijing Evening News, in Asia Watch, 10 July)

**Zhao Yiqian (趙儀千)**

Zhao Yiqian and his wife, both teachers of the Beijing Medical College, were arrested on June 23 at Zhangjiakou for organising medical care for student hunger strikers in Tiananmen (Hebei Ribao 17-6-1989)

**Zhao Yu (趙漁)**

Zhao Yu, writer, was arrested on July 6. (Solidarity News, 9-5-1989)

**Zhao Yude (趙予德)**

Zhao Yude, arrested in Jixian, Hebei, was described as a 'ruffian' who had 'joined others in attacking the public security cadres and policemen during the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing'. (Hebei Ribao, 12 July 1989)

**Zhao Yuetang (趙月堂)**

Zhao Yuetang, a peasant; Yang Zhizan, a worker; and Li Weidong, unemployed, were arrested for killing a soldier in Beijing.

**Zheng Di (鄭迪)**

Zheng Di, a journalist with the banned 'Economics Weekly', was arrested while trying to flee the country (Asia Watch, 2 Jan., 1990)

**Zheng Jinli (鄭金利)**

Zheng Jinli was unemployed. Along with Jiao Zhixin, a salesman, he was accused of being chieftains of a "counter-revolutionary organization", the China Democratic Political Party, and arrested in Dalian on June 13. Allegedly they formed the party during the student demonstrations. (China Youth Daily, 6-14-1989)

**Zheng Liang (鄭良)**

Zheng Liang was arrested. See Zhang Renfu.

**Zheng Mingxia (鄭明霞)**

Zheng Mingxia, Treasurer of Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities, was arrested on July 27.

**Zheng Xuguang (鄭旭光)**

Zheng Xuguang, male, 20, student (or a space and aeronautic university of Beijing), on the wanted list, was arrested in Guangzhou in early August as a visiting Hong Kong resident, followed by the police, handed him a foreign passport. (South China Morning Post, 11 Aug.) Five students have since been arrested for aiding his escape.

**Zheng Yi (鄭義)**

Zheng Yi, writer in his 40's, frequent contributor to 'People's Literature' and 'Literature Monthly', and author of popular film "Old Wells". Was on board of China Writers' Union. Signatory to May 16 petition. He was believed to have been arrested during the first week of July, while preparing a report on the student movement, for which he had collected voluminous material (Asia Watch, 24 July, 1989)

**Zhi Chengyi (植成藝)**

Zhi Chengyi, member of Shenyang Autonomous Students' Federation. Surrendered on 21st June. (Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service, 23 June in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 24 June 1989)

**Zhong Yibing (鍾藝兵)**

Zhong Yibing was dismissed. See Guan Zhihao.

**Zhong Zhanguo (鍾展國)**

Zhong Zhanguo, Zhang Jianhua and 14 other unnamed staffers of the Harbin City Autonomous Federation of Higher Education Institutions, reportedly surrendered themselves to the Harbin City Public Security Bureau as of June 23 and confessed their "unlawful activities since May 15" (Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service 23 June, in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 27 June, 1989)

**Zhou Chifeng (周赤峯)**

Zhou Chifeng, male, student of Wuhan University, Liaison officer in Tiananmen Square, arrested on 12th June in Changchun (Jilin Province), after being denounced by people at the local college of architecture. Accused of stirring up unrest against the government. Confessed to having been repeatedly interviewed by a New York Times reporter. (Beijing Radio, 21 June, South China Morning Post, 22 June)

**Zhou Duo (周舵)**

Zhou Duo. Aged 43. Director of Department of Training of Stone Corp. Former lecturer of Sociology Institute of Beida. Participated in two hunger strikes at Tiananmen. On June 4, he was involved in arranging withdrawal of students from Tiananmen. During the retreat he was injured. Arrested on July 10 in southern China. (Wall Street Journal, 8-8-89)

**Zhou Endong (周恩東)**

Zhou Endong, alias Zhou Bo, worker at the Tianjin Cable Factory, arrested on 9th June in Yinchuan city, Ningxia, for spreading rumour. (Amnesty International)

