

Echoes From Tiananmen

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天安門之迴響



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Echoes from Tiananmen

Editorial

FOR ALL PEOPLE aspiring to democracy, 1989 will be remembered as a year of hopes raised, hopes fulfilled or hopes dashed.

For people in most parts of Eastern Europe, the year and the decade ended in elation. Their feelings of anxiety, joy and excitement were shared by people all around the world. The Chinese people watched with admiration, some with envy, as momentous events in Eastern Europe unfolded. The demands put forward by the peoples' movements in Eastern Europe struck a sympathetic chord with the Chinese Democracy Movement. Calls for freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and for the right to elect a government of their choice rang through the peoples' uprisings in both Eastern Europe and China.

These passionate calls pushed basic human and civil rights to the forefront of international issues. With advances made in 1989, it becomes clearer to more people that there can be no compromise in the struggle between freedom and democracy versus authoritarianism and dictatorship. The peoples' pro-democracy movements in 1989 also helped to bring about a most remarkable advance in forging inter-

nationalist sentiments, when people from different countries expressed concern and took concrete steps to demonstrate their solidarity with people's struggles elsewhere. This resurgence of international solidarity will be an increasingly significant factor in the forthcoming worldwide struggle for liberty, democracy and peace. In China, the people's hopes for change were brutally crushed, but their calls for democracy and their courage remain deep in the hearts of the people. One example is the opportunity taken by students who boldly raised many pointed questions during a formal meeting in early 1990 with Chinese leaders over developments in Eastern Europe.

Unfortunately, the present Chinese regime has opted to be a lone fossil amidst the upsurge of the people's democracy movements. Rather than answering the peoples' call for reforms, the government chose to revert even more to brute force, intimidation, lies, and threats in an attempt to retain their absolute power. In its refusal to reform, the present Chinese regime is increasingly bogged down by the rope of the feudal autocracy, just like the late Empress Dowager. The latest ploy used by the Chinese regime in its attempt to subdue international protests against its violation of human rights was the lifting of martial law in Beijing in January 1990.

This gesture might have helped to

ease the consciences of those governments and businessmen who have been itching to resume business with China. However, for Beijing residents, the whole exercise involves only a change of uniform — from that of the PLA to that of the military police. Many people are still being detained and jailed for attempting to exercise basic human rights. If the government sees fit, it can still at any time deploy large numbers of troops to shoot and kill civilians without having to follow any meaningful political process or legal procedure, as happened in June 1989.

On the day following the lifting of martial law in Beijing, eye witnesses reported that two people were taken away by military guards for laying a wreath in Tiananmen Square to commemorate the victims of June 4th. At the same time, Beijing authorities announced a new regulation banning any protest actions in the Square. Editors and journalists have been sacked for not towing the official line. Recent reports concern the arrest of dozens of Catholics, including bishops, whom the Chinese government refused to acknowledge as prisoners of conscience but as 'criminals.' It is illegal in China to recognize papal authority and practice one's faith outside the officially-condoned church bodies.

In early December, the Beijing Public Security Bureau openly admitted that they had arrested about 2,600 rioters in June and only 190 of those had "repented" and were released. Only on January 23rd, a Beijing court announced the execution of a

young man for attacking a military vehicle on June 4th, 1989. The Asia Watch report on China (released 9 February 1990) reported that Han Dongfang (26), who has been detained since the end of June 1989 for organizing the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation, was seriously ill and had to be hospitalized for the sixth time since his arrest and put on an intravenous drip.

At the end of January, the Beijing authorities made public a circular the Communist party issued in December to all 'mass organizations' such as the Trade Unions, the Communist Youth League and the Women's Federation, calling on them to "keep to the correct political orientation and identify themselves with the party Central Committee in politics, thinking and action".

Tales of denials of basic rights are endless. In fact, if one examines the reality of government power in China, one could argue that the Chinese people have been ruled under martial law since 1949. (The situation was similar in Taiwan prior to 1988, the difference being that the Taiwan government formally admitted that they had been ruling under martial law from 1949 to 1988.)

Those who support the democratic aspirations of the Chinese people must persist in their solidarity as strongly as ever. For now they must prepare to withstand the pressure from conservative forces of the commercial and government leaders of the world who are beginning to add their harmonic

accompaniment to the songs being sung by the oppressive Chinese government.

We have been heartened by the brilliant protest action by the Goa Campaign Against 5-star Tourism against an official Chinese visit to Goa. Our hearts also warmed tremendously when we read all the solidarity actions waged by brothers and sisters in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary condemning the June massacre. (See pp.52) We also pay tribute to the efforts of trade union bodies such as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the British National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO), and others who were committed enough to directly take up the issue of violation of basic labour rights with the official Chinese unions. (See pp.54)

The need for solidarity actions is greater than ever. We recommend the following priorities:

1. Political Prisoners

Publicize the condition of political detainees. Exert pressure, both directly and also through your corresponding governments, on the Chinese government for their release. During the interim period, we should also call for the observation of fair and humane conditions for the detainees such as prison visits, correspondence with the outside, and an end to all physical and mental torture. Efforts should also be made to collect names, whereabouts and conditions of all detainees.

2. Civil and Political Rights

Efforts should be directed to bring about the introduction of legal and constitutional changes in China which will endorse the protection of universal civil and political rights of Chinese citizens. The forces of change will primarily come from inside China. However, people outside China can also help the process by exerting pressure on the international community, be it government, financial or non-governmental, to make the recognition of human rights an uncompromisable condition for engaging in cooperation with the Chinese government.

It is also important for progressive social movements, such as peace and ecology, union and labour, women's, justice and peace movements, from all over the world to begin to look for cooperation and communication with genuine progressive civil movements in China instead of the quasi government bodies. The experience of 1989 has taught us that given the existing political structure, there is little scope for genuine democratic change coming from within the official framework.

Let Us Continue Our Solidarity Support! Behind the smokescreen, the iron clad suppression of the voices of democracy continues in China. There is a need for continued support and ongoing action. On the day of Victory, our Chinese brothers and sisters will be able to express their thanks for our support. Until then, let us continue to speak and act when they most need our support!

Features

CHINA'S SPRING The Truth About June?

Question: Was there a massacre in Beijing?

Answer: Yes

Question: Has the democracy movement been crushed?

Answer: Yes, but not destroyed.

Question: Were there splits within the CCP and the PLA?

Answer: It seems that there were and that there still are.

Question: Have the workers' autonomous movements been broken up?

Answer: Despite arrests it seems that many networks survive underground.

Question: Has 'stability' been restored?

Answer: The stability of a ball resting on a narrow edge.

In September the reports of Amnesty International⁽¹⁾ (London) and Asia-Watch⁽²⁾ (New York) became available. Compiled from eyewitness accounts which have been cross-checked, they probably represent the most detailed and authoritative accounts of what happened in Beijing 3rd/4th June.

No report can hope to tell the whole truth, but between them these two reports could be said to determine the least of what actually happened. They both confirm that a massacre did take

place, but place the mass of killings outside rather than inside Tiananmen Square.

Establishing an accurate picture of events is important not just for history, but as a service to the movement for democracy in China. The declaration of martial law, followed by these bloody events, has undoubtedly caused a crisis of legitimacy within China that is unlikely to end until the democratic movement is successful.

The Chinese Government has attempted to deny the mass of the killings, and to distort the course of actual events. To an extent they have been aided in this by exaggerated and inaccurate accounts of events that were rumoured and reported at the time and shortly after. It has been relatively easy for the authorities in Beijing to discredit stories of thousands perishing inside Tiananmen Square itself, while ignoring more accurate reports of mass killings beyond the Square and in the suburbs of Beijing. They have even used, in a highly selective way, part of the AsiaWatch report, reprinted in the Peoples' Daily, to claim that its author, Robin Munro, denied that a massacre took place.

Robin Munro was a witness to the events in and around Tiananmen Square throughout the days and nights of 3rd/4th June, and subsequently interviewed many other witnesses. As an experienced journalist and human rights

reporter his testimony is especially valuable. His painstaking reconstruction of events places a premium upon accuracy and truth. The problem with such an approach is that, inevitably, it lends itself to selective, and therefore mis-quoting. He has publicly denied the claims of Beijing that no massacre took place.

We present below a synopsis of them which reconstructs in a methodical way the tragic events of 3rd/4th June. It also draws briefly upon a third report, published in August 1989, from the International League for Human Rights (ILHR) and The Ad Hoc Study Group on Human Rights in China⁽³⁾, a group of concerned lawyers, scholars and students in Hong Kong.

Let the final point go to Robin Munro. He tells us that the Tiananmen Square massacre should be accurately called the Beijing massacre, but the only reason for this is because the brave Chinese students had the good sense, better than the Government, to withdraw from the Square before the massacre took place. His report for Asia-Watch, and this

synopsis, may be taken as a tribute to the courage, sacrifice and democratic cause of those students, and of the workers and citizens of China who supported them, many of whom are suffering now in jails.

It was not awe-inspiring at all, it was simply disgusting to watch this cynical betrayal of the peoples' cries for reform. The only TV broadcast that compares with it in recent times is the last one Ceausescu made before his downfall.

Events Leading To 3rd/4th June

The death of the 'reformist' leader Hu Yaobang in April became the occasion for student demonstrations in Beijing, calling for democratic reforms, a free press, the right to information, and an end to corruption within the Party and the State. By May similar protests had spread to most cities throughout China.

The beginning of the hunger-strike on May 13th triggered off a massive wave of public sympathy, coinciding with the visit of President Mikhail Gorbachev. [This visit brought the world's media to Beijing, not the hunger strike]. Either of these two events could have been seen as a big loss of 'face' by the Government, an important consideration within the traditions of Chinese society. The momentum of support by the citizenry of Beijing for the students reached a climax when over one million came out onto the streets on May 18th.

The following day State Premier Li Peng and CCP General Secretary Zhou Ziyang met with the hunger strikers. Li Peng was quoted as describing the students as 'patriotic'.

That night the students decided to call off their hunger strike, and some reports suggest they may have been tipped-off that the next day Li Peng was to appear on nationwide TV to declare a state of martial law. [No-one who watched the broadcast, which was re-

transmitted in Hong Kong, could fail to be struck by the vision of it. Li Peng looking like Big Brother solemnly addressing a slab of grey and humourless faces, notably male and aged, an assembled audience of military, Party and State officials. It was not awe-inspiring at all, it was simply disgusting to watch this cynical betrayal of the peoples' cries for reform. The only TV broadcast that compares with it in recent times is the last one Ceausescu made before his downfall. — JU].

Li Peng stressed that troops would be used only to restore order, but without citing any evidence that the demonstrators were particularly disorderly. On 21st May the New China News Agency in Hong Kong (China's unofficial Consulate) assured people that 'Under no circumstances will (the troops) harm innocent people, let alone students.' Other official reassurances were issued over the following days.

In Beijing the impact of the declaration was to turn students and citizens more hostile to the Government but also to sow feelings among students that no more could be achieved for the present because the Government had apparently rejected dialogue on reforms. Students became divided about whether to continue the protests. Many Beijing students who had been in the Square for several weeks began to leave, but fresh arrivals from the provinces replaced them, although not in such large numbers. Student numbers occupying Tiananmen Square began to dwindle.

At the same time troop movements became more frequent and armed riot police began taking up positions at several key points in central Beijing. Troops remained on the outskirts but as alarm and anger spread among Beijing's citizens and workers they began erecting road blocks and barricades on the city outskirts to deter troop entry.

June 2nd/3rd: first confrontations

At around 2300 hours on June 2nd a group of army jeeps were seen driving at high speed from the west along Fuxingmen Avenue (see map point 1) which leads directly towards the northern perimeter of Tiananmen Square (and changes its name to Changan Avenue West before it reaches the Square). At a point near Muxidi (a bridge where the avenue crosses the river Tonghui) one of the jeeps swerved out of control and ran into four cyclists, killing three, possibly all four. Large crowds gathered, feelings ran high, news spread quickly and a protest march was organized for the following day. Outraged citizens set up pickets to prevent police clearing the scene. The AW witness says that the crowds also discovered guns concealed inside the jeep.

Between 0100 and 0300 hours 3rd June several thousand very young and unarmed soldiers wearing only white shirts and green army fatigues appeared marching from the west along Fuxingmen, Changan Avenue West, along the northern perimeter of the Square, and beyond eastwards to Chan-

gan Avenue East as far as the Beijing Hotel (see Map point 2). It is reported that they had spent many hours jogging from rural locations outside the city, were pretty exhausted, frightened and unclear what to do. The AI report says 'Few, if any, officers accompanied them'. The crowds 'harangued and manhandled them', taking away some of their clothes and telling them to leave. After an hour they all moved off through the eastern suburbs. [This is a curious happening. Why were young unarmed soldiers like these sent into such a frightening situation on their own? The humiliating treatment they received was yet another loss of 'face'. Was it a deliberate loss of face? Were their commanding officers prepared to risk serious injury to these young recruits in order to create an incident to justify the draconian actions that were to follow? Yet more questions than an honest accounting of events will have to answer one day. — JU]

The impact of the appearance of these troops, and the apparently successful efforts of the citizens to send them on their way, raised the adrenile level of the crowds and brought hundreds of thousands out onto the streets. Barricades went up to stop further troop advances. Then, some time around 0400-0500 hours, two military buses were stopped on Changan Avenue West. Inside were men wearing civilian clothes, but a search of the bus revealed hidden arms. The crowd were furious that guns were now being brought into the city and kept the men prisoner in the bus for several hours.

News spread as more and more people flooded into Tiananmen Square.

It has been reported that there are underground road and rail links from the outskirts of Beijing to key central places, such as Zhongnanhai, the administrative and residential headquarters of the CCP in Beijing (just off to the north-west of the Square), and to the Great Hall of the People which runs along the west side of the Square. Built as escape routes for key Party and State officials in the event of an enemy attack on the city they were used this time as penetration routes by troops for use against the 'enemy within'. From around 1200 hours large numbers of troops began appearing in the west side of the Square from the Great Hall of the People (see map point 3). At some point some of the guns seized from the bus were handed over to the students in the Square, who then tried unsuccessfully return them to the troops, after which they smashed them or handed them to the police.

Not all the guns were handed to the students. Some were publicly displayed on top of the bus in Changan Avenue West for the world's TV crews to see. Some others may have been taken by people in the crowd and disappeared. From midday onwards troops and armed police also appeared on the scene near the bus (at a place called Xidan, point 4 on map) attempting to clear the barricades and, according to official sources, to reclaim the arms and ammunition seized by the crowds. A few hundred yards further east along Changan Avenue West the large crowds

who had marched from Muxidi in protest against the killing of the cyclists the previous night were attacked by soldiers and armed police with batons. Tear-gas, perhaps for the first time in China, was used against the crowds here. Some witnesses claim that rubber bullets were also used, and some report that a seven-year old boy was trampled to death by police or troops during the charges.

Reports of troops attempting to enter Beijing from the suburbs multiplied as did reports of growing confrontation as citizens and workers attempted to halt their entry and disarm them. A well attested incident happened at Muxidi where residents managed to stop buses carrying troops. Reports tell of troops voluntarily handing over their weapons and disappearing into the crowds. Again some of these weapons were displayed on the bus roof-tops. [Another loss of 'face' which may account for the subsequent killings at Muxidi? - JU]

At 1830 hours the martial law authorities began public broadcasts warning people to stay off the streets or their safety could not be guaranteed. Later in the evening, around 2200 hours, more convoys of troops pushed into Muxidi, but this time firing. The AI reports 'hundreds of people were killed or wounded' in this incident alone. The killings went on for some hours. Witnesses talk of dozens of dead in local hospitals. Intense fighting is reported all the way along Fuxingmen and Changan Avenue all through the night. Students and citizens confronting soldiers

with appeals not to shoot the people, with choruses of the Internationale, with anger, and finally with rocks, with poles and with petrol bombs. Numerous witnesses say that at first people could just not believe that the PLA would really fire on them. The mass of witness evidence attests to many hundreds of dead and wounded.

The report of the ILHR/ASGHRC reproduces many of the accounts as they appeared in the Hong Kong press in the following days. The reliability of some of them must, however, remain open to question.

June 4th: PLA advances down Changan Avenue

Shortly after midnight two armoured personnel carriers (APCs) were seen racing into the Square from the south (Qianmen, see map of Square), along its sides to the north, then one turned into Changan Avenue West, the other into Changan Avenue East. The one that went east was seen by many witnesses smashing into barricades and killing and injuring many people along the way. But its journey was not yet done.

It continued east as far as Jianguomen (see map point 5) where a crowd of thousands had stopped a convoy of several dozen troop-carrying trucks which were attempting to cross the junction flyover from north to south, by dragging the lead vehicle across the roadway with the soldiers still onboard. The crowd were exhorting the soldiers not to use their weapons on the people. 'The soldiers on the truck that

we were standing next to, bang in the middle of the flyover, indeed began coming down off the vehicle, some with tears streaming down their faces and all looking highly emotional, and were gradually being escorted away through the pressing crowd by what seemed to be a mixture of student pickets and ordinary citizens.' (AW Report) The APC did not stop but completed a turn at the following junction and steered back directly into the crowds and the convoy smashing into the lead truck which was seen to rise perhaps ten feet in the air before crashing down.

The AI Report says witnesses attest to several deaths, including a soldier. The AW witness saw just one death of a citizen underneath the truck with his brains spread across the road, but says on its return towards Tiananmen the APC also killed an elderly lady in its path. The AW witness also makes the point that the column of trucks were, in effect, forming a barricade across the highway and this raises the question of whether the APC had been instructed to clear a path through them for troops advancing from the outskirts. If soldiers from these trucks were joining the crowds, here is some evidence of splits within the PLA.

At around 0100 hours either the same APC, or perhaps the one that had originally turned west into Changan Avenue, was eventually blocked by the crowds at the north end of the Square itself and set on fire. The first soldier to get out was set upon by the crowds, beaten and killed. 'The others, however, were rescued by students and

taken onto a bus. Nevertheless this incident was later shown on Chinese Central TV as an example of the "counter-revolutionary rebellion" and of "hoodlums on the rampage".' (AI Report)

At the same time, 0100 hours, many witnesses report gunfire coming from Changan Avenue West, and there are numerous reports of live ammunition being used and killings and many bloody injuries. A number of witnesses report killings at the Fuxing Gate beyond Xidan. By 0200 hours the first trucks carrying troops had arrived from Changan Avenue West to enter the north-west corner of the Square. They divided into two groups, one advancing some way into the Square firing in that direction, the other group moving east but then becoming distracted by the several fires burning along the northern perimeter of the Square. Bushes and tents had been blazed, and the APC was still burning. There is some doubt as to whether, at this stage live bullets were being fired into the Square or blanks. The AW reporter saw no one falling as a result of gunfire. However at this time the reporter was standing in the Square '100 metres or so to the south of Changan Avenue.' And he later quotes a known British journalist and specialist on China (John Gittings) who saw soldiers shooting at wounded bodies at 0150 hours in the north-west of the Square. The AI Report suggests that by the time the troops had secured the northern end of Tiananmen at 0300 hours '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.' Both reports do mention wounded people being treated in the Peking United Medical College (PUMC) tents set up in the north of the Square. The AW witness visited the tent and saw wounded also quotes John Promfret from Associated Press who interviewed some of the wounded who told him they had received their bullet wounds in the north of the Square.

After troops first entered the Square from Changan a small contingent of police baton charged crowds from the Tiananmen Gate, which is the entrance to the Forbidden City (see map point 6) opposite the Square on the north side of Changan Avenue, and were met by youths lobbing petrol bombs at them. After a second police charge the crowds retreated into Changan Avenue East. Troops then began lining up at the level of the Tiananmen Gate facing down Changan Avenue East in three lines, one kneeling, one crouching, one standing. They began firing at the crowds to the east. For the next hour or so they fired several times in this fashion. 'Crowds at the corner of Changan Avenue East were running away, in the direction of the Beijing Hotel, during the shooting, then coming back towards the Square in between bursts of firing. Some were singing the Internationale, others shouting slogans.' (AI Report). [Many of the world's media reporters were staying in the hotels in this area, especially the Beijing Hotel two blocks to the east, and live radio-telephone broadcasts of this massacre were broad-

cast in Hong Kong as I can testify. JU]

At sometime between 0230 and 0300 hours a bus drove past the crowd and towards the Square and the troops. It slowed and stopped when soldiers surrounded it. They smashed its windows and shot the driver. There are numerous witness accounts of this execution. By 0330 hours crowds had retreated down Changan Avenue East one block to the junction with Nanchizi Street (which runs northwards along the eastern wall of the Forbidden City (see map point 7) when 'without warning or provocation the troops started firing again' (AI Report) and continued firing into the backs of the fleeing people. Dozens of causalities are reported by witnesses.

Tiananmen Square

In a small town military action of this kind would be immediate knowledge, but in the vast distances and spaces of Beijing adjacent areas can be calm or stormy alternately. Both reports confirm that the Square was very quiet by this time in the early morning. The troops controlled the northern rim and occupied the Great Hall of the People along the western rim.

They had also moved along the eastern rim in front of the History Museum and from around midnight had entered the Square from the south-west from Qianmen Avenue West. Other troops had arrived from Qianmen Gate in the south from behind Mao's Mausoleum. Witnesses claim they were shooting in the air and other witnesses say there was

fighting and several deaths in the south-west corner of the Square as troops struggled with citizens to enter. One reporter witnessed several burning buses in front of the Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet in Qianmen West Street to the south-west of the Square, and about twenty disarmed police and soldiers being rescued by students from an angry crowd. Then troops came firing, killings are reported, and tanks raced through the barricades. [It was near here, by the public toilets, that the Hong Kong ATV film crew reported live on events throughout the night by mobile radio-telephone, one reporter suffering a gunshot wound. JU]

The AI report says '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.'

Most of the students, estimated variously at between 3,000 and 5,000 were gathered around the steps leading up the Monument to the Peoples' Heroes which stands to the south of the Square in front of the Mausoleum. Some students were sleeping, others wandering around in the vast space where the tents were between the Monument and the Democracy Statue erected towards the north of the Square. Many citizens still occupied parts of the Square, especially to the

south.

During this period of calm in Tiananmen the AW reporter wandered over to the Great Hall of the People along the west side of the Square and took a good look at the faces of the troops there. His comments are interesting. 'I was astonished at how young they looked — they seemed to be no more than 16 years old, and some even looked as if they might be as young as 14 years. They were remarkably short, seemed very thin, and their facial features (in marked contrast to most of the other soldiers I'd seen in the previous two weeks) were extremely hard and vicious-looking. But they also seemed, I thought, to be quite frightened: their faces were flushed and reddened, and they were sweating profusely and breathing fast and heavy... (Some days later... I realized who they reminded me of: the teenage infantry of the Khmer Rouge.)' [The use of poor and often ignorant peasant boys as killer troops in cases of urban unrest has a long history, in Europe as now in China. Rumours that these young troops were also on stimulant drugs are just that, rumours. The sweating of these young troops could be accounted by a day of forced marching, the tension and the humidity of June. — JU]

At 0400 hours a new drama began. The Square was plunged into sudden darkness as the lights were switched off. In the eerie darkness the students began singing the Internationale to raise their spirits. The anxiety of the situation was partially broken when the students began their debate by

loudspeaker as to whether they should stay or leave. One report says the first speaker was Hou Dejian, the Taiwanese hunger-striker, who announced that he had negotiated a peaceful withdrawal for the students. Other speakers followed and eventually a vote to leave was taken. Students began lining up and moving out of the Square to the south through the Qianmen Gate.

The AW report captures the mood. 'Many of those who came past us, in the column which was now ten deep, each contingent of students following their own college's banner, had tears rolling down their cheeks, men and women alike. All looked shaken, and many were trembling badly or walking unsteadily; but all looked proud and unbeaten. They walked slowly, no panic or precipitate retreat from this scene, this unique place of struggle for an enduring idea.'

He also adds the following detail. 'One group of students shouted "Down with the Communist Party!" — this is the first time I had ever heard this being openly said in China, and it seemed to symbolize the watershed that had now been reached in the political life of the nation.' The Mongolian contingent commented 'You see, there's Chinese socialism for you' and 'This is the first time I've ever seen fascism in action'. [Are these the comments of 'counter-revolutionaries'? Or the expression of universal human values to which genuine socialists have always appealed

to and must always appeal to? JU]

At some point during the dark around two hundred troops came running out of the Great Hall of the People, and either before or after the lights were turned on again (around 0430 hours) launched an assault on the Monument.

'One group of students shouted "Down with the Communist Party!" — this is the first time I had ever heard this being openly said in China...'

The AI report quotes one account from a witness who claims shots were fired and 'Students fell down around me, about 20 to 30. A group of workers protecting us was all killed.' This account first appeared in the pro-Beijing Hong Kong newspaper *Wen Wei Po* although it has not been independently verified. The Beijing People's Daily confirms that the soldiers were firing, but only over heads. The AI report is not clear as to the timing of this assault on the Monument.

The AW reporter first records seeing troops on the upper levels of the Monument at around 0510, at least half an hour after the student evacuation had begun, and after the lights had come back on, and assumes that they had attacked from the western side. He had just walked towards the north of the Square to search for the Statue of Democracy and returned along a line to the east of the Monument, reporting that 'I turned to my left in order to view the scene on the Monument, about 20 metres distant. The sight was a shocking one: the entire top level of the Monument was swarming with steel-helmeted soldiers... But below the soldiers

...were still large numbers of students, indeed a fairly solid mass of them, still slowly evacuating the plinth. And still there was no sign of panic there, not the slightest evidence of any massacre having just occurred, during the five minutes or so of our sortie up towards the tanks.'

He does, however, quote a witness to some panic as students were forced down the Monument from the higher levels, concluding that 'it is possible that some deaths or injuries occurred during those final moments on the Monument.' The only shooting the AW reporter witnessed was during the darkness when troops from the History Museum to the east were apparently taking pot shots at the students' loudspeaker equipment. Other reports of this shooting exist.

The ILHR/ASGHRC report at this point quotes an account of the situation on the Monument given by a student from Qinghua University and reported in *Wen Wei Po* on 5 June. He says the assault troops beat and bloodied the students but when 'students on the third level had been driven down to the ground level, machine guns started firing. Some soldiers knelt down to shoot and their bullets just brushed past our heads. But the bullets fired by the soldiers lying on the ground all hit the chests and heads of students. When we saw this, we had no alternative but to go up the stairs of the Monument again. When we retreated there, the gunfire stopped. But the soldiers on the Monument again beat us to drive us downward. When we retreated to the

ground level, the machine guns fires in sweeping bursts again.' This report, which clearly does not match the AW report, came from the student concerned who was interviewed twice by a *Wen Wei Po* reporter, once shortly after he escaped the Square, and again after he had time to get some sleep. But Chai Ling's emotional taped message to the world smuggled out of China some weeks later does not mention any machine gun fire, and it is difficult to know what weight to place upon the testimony. But numerous other reports appeared in the Hong Kong press, by journalists as witnesses and as reporters of students escaping from the square, of shootings and crushings by tanks. It is just not possible to match all the detailed claims of many of these reports with the collaborated evidence of the AI and AW reports. Tiananmen Square is a huge area and no-one could know all that happened in all parts. The best that can be expected is to gauge the scale of the killings. The value of the AI and AW reports in this respect is that they set the credible lower limits.

The lights had come back on around 0430 hours. At 0500 hours tanks and APCs which were by now strung out along the north of the Square in a V-formation, began a slow drive south. Accounts that they drove furiously are not confirmed by the AI or AW reports. They crushed everything in their path, first the Democracy Statue, then bicycles, railings, and the village of tents which stretched the 150 metres back towards the north-east of the Monument. Behind the tanks marched sol-

diers. The AW witness was in the north of the Square at this moment, very close, and confirms that, contrary to claims issued later by Beijing, no soldiers were in front of the APCs and tanks to check whether the tents were occupied by sleepers. Foreign journalists who had looked inside some of the tents earlier in the evening had only seen five people asleep, and it is not possible to know whether they were still there, or indeed whether others had joined them later.

It is at this point that claims made by different people vary enormously. Neither the AI report nor the AW report suggests that mass shootings and killings took place at this time in the Square. The AW reporter is unaware of any shooting until around 0600 hours in the south-eastern sector. The AI also records this shooting. It was here that a Hong Kong student reports a student standing beside him from the Beijing Normal University 'filled with blood all over his head which nearly exploded'. A Polish reporter described the random shooting in the back of fleeing students. By 0600 hours the tanks had reached the southern end of the Square which was now under total PLA control. Were any students left inside the tents and crushed to death? Both reports cast doubts upon claims that there were, but the AW reporter does raise a question

about the fate of the dare-to-die squads around the Democracy Statue when it fell.

In one sense the arithmetic of the slaughter is less important than the political fact of it... But in a very important way it does matter. Accountability and responsibility are the only ultimate safeguards society has against crimes against humanity, and they can only be achieved by an insistence upon democracy.

Clearly many people did die in and around Tiananmen Square on the 4th June, and plenty of rumours then circulated of many thousands having died there. What is witnessed is that more were killed after they had left the Square on their long march back to their colleges. The student column moved in an arc, south through the Qianmen

Gate and then swung west and north to cross Changan Avenue West at the Liubukou intersection (see map point 8). At that junction, at around 0645-0700 hours several APCs drove at high speed into the column crushing 11 students to death. Troops from two of them then opened fire and threw tear-gas.

The Arithmetic of Slaughter

In one sense the arithmetic of the slaughter is less important than the political fact of it. How and why could such a thing happen in a country which claims to be socialist? But in a very important way it does matter. Accountability and responsibility are the only ultimate safeguards society has against crimes against humanity, and they can only be achieved by an insistence upon democracy. The deaths of the students, citizens and workers who fell will continue to serve the democratic cause for as long as they are remembered and

those responsible for their deaths are called upon to stand trial under a rule of democratic law.

During the days following June 4th many incidents of cold-blooded shootings were recorded on film and in witness accounts. Beijing municipality has over 40 hospitals. In the 11 hospitals visited by available witnesses over 300 hundred deaths were recorded and some hospital sources put the hospital toll by 5th June at over 1,400. Chinese Red Cross sources are said to have placed the death toll as 2,600. Other estimates go higher. It is worth quoting Amnesty's carefully considered judgement:

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.

It is possible to react to the terrible events of June in China in despair of ever knowing 'what really happened', to condemn the slaughter, and to let history pass on. Such a reaction would be realistic if it could be assumed that these events were just a passing moment of tragedy. However even the official PRC version of events [but one concocted only at the time of the martial law declaration] claims that the pro-democracy uprising was part of an ongoing struggle. As they would like it to appear as the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, a struggle in which the masses are being manipulated from outside, and by a few intellectuals within China 'corrupted by

bourgeois liberalism'. It is clear that the present Chinese Government sees this struggle continuing, just as Mao in the years preceding the Cultural Revolution claimed that 'class struggle' even within 'socialist' China was a long-term political necessity.

If this is really what is happening in China then those responsible for exposing thousands of China's young students to North American and West European university and polytechnic education must share the blame, which means above all Deng Xiaoping himself. But there is another view.

From its earliest days the Chinese Communist Party adopted a model of socialism that substitutes the Party for the class, and 'the leadership' for the Party. The view of the State held by Karl Marx himself holds that the State reflects the social relations of civil society, and that socialism consists of reabsorbing the functions of the State back into civil society. In other words, the 'withering away of the State' in the transition from socialism to communism was always, for Marx and Engels⁽⁴⁾, a process in which political life becomes more and more democratic as peoples' power, and access to material rewards and social accountability devolve.

When confronted with the realities of socialism in an isolated and backward country like Russia, the two principal leaders of the Russian Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky (founder of the Red Army), both argued that hostility from foreign powers necessitated the

strengthening of the State, not its withering. But neither of them went on to argue from this circumstance of history that it was a step forwards. On the contrary we may judge it as a step backwards from socialism. Only later did Stalin invent "marxism-leninism" as a justification for the dictatorship of the Party over the State and the people.

Tragically, the CCP adopted the same formulation, and today the defence of the Party over society, enshrined in the Four Cardinal Principles (5), is used to murder the people who challenge its authority. The gains of the Revolution of 1949 have been squandered by the very party that claimed the credit for them. Increasingly the people want to move forward towards a more just, more humane, more free and less corrupt society. They rightly see bureaucracy as having established for itself self-perpetuating privileges, absorbing the social surplus to finance their lifestyles. They have seen the PLA grab national resources to finance their own business activities while the standards of living of the people remain at poverty levels. The people want to move ahead, but the Party protects its privileges and is riddled with corruption second to none in Asia.

This is not surprising, and certainly cannot be explained away as the product of a few bad elements. Socialists most of all have a responsibility to explain how corruption has become just as systematic in China and Eastern Europe as in the worse examples of capitalist countries. And the answers are not dif-

ficult to find. In any society where privilege and status is closed to members of a 'club', whether that club is a social class, a bureaucracy, a military clique, or a ruling party, then the abuse of privilege and the corrupt protection of it are acts of self-interest. Only democracy and the rule of democratic law (note: not the rule of law, but the rule of democratic law) can promote self-interest in harmony with the social interest. At the same time material poverty in society will also foster selfish attitudes because people have to survive and most people will put their family interests first.

Maoism always adopted an idealistic view that people would rise above their material poverty to adopt altruistic and self-sacrificing behaviour. This can work for short periods where there is strong motivation, but where is the motivation in an undemocratic society? Patriotism against an invading enemy can bring forth heroics. Class solidarity brings forth sacrifices in the struggle for social justice against exploiters. A community rallies round to protect its citizens in times of natural disasters. But how can the everyday struggle of life to feed and to house a family be married to the idea of collective attitudes and social effort if the people cannot see a self-interest in achieving social justice? People need to see the material benefits as well as the moral ones, and that means they need to have a real say in how the material benefits of society are distributed, whether it be through their purchasing power or through their political power. Motiva-

tion is the social good that derives from democracy.