**Zhou Fengsuo (周鋒鎖)**

Zhou Fengsuo. Aged 22, Physics student at Qinghua University. Standing Committee member of the Autonomous Union of Beijing Universities. On the 21 most wanted list. Arrested on June 13. Reportedly turned in by his elder sister and brother-in-law. He was arrested 90 minutes later by five policemen in Sanqiao, near Xi'an. Zhou had gone to Sanqiao from Beijing on June 7. (Renmin Ribao, 6-15-89; South China Morning Post, 6-15-89)

**Zhou Guijin (周貴津)**

Zhou Guijin, aged 24, a student at the Shenyang Teachers Training School, and described as a member of the Shenyang City Autonomous Federation of College Students and leader of the 'illegal' Patriotic Society of Shenyang Teachers' Training School, reportedly registered with the local PSB on June 22. He was said to have directed people to block traffic on 4th June and to have



blocked people going to work at the Shenyang airplane manufacturing company and the Shenyang instrument-making company on 7th June. (Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service, 23 June in US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 27 June 1989)

**Zhou Hongbing (周紅兵)**

Zhou Hongbing. Sentenced to imprisonment. See Qi Hongjun.

**Zhou Jiajun (周家俊)**

Zhou Jiajun, the pen-name of Zhou Xiaotong. See Zhou Xiaotong.

**Zhou Jiguo (周繼國)**

Zhou Jiguo. Sentenced to death. See Meng Duo.

**Zhou Liwei (周理爲)**

Zhou Liwei, arrested in Tianjin sometime after June 5. Had been bodyguard for the AFBUS in Beijing. (Asia Watch, 17 July 1989)

**Zhou Qi (周啓)**

Zhou Qi. The Sichuan Provincial Radio Service Reported that six persons were sentenced to death on 7 November by the Chengdu City Intermediate People's Court (F.B.I.S. 9 Nov. 1989). They included:

Zhou Qi, He Xiaokang and Chen Guangping were found guilty of "unbridled beating, smashing, looting and burning" during the June 4-6 riots in Chengdu.

Three others: Wu Baiming, Li Ying and Yang Jin were found guilty of charges of murder and theft apparently unrelated to the pro-democracy movement.

Their appeals to the Sichuan Provincial People's High Court were rejected and a public sentencing rally preceded the executions. (Amnesty International, 16 Nov. 1989)

**Zhou Shaowu (周少武)**

Zhou Shaowu, former worker in the Ningguo County Ferro-Alloy Plant in Anhui. Went to Beijing from Hefei on May 18 and had been active since in liaising between the AFBUS and the workers. Said to have worked closely with an arrested student leader, Guo Haifeng. Left Beijing on June 2 but did not arrive in Shanghai until June 6, where he made contact with counterpart organisations there. Was arrested in Shanghai on June 10 and among his possessions was a proposal to establish a 'League of Democratic Parties'. (Beijing TV broadcast, June 14 1989)

**Zhou Xiangcheng (周湘成)**

Zhou Xiangcheng and Wang Guiyuan had participated in rioting in the provincial capital and burnt vehicles were sentenced to death on 1st July. Case passed to Sichuan High Court for review, appeal rejected and they were executed on 8th July. (Sichuan Daily, 2 July and 9 July; Wen Wei Pao, 14 July 1989)

**Zhou Xiaotong (周曉彤)**

Zhou Xiaotong, writer under the pen-name of Zhou Jiajun, an amateur writer affiliated to 64th infantry of the 55th army, arrested in late June in Wuhan while he was studying at the University of Wuhan. He burned his military uniform on the street for protesting the crackdown in Beijing. Because he has military rank, will presumably face military courts. (World Journal, 10-21-89) (Amnesty International, 7th July, 21st Oct 1989)

**Zhou Yan (周彥)**

Zhou Yan, aged 23, worker. Arrested in Shanghai around June 20 for stirring up trouble and being KMT spy. (US Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 23 June 1989)

**Zhou Yong (周勇)**

Zhou Yong. Arrested. See Zhang Xudong.

**Zhou Yongping (周勇平)**

Zhou Yongping, aged 37-38, a teacher at the Sociology Research Institute of Beijing University. Reported to have been arrested in Shenzhen, close to the border with Hong Kong. Exact date and reason not known. (Amnesty International)

**Zhou Yunfeng (周雲峯)**

Zhou Yunfeng, worker at Service Committee of Fushun Carbon Plant. Arrested in Liaoning on June 15, for his membership in a "people's corps" which blocked traffic and shouted reactionary slogans.