In other words, to achieve social justice in China people must first want social justice in the sense that they can see their interests lie in social justice. It is the task of socialists to demonstrate that interest. Today, the achievement of social justice in China clearly turns around the question of democracy. People clearly want it, and without it corruption will continue to thrive and the people will respond to appeals from the Government for greater productive effort with growing cynicism.

The events in Eastern Europe have alarmed the Chinese leaders. They correctly see the same unfolding in China. No doubt many of the older leaders cling onto their ideological beliefs, unable to adjust to the idea that past 'mistakes' were really the inevitable consequence of their own abandonment of Marx's inspired understanding that democracy is the essence of socialism. Now history has cast them, many against their will or better judgement, into the role of reactionaries. The democratic revolution, promised but never achieved by Mao after 1949, will not be delayed for ever, as Eastern Europe proves.

The tragedy for socialists is that the early stages of the democratic revolution will now be overshadowed by an intense hostility by many people towards socialism as an idea if not as an

ideal. Socialists inside and outside China, and Eastern Europe, will have to prove themselves through their unqualified defence of the democratic revolution and their determination to uncover and expose the wrongdoings of the old regimes so that at least some of the wrongs can be righted. This is why what happened in June should not be forgotten or forgiven. Things forgotten and forgiven happen again.

No doubt many of the older leaders cling onto their ideological beliefs, unable to adjust to the idea that past 'mistakes' were really the inevitable consequence of their own abandonment of Marx's inspired understanding that democracy is the essence of socialism.

If the future China is to have an army that respects the sovereignty of the people, if it is to have leaders that are accountable and responsible, if it is to have a press that reports freely and accurately, if it is to have laws which are upheld and applied without prejudice or favour, [and without any of these there can be little economic progress either], then what happened in June must be brought to light. Sooner or later, after a change of

Government, a full inquiry will be demanded into who took what decisions, how were they carried out, what were the orders of the day, were the troops ill-disciplined and did they panic or was there a deliberate policy to slaughter? These and other questions must be answered. Whether legal action should then be taken against those responsible will be a matter of judgement.

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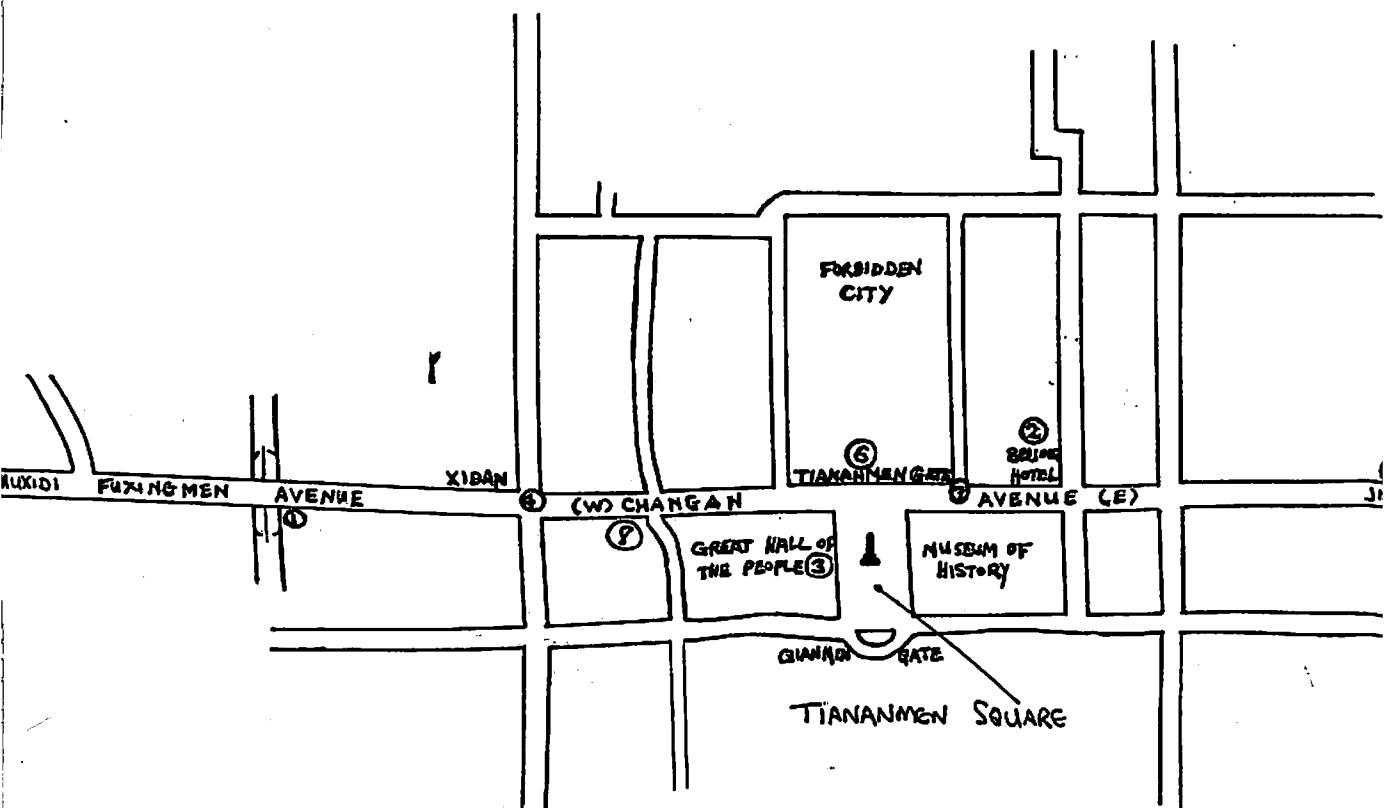
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5. *The Four Cardinal Principles of the PRC*, first enunciated by Deng Xiaoping himself in 1979, are adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the leadership of the CCP, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the building of socialism. There is irony in the fact that some months earlier Deng had secured a verdict on the demonstrators in Tiananmen Square in 1976 who had been brutally suppressed for demanding the same reforms as in 1989. They were to be regarded as entirely 'revolutionary'. Since Deng had been the long term beneficiary of these demonstrations he had a certain self-interest in this verdict.

Article by John Ure, Centre of Asian Studies Hong Kong University, January 1990.

Map of Beijing & Tiananmen Square.



Updates

The Iron Fist Crushes On

(October 12, 1989)

Four months after the June 4th massacre, the Chinese regime desperately tried to tell the world that life was back to normal in China, and that everything was under control.

However, for the hundreds of thousands of students, workers and other residents who had taken part in the pro-democracy movement, life is far from normal. For many of them in fact, especially the leaders and organizers, those four months had been a living hell. Many of them felt worse because before, especially during the months of April to June, they could at least bear some hopes with the government for democratic reforms. They could speak out about their aspirations, while now they are under a constant and hidden intimidation to their life and security if they dare step beyond the line. Everybody feels that security police, secret agents, and even informants in the guise of one's own friends and families abound all around them. For Beijing residents, the martial law troops

are always just around the corner.

A reign of white (or Red?) terror has been plaguing the Chinese people in the form of executions and arrests. Some of these were reported and published in the official Chinese media in June and July, intended to act as an example to frighten off others. However, for some reason news of such arrests and executions has almost disappeared entirely since July. It may be due to the reason that Deng Xiaoping, despite what he kept saying in public, was quite annoyed by the strong foreign reaction to his persecution. Unfortunately, this superficial denial of actual persecution is far from the real picture.

The persecution takes the form of a more hidden and discreet if not always subtle reign of terror. Arrests continue to this present moment, and were especially prevalent before National Day (October 1st). And the axe, as anticipated, falls on the heads of workers far worse than students.

On September 18, the Shanghai *Wen Hui Bao* reported that the Shanghai authorities claimed to have arrested 72 people who were leaders of various pro-democracy organizations such as the Workers' Autonomous Federation, the Workers' United Support League, the Workers' Patriotic Support League, the Workers' Self-ruled Support League, the Voice of Freedom and Democracy, the Patriotic Volunteer Army, and the

Autonomous Federation of China's Civil Rights. The Shanghai authorities estimated that altogether there were about 99 people who led the democracy movement in the city.

Since the beginning of August, the government has issued internal circulars to all units of the Party, government and military machinery that 19 categories of people needed to be identified and investigated for their involvement with the so-called "counter-revolutionary rebellion". Special offices were set up in Beijing for people to report on any of these 19 categories' elements. These 19 categories were being divided into those who are the targets of attack, and the targets of purges. The 19 categories are:-

Targets for Attacking:

1. Planners and organizers of the counter-revolutionary (CR) rebellion.
2. Leaders and core members of illegal organizations.
3. Those who carried out counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement, including people who produced political slander, writings, printings; people who distributed CR slogans, leaflets, big and small posters; and people who had released CR speeches.
4. People who had attacked, injured, and kidnapped the police and military personnel; people who snatched guns, weapons and other military supplies; and those who had attacked and burnt military vehicles.

5. Criminal elements who had committed activities which had seriously endangered public security such as beatings, damaging, looting, arsoning and killings.
6. People who refused to turn in the guns and artillery which had been lost by the Martial Law Troops.
7. People who have sheltered and protected the CR and other criminal elements.
8. The key people who have gathered people to attack the Party and government machinery and key offices; who blockaded traffic creating serious consequences.
9. People who have committed other crimes during the CR rebellion.
10. Those who have taken vengeance on people who reported on the above crimes.

Targets for purging:

11. Those who have links with the planners or organizers of the CR rebellion.
12. Those who have links with suspected people overseas during the CR rebellion.
13. People who joined illegal organizations.
14. People who committed anti-Party, anti-socialism speeches and activities in support of the rebellion.
15. People who have spread massive political rumours.
16. People who have taken part in the activities mentioned in No.8 above.
17. People who have given massive financial support to the rebellion.

18. People who have leaked state secrets.

19. People who need to be investigated for other suspicious conditions.

Beginning September 15th, the Beijing Public Security Bureau (BPSB) carried out a new order to check the identity cards of residents all across the nation. With the implementation of this order, the BPSB announced that they had arrested over 200 people who were involved in various rebellious activities.

A senior official issued a statement in early October reprimanding people who have been pursuing the purge campaign half-heartedly and called on people to take the campaign seriously.

Also in early October, a student in the southern city of Guangzhou (Canton) was arrested for having written posters at his campus during National Day calling on people not to forget the June massacre. On National Day, October 1, the cities of Beijing, Shanghai and Xian were visibly swamped with military, police and public security agents just to remind people and guarantee that people only performed officially condoned celebration activities and nothing else.

It is evident that the Chinese Communist Party has turned to a most bloody-minded and bloody-handed witch-hunt of all those who were involved in organizing the workers during the pro-democracy movement, especially people associated with the Workers' Autonomous Federation.

It is mostly workers, not students or

intellectuals, who have been tortured, executed or given long prison sentences for daring to organize autonomous organizations. The famous Chinese saying, "You must eliminate the roots when cutting the weeds" appeared to have struck a clear chord with the Chinese rulers who have only one top agenda in their policy — to stay in absolute power and assure the absence of any dissent.

Update

On January 19th, 1990, the Chinese government announced that they had released 573 people who had been detained since June for their involvement in the pro-democracy movement. According to the Chinese Public Security Bureau, these people were those who had shown repentance. Though this was a welcomed move, one must realize that it was no more than a grand smokescreen. Many Beijing people said tongue-in-cheek that this was only to make room in the already overcrowded prisons for pending imprisonment.

From all available signs, the main organizers and leaders of various autonomous organizations are still behind bars. Many of them are deprived of prison visits, communication with friends and family.

In mid-January, the *Washington Post* reported that about 800 people were secretly tried and sentenced for counter-revolutionary activities. This included one student who was sentenced to 10-years prison for posting an

anti-government poster in his campus last spring.

Newsweek magazine also reported that maltreatment was common among the political prisoners in China. Between 18-20 prisoners could be crammed into a cell the size of 9 square meters. In some detention centres, detainees were not provided with beds at all, and were only allowed to use the toilet between 7.30 am to 3.30 pm. A detained student said he was only given four pieces of biscuits every day during the few months he was detained since June 1989. Beatings by electric batons and gun-butts were common. On top of all this, every evening they had to undergo excruciating interrogation and mental torture. Many detainees were also sent to labour camps which could last up to four years.

However, there was a much under-exposed piece of news which went largely unnoticed. The Beijing Youth Newspaper, an official paper, reported on December 5th, 1989, that Beijing authorities had arrested about 2,600 rioters in the 24 days following June 4th, and only 190 of those had been released. Observers had noted that these did not include the organizers of the movement.

The Embarrassing Defeat of Yuan Mu at Beijing University

Ming Pao Daily : "News from Beijing", 1st January, 1990.

On the afternoon of 27th December, Yuan Mu was invited to Beijing University to present a report on current affairs and to conduct a dialogue with students. The student union, in an attempt to avoid embarrassing the 'prominent government official', had hand-picked 'reliable' students from various faculties to attend the session. So only those with tickets are admitted.

When Yuan Mu mentioned the situation in Romania, he said, "What happened in Romania cannot be compared with the June 4th Incident." At this juncture, the atmosphere started to become more lively. According to the ruling laid down by the chairman from the student union, students could submit question slips to the stage after Yuan Mu had finished his report, and Yuan could then respond to questions he chose to answer. However, as there were too many sensitive questions, Yuan chose to evade, passing the responsibilities to the chairman.

One of the students asked, "Had there been any political motives behind Qiao Shi's visit to Romania?" Yuan Mu immediately answer, "No." Then he went on to say, "The situation in Romania has been caused by internal and external hostile forces." A student

pursued, "Can we understand it as" (National Salvation Front) is an internal hostile force of Romania." Realizing that he had committed a slip of tongue, Yuan immediately denied what he had just said. This had elicited great derision among the students.

A student asked, "China is of the opinion that she should respect the choice of the people of Romania. Do we mean to say: the people is righteous, whereas the party has been wrong?" Yuan Mu immediately evaded the question by saying, "When we say the people, we have to consider whether we are using it in the abstract sense or concrete sense. . ." Again the students responded by derision.

In his report, Yuan Mu attributed China's economic downturn to errors made by a certain leader. A student asked him who he was referring to. He said that he was referring to Zhao Ziyang. The student then asked, "We often heard that Comrade Deng Xiaoping was the Prime Designer of reforms. Now that problems arise in our economy, the blame is with Zhao Ziyang. How do you explain this?" Truly embarrassed by the question, Yuan snatched the microphone and asked, "Are you a student from Beijing University?" The student answered, "I am from the Department of Economics." Another student then asked: "Zhao Ziyang and Hu Yaobang had never become the core of the (na-

tional) leadership, in spite of the fact that they had been the serving on top for so many years. How come Jiang could become the core once he assumed the post of Secretary-General?"

Another student raised this question, "Li Peng does have a bad image in countries outside the Mainland. Is there any suitable

candidate to replace him?" Yuan shook his head with great emphasis, "I am not going to answer this question."

Beijing University was really quite an university. It did live up to its reputation. Its students raised questions which were both direct, sensitive and relevant to current affairs. The majority of such questions caught Yuan Mu by surprise. Some of the students even made use of this opportunity to shout out their questions, obviously not really expecting to receive any answers. This is because all the answers were already on the embarrassing and worried face and the restless sitting posture of Yuan Mu.

The whole session was characterized by enthusiastic and lively participation. Yet, it was full of jeers and derision. Yuan Mu left the meeting venue in a most disgraced manner. It is an embarrassing defeat of Yuan Mu.

Why Does China Lift Martial Law and Release Some Democratic Movement Participants ?

On 11th January, 1990, Li Peng announced the lifting of Martial Law in Beijing. A week later, the Public Order Bureau said over five hundred people who were arrested under the suppression of democratic movement were released. However, almost at the same time, policies implemented or proposed before and after indicate that the quelling of dissent has continued and tightened. Laws were passed banning all demonstrations without government approval, strikes and political propaganda were made illegal in Tiananmen, and the court was re-instructed to follow the Party line and the leaders of the Party. More importantly, internal papers were circulated to each district to take action against all activists in the movement. Even in Beijing, the number of troops was increased rather than withdrawn completely from the city. Most China watchers and diplomats view the announcement as a symbolic gesture for improving relations with the outside world.

Lee Yee, chief editor of *The Nineties*, (published in Hong Kong) thinks that the gesture is not only useful at an international level, but also aims at tackling the discontent of people and exerting

firmer control over the country. He points out that all the policies and politics carried out after the Beijing massacre can be attributed to one cause: stabilizing the authority of the leadership. That the massacre is not condemned, the anti-capitalist, anti-freedom movement is continued, the repression of students' and intellectuals' formal and informal organization is not stopped, is thus not surprising. Those who were in power at the time of massacre are still in power today, they cannot reject what they have done, otherwise they will fall from the power stage. Even the release of students and lifting of Martial Law can also be analyzed similarly.