**Zhu Genhao (朱根好)**

Zhu Genhao. Arrested. See Liu Jian.

**Zhu Guanghua (朱光華)**

Zhu Guanghua. Arrested. See Gao Jintang.

**Zhu Houze (朱厚澤)**

Zhu Houze. Aged 58. A native of Guizhou. Arrest unconfirmed. In recent years Zhu has been head of the National Trade Union Federation, and before that, head of CCP propaganda bureau. It is not known just why he was arrested, but it probably relates to the insubordination of the trade unions during the democracy demonstrations. It has been privately reported to Amnesty International/USA that there was a very strong move in the federation, including people just under Zhu, to call a national strike in support of the hunger strikers. Zhu himself urged caution, and managed to postpone things. Apparently his attempt to cling to the non-existent middle ground landed him in trouble. (World Journal, 8-21-89)

**Zhu Huiming (朱輝明)**

Zhu Huiming. NCNA (10 June) reported the arrest of 10 members of the Nanjing Autonomous Workers' Federation which had established contacts with the Nanjing Autonomous Federation of College Students. The ones named were:

Zhu Huiming, a vagrant who had been detained for 'beating other people', and accused of fabricating a story that his brother was killed in Beijing.

Li Huling, a worker in the No. 1 farm under the Nanjing City Public Transport Co. who had served two years of 'education through labour' for fighting.

Rui Tonghu, a leader of the worker pickets, was a self-employed car repairman in Moling Township, Jiangning County, who had served one year in prison in 1979 for 'injuring people'.

**Zu Jianjun (祖建軍)**

Zu Jianjun. Executed. See Ban Huijie.

**Zhu Lianyi (朱連毅)**

Zhu Lianyi, worker of the Third Urban Construction Company in Beijing. Joined the Workers' Autonomous Union on May 18. In-charge of a printing Workshop. Turned in by informers and arrested on June 8 with 4 other people, including Guo Yaxiong (Beijing Evening News, June 22, 1989)

**Zhu Lin (朱琳)**

Zhu Lin. Arrested. See Ma Hongliang.

**Zhu Qin (朱勤)**

Zhu Qin. Arrested shortly after the burning of a train in Shanghai (which had deliberately run over and killed demonstrators.) All others arrested in the case (see Ai Qilong) are said to have pleaded guilty, and some were executed. However, Zhu apparently did not plead guilty and is supposed to be released "after re-education." See Sun Manhong.

**Zhu Wenli (朱文禮)**

Zhu Wenli, aged 22, unemployed. Lived at the Tonghe Forest

Farm in Heike Forest Bureau, Heilongjiang. Had served as head of social section of AFBUS. Was arrested in Shenyang, Liaoning on 12 June, when he tried to check into Heping Hotel there with a

false identity card. Material for 'propagating counter-revolutionary rebellion' was found in his bag. (Liaoning Radio 12 June)

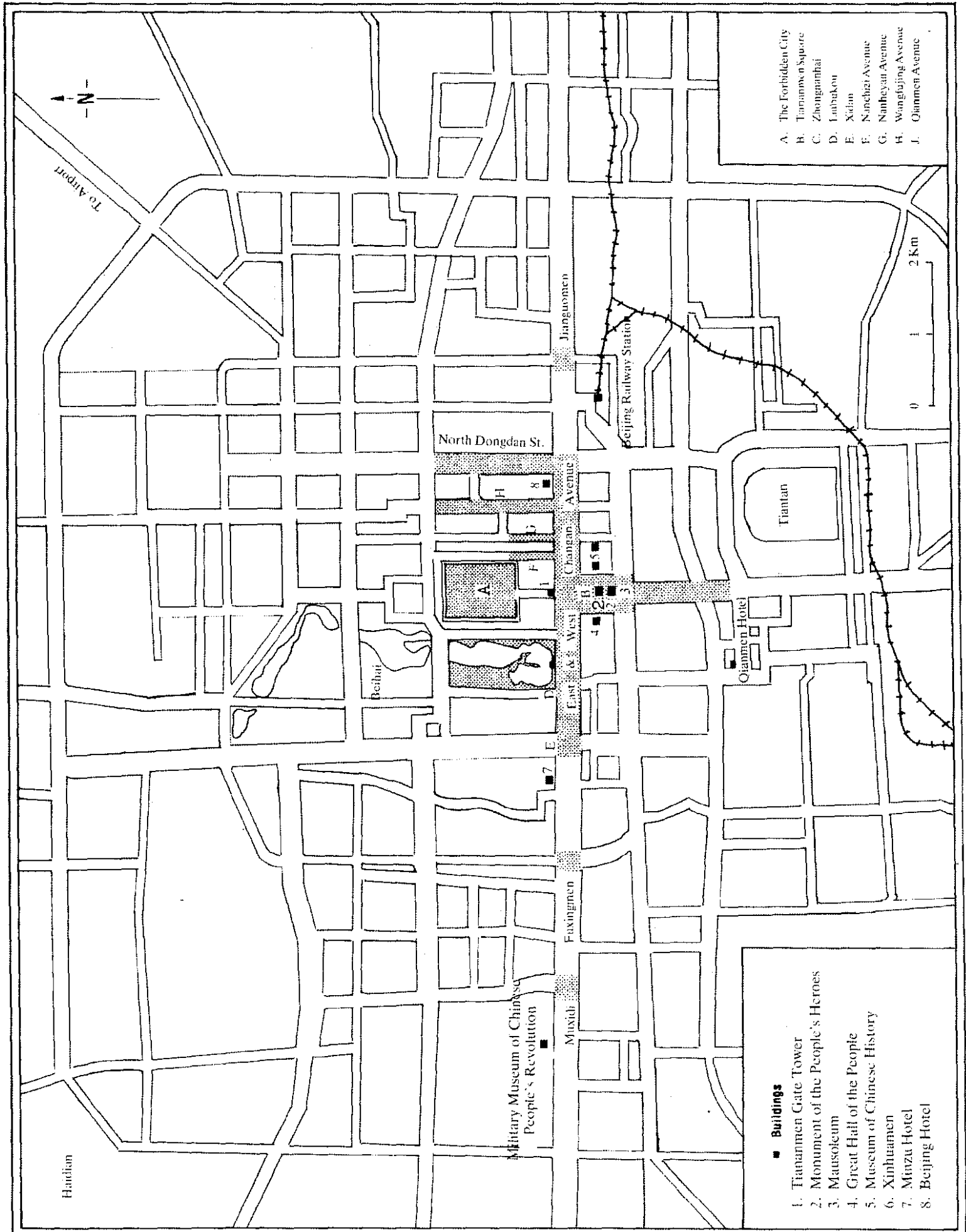


8.

# APPENDICES



# MAP OF BEIJING







## GLOSSARY

- ABC Television 美國廣播公司電視組  
 Ad Hoc Study Group on Human Rights in China 中國人權特設研究小組  
 Adornment of blood 血染的風采  
 All-China Journalists Association 中華全國新聞工作者協會  
 Amnesty International 大赦國際／國際特赦協會  
 Andinmen 安定門  
 Anti-bourgeois liberalization 反資產階級自由化  
 Anti-party group 反黨集團  
 Anti-spiritual pollution 反精神污染  
 Arrow Tower at Qianmen 前門箭樓  
 Asia Watch 亞洲人權觀察  
 Associated Press 美聯社  
 Autonomous Federation of Beijing Residents /Beijing Residents Autonomous Unions 北京居民自治聯會  
 Autonomous Federation of Beijing Workers 北京工人自治聯會／工自聯  
 Autonomous Federation of Peking University Students 北京大學學生自治聯會／學自聯  
 Autonomous Federation of University Students 高校自治聯會／高自聯  
 Autonomous Students Union outside Beijing 外高聯  
 Autonomous Union of Student's of Higher Institutions 高校自治聯會／高自聯  
 Autonomous Workers' Federation 工人自治聯會／工自聯  
 Avenue of Eternal Peace 長安街  
 Avenue of Eternal Peace East 東長安街  
 Avenue of Eternal Peace West 西長安街  
 Bao Tong 鮑彤  
 Basic Law 基本法  
 Bei Kou 北口  
 Beijing /Peking 北京  
 Beijing Aviation College 北京航空學院  
 Beijing Children's Hospital 北京兒童醫院  
 Beijing Concert Hall 北京音樂廳  
 Beijing Crematory 北京火葬場  
 Beijing Daily/Beijing Ribao 北京日報  
 Beijing Diplomatic Academy 北京外交學院  
 Beijing Hospital 北京醫院  
 Beijing Hotel 北京飯店  
 Beijing Inhabitant's Autonomous Committee 北京市民自治會  
 Beijing Institute of Aeronautics 北京航空航天大學  
 Beijing Institute of Chemical Technology 北京化工學院