After what was probably the most influential people's movement in China's history was suppressed, people now express their discontent through different means: cycling round the colleges, "red tape" of the workers, speaking differently during and after study meetings. Although people do not and can not explicitly oppose the Central authorities, they are living with great disappointment and discontent. In order to stabilize their political power in such an atmosphere, the leaders must do something. On the other hand, they continue saying the Beijing Incident was "chaos", that students hurt and even killed many troops. However, in fact, most of them did not, and the central authorities would be unable to raise evidence in a trial. Hence for the sake of subduing discontent, the students cannot be detained for any length of time, and releasing them is a way to get

people's hearts, to win the public over with apparently generous deeds.

Lee further says since people are uninformed about the unreasonable phenomena and the poor performance of the Government, and the Government also does things to appease the emotions of people, large scale opposition is not likely to occur in the near future unless the economic situation worsens. Therefore, in the immediate future the political and social structure of China will most probably remain unchanged.

In such a situation, Lee says all the organizations which are concerned with democratic development in China should first make sure the issue is not forgotten. Today, China's Government

tries all means to cheat its people and make them to forget the massacre. It becomes more important for those people inside and outside the country to try by all means, to do the opposite, for instance, when producing publications, art, allowing judgement by an International Court, etc., to make the issue stay in the minds of all people. Secondly, non-government organizations can exert pressure on their governments to ensure that improving relations with the Chinese Government is conditional. There is an urgent need for China's Government to rebuild the linkage, hence the outside world may ask for real change and improvement in China; not just cosmetic change.

** WANTED **

SOLIDARITY MATERIALS FOR EXHIBITION

In Hong Kong, from May 26 to May 28, 1990, the *Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China* is holding a rally and exhibition in Victoria Park, Hong Kong.

WE WANT MATERIALS FROM AROUND THE WORLD, such as posters, banners, and leaflets, which have been produced by other people about the June 4th massacre or in support of the democracy movement in China. These will be put on display along with materials from Hong Kong and China. PLEASE send these to Friends of Chinese Minzhu BEFORE May 18th. See inside cover for our address.

Analysis

Re-confront the fundamental question

— *A talk with Su Wai, a Chinese intellectual —
(Translated from "The Nineties", Hong Kong
January 1990)*

"... introspection was discussed in a positive manner that presumed Marxism cannot be demolished. Now I think it's time that we should examine the premise itself. The tree has decayed to such an extent that it's illogical to affirm that the roots are healthy."

A hundred years of Communist movements, forty years of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) rule, ten years of reform and the awakening of the 1989 democracy movement — all these have been surrounded by one basic issue: the culture of Socialism and Communism (the S-C culture). Its features are the lying mechanism, the threatening mechanism and the oblivious mechanism.

China has lost its soul.

Lee: From Paris to the United States, your group of exiled Chinese intellectuals and students have, of course, discussed the issues of the June-Fourth

movement (JFM). How do you judge and evaluate this period of history?

Su: We talked about what we have learned from the JFM, and spoke on the problems it has brought about. But after so many discussions on the problems, I can only give my personal opinions.

I feel that at present, China has lost its soul. Those in power who did such a thing as the June Fourth crackdown, are definitely "soul-less." I feel that the heart of the people is the soul of China, so is knowledge and intellect, as well as Beijing, being the heart of the country. Yet the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has wiped out all these. They have offended all the intellects and have utterly lost the heart of the people. The wound of JF is irreparable, its effect even more immense than that of the Cultural Revolution (CR). At the same time, JF has become a new spiritual benchmark, a kind of "refresher" for the Chinese intellect. For so many years, we talked about introspection and evaluation of China; now we have reached a major full-scale juncture of introspection.

Lee: How wide is the scope of introspection?

Su: In a few words, it is retrospection on the last century, on the past 40 years of Communist China, on the last 20 years — the CR decade and the decade of economic reform, as well as introspection on the 1989 democracy movement.

More than 80 million died under CCP rule.

Lee: About the first retrospection, are you referring to the last century since the opium war or the Marxist movement?

Su: The Marxist movement; in the past 100 years, there are two major tragedies in human civilization: the Fascist-Nazi movement and the twentieth century Communist movement. For the last 40 years, introspection on the Nazi movement has been expressed thoroughly by the Western intellect, while introspection on the twentieth century Communist movement, represented by Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiao-ping, has been done partially. Only in the past decade, did we begin to criticize Stalinism and Mao's mistakes in his last days. Yet we have not touched Lenin, and not the least, Marx. Chen Yun (ed: a famous old guard CCP leader who specializes in economics) once said that more than 20 million people were sacrificed to build the Peoples Republic of China (PRC). Yet after the establishment of the PRC, more than 80 million people died under CCP rule. This data comes from an official Commission, which estimated that the 1958-61 starvation period caused 20 million deaths.

Lee: Even now, many intellectuals outside of China still think that the prototype theory of Marxism is humane. Its problems arose from the theory of class struggle expounded during the Lenin period, and it worsened when the theory of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat was put into practice.

Su: For the past 40 years, the biggest theoretical problem in China is the inability to confront the fundamental issue. Under the CCP framework, the premise of Marxism is established and untouchable. In the last decade, although intellectuals were allowed to evaluate and criticize Marx, Stalin and Mao, their introspection was discussed in a positive manner that presumed Marxism cannot be demolished. Now I think it's time that we should examine the premise itself. The tree has decayed to such an extent that it's illogical to affirm that the roots are healthy.

Eliminating Elites and demolishing order.

Lee: The 40 years of introspection is, of course, referring to the establishment of the PRC.

Su: Yes. When "Yellow River Eulogy" first appeared on TV, a number of intellectuals in China remained silent. Our attitude towards "Yellow River Eulogy" is quite different from that of Wang Zhen's (ed: a radical old guard in the CCP). In fact, the "Yellow River Eulogy" has refurnished the last 40 years. While portraying the events of the opium war and the international Communist movements in the context of 5,000 years of Chinese civilization, the problems caused by the CCP have been evaded. Yet, we will have to face the history of the last 40 years of CCP rule of China squarely.

Under the CCP history, there is a

mechanism that eliminates the best and the elite. In the leadership realm, people that are capable and liberal-minded are eventually ousted. Competent people like Liu Shao-qi, Deng Xiaoping in his early days and Zhou Enlai were all banished, so was the destiny of Hu Yao-bang, Zhao Ziyang and Bao Tong in the Deng era. The phenomenon permeates not only in the CCP, but all over society. People who are talented and think independently are not allowed to join the CCP. How did this mechanism come into being? Why is it that only the fools, the obedient and the mediocre thrive in the system?

Another mechanism is order demolition. Once order is established, it is destroyed right away. Like Hu Yao-bang, when the situation had just been stabilized, Hu had to be purged.

The wrong spiritual reliance.

Lee: How about the 10-year reform situation?

Su: The three year period from 1979-81 is memorable, what we called the "honeymoon" period for intellectuals. 1983-84 was the "spiritual pollution" time. While the situation turned better from 1985-86, in 1987 the anti-liberalization movement started.

Lee: As an intellectual, after reflecting on Marxism and China's past 40 years, how do you judge your kind?

Su: Intellectuals are faced with choices. In 1949, the CCP attracted the best and the most competent intellectuals. From then to the CR, the dreams and visions

of intellect were shattered one by one by CCP policies on various issues. Since then, intellectuals became servile and flattering towards the CCP. Up to now, the emotion that most intellectuals hold towards the CCP is still complex and irrational.

This kind of decision has to be objectively analyzed. To put it into substantial terms, we will have to face the reasons affecting our choices squarely. Say, for example, we have always been attracted to the moral aspect of the prototype theory of Communism. The general reference of moral and ethics, common among traditional Chinese intellectuals, is easily incorporated with the altruistic ideal of the prototype theories of Communism.

Two morals learned from the 10 year-reform period.

Lee: Your other introspection is on the CR and reform, but discussions about the CR are numerous.

Su: Indeed, but I think there are still things that are worth mentioning. However, we should talk about the 10-year reform. At present, people only praise this period, saying that it is the best time that the People's Republic of China has experienced since its foundation 40 years ago. Nevertheless, I think we intellectuals have learned two lessons from this period.

The first is: in this 10-year period, we have downed one god and created a new one. Indeed, we criticized the deification of Mao and his absolute authority. Yet in fact, there existed a latent move-

ment creating another god. During the most critical moment of the JFM, all the political forces surfaced. Yet the knot could not be untied, the knot being Deng's silence. The whole nation's knot could not be untied just because one individual decided to remain silent. That illustrated the emergence of another absolute authority. In praising the reforms during the past 10 years, we intellectuals have remolded a new god.

Retrospection on the 1989 student movement.

Lee: After the first moral you mentioned, what is the second one you have learned in the 10 year reform period?

Su: The second lesson is the introspection on the 1989 student movement. Because of Mao's campaigns of sending intellectuals and cadres to the grassroots level to learn from farmers and factory workers, the intellectuals were sickened and offended by the idea of the united front of workers, farmers and soldiers. Yet in fact, we did overlook the welfare of farmers and factory workers, especially the latter.

Coming from an agrarian background, most Chinese workers became urbanized in the process of political and economic changes that took place during the past 10 years. They evolved into a new class that possesses contemporary consciousness. The intellectuals, meanwhile, ignored this development and did not participate in this involvement. Because the status of intellectuals was upgraded during this period, the rift between workers and intellec-

tuals has widened. The intellectuals did not try to break through this barrier, nor did they consciously try to participate in the workers' urbanization process.

During the past 10 years, the intellectuals have grown, so did the working class, though each unaware of the other. The maturity of a democracy movement depended on the maturity of all the classes in society. Although intellectuals are the pioneers of society, we did not consciously join the growing process of other classes. In Poland, there are many theoreticians who are labour activists, and the intellectual participation in the Solidarity movement was very effective. This phenomenon was absent in China.

In the 1989 democracy movement in China, the responsibility borne by students and intellectuals was far too heavy. In a social movement, the burden should be evenly distributed among all classes in society. Yet this time, students and intellectuals bore nearly 90 percent of the burden, making the movement tedious and with no follow-up successors.

Lee: Many Beijing citizens were involved in the movement. You mentioned immaturity, do you think their involvement, as non-organizational, is immature?

Su: Yes. The citizens' involvement is non-organizational. Many workers, when off-duty, participated the movement in their role as citizens. Participation of workers through their unions was very limited.

Student movement lacked the attitude of reasoning and compromising.

Lee: Since the status of being students changes every few years, the students as a social class, can only be regarded as an impetus in a social movement, not a major force. The question is, once the vanguard (student) is gone, there are no succeeding forces. Like the present student movement, even with no clamp down, the movement would wind-down and disband in a short while.

Su: Right. Another lesson we learned is that in facing an irrational, ruthless regime, the intellectuals, including the university students, became overwhelmed and lost their sense of reason and their will to compromise. For democracy, besides being a political process, is also, to a certain extent, a compromising relationship among all forces.

Lee: If there is no compromise, everything will become like Deng Xiaoping's way, won't it?

Su: Quite right. An irrational regime was confronted with an irrational self-led popular movement, and the result is, inevitably, tragedy: tanks, bullets, and guns. To conclude, the intellectuals could not transform the self-initiated popular movement into an organized democratic movement. Thus at the last moment in Tiananmen Square, whoever happened to be the most radical and insistent on staying in the Square, became the leader.

Lee: Wasn't that situation forged by the

government?

Su: Yes, it was. But when facing that kind of government, we didn't have the ability to calm down and rationalize the popular movement. The intellectuals, overtaken by emotion, had lost their rational ability to compromise.

And now, to conclude the 1989 student movement. Starting from the self-initiated popular movement, our road to democracy should be finished off in a non-violent, procedural manner. The democratic front has only this route to tread. Or else, the movement will become a vicious cycle: violence against violence.

The formation of the culture of Socialism and Communism.

Lee: In facing the introspection on the past 100 years, 40 years, the last two decades and the 1989 democracy movement, what are your concluding views?

Su: Recently, we talked more on two issues. First, the verbal violence, the question of theoretical framework. I didn't invent this. I would like to elaborate on the second issue, the "socialism communism culture" (S-C culture), to which I have given some thought.

Lee: Is it the culture of socialism and communism?

Su: Yes. It is different from the culture of the Scandinavian socialism. Here I am referring to the communist-ruled countries in Russia, China and the Eastern Bloc. Their legitimacy is based on the culture of socialism, explained in Lenin's theory of building the political

party. This S-C culture has been in existence in human history for more than 70 years, long enough to formulate a cultural consciousness.

Lee: Is it the socialism plus the dictatorship of the proletariat class and the rule of Communist Party?

Su: Quite right. For the past 10 years, we have been criticizing feudalism. I think both communism and feudalism are subject to scrutiny. Being a tautology itself, communism cannot be replaced by feudalism. It has its own operating models, such as Leninism and principles on Party building. It is supported by a number of theories and cultural consciousnesses.

Lies occupy everything.

Lee: What are the characteristics of the S-C culture?

Su: I think there are three mechanisms in this culture. The first being the "lying mechanism." Say for example, the performance of Yuan Mu (ed: he stated that no one was killed in the Tiananmen Square). His statement that the media of the world recreated their video tapes by means of advanced technology, though crude, should not be overlooked. For this tactic is a major mechanism in the culture.

If we explore the roots of the prototype of communism, it is not too difficult to conclude that the whole theory is based on a false premise: Utopian communist society — the unknown heaven. When moral values are injected into the lie, it turned into a moral fallacy. Whatever communism

does, is for the benefit of the bigger self, while the actions and sufferings are borne by the smaller self. For the past few decades, the Communist Party is unclear on defining the means from the end. As long as the end is grandiose, the means can be ruthless. Their massacre in Tiananmen Square was "necessary for the revolution," and anything is justifiable. The past 70-year history of the Communist Party is filled with these despicable means.

In realizing the lies, fake moral premises will have to be created, and actions are led by these premises. For example, the "Great, honorable, faultless CCP" is a fake premise. Under this premise, they created such fallacy as the Great Leap Forward (ed: a radical campaign from 1958 to 1961 that brought about famine and other disasters). Opposing voices, they said, were "extremely few," and as a result, full-scale crackdowns were launched on these "extremely few" opposers.

In addition to the moral commitments and the unreal premises mentioned, another kind of lying mechanism is recreating history. To quote an example: now, to upgrade the historical importance of Deng, the effects of the Bei Ce Revolt (ed: a revolt led by Deng in 1929 in the Guangxi region) are now said to be as important as the Autumn Revolt (ed: a series of guerrilla revolts led by Mao in 1927. It began in Hunan Province, and ended in the Jing Gang Mountains, which became the first base of rural revolution). Hence, history can be modified and rewritten according to the interests and

needs of those in power.

Threatening mechanism and the oblivious mechanism.

Su: The second feature of the S-C culture is the threatening mechanism. We said people like Yuan Mu, Chen Xitong were archetypes of the CR period for their choice of phraseology used in those days, such as "a few bunches of people," "the clown that jumps about on the roof." In retrospect, their tactic is, in fact, verbal violence, an integral part of S-C culture. The quality of totalitarianism is rule by force and fear. Besides verbal threatening, there are organizational threats, such as the household registration system. The biggest threat now is, whoever participated in the student movement will lose his urban registration and be banished to Qing Hai (ed: an impoverished region in N.W. China where exiles are sent for "labor reform"). This kind of organizational threat is very effective in contemporary Chinese society, forming the origin of the ruling power.

The third mechanism is the oblivious mechanism. A Czech intellectual once said, after the 1968 Spring of Prague, that the rulers tried every means to erase people's memory, while the Czech intellectuals did everything to retain them. The same thing happened now after the Tiananmen event. Hence wiping out people's memory is an important feature of the S-C culture.

In the past 10 years, the ban on writing about the CR and the Anti- Rightist Struggle (ed: an ultra-radical campaign

in 1957) was repeatedly pounded into the minds of the intellectuals. Unlike their counter-parts in the West and the Eastern Bloc countries, who confront the unforgettable issues head on, Chinese intellectuals slacked off and only touched upon such taboos as the CR and the problems of the past 40 years indirectly. This is the effect of the oblivious mechanism.

Another instinct of the CCP is the ability to wipe out one's own memory. Many of the present old guard leaders emerged from student movements themselves. Now they have forgotten about their youth, and the positive implications of student movements. To them, the movement has become a "riot," an "insurgency," "insurrection," and the students are "ruthless thugs." If it is so, the leaders themselves were once villains.

Step out of the shadow of the S-C culture.

Lee: So the three mechanisms form the characteristics of the S-C culture?

Su: True. These three mechanisms made the leaders of the CCP lose their senses and souls. They have never given any serious thoughts to the Hong Kong 1997 problem. Such issues as why Hong Kong's six-million population doesn't want to be ruled by China, which promises rosy and prospective future. Why is it that so many intellectuals have fled from China? The leaders of the CCP are not touched by these issues, which in their view, are a natural phenomenon. Blinded by the three

mechanisms, their distorted perception of the world disabled them to confront these problems. As a result, they blamed overseas forces and Taiwan as the causes of the democracy movement.

As for the 1997 issue, Chinese intellectuals have never seriously thought about it either, just as we have ignored the S-C culture. In fact, 1997 is another crisis for the CCP-led regime and the S-C culture.

Lee: If the three founding characteristics of the CCP really do exist, we'll have to be doubtful of everything of the CCP says and does.