Beijing Normal University 北京師範大學／北師大  
 Beijing Party Committee 北京市黨委  
 Beijing Red Cross 北京紅十字會  
 Beijing Residents Autonomous Union /Autonomous Federation of Beijing Residents  
 北京居民自治聯會  
 Beijing School of Music 北京音樂學院  
 Beijing University 北京大學  
 Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation (BWAF) 北京工人自治聯會／工自聯  
 Beijing Youth News 北京青年報  
 Beiyang Army 北洋軍  
 Bishop of Tianjin 天津教區主教  
 black hands 黑手  
 British embassy 英國大使館  
 British Consulate-general 英國領事館  
 Bund 外灘(上海)  
 Bush 布殊  
 Cable News Network(CNN) 有線電視新聞網絡  
 Capital's Intellectuals Union 首都知識分子聯合會  
 Capital's Patriotic Society for the Preservation of the Constitution  
 首都維護憲法愛國會  
 Central China Television(CCTV) 中央電視台  
 Central Minzu Institute 中央民族學院  
 Central People's Broadcast Station 中央人民廣播電台  
 Chai Ling 柴玲  
 Chairman Mao's Mausoleum 毛主席紀念堂  
 Changan Avenue /Chang'an Avenue /Changanjie /Avenue of Eternal Peace 長安街／  
 長安大街  
 Chao Yang District 朝陽區  
 Charter of the United Nations 聯合國憲章  
 Chen Guangmen 陳廣文  
 Chen Xitong 陳希同  
 Cheng Chan /Qing Zhen /Cheng Zhen 程真  
 Cheng Ming(magazine) 爭鳴(雜誌)  
 Chengdu 成都  
 China Daily 中國日報  
 China Law Daily 中國法制報  
 China Update 中國近貌  
 Chinese Communist Party 中國共產黨  
 Chinese Military Museum 中國軍事博物館  
 Chinese People's University 中國人民大學  
 Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學

Chongwenmen 崇文門  
 Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officers 執法人員行為守則  
 Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials 執法人員行為守則  
 Commission on Human Rights 人權委員會  
 Committee on Freedom of Association 結社自由委員會  
 Contemporary (magazine) 當代(雜誌)  
 Convention Against Genocide 反種族滅絕公約  
 Convention Against Torture 禁止酷刑公約  
 Convention Against Torture and Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment 反對酷刑、殘暴、不人道和侮辱性的對待或懲罰  
 Convention on Civil & Political Rights 公民和政治權利國際公約  
 Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 消除歧視婦女公約  
 counter-revolutionaries 反革命分子  
 counter-revolutionary riot 反革命分暴亂  
 Criminal Procedure Law 刑事訴訟法  
 Cuimei Road 翠薇路  
 Cultural Palace 文化宮  
 Dai Qing 戴晴  
 Democracy Wall 民主牆  
 Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平  
 Deshengmen 德勝門  
 Die Welt (West German Newspaper) 世界日報(德國報章)  
 Dongdan 東單  
 Dongjiaomin Lane 東交民巷  
 Economic & Social Council 經濟及社會理事會  
 Economic Studies Weekly 經濟學週報  
 Erwan Road 二環路  
 Feng Congde 封從德  
 Fong Lizhi 方勵之  
 Forbidden City 紫禁城  
 Foreign Broadcast Information Service 對外廣播資訊服務(美國)  
 Foreign Ministry 外交部  
 Fuxing Avenue 復興大街  
 Fuxing Hospital 復興醫院  
 Fuxingmen 復興門  
 Gang of Four 四人幫  
 Gao Xin 高新  
 Gate Tower of Tiananmen 天安門城樓  
 Gongzhufen 公主墳  
 Gorbachev 戈爾巴喬夫

Great Zhuhai Bridge 海珠大橋  
 Guangdong 廣東  
 Guangming Daily 光明日報  
 Guangzhou 廣州  
 Guardian(Britian) 衛報(英國)  
 Gucheng 古城  
 Hai Ding District 海澱區  
 Hangzhou 杭州  
 Headquarters for the Defence of Tiananmen Square 保衛天安門廣場總指揮部  
 Hebei Province 河北省  
 Henan Province 河南省  
 Hepingmen 和平門  
 High Official's Building 高幹樓  
 History Museum 歷史博物館  
 Hong Kong 香港  
 Hong Kong & Macao Affairs Office 港澳辦公室  
 Hong Kong Economic Journal 信報  
 Hong Kong Federation of Students 香港專上學生聯會  
 Hong Kong Societies' Support and Material Supply Station 香港社團聲援物資聯絡站  
 Hong Kong Standard 虎報  
 Hong Kong University 香港大學  
 Hou Dejian 侯德健  
 Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦  
 Huangzi 皇子(地)  
 Human Rights Centre in Geneva 日內瓦人權中心  
 Hunan Daily 湖南日報  
 Independent Federation of Workers 工人自治聯會／工自聯  
 International Commission of Health Professionals for Health and Human Rights  
 國際保健工作者促進健康和人權委員會  
 International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination(ICERD)  
 消除種族歧視國際公約  
 International League for Human Rights 國際人權聯盟  
 International Red Cross 國際紅十字會  
 Jianguo Hotel 建國飯店  
 Jianguomen 建國門  
 Jiansu Province 江蘇省  
 Jiefang Ribao /Liberation Daily 解放日報  
 Jin Jiang Hotel 錦江飯店  
 Jinan Daily 濟南日報  
 Jinshuiqiao 金水橋  
 Journalists Association 新聞工作者協會

June 4 六四  
 Kuomintang 國民黨  
 Law Daily 法制日報  
 Law on Assemblies, Parades or Demonstrations 集會遊行示威法  
 Lhasa 拉薩  
 Li Honglin 李洪林  
 Li Lu 李錄  
 Li Peng 李鵬  
 Li Ruihuan 李瑞環  
 Li Shuxian 李淑嫻  
 Li-Yang Clique 李楊集團  
 Liu Xiaobo 劉曉波  
 Liubu Kou 六部口  
 Lugouqiao /Marco Polo Bridge 蘆溝橋  
 Ma Shaofang /Ma Xiaofang 馬少芳  
 Macau 澳門  
 Martial Law Decree 戒嚴令  
 Martial Law troops 戒嚴部隊  
 Military Museum 軍事博物院  
 Ming Pao 明報  
 Ming Pao Monthly 明報月刊  
 Ministry of Public Security 國家公安部  
 Minzu Hotel/Minzu Fandian 民族飯店  
 Monument to the People's Heroes 人民英雄紀念碑  
 Mu Xi Di /Muxidi 木樨地  
 Municipal Government 市政府  
 Municipal People's Government 市人民政府  
 Nanchizi Street 南池子大街  
 National Defence Council 國防部  
 New China News Agency 新華通訊社  
 New York Times 紐約時報  
 Nineties, the(Magazine) 九十年代月刊  
 Nixon 尼克遜  
 Outlook Weekly /Liaowang Overseas Service 瞭望週刊(海外版)  
 Pai Shing Semi-Monthly 百姓半月刊  
 Patriotic Catholic Association 天主教愛國會  
 People's Daily /Renmin Ribao 人民日報  
 People's Liberation Army (PLA) 人民解放軍  
 People's Republic of China (PRC) 中華人民共和國  
 Premier of the State Council 國務院總理  
 Public Security Bureau 公安局