Su: Yes. I think we will even have to question all the premises that CCP proposed in the past 40 years. As the twentieth century fades with the coming of the twenty-first century, we will have to walk out of the shade of the S-C culture, if we still bear hope for the future.

An Analysis of the Present Chinese Working Class and Views of the Workers' Democratic Movement

— by Din Jian and Xiao Min Aug-/Sept 1989

We are labour organizers who participated in the recent "89 Democratic Movement". The nature of our work (one of us is a labour cadre while the other is manager of an enterprise)

means that we understand well. Here we give our views of the current situation of the Chinese working class and the future direction of the democratic movement. We hope this will serve as a useful reference for further research and discussion by concerned people. We base our account on an evaluation of the bloody outcome of "June 4 massacre".

Working class is the poorest among all social classes in China.

Ever since the implementation of "reform and open" policies, peasants have attained a certain degree of production liberty and a considerable portion of them have been able to improve their living. The income of "iron nice bowl" earners such as ordinary cadres of administration departments, civil servants and intellectuals is not high but well guaranteed. It is only workers who have neither the liberty of peasants nor the guarantee enjoyed by cadres. "Reform" has driven away workers security feeling. The increment of their wages is far behind general inflation. The reason is because economic reform is process of benefit redistribution for all social classes.

The reform in China is from above downwards. It is initiated and implemented by the bureaucratic ruling class the group of beneficiary of existing social benefits. Owing to the corruption, selfishness, incapability and unlimited power of Chinese bureaucrats at all level as represented by the Chinese Communist Party, it has been extremely

difficult to get any reform model nor measure which may harm the benefit of the ruling class to be accepted or implemented during the ten years' reform. As a result, the outcome of reform is the expansion of the bureaucracy class's desires through misuse of power for private advantages, corruption, receipt of bribery and black mailing. It will definitely lead to an unfair redistribution of social benefits resulting in the relative elimination of social benefits of other classes. Particularly for working class, they are left in a state of relative poverty.

Due to the incompleteness of urban economic reform which has not at all touched on the root of social economic benefits — ownership (property rights), working class has never become real owner of production materials. Despite being misleadingly regarded as "ruling class" by CCP, the Chinese working class, comparing with other social classes, is rewarded with the least amount of actual benefits. In 1986, the additional income average worker is obviously lower than that of cadre or intellectual after the "wage reform", reason for this is because workers can strive for bonus which items from "profit" and "excessive production".

Under the so called combined economic policy of "planned economy" and "market economy", bonus remains unlikely since there is no guarantee for supply of production materials. Moreover, enterprise is much stressed by control, hindrance and pressure from above "due to mismanagement unfair competition and channels of raw

material products and product market prices being monopolized by bureaucrats. Among all enterprises, national and small enterprises are having the hardest time whereas enterprises of foreign investment joint-venture and big enterprises are in better condition.

Despite the implementation of "production responsibility system" and "contract system", national enterprises, which form the keystone of the national economy, have not been to raise the incentive of workers because it is bureaucrats at all levels who benefit from the new systems but not workers. The reasons for this are as follows:

1. Contractors responsible for formulating and implementing contract system are all government officials. They can gain profit by regulating "targets".
2. Property rights of enterprises belong to "public" whom nobody is responsible of. Contractors are in an advantageous position where they are only accounted for profits but not losses, therefore they are normally "products" of the "relationship network" of bureaucrats who always get a share of the profit from "successive production" (The so called "open kidding" is merely a cover-up).
3. In order to safeguard personal and small group interest, contractors have caused accelerated depreciation of equipments, of workers and worsening of employee insurance welfare for workers. As indicated by statistics, the living standard of 65% of workers is lowering when compar-

ing their incomes (salary plus bonus) to extent of inflation.

Common dissatisfaction of workers

Workers of various professions who are employed by state are also considered to be part of the Chinese working class and they are commonly dissatisfied with the reality. The main reasons for this are:

1. Life being difficult for them due to unbalanced expenditures and incomes. Around 70% of Chinese workers have to take up part-time jobs.
2. Under the present tightening economic policy and unfair competition, many enterprises are in face of danger of "closure, work stoppage and conglomeration". Workers are under the threat of unemployment and many can only get "basic living allowance" from enterprises.
3. Workers are victims of bureaucracy, corruption and social disorder and they are lift in an insecure condition.
4. Employee insurance payment for accident, casualty and retirement is limited. Under the "fixed amount and responsibility policy", medical and hospitalization charges are not guaranteed. Therefore serious illness may cost a whole fortune for workers.
5. The Chinese government is ruthlessly suppressing students and workers involved in the democratic movement. Many workers are regarded as "rioters" and are heavily sentenced. Workers account for majority of all

pro-democracy elements being arrested and killed not to mention their inflicted relatives and friends. Therefore, there is widespread dissatisfaction in China.

Workers are full of grievance. They only dare to speak but not take any action. They need to be directed.

There is no freedom of press in China but the masses enjoy a little bit of freedom of speech. Unfamiliar with writing, workers normally voice their grievances instead. This may range from scolding of Chinese communist Party to commenting on Deng Xiaoping. Though workers are not afraid of doing so, it is still difficult to get them actually involved in the pro-democracy actions. Reasons for this include:

1. Workers are not so free as intellectuals. They are tied to their work place and family. If they don't go to work, their salary will be deducted or they have to pay penalty charge.
2. Most workers have to support their families. Approximately 70% of the worker activists involved in democratic movements in Beijing, Guangzhou and Fugian are under thirty years old and not the main "rice-earners" for their families.
3. Around 60% of the previous "red guards" are today's middle aged workers and cadres. They suffered from the Culture Revolution. Therefore, although dissatisfied with reality, they are mature and conservative and will not easily "fight in the

- battle field" if the time is not right.
4. Workers have a lower level of culture and theory. They are vague about concepts such as "democracy and freedom" and have limited source of information. Therefore, they can neither come up with any programs and perspectives about their own rights and interests, nor can they take any conscious and active moves.
 5. Workers lack a strong organization and powerful. The "Workers' Autonomous Federation" established during the Democratic Movement is a breakthrough in the past forty years' of the Chinese workers movement, yet it is still very green. It will take time before it is independent of the official labour union in terms of propaganda, organization, program and strategy, and truly becomes a real workers' organization that can unit all workers.

Chinese official labour bureaucrats dominate all administrative structures. Their organization is well structured and many of the labour union officials are pro democracy.

Chinese official labour union is structurally under the direct leadership of its party committee. It gets its financial subsidy from the state which is equivalent to 2% of workers' salaries. Its objectives are to provide ideological and political guidance, and employee insurance welfare to workers. In fact, it is the "Labour working group" CPC and

is responsible for conveying the party's views and mediate among workers. It is neither possible nor desirable for it to safeguard, speak for the workers and confront the government. Though some labour union officials may be willing to do so, yet this is unlikely under the present system because:

1. All labour union officials are appointed by the party. If they confront the government, they will harm their own interests.
2. If what they voice but is no in line with the party policy, it is still useless.

The formation process of trade union leadership is exactly the same as party and administrative organizations. First of all, candidates will be decided internally and then passed during the general meeting. Sometimes they may be adopted but the result won't differ too much from the expectation of government.

Take the Twelfth General Meeting of the All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) held in November, 1988 as an instance. The representatives did not intend to vote for the conservative candidate Ni Zhi Fu and caused great tension in the party leadership. Although Wei eventually managed to be elected through "work" and all kind a pressure and threats from above, yet the democratic tendency of the labour union officials was clearly exhibited. Under great pressure from mass opinion during the Democratic Movement, the ACFTU donated 100,000 yuan to students in hunger strike and showed their "concern".

Trade unions of various provinces conducted "dialogues" with students under unified arrangement while some local labour unions such as those in Shenzhen organized workers to attend rallies. But soon after CPC had changed their policy, the ACFTU immediately followed and urgently ordered all labour unions "to keep in line with the central government". Union officials could do nothing about this although they were unhappy with the "puppet attitude" of their unions.

Supplementary Notes on the Economic Situation of Chinese Workers and Peasants

We have given a basic introduction of the economic, political and ideological situation of Chinese working class and have briefly analyzed the origins of such phenomena. What can be concluded is that the current living standard of the working class is relatively lower than before, whether it is compared with the living standard of ten years before or that of other classes. The direct cause of this is the prevailing high inflationary rate over the last few years. According to official statistics, inflationary rate over past five years is over twenty percent (actual inflation is estimated to be exceeding thirty percent), while wages of general workers have merely been regulated twice during the ten years' reform, each time with an increments of about ten percent. The "price allowance" received by a worker ranges

from twenty to thirty yuan per month.

In the meantime, we still lack reliable information on the actual increments of general workers' wages and inflation and find it difficult to provide a precise analysis, given the great difference in wages among workers of different regions (special economic zones, coastal areas, continental areas, remote areas), different enterprises (foreign capital, joint-venture, national enterprise, collective enterprise) as well as different fields (energy, raw materials, chemicals, electronics, mechanics, textile, processing industry, etc.). However, we can get a hint of the general situation by looking at the labour wage of several enterprises where we have done some research.

A. A Metal Factory in Lanzhou

This factory produces raw material which is in great demand. Workers who have been working for over twenty years receive around 250 yuan monthly while young workers receive around 150 yuan monthly. This means the average income (wage plus bonus) is around 200 yuan per month. Generally speaking, workers of such raw material (steel, iron) production industry, energy and partly transportation, receive a higher wage and are considered to be the "lucky ones" among national enterprises. However the inflation rate experienced by Lanzhou in recent years is 25%, and average expenditure per head per month is 80 yuan. If we take the average population per family to be 3.5 people, average total income to be 1.8 people's general income (family

members may work for different factories), then the average income per head is 100 yuan which can only result in minimal savings.

B. A military electronic enterprise in Chengdu.

After the factory changed its product lines to civilian use, the market demand for its new products was low. Except for workers in strategic sections who can earn a monthly wage of 130 yuan, most workers only get 60 yuan per month which is not even sufficient to cover basic expenses. Consequently, workers have to get part-time jobs in order to bridge the gap.

C. A Machinery Factory in Shaanxi and a forestry Machinery Factory in Wei Nan.

The market demand for captioned products has been low over the past six years. The two enterprises suffer a great loss and have to rely on financial subsidies from local governments. Monthly incomes of workers does not exceed 100 yuan which is insufficient for normal living expenditure.

D. A metal factory in Gansu

Main products are cameras. Sales are fair and the factory belongs to middle level enterprise. Monthly income of worker is about 130 yuan. The minimum living expenditure is approximately 80 yuan per person.

E. Coastal Fujian (Open region)

The total monthly income of a medium

level worker family (with two workers in the family each with 20 years working experience, a three-member family as per birth control quota) is 300 yuan, that means average income per person is 100 yuan. According to current prices, the monthly expenditure on food per person is 70 yuan while remaining 30 yuan is needed for rent, water, electricity, clothing, children's education and medical service etc., merely adequate to cope. Unless additional income from a part-time job is available, it is very difficult for a worker to have extra money for buying domestic electrical equipments or for safeguarding against possible natural disasters.

Among the above mentioned enterprises, "A" belongs to the better wage group (200 yuan), "B" and "C" belong to the worse wage group (80-90 yuan) whereas "D" and "C" belong to the medium level (140 yuan). Let us now have a look at the highest income earners — workers of Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (mostly involved in processing, production or tourist industry). Average monthly income of workers there is around 350 yuan but 200 yuan is required for basic food and housing. A worker will not have much left if he/she spends a little more. As for the newly emerging "rural enterprise" taking Chengdu suburb as an example, the highest monthly income may reach 200 yuan, the lowest ranges from 70 to 80 yuan while most workers earn around 100 yuan per month.

Concerning workers' medical welfare and economic capacity, except those "privileged big enterprises", most

enterprises implement the "fixed amount and self responsibility system" as far as workers' medical welfare is concerned meaning each worker is given a fixed monthly medical allowance of 5 to 10 yuan only. For serious cases where hospitalization is deemed necessary, enterprise will only take up maximum 80% of the total medical charge. If we take medium level surgery costing 2,000 to 3,000 yuan as an instance, the worker will have to bear personally over 400 to 600 yuan which is equivalent to 1/2 to 1 year's total saving for a middle class worker's family. In case of serious illness or other accidents, the worker is in a very difficult economic position.

From the workers income figures in above mentioned industries, it is estimated that the average monthly income of a Chinese is approximately 130 yuan. For a family of 3.5 — averaging husband, wife, a child and "half" an elderly person, with two persons working, the total income is 260 yuan whereas minimum monthly living expenditure is equal to 70 yuan per person per month \times 3.5 = 245 yuan (most workers are from country side where half of the elderly do not enjoy pen-

sions). As a result, majority of the Chinese working class live at subsistence level.

Concerning the question of increased income of Chinese peasants, as per official statistics, the average annual income of a peasant was slightly over 100 yuan in 1978 and reached 300 yuan in 1988. Peasants' incomes are balanced at a national level.

Peasants of particular regions may have even higher income while those remote regions may not have adequate to feed themselves.

Taking 300 yuan as the base, even though it appears to be lower than the average monthly living expenditure of a worker, in fact peasants have greater economic capability than workers because they do not pay for rice, vegetables, water or housing.

Following the economic recession, political backwardness, ever-increasing prices and unresolved problems in China, Chinese workers cannot maintain a basic living standard and once the situation worsens further, they will surely join the anti-autocratic, pro-democracy struggle in order to safeguard their own interests.

Accounts of Activists

"the Government will retaliate against every one of us"

A 1989 Essay by Chai Ling

On that day, my husband Feng Congde, was deeply upset. He decided to write in his own blood. He was yet to finish the writing when he said, 'Why do my hands fail to bleed?' When the three students knelt down, all the other fellows shed their tears." — Chai Ling, 23, a research student of the Beijing Normal University. Originally, she was the secretary to Wuer Kaixi. After Wuer stepped down, Chai Ling took over his position and became one of the four leaders of the Beijing students' movement. The other leaders are Feng Congde (Chai Ling's husband) and Wang Dan.

This essay was written by Chai Ling herself before and after the hunger strike. When she had finished it, she gave it to the reporters in Beijing. The last bits of the essay are almost illegible because she was then physically very weak. Thus the editor has filled in the blanks and refined the sentences before producing the following published version:

I think these might be my last words because a situation like this is likely to become grimmer and grimmer. I am

now twenty-three years old. It is both surprising and coincidental that my birthday this year fell exactly on the day Hu Yaobang died. My home is in Shandong province. I left for the Beijing University in 1983 to study psychology, and in 1988, I was admitted to the Beijing Normal University to further my study in child psychology.

It was on April 22 that I spoke out for the first time in this movement. The movement started on April 28. Students had waited for a long time. They requested that Li Peng come out and receive them in the hope of securing an opportunity to attend Hu Yaobang's funeral. However, the Government delayed in responding time and again.

Students became indignant and wanted to throw themselves into the Great Hall of the People. The 'down-on-knees' incident then took place. At that moment, I couldn't sustain my tolerance any longer. I had to speak out. But then, I had almost lost my voice. While my fellow students were on their knees, I said, 'Would government officials please come out and attend to students' request and their cries!' No one responded. At that time, a fellow advised to me to reserve my voice, saying that there was no use crying out like this. They gave me water to drink. By that time, I had already been starving and thirsting for more than 20 hours. At last, I said, 'All Beijing University students must now be hand in hand and

leave the Square promptly.' The departure from the Square did help to avoid possible bloodshed. After this incident, I joined the Organizing Committee of the Beijing University and was determined to do something.

On that day, my husband Feng Congde was deeply upset. He decided to write in his own blood. He was yet to finish the writing when he said, "Why do my hands fail to bleed?" When the three students knelt down, all the other fellows shed their tears. We meant to give our Government some advice, and now, we had to be down on our knees with no official responding to us nor accepting our advice. Later, as I worked for the Organizing Committee, I experienced a lot. I strongly feel that the members of the Organizing Committee are righteous people, they are honest and sincere. But there are also some who have a mind for personal aims, and some who are vain glorious. Some people wear a particular face before death, and put on another before vain glory.

On May 4, we held a spectacular demonstration; we published our May Fourth Declaration in which we announced the commencement of the pro-democracy Movement in China. This time, the number of demonstrators was less than on April 27 because some students were too tired. I didn't expect it to turn out so bad — a student from the Autonomous Students' Union surprisingly declared a return to classroom on May 5. The situation then was terribly bad. Many students were greatly disappointed. The student from the

Autonomous Students Union said, 'if we do not resume classes, we will bring harm to citizens.' Students' enthusiasm got buried just because of these few words. Later, as the atmosphere in the Beijing University became more and more unfavourable with more and more students going back to classrooms, our work was made very difficult. We felt that we had to keep the movement going by staging a hunger strike.

At noon on May 10th, some students from the Beijing Universities Autonomous Students' Union aired their opposition (to the staging of a hunger strike). However, some other Beijing University students and I insisted. We made certain arrangements and began to promote the hunger strike on the University campus. I was very anxious because students who agreed to participate made up too small a number. The enthusiasm of the students slackened once again.

That evening, I called for the signatures of those who agreed to participate in the hunger strike. There were only forty odd students, and I was disheartened. I cried and said, 'To stage this hunger strike is to see what's up in the Government's mind: repressing us or ignoring us? We are to see whether China still has any conscience, and whether it still has any hope.' On the same day, a student said, 'In the past, I think of myself as the Mao Zedong of China. It is only until today that I find that I am nobody. I love my parents, but I love my mother country more.' The first forty odd students who participated in the hunger strike were from the Beij-

ing University, the Beijing Normal University and the Beijing Teachers' College. On that day, we swore together; my clothes bore the characters 'Chai Ling jue Shi' (Chai Ling on hunger Strike).

On the evening of May 10th, a little girl came to me, saying that our hunger strike was like an official act and was too 'formal'. She said we should use lives to strive for our goals. In the morning of May 1st, the day after we wrote our Statement on Hunger Strike, many teachers went to appeal for donations in order to buy the hunger strikers to-be a meal. However, since we had already written our Statement on Hunger Strike, we had no mood for eating. On May 12th, a teacher told me that when I was delivering a speech, he shed his tears and ran away to a remote place. In part of that speech, I said: "This generation of ours has the courage to die; we fight so that we can live. Death is absolutely not what we ask for, we want to live until victorious so that the Republic can have a bright, clear sky." On May 13th, at 19:30, we set off to meet the others at the Beijing Normal University, and together, we headed towards the Square to start the hunger strike.

Question: Concerning the hunger strike, have you ever thought of the spirit of Ghandi?

Answer: I have thought about it before the hunger strike because when demonstrating and petitioning were of no use, we had to use our own lives to awaken the others to see how it would turn out. That evening, there were less

than a thousand participants; later, the number was increased to three thousands when students were coming from all directions. At that time, I was at the Beijing University, feeling exceptionally anxious because I had a sense of responsibility. I felt I had to be responsible for these many lives. On that day, two hundred hunger-striker representatives, including Wuer kaixi and some teachers, had a dialogue with Yan Mingfu. Students did not accept the request to end the hunger strike.

Li Lu came to say to me that if the Government ignored us and allowed students' lives to deplete, we would adopt a more aggressive means, we would set ourselves on fire. I said from the announcement station on the Square that if the Government was to be made to watch students dying one by one, I was willing to take up the position of Chief Commander of the Hunger Strike Group. I was willing to sacrifice myself to allow more students to live on.

After that day, I saw some fainted students being taken to ambulances. I felt collapsed psychologically. Then, someone was about to force into the Great Hall of the People. Knowing that the disciplinary bureau could not be sent here at once, I spoke to students on hunger strike: If you are to force into the hall; now we are to see who is protecting the Hall. At that time, the leadership of the Beijing Universities Autonomous Students' Union came to put the situation under control. The Square was very chaotic. Some leaders of the Students' Union were themselves not that 'pure-hearted'. I felt that we

must rely on the Hunger Strike Group because this Group had stayed in the Square from the very beginning, and thus I could lead them in meetings.

It was only after I became the leader that I found out what the real situation was like: the various organizational tasks were not in progress; 182 leaders were replaced within just a few days; meetings were loose and could be convened without much serious consideration; the health of the students became worse and worse; request for donation of food got poorer and poorer response and the hygienic condition became more and more terrible. We were facing greater danger. The students' emotions got provoked easily and they lost their temper in an unreasonable manner. Urgent news continued to be heard. All the leadership had to rely on their own feelings when they made decisions.

Students from various parts of the country continue to flood in. They are greatly disappointed. They do not know what we are asking for. Some students came here just for travelling. It was heard that some students kept the donations secretly to buy things for themselves. Some agreed to be interviewed if and only if the reporters gave them money. Worst of all is that some students got a deal with the Government and said to the others that they would have a record of merit with the Government if they agreed to retreat from the Square, and if not, the plain-clothes police were ready to grab people. It is not known how many informers there are.

Question: Is this the darkest day of the movement?

Answer: The darkest day has not come yet. Many students did not understand that staying in the Square is the only way left for us; if we retreat, the Government will be most happy. I am the Chief Commander. I will never make any compromise — the Autonomous Students' Union of non-Beijing universities and the faction which supports surrender compete with the Beijing Universities Autonomous Students' Union for power and Authority. There are quite some people who make use of the movement to re-establish their own images; people like Liu Xiaobo.

I think the Government will retaliate against every one of us in a crazy manner. This is because Chinese have a strong mind for taking revenge. I do not bear any unrealistic hopes. After the first dialogue was suspended midway, I read out our declaration on hunger strike. At that time, I hoped it could be broadcast live so that people all over the country could understand what was in the mind of the students on hunger strike. We still thought we could move them.

Many people have joined the movement; but they do not hold any belief. Their thoughts are very confused. This movement reveals the extent to which we understand and concern about democracy. The body of intellectuals and the body of theorists are lagging far behind. They have not put forward any single well-completed theory. I think it

is in the sense that the movement records the significant history of the spontaneous rising of the masses that the movement is deemed to be of great meaning.

I believe in inevitability. I don't believe in the existing theories. As an individual, I am willing to live on. I believe a great revolution will soon break out. I must preserve the seed and the strength of our revolution. I desire to 'stand up' again in the next movement. If I am still alive, may the people of China really 'stand up'.

Such kind of reform has pushed intellectuals to an impasse. Without a sense of security, this country is bound to come to an end. Only the people can save themselves. Repression. On May 25th, I chatted with a plain-clothes policeman. He said that the arrested might be sentenced to jail for 3 years, 5 years, 7 years or 17 years. When released from jail, I would be at the age of forty. I cannot take this willingly. I believe it will benefit everyone to establish a system of democracy and to make use of science to save the country.

Of course, we can go to study abroad; but if our country can solve its problems, why should we spend our youth abroad and contribute our talents to overseas countries? My mother country is too poor, and she needs people who are willing to struggle and sacrifice for her, she needs lots of them. Regretfully, with such a political system, people from all classes have no way out but to try to secure green cards.

Someone must continue with this

task — because this is not a personal issue, it concerns the ultimate fate a country.

27 October 1989 Independent Labour Leaders Secretly Detained in China

Dear Friends,

We received news this week that **Han Dongfang** and **He Lili**, two of the most important leaders of the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation (WAF) were secretly detained in late June, 1989 by the Chinese government in their crackdown of pro-democracy activists.

Han Dongfang and He Lili were both founding members of the Beijing WAF and were the key members of its standing committee. Both topped the government's wanted list issued in early June after the June 4 massacre and the violent suppression of the pro-democracy movement.

Han Dongfang (26) has been a worker at the spare parts factory of Beijing (Fengtai district) Railway, since 1984. He was the key leader in organizing the Beijing WAF. He was also the most respected and visible leader of the BWAF. He was described by his colleagues as a man of wisdom, underlying a quiet personality and mild and calm manners. Born in Beijing, he grew up in his poverty-stricken ancestral village in

Shanxi province, he joined the People's Liberation Army at the age of 17 and received an award from the army as an "outstanding progressive person". Han was married in 1988.

He acted as the leading negotiator with the Beijing Public Security Bureau for the release of three of his colleagues from Beijing WAF on May 30th. The detention of his three colleagues took place the day following the formal inauguration of Beijing WAF. He led the pickets protesting about the secret detention and finally succeeded in securing the release of the three on the following day. However, he was identified as the leading "instigator" by the Chinese government for organizing the "attacks on the Public Security Bureau".

When asked by a reporter in early June if he feared the consequences of his involvement in the Beijing WAF, he said, "No, I have no fear. People will always find a way to live on. I only wish to have an organization that can truly speak for the workers. The situation will be worse if we retreat now."

He Lili (36) is a lecturer at Beijing School of mechanics. He was one of the key organizers and was also on the standing committee of Beijing WAF. He is married with one son.

The most worrying aspect of both Han Dongfang's and He Lili's detention is that it was never announced by the Chinese authorities. Information from China reveals that Han has been held in solitary confinement since end of June. The fact that these arrests were

never officially announced raises fears that many other arrests of WAF members have gone unreported.

Numerous reports from China show that, in general, detained workers have received much worse treatment than detained students or intellectuals, such as harsh beatings and tortures. In response to enquiries about human rights, the Chinese authorities have said repeatedly that they haven't killed, executed, nor harshly treated students and intellectuals. The conclusion has to be that detained workers do not receive such leniency. The Chinese government announced in June and July the execution of 12 workers or "unemployed" for their activity in the pro-democracy movement.

At present, the officially-announced arrests of members of Beijing WAF include the following:

Liu Qiang (26). Former occupation: worker at a military printing plant. A member of standing committee.

Liu Huanwen (28). Unemployed. General commander of Beijing WAF Pickets' Corps.

Bai Dongping (26). Former occupation: train attendant. A core member of Beijing WAF. Was one of the 3 detainees at end of May.

Tian Bomin (24). Former occupation: photo studio worker.

Guo Yaxiong. Member of Beijing WAF. Drafted and distributed a famous leaflet at the Tiananmen Square - "Declaration of the Dragon".

Li Jiang.. Former occupation: Worker.

Core member of Beijing WAF's Dare-to-Die Corps.

You Dianqi. Core member of Beijing WAF. Arrested earlier.

Yan Fuqian (27). Worker. A leader of the Pickets' Corps of Beijing WAF.

Reported detainees of WAF members in other cities:

Changsha: Lu Zhaixing, Zhou Yong, Zhang Xudong, Yang Xiong, Liu Xingqi, He Zhaojun, Li Jian.

Hangzhou: Zhu Guanghua, Gao Jingtang, Li Xiaohu.

Jinan: Zhang Xinchao, Che Honglian, Shao Liangchen, Liu Yubin, Hao Jingguang.

Nanjing: Zhu Huiming, Rui Tonghu, Li Huling.

Shanghai: Zheng Liang, Zhang Renfu, Zhang Qiwing, Wang Miaogen, Wang Hong, Li Zhibo, Gong Chencheng, Chen Shengfu, Cai Chaojun.

Xian: Liu Chongxi, An Baojing, Liu Congshu, Bao Hongjian, Ren Xiying, Xu Ying, Chang Ximin, Zhao Demin.

We now would like to make an appeal to the Chinese government to:

1. Disclose names of all people who were arrested, detained, tried, sentenced or executed, in particular those who were members of the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation and WAF in other cities.

2. Disclose the legal status (whether investigated, detained, tried, sentenced, jailed or executed) of Han Dongfang, He Lili, Liu Qiang, and all other detainees for their involvement in WAFs.

3. Allow communication such as prison visits, mail correspondence with Han Dongfang, He Lili, Liu Qiang and other the detained WAF members.

4. Release all those who were arrested or jailed for their activity in organizing the Workers' Autonomous Federation, including Han Dongfang, He Lili and Liu Qiang.

5. Treat workers in China with the same amount of dignity and respect as other classes.

We call on our brothers and sisters of the international trade union movement to appeal urgently to the Chinese government on behalf of the detained unionists.

Revolutionary Worker Han Dongfang

"As we are now in a period of curfew, just by coming here, we will be held responsible for 'attack the Bureau of Public Security.' Since those arrested are members of the standing committee of the Capital Workers Autonomous Federation (WAF), there is no reason for asking students to negotiate for us."

I feel that we should let workers negotiate on our behalf. Communication facilities in Beijing are quite advanced. It should be very easy for public security bureaus to contact each other.

There is no excuse for the authorities to take one day to verify arrests and three days before announcing them." (sound of applause)

He waved his hand slightly to stop the angry outburst of the crowd, and in a very calm, strong and rhythmic voice, said: "We must consider the overall situation. Please have faith in my brain [sic]. No matter how unexpected my decision may be, please trust my brain. After I go in, please think about what it means to 'consider the overall situation'."

In a few sentences, Han Dongfang pointed out how the students were manipulated in their negotiations with the authorities. Finally, along with two other workers, he was allowed to enter the bureau of public security and discuss the whereabouts of the three arrested key members of the WAF.

The remaining hundreds of workers and students watched in silence his tall slender shadow, at the same time stunned by his calm logic, and suspicious of his promise.

That was the afternoon of May 30th. Under the scorching heat of the midday sun, with banners raised high, a large group of students and workers gathered in front of the public security bureau on Qianmen Dong Street to protest and demand the release of the WAF members.

The cause of all this was the midnight arrest of three members of the WAF, Shen Yinhua, Bai Dongping and Qian Yuming by what appeared to be agents of the public security bureau.

About twenty workers arrived at 9 a.m. the next morning to discuss their arrest. As each one was being photographed by public security, the atmosphere became very tense. As a thousand students arrived from Tiananmen Square to support them, worker representatives became concerned that authorities might use this as a proof of their "counter-revolutionary" activities. Most of the students were persuaded into returning to the Square, with only a few left for liaison work.

The bureau of public security claimed that WAF was an illegal organization and would only talk to students. After a prolonged discussion, the only news the students could bring out with them was that "The authorities need 24 hours to verify the arrests, and if the arrests are confirmed, they will explain the reasons for the arrests in two days." The workers on hand were not satisfied and the mood of the crowd became volatile.

At 3 p.m., worker representatives were finally allowed to enter the bureau of public security. After 15 minutes of talk, Han Dongfang came out.

The public security bureau continued their loud broadcast: "The order of curfew is in effect. Students, don't be manipulated and deceived by a small group of instigators. Leave immediately because gathering in front of the public security bureau is illegal."

Han did not use a bullhorn. In between pauses of the deafening broadcast of the bureau, Han announced to the crowd that "The authorities did not

respond to our questions."

He asked again the workers who were there to "trust his brains". In one hour's time, he would tell them his last suggestion for dealing with the authorities.

The workers passed an anxious hour without any response from the bureau of public security. Han Dongfang asked the workers to listen to his idea: They were to move their sit-in to the National Bureau of Public Security in the north-eastern part of Tiananmen Square, and they were to stay until the three arrested workers were released.

The workers listened to him, stood up and followed the flag-waving Han. In a most orderly manner, the workers left the bureau of public security which had just been reinforced by over one thousand armed guards.

Han Dongfang had evolved from a "progressive element" of the army to a key member of a counter-revolutionary organization that was being suppressed by the authorities. His journey is solid proof that "revolution is bred in the depths of the soul."

Upon meeting Han Dongfang, this reporter was struck by his height, his long face, and his prominent features. I felt that he was a stubborn, strong and straight forward character. Because of his gentle and scholarly behaviour, I soon began to pay special attention to his actions amongst the crowd of workers who had just returned from some publicity work. After being introduced, this writer found out that he was the man I was looking for. He was, at the

time, one of the key members responsible for organizing the burgeoning Capital Workers Autonomous Federation.

Aged 26, Han Dongfang was born in Beijing. However, at the age of three, before he was influenced by the ways of the capital, he moved back to his poverty-stricken ancestral home in Licens county in Shanxi province. It was at the height of the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution. During these five years, he lived a life of extreme hardship. However, he thought that "it was a blessing in disguise, as he learned to think independently and to protect himself from outside reactions."

He entered the army with these characteristics. The harsh discipline of army life further helped shape him into the tough, stubborn and persevering character that he is now. He was even awarded with the distinction of "outstanding progressive individual" by his army unit. He said laughingly, "I was hot stuff!" After leaving the army, he joined the police force for three years before starting work at the railway in 1984.

However, mourning activities after Hu Yaobang's death changed his ordinary life. Han Dongfang remembered that on April 17, he was passing by Tiananmen Square and saw a big crowd gathering under the People's Monument. As he got off the bus to find out what was going on, he heard many speeches about the current problems, democracy and freedom. He said: "I felt deeply touched and excited, so I made a

speech too. Everyone was excited and began to sense what the people wanted." From then on, he went to the Square often and took part in shouting slogans and making speeches.

He began talking to students who were collecting donations on the street and his longing for democratic freedom and his understanding of the student movement both deepened. After the students started their hunger strike, Han Dongfang went to the History Museum to the east of the Square every day after work to check on the condition of the striking students. Occasionally, he would discuss his ideals with the student leaders.

However, the students wanted to maintain the purity of their movement and expressly refused any outside participation. Han said: "The students are interested in my opinion, but they are not interested in my profession."

Han went to visit the students every night and became acquainted with a group of workers. They began to feel that the students could not bear their burden alone. Their sacrifice was too much and they needed the support of Beijing workers and citizens. Therefore, with the help of some students, they began to plan for the formation of a Workers Autonomous Federation towards the end of May.

In Han's plans, the WAF was not a welfare organization but rather a forum for discussing public policies. Repre-

sentatives from different professions were to select a standing committee. Since there were concerns that workers might be under pressure to not participate and there might not be enough representatives for each profession, the WAF was to be represented by regions. With optimism, he thought that regardless of the size of the factories, if ten workers from each joined their federation, the factory managers would not dare move against them.

His opinion could not be tested, because the supposedly proletarian-led communist regime has one greatest fear — the working class. The WAF was officially formed on the night of May 30. By midnight, arrests were made. The WAF was suppressed before it could begin operation. Plans for a joint federation of students and workers were also disrupted.