Public Security Office 公安部  
 Punishment Season(Report) 秋後算帳(報告)  
 Qianmen Avenue 前門大街  
 Qincheng Prison 秦城監獄  
 Qing Hua University 清華大學  
 Qinghai 青海  
 Radio Beijing 北京電台  
 Re-education through labour 勞動教養／勞改／勞動教育  
 Red Cross 紅十字會  
 Reform-through-labour Work Administration Bureau 勞改管理局  
 Renmin Ribao /People's Daily 人民日報  
 Reuter 路透社  
 Sanlitung Road 三里同路  
 Secretary-General 秘書長  
 Shahe 沙河  
 Shanghai 上海  
 Shantung Province 山東省  
 Shekou in Shen Zhen 深圳蛇口  
 Shenzhen/Shen Zhen 深圳  
 Shijiazhang Army Academy 石家莊軍事學院  
 Shijie Ribao /World's Daily 世界日報  
 Sichuan Government Offices in Central Chengdu 四川省政府辦公處(成都)  
 Sichuan Province 四川  
 South China Morning Post 南華早報(華南晨報)  
 South River 南河  
 Star Tribune 星報論壇  
 State Council 國務院  
 State Council 國務院  
 State Education Commission 國家教育委員會  
 State Tourist Bureau 國家旅遊局  
 State Vice-president 國家副主席  
 Statue of Goddess of Democracy 民主女神像  
 Students Federation 學自聯  
 Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination & Protection of Minorities  
 防止歧視及保護少數民族分署  
 Supreme People's Court 最高人民法院  
 Ta Kung Pao 大公報  
 Taiwan 台灣  
 The Internationale /International song 國際歌  
 Tiananmen Patriotic Democratic Movement 天安門愛國民主運動  
 Tiananmen Square 天安門廣場

Tiananmen Square Commanding Point 天安門廣場指揮部  
 Tiananmen Square Democratic University 天安門廣場民主大學  
 Tianjin 天津  
 Tianjin Daily 天津日報  
 Tianjin's Security Bureau 天津市公安局  
 Tibet 西藏  
 Tibet Autonomous Region(TAR) 西藏自治區  
 UN Charter 聯合國憲章  
 UN Special Rapporteur on Summary & Arbitrary Executions  
 聯合國簡易及任意處決事宜特派調查員  
 United Nations(UN) 聯合國  
 United Press International(UPI) 合眾社  
 Universal Declaration & the International Covenant on Civil & Political  
 Rights 公民和政治權利的普世宣言和國際公約  
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights 世界人權宣言  
 University of Law and Politics 政法大學  
 Voice of America 美國之音  
 Wang Dan 王丹  
 Wang Fuzheng /Wangfuzheng 王府井  
 Wang Zheng 王震  
 Wang Zuntao 王軍濤  
 Wangfu Hotel 王府飯店  
 Wanshoulu 萬壽路  
 Washington Post 華盛頓郵報  
 Weiyang 惠陽  
 Wenweibao 文匯報  
 Workers' Autonomous Organization 工人自治聯會  
 World's Daily /Shijie Ribao 世界日報  
 Wu'er Kaixi 吾爾開希  
 Wuhan 武漢  
 Wuhan University 武漢大學  
 Xiao Bin 蕭斌  
 Xibianmen 西便門  
 Xidan 西丹  
 Xidanfu Avenue Right 西單府右街  
 Ximen 西門  
 Xinhua Daily 新華日報  
 Xinhua News Agency /New China News Agency(NCNA) 新華社  
 Xinhuaamen 新華門  
 Xinjing 新疆  
 Xu Wenli 徐文立

Xuanwumen Area 宣武門區  
Yan Jiaki 嚴家其  
Yan Lin Road 延林路  
Yang Baibing 楊白冰  
Yang Chaohui 楊朝暉  
Yang Shangkun 楊尚昆  
Yanjin Fandian 燕京飯店  
Ye Wenfu 葉文福  
Yongdingmen 永定門  
Yuan Mu 袁木  
Zhao Ziyang 趙紫陽  
Zhejiang Agricultural University 浙江農業大學  
Zhengyi Road 正義路  
Zhong Shan Park 中山公園  
Zhonggou Xinwen She 中國新聞社  
Zhongnanhai 中南海  
Zhou Duo 周舵  
Zhushikou 珠市口









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中國民主運動資料中心

# 八九中國民運見証報告