Han Dongfang never doubted his ability in organizing the WAF. He said lightheartedly: "I can manage. Even though I only finished secondary school and never went to university, I've studied on my own psychology and sociology. Besides, I have a clear mind and strong sense of logic."

Han Dongfang did not go to university, but he said: "When Deng Xiaoping made this big fuss about diplomas after his rise to power, I disagreed with him and boycotted him on purpose." He stopped and added: "However, I regret it now and can only study on my own."

His opinion could not be tested, because the supposedly proletarian-led communist regime has one greatest fear — the working class.

Did he make the "wrong" decision? In the future, will he regret the choice he is making now? Is he afraid of getting fired? "No, I have no fear. People will always find a way to live on. I only wish to have an organization that can really speak for the workers. In any case, to withdraw now will only make things worse."

Han Dongfang joked that his wife only stopped worrying after his explanations. She even made some public appearances with him. Her spiritual support had made him feel even better about what he was doing.

Han Dongfang admitted freely that he wanted to be a politician. But in his opinion, politicians should see clearly the political situation and understand the wishes of the masses. Unfortunate-

ly, the leaders in power now had removed themselves from their people. The government had become too bureaucratic.

Before the bloody crackdown, Han predicted that if the government crushed the student movement, the national economy would fall apart because workers would passively slow down production. There would be long term damage to production and the outcome would be much worse than a general strike. Besides, China's reputation in the international community would suffer irreparable damage. China's position would be influenced and would be despised.

Unfortunately, his prediction has come true.

Solidarity

East Europe Solidarity With China

Report from "THE BLOC – Voice of Central and Eastern Europe" June-July 1989, No. 154-155. pp 4-5.

The impact of the recent events in China is still reverberating throughout the Communist Bloc.

Poland

On 5th June 1989, the Chairman of NSZZ "Solidarnosc", Lech Walesa, released an appeal on behalf of the Chinese pro-democracy movement. A demonstration took place in front of the Chinese embassy in Warsaw on 5th June, the day following the parliamentary election in Poland. It was organized by the Freedom and Peace movement and the newly formed Radical Party, and subsequently by the Polish Socialist Party, the Independent Student Association (NZS), the Inter-City Anarchists, and the Movement for an Alternative Society – all groupings without legal status. Outlines of human figures were painted on the pavement and slogans were fastened to the fence around the building, which read: "China – Revolution toward Democracy", "Freedom for China", "Don't Kill Students".

On Monday night, a group of young

people began a hunger strike, lying down in front of the fence of the embassy. The strikers demanded that the Polish government take a stand on the events taking place in Peking.

The next day the number of fasting strikers grew to 35. They are collecting signatures under an open letter to the Polish government which reads:

"We, who congregated at the Chinese embassy, protest against the deliberate, genocidal operation conducted by the Chinese government against the Chinese students and workers who are demanding democracy in the public sphere and civic freedoms. We call upon the Polish government to condemn unequivocally the Chinese leaders who are responsible for the massacre of the nation. Indifference in the face of mass murder infringes the basic moral values of our civilization. Consent to barbarity is barbarity itself!"

Pictures of the demonstration, the hunger strikers, and the collection of signatures were shown in the main news broadcast of the government controlled television network on the following night.

On Wednesday 7 June, a 24-hour sit-in was staged at the Collegium Novum in the Jagiellonian University in Krakow by 100 students protesting against the cruel suppression of the stu-

dent demonstration in Peking.

Separate statements have been published by a number of political groupings in Poland.

Forty-one intellectuals, among them Walesa's chief political adviser Professor Geremek, the attorney Sylwia Nowicki and film director Andrzej Wajda, published a statement which reads: "Expressing our sorrow and indignation at the tragedy in Peking, in solidarity with the democratic striving of the Chinese people, we appeal to governments the world over, to international public opinion, to all people of good-will for immediate efforts to make the Chinese authorities stop the massacre of defenseless civilians, punish its perpetrators, and seek reconciliation with their own people." The statement appeared in the Solidarnosc newspaper "Gazeta Wyborcza" on 7 June.

In a joint statement by Fighting Solidarity (a group opposed to Lech Walesa) and the 'Independence' Liberal Democratic Party, we read:

"The Peking massacre has shown once more that the Communists are capable of any crime to uphold their monopoly of power. No economic reforms, no perestroika can effect the essence of this system which is based on crime and contempt for the human being. The thousands of innocent victims in Peking are also a burden on the conscience of Western politicians, who, having been duped by perestroika, allow Communism to survive. Moral objection to Com-

munism, as to any crime, is not enough. Only active resistance offers a chance of combating this plague of the 20th century."

The Polish Helsinki Committee, in a message to the United Nations, described the actions of the Chinese authorities as a violation of the Universal covenant of Human Rights.

In Warsaw, the group of young protesters have continued their hunger-strike and sit-in in front of the Chinese embassy. A rally protest against the Peking massacre was held in the Western city of Poznan on 9 June. Similar protest have taken place in Szczecin, in the North-West, and Wroclaw in the South West. Information about these protests was carried by the official Polish Press Agency, PAP, and appeared, among others, in the communist daily, 'Trybuna Ludu'.

Czechoslovakia

A week of Solidarity with the Chinese students has been observed in Czechoslovakia. Demonstrations were held every day, at 6 pm. in front of the Chinese embassy and at 7pm on Charles Bridge. Leaflets were distributed and signatures collected on a petition to the Chinese embassy, which was not, however, accepted by the Chinese. The police have refrained from intervening, if we disregard incidents of people being asked for their documents in front of the embassy. On June 7th, the demonstrators unfolded a sign reading 'Peking Today, Prague Tomorrow'.

On 9 June, demonstrations and

protests on behalf of the murdered Chinese students continued in Brno where at 9 pm. about 30 citizens expressed their solidarity with lighted candles. Police checked their identity papers because "their action was not permitted by the local council".

In Prague, the week of solidarity with Chinese students continued. Following the reading of the text of a protest petition and a statement by the Independent Peace Association (NMS), two NMS activists — Lubos Rychvalsky and Karel Masek were arrested. Another activist, Josef Kuhn, was also detained but released later. The petition has to date been signed by 1,040 people. The demonstration ended peacefully at 8.30 pm. The last peaceful protest of the week was planned for Sunday 11 June.

Hungary

On 4 July the newly-formed 'Hungarian October Party' issued the following communique:

"Thirty years ago, in October 1956 the communists put paid to the revolution of the Hungarian Youth which demanded a democratic renewal. Later on, hundreds of those who had fought for a freer future for their people were hanged and tens of thousands of them imprisoned. The authorities laboured under the illusion that they could break the people with cannons and executions, that they could break the spirit of such a proud nation.

Today, it is not those sentenced and executed, but their murderers who

are being tried by history. Now it is the communists who have to ask for forgiveness for their crimes. This is what happened a few days ago when their victims, heroes of the Hungarian Revolution were rehabilitated and reburied with state honours.

The Hungarian October Party, the party of the Revolution, joins in mourning with the relatives of those who one month ago were murdered in Peking and later cowardly executed in Shanghai and other places. We also sympathize with whose hopes for liberating China have been dashed.

The Communists revealed their masks and proved that their promises can never be believed. For us, this is the moral of what happened in China. Similarly, our Chinese friends can draw their own conclusion from what happened in Hungary. The last word will surely not belong to the present leaders of the Chinese Communist Party."

An Appeal on behalf of the Workers Autonomous Federation

Dear Premier Li Peng,

We have received information about the activities of the Chinese authorities with respect to members and leaders of the various branches of the Workers'

Autonomous Federation, especially the Beijing WAF.

There is considerable uncertainty over the whereabouts, legal status or, indeed, health status of several of these people. There are claims that workers and/or workers' representatives have been singled out for particular victimization by the authorities over the last few months.

We urge you to take steps to ensure the freedom and safety of workers and their representatives in their normal democratic activities.

In particular, we ask you to cooperate with us by getting the appropriate government agency to:

1. Disclose names of all people who were arrested, detained, tried, sentenced or executed, in particular those who were members of the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation and WAFs in other cities;
2. Disclose the legal status (whether investigated, detained, tried, sentenced, jailed or executed) of Han Dongfang, Liu Qiang, and all other detainees for their involvement in WAFs;
3. Allow communication such as prison visits, mail correspondence with Han Dongfang, Liu Qiang and other detained WAF members;
4. Release all those who were arrested or jailed for their activity in organizing the Workers' Autonomous Federation, including Han dongfang, and Liu Qiang;
5. Treat workers in China with the same amount of dignity and respect

as other classes.

This appeal was sent by : Public Services International; International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Federations, Federation Internationale des Employes et des Techniciens; International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural Workers; Australian Council of Trade Unions; Federated Millers' and Manufacturing Grocers' Employees' Association of Australia; Workers Solidarity Alliance, and a number of other unions and labour organizations.

Sent November – December 1989

The following is a rare example of the preparedness of unions which had previous relations with the Chinese official trade union body to confront the issue of collaborating with the government in their violation of basic labour rights in a direct and honest manner.

National & Local Government Officers Association (NALGO)

To:

International Liaison Department
All-China Federation of Trade Unions
10 Fuxingmenwai Street
Beijing
China

28 November 1989

Dear Colleagues

We have received your bulletin of August 1989 in which an ACFTU spokesman answers questions on the events which took place in your country in June of this year and on the Chinese trade unions.

As we have already pointed out to you in an earlier letter, we shared the horror which was expressed throughout

the world at the events which took place in Tiananmen Square on 4 June and, as a trade union which has constantly defended trade union and human rights throughout the world, we continue to be appalled at the executions and detentions which have taken place in your country since then and at the repressive treatment which has been meted out to members of the autonomous trade unions.

We were therefore both shocked and dismayed to find that your bulletin sought not only to justify the Tiananmen Square massacre and subsequent repression, in line with official Chinese government policy, but also to discredit the development of a free independent trade union movement in your country.

In the light of the above, we regret that we have no alternative but to suspend links with your organization until such time as you are able to reconsider your position on these issues. At a time when we welcoming the process of reform and democratization throughout Europe, we find it sad that people in your country, including trade union members, are unable to exercise their legitimate human rights to freedom of association and speech and we look forward to the day when freedom and democracy is implemented in China.

Yours sincerely,
John Daly
General Secretary

Manifesto of Mass Rally in Victoria Park, Hong Kong, October 1, 1989

This year, due to the student movement and the support of the residents, workers, and intellectuals, some of the bigger cities of China began producing ever-expanding waves of the patriotic movement. Unfortunately, violent groups within the PRC government thwarted the democratic movement in Beijing. The June 4 massacre marks an eternal curse on those in power.

After June 4, the Chinese government temporarily appeared to placate the hearts and minds of the people. While the present fascist government seems unlikely to step down, we must develop the democratic movement and prepare for a long-term effort. The present economic crisis and official corruption have already caused widespread dissatisfaction. People are dissatisfied with their lives and in turn, are dissatisfied with the government. The regime has already lost the support of the people, and the economic crisis has become a crisis in confidence as well as politics. Resultant political instability has given the people an independent social power which has developed through their struggle. The people have now created a power base outside of the government. The people can raise their dissenting opinions to prevail over the

despotic government.

In Chinese society, different social groups have not been able to form their own organizations to represent their interests and use these organizations to resolve their inter-group conflicts. This situation has consolidated despotic rule. However, a politically factor in China's drive for true modernization. The support of Chinese communities in Hong Kong and abroad will yield substantial results.

The current regime in the mainland is controlled by a small group, and national organizations have become tools for controlling and oppressing the people. The Chinese communist regime lacks the power to produce a true democratic system and their political foundation rests solely on the people's approval. The June 4 incident clearly shows that the authorities in Beijing have lost the mandate of the people and that only through raw violence can they maintain control.

We believe that the group of leaders who ordered the suppression of the patriotic democratic movement have already lost the qualifications to rule. Political parties should have the right to rule a country where they enjoy majority support of the citizenry. The goal of the Alliance is thus not to overthrow the Communist Party of China, but to give the people a real choice. In China, Political power is overly concentrated and corrupted. China must do away with its feudalist gerontocracy and with one-party rule. We emphasize that the Alliance is a patriotic organization. We

insist that the group of leaders who ordered the massacre be punished. We firmly believe that they will be judged harshly by history.

China's future will not be determined by violent revolutions which merely replace one authoritarian for another. Different classes and professions in China need to organize and form a pluralistic social force in order to bring about a collective authority. This pluralistic social force will be the foundation for long-term democratization. We therefore strive for the democratization of China through reason, pacifism and non-violence.

Since June 4, the patriotic democratic movement has been frustrated. What can we the people of Hong Kong now do to encourage democratization in China? High ranking people in the mainland have tried to intimidate us and have spoken of "well water not mixing with the river water", and some well-known Hong Kong individuals have been accommodating. They are now saying "take care of yourself and mind your own business; China and Hong Kong's situations are not connected". We believe that we are dealing with our own country. Hong Kong people cannot merely take care of themselves, but must see themselves as Chinese. We have the right to raise ideas regarding our country. Isn't it only natural that we would take this position, given the violent means with which they suppressed the patriotic democratic movement? China and Hong Kong have a very intimate relationship in terms of economics, politics, culture

and learning, etc., and are naturally prone to influence each other. The mainland's policy is that of an ostrich which avoids obvious questions.

The people will never forget the tragic massacre on June 4. To be long-term supporters of the patriotic movement, we must look beyond June 4. We must pursue the murderous group, but we cannot and must not let our indignation be the only foundation of the movement. Our aim is not only the removal of the Deny-Li-Yang group, but also the long-term democratization of China.

After the bloody suppression of the 1989 democratic movement, the movement's gravity center has temporarily been shifted abroad. Because of this, Chinese all over the world must mobilize, unite and prepare to support the democratic movement for the long term. The Alliance can lend help to Chinese in various places who wish to organize. In the end, however, the democratization of China will depend on the hard work of the many who live under the system. Before we overseas and Hong Kong Chinese can specify a new role for ourselves when a strong democratic movement re-emerges in mainland China, we would, at the meantime, lay the groundwork of a future support movement by broadening our organizations, raising the people's national consciousness, and recognizing our responsibility to the long term future of the movement. Accordingly, we must deepen our understanding of Chinese history and the realities of China. We must also continue to sup-

port the activities of the Hong Kong Alliance and other groups. Each individual should continue, in his own way, the long term efforts to release democracy in China.

October 1 is the anniversary of the Republic's founding. The Chinese revolution has had to overcome imperialism and military invasion and create an independent and sovereign nation. In addition, the revolution has taken up the task of replacing China's feudalist and dictatorial system with a democratic system which respects human rights and the law.

Forty years ago, the people used their blood and sweat to save China from destruction and made China an independent and sovereign nation. Forty years later, the power of the Republic is still in the hands of a small group, and feudal control still exists. The truth of the saying "power corrupts" is demonstrated by this group of former revolutionaries. Any activities to celebrate October 1 to show off the authorities' absolute power are insults to the revolutionary martyrs and a mockery of the people.

Today's China is far from achieving the ideals of democracy, freedom, human rights and rule by law. Thus, October 1 should be a day of memorial belonging to the people and prompting us to remember: The work of establishing the Republic is not yet finished. A republic in which the people are the rulers has not yet been realized. The people of China must work and struggle to establish a democratic China.

The Price of Protest

30th January, 1990

Update On the Situation of Pro-democracy Campaigners in China

The attached lists refer only to those pro-democracy campaigners who can be identified by name. Some of the sources are abbreviated as:

NCNA : New China News Agency

AFP : Agence France Presse

UPI : United Press International

CCTV : China Central Television

AI : Amnesty International

AW : Asia Watch

FBIS: US Foreign Broadcast Information Service

PSB : Public Security Bureau

The Chinese government has not relented in its nation-wide purge of pro-democracy campaigners and sympathizers. The hunt apparently started with three circulars issued by the Beijing city government and martial law enforcement troops (No.s 9, 10 & 11) on 8 June (*Wen Wei Po*, 9 June) and a further circular issued by the Public Security Ministry on 12 June. By that last circular, public security units all over the country were instructed to arrest leaders of the student movement and of 'illegal' associations, and to confiscate all the propaganda material of such associations. Courts were reminded to deal harshly with such persons. Further, two items in that circular seem to absolve security personnel of the obligation to follow normal procedures dictated by law in making arrest and in use of weapons:

- Point 6: "If riot should occur, public security officers and military police must take firm measures to disperse the crowd; the local public security office has the right to arrest on the spot anybody who participates in rioting and any criminal element."
- Point 7: "If the police, in carrying out their duty, should meet with resistance to arrest, riot, attack, gun-snatching and other violent disturbance, or an uncontrollable emergency situation, they should use their weapons in self-defence and to stem criminal activities, in accordance with relevant ordinances."

A revised 'wanted' list issued in July included not only 48 students but, 24 leading intellectuals.

In late October, 1989, the Public Security Ministry issued a new warrant for the arrest of seven key criminals who 'had instigated, organized and directed the counter-revolutionary riot in Beijing and gone into hiding'. It also carried an instruction for it to be circulated to all grassroot organizations. (*Ming Pao*, 3 Nov. 89). the seven named were: Wang Juntao, Chen Ziming and his wife, Wang Zhihong, Wu Xuechan, Liang Qingtun, Chai Ling and Feng Congde. The first three have since been arrested in Guangdong, and the escape route to Hong Kong broken. The fact that other noted scholars, like Bao

Xhunxin, Cao Siyuan and Yu Haocheng were not included could mean that they had already been arrested.

On 19 June, the Procurator General's Office issued an urgent memorandum (*Wen Wei Po*, 20 Jun) urging procurators not to get entangled in details. As long as the basic facts and evidence were certain, they should work for "quick arrest and quick prosecution". This was the third urgent memo issued by the said office (earlier ones were issued on 7 & 11 June), to cope with the extraordinary situation created by "counter-revolutionary" elements.

On 29th Nov. 1989, NCNA quoted a senior official of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, Zhang Siqing, as saying that prosecutors would give priority next year to cracking down on "anti-government rioters and other major criminals." He said that prosecutors would have to "comb out and suppress anti-government rioters and other criminals, including beaters, smashers, looters, burners and killers." (SCMP, 30 Nov 89)

On 18 June, CCTV announced the official figure of over 1,300 arrests. NCNA of Chengdu also announced 106 arrests in Chengdu by 16 June. By 4th July, the Chinese government has confirmed the arrest of over 2,500 persons involved in or connected with the so-called "counter-revolutionary rebellion". Of these, 27 have been executed and over 100 put on a suspended death sentence. Even though the Beijing authorities instructed their offices in late June to scale down reporting on

such arrests and executions, so as not to attract greater attention after the initial success in terrorizing the populace, there is ample evidence to show that they have not relented in their effort to track down pro-democracy campaigners in order to crush the whole movement.

With the declaration of 31 associations in 11 provinces as 'illegal', the encouragement of informing, and the setting up of check points at various places, we can expect more people to be arrested in the coming days and months, even if we may not learn about it. AFP (Beijing 17 July) reported a new wave of arrests starting on 12 July, as many key leaders had not been caught. The mayor of Beijing city reaffirmed on 14 July the need to do their best to net all counter-revolutionary hooligans. UPI's Beijing correspondent reported on 27 July that more than 40 people had been executed during the previous two weeks at the Marco Polo Bridge outside Beijing (SCMP 28 Jul)

By 10 September, 1989, China reported over 4,000 arrests nation wide. But Western diplomats put the figure at 10,000-30,000, with 6,000 arrests in Beijing alone by the end of July (SCMP 11 Sept.). In mid-September, the security personnel started checking the identity papers of the 10 million Beijing citizens and made door-to-door searches, especially at night. In this move, another 212 persons who were suspected of having taken part in resisting the army on June 3-4 were netted (AFP Beijing 19 Sep., quoting the official *China Daily*). On 10 Oct., the mayor

of Beijing reiterated his call not to relax in tracking down the 'counter-revolutionary forces' that organized the protest, lest they destroy socialism (*Beijing Daily* 10 Oct.). By then, one Chinese source put the number of arrest at 10,000 in Beijing alone (SCMP 11 Oct.).

On 5 Dec. 1989, AFP relayed a rare disclosure reported in *Beijing Youth*. It quoted statistics released by the Beijing labour re-education bureau to say that, during the 24 days following the June 4th crack-down, 2,578 "ruffians" had been arrested in the five districts of Beijing put under marital law. Of these, only 190 were later released. These "ruffians" may only be those who had taken part in attacking soldiers, police and military facilities, and exclude political prisoners.

The Chinese authorities have for the first time included a purely political crime among violations punishable by death. A circular issued by the Communist Party Politburo and the State Council on 9 July listed five categories of punishable crimes: (a) Propagating and actively supporting the spread of bourgeois liberalism; (b) supporting, organizing, propagating and participating in the counter-revolutionary rebellion; (c) engaging in violent crimes such as smashing, burning and killing during the riots; (d) leading illegal organizations, such as student and workers groups formed during the protests in

April and May; (e) working with enemy organizations outside the country.

A UPI report from Beijing on 15 Nov. (*Ming Pao*, 16 Nov 89) quoted sources saying that over 40 leaders of the democracy movement presently hold in Qinching prison, including Wang Dan, Cao Siyuan and Ren Wanding, would be tried on 'counter-

revolutionary' charges. This loose category of crime can include "any attempt to subvert the leadership of the CCP and overthrow

proletariat dictatorship". In the past, this piece of legislation has been used to silent political dissidents, and carries custodial sentences of over 10 years. But in extreme circumstances, 'counter-revolutionary' charges are equivalent to treason and can lead to a death sentence.

As to the treatment of persons arrested or detained for investigation, it appeared that the first batch arrested in June by the marital law enforcement troops fared the worst. They were often severely beaten with poles or cudgels, so much so that Su Zhongxiang, vice-mayor and public security chief of Beijing city, had to remind the security force on 2 July not to beat and torture suspects (*Wen Wei Po*, 3 July). Those arrested later by civilian police were treated more humanely. Those charged with or under investigation for non-violent, political crimes (intellectuals, journalists, student leaders) are kept in Qinching prison, a maximum security

prison for political prisoners in Beijing's northern suburb, with eight prisoners to a cell of 3 x 5 metres. (Reuters, Beijing 10 Oct. Note though that the authorities consistently deny the existence of this prison).

Many workers arrested are still held at local police detention centres in overcrowded conditions, up to 30 to a cell (SCMP 11 Sep.). Released detainees and families of those jailed are too frightened to speak out. Also, many of the people arrested were picked up at night by plain-clothes police in unmarked cars.

Suspects disappear without their families being informed. Information from different sources suggests that many of these political dissidents are being held incomunicado. An AFP

report on 31 October 1989, quoted a Party official who requested anonymity as confirming the arrest of known writer Wang Ruowang and adding, "We don't know the fate of the people arrested. Even their families don't know where they are and have to go to the police station to deliver mail and tend to affairs" (AW 15 Nov. 89).

A resolution passed by the UN Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities on 31 Aug., 1989, stating concern over recent events in China and appealing for clemency for those detained as a result of the crackdown,

met with a rebuff from China as 'interference' in her internal affairs.

According to a recent issue of *Economic Reporter* (SCMP 4 Dec 89), special task forces or 'work-teams' have been sent to a number of Government organizations to investigate the activities of staff members during the pro-democracy movement and their adherence to Deng's four cardinal principles. This has been extended from Beijing to local regions, and all cadres at county level or above are investigated. Apparently the leaders in Beijing were not satisfied with the outcome of the first round of investigation conducted soon after the June crackdown and have ordered another investigation, which was expected to last until the first quarter of 1990.

"We don't know the fate of the people arrested. Even their families don't know where they are and have to go to the police station to deliver mail and tend to affairs"

At the same time, the 2 Dec, 89 edition of the Hong Kong magazine *Contemporary* revealed that 258 cadres in governmental organizations, from the rank of bureau chiefs and above, were '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. They include: (i) Xie Wenqing — former vice-director of Hong Kong Branch of NCNA, and vice-minister of Broadcast, Film and Television since mid-1980's. He gave encouragement to his staff and took part in demonstrations during the student movement. After being forced

to self-criticize 7 times he was expelled from the Party and demoted. (ii) Du Daozheng, former director of Newscasting – not involved in the student movement but allied with disgraced Party chief, Zhao Ziyang.

Martial law in Beijing was formally lifted on 11th January 1990, and announced by the Public Security Ministry 18th January. The release of 573 (unnamed) persons who had taken part in the pro-democracy movement but had shown repentance (AP-UPI report, *Ming Pao* 19 Jan 90). Sources pointed out that there was no activist among those released; many of them had to report to the police every week, write 'confessions', were subject to further investigation, and some had academic qualifications annulled, making it difficult for them to find a job.

Despite these gestures, there is no evidence to show any let-up on the repression of pro-democracy campaigners. In fact, the reverse seems to be true. Apart from the increased presence of and surveillance by military police in the city of Beijing, there are two related moves that deserve attention:

(a) 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 90). 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 90). Those facing dismissal include: Mu Qing, present director of NCNA Huang Huiqun, present director of Beijing Radio-Television Zhou Bingde, deputy director of *Hua Sheng Bao*, a publication for overseas Chinese and some staff members of *China Youth Daily*.

(b) Places that have been open to more external influence are specially watched. For example, according to a 15 Jan '90 report in *Ming Pao*, Guangdong provincial officials have been instructed to:

- (i) Re-register all Party members, based on verified statements on activities during last May and June.
- (ii) Take action against intellectuals previously passed over. As a result, three more members of the Zhongshan University were listed as wanted (a young faculty member and a graduate student associated with the Guangdong Province Federation of Patriotic University Circles, and a female undergraduate student associated with its equivalent in Zhongshan University) and have not been seen hence. Their fate is still unknown. The assistant philosophy

professor of that university, He Bochuan has been questioned over the appeal of one of his publications (*China at the Mountain Pass*) especially to students from the North, and he has been denied permission to attend an academic conference in Hungary. Another well-known democracy campaign, Li Zhengtian, teacher at the provincial Arts College, is kept under close surveillance. He has to report 2-3 times a week to the public security bureau and is constantly followed.

Students known to have been arrested.

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, in FBIS 20 June 1989) (amendment)

Chen Yang, aged 22, student of China University of Politics and Law. Arrested in Shenyang on 15 June, and accused of organizing the Beijing Citizens' Autonomous Federation and participating in 'counter-revolutionary' activities to 'resist the martial law enforcement troops', with a 'Dare-to-die' corps. He fled to Shenyang on 9 June and was arrested at his home by the Heping County PSB, according to a radio broadcast in

Shenyang on 17 June (FBIS. 19 June, AI. UA 205)

Yue Wenfu, a student at the Lu Xun Academy of Literature and a leading activist in Tiananmen Square, was arrested and badly beaten while in prison, according to an Asia Watch source. Yue is thought to have helped erect barricades to block the PLA's entry into Beijing (AW 15 Nov. 89)

Xiang (or Xiong) Dayong, 28, senior student of the Chinese Department at Beijing University, arrested for organizing a demonstration on campus on July 23, 1989, to mourn those killed in the June 4 crack down. This was the first reported protest since the student movement was suppressed in early June, and his arrest was announced by the university authorities apparently as a warning to other students. (*Shijie Ribao* 1 Aug 89, AW 15 Nov 89)

Zhong Zhanguo, Zhang Jianhua and 14 other unnamed staff-members 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 Jun, in FBIS. 27 Jun. 89)

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 7 June (Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service 23 June, in FBIS 27 June)

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 Jiaoding county P.S.B. on 14 June. They are (Shanghai City Service June 16, in FBIS. 20 June):

Wang Hongming, aged 24, student of Precision Mechanical Engineering, Song Mitu, aged 31, graduate student in the Department of Radio, 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 Jun in FBIS 21 Jun),

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 FBIS. 4 Aug), Cai asked for leave on 3 June and took a train to Harbin. On June 6, he made a speech at Harbin Engineering Univer-

sity, 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. Lin Shengli, aged 21, native of Xinan, Henan, and law student at Zhengzhou University. Organizer of Zhengzhou Autonomous Federation of University Students, and president of Independent Student Union of Zhengzhou University. On May 22, he organized 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, FBIS. 23 Aug. 1989)

Liu Feng, aged 19, native of Jianzuo, Henan, and student in the 1987 class of the Department of Public Health, Henan University of Medicine. A leader of the Zhengzhou Autonomous Federation of University Students. On May 22, he led students in boarding buses by force and headed for Beijing. He was arrested on two charges — counter-revolutionary propaganda and disturbing public order (*Henan Legal News* Aug. 30, 1989, FBIS. 23 Aug., 1989)

Zhang Wei, aged 22, native of Zhenyang, Henan. 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 broad-

cast station in the city for 'counter-revolutionary propaganda'. Arrested on June 22 (*Henan Legal News* 30 Aug. 1989, FBIS. 23 August)

Xia Kai, Shenzhen University student arrested in June for involvement in Beijing student movement (*Renmin Ribao* overseas edition 27 Jun 89)

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 F.B.I.S. 21 June)

Wang Youcui, general secretary of the Beijing Students' Autonomous Federation, attempted to organize continued resistance in Shanghai after June 4 (People's Daily 24 Sep 1989). Believed arrested, but not confirmed.

Zhao Wenli, female, student of 88 class of the Law Department at Northwest College of Politics and Law. Head of student propaganda delegation and went to many universities in Shanghai after May 24 to "stir up problems". Arrest unconfirmed. (*People's Daily*, 24 Sept. 1989)

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 (AW 2 Jan. 1990)

Intellectuals known to have been arrested.

Liu Xiaobo, 34, Lecturer of Beijing Normal University. Started a 72-hour hunger strike in Tiananmen Square with 3 other intellectuals on 2 June, in support of the students' call for democracy. Reportedly arrested on the campus on 6 June by plainclothes, according to eyewitness accounts, but his arrest was only announced by the government on 23 June. His previous publications cited to prove that he wanted to overthrow the dictatorship of the Party. (CCTV News 23 Jun)

Zhang Weiguo, 38. 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 police on 20 June, in Jinshan, Shanghai. Xu Xiaomei, who gave him refuge, was also arrested and charged with close association with the Shanghai University Students' Federation. (*Wen Wei Po*, 2 Jul) Zhang was formally arrested on 20 September, 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 (AW 2 Jan 90).

Cheng (or Chen) Mingyuan, professor at the Foreign Languages Institute in Beijing, mathematician and poet.

Taken to hospital with high blood pressure, reportedly arrested there on 9 or 10 June though the arrest warrant for him was only issued 10 days later. He is one of 7 prominent intellectuals for whom authorities issued 'internal' arrest warrants, because of his active support for the students. Believed to be detained at the central office of PSB in Beijing (AW 15 Nov. 89)

Cheng Kai, cadre of Hainan Province, former editor-in-chief of Hainan Daily, said to have given incorrect directive to news reporting during the student movement, causing very bad effects. Removed of all responsibilities within and without the Party and still being questioned (*Wen Wei Po* 28 Oct 89). Said to have been arrested on 19 July, according to *Tuanjie Bao* (Solidarity News, 5 Sep) and *Hua Qiao Ribao* (Overseas Chinese Daily 19 Jul 89)

Ruan Jianyan, journalist, cited as 'agitator' in an article in a 28 June edition of Shanghai *Wen Hui Bao*, arrested summer/autumn, 1989 (AW 2 Jan 90)

Chen Qiwei, 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 89). He and Chen Lebo and Ruan Jianyun are all believed to be held incommunicado at No. 1 Detention Centre in Shanghai (AW 2 Jan. 90).

Wen Yuankai, a professor of bio-

physics at the China University of Science and Technology in Hefei, Auhui province and well-known moderate reformist, one-time adviser to Zhao Ziyang on the theory and practice of reform. He spent long days in Tiananmen Square in late May and early June persuading students to go back to their campuses and adopt less radical slogans. Arrested perhaps in late December '89 (AW 2 Jan 90)

Liu Xiaofeng, deputy director of the Research Institute for the Reform of the Economic Structure, and nine other academics of that Institute, arrested (AW 2 Jan 90)

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 (AW 2 Jan 90)

Zheng Di, journalist with the banned *Economic Weekly*, arrested trying to flee the country (AW 2 Jan., 90)

Chen Bo, from Beijing University; Wu Jiayang of the Chinese Community party central office, and Wang Xiaoping, editor at the Workers' Publishing House, have all been arrested (AW 2 Jan 90)

Ma Ziyi, 38, lecturer in the history department at East China Normal University, believed to have been ar-

rested shortly after the capture of student leader Wang Dan on 2 July 1989, as he had given refuge to Wang shortly prior to his arrest (AW 2 Jan. 90)

Duan Xiaoguang, a Nanjing University professor of philosophy in his early 30's, reportedly arrested in Shenzhen around 30 August, 1989 attempting to leave for Hong Kong (AW 2 Jan 90)

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 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 organize a protest demonstration there on May 17. He has been held incommunicado since his arrest (AW 15 Nov. 89)

Su Ding, aged 32, Dean of the East-West Art Institute of the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences, were arrested in late August in Beijing while buying an international air ticket. He had been invited to serve as a visiting scholar at Arizona State University, and his travel documents were all in order. His arrest has not been made public. He has been transferred back to Chengdu, where even his family has not been informed as to his place of detention or specific charges against him. Su, a specialist in aesthetics and literary

theory, was forced by the Sichuan party officials to write a series of 'self-criticism' this spring after he had recommended for publication a book which was later denounced as being 'anti-party'. He is thought to be tainted with 'bourgeois liberalism'.

Zhang Shu, a reporter of Renmin Ribao, has been arrested, date unknown, according to *Asia Watch*. He and six printers from the paper were reportedly arrested for blocking military vehicles (AW 15 Nov. 89)

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 (FBIS 30 Aug 89)

Liu Xiaoqui, 27, and Lu Zhuru, 29, apparently women teachers of Wenzhou, Zhejiang, were arrested at Beijing airport sometime during the week of June 19 while preparing to board a plane for Paris. They reportedly used 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 Jun 89, SCMP 23 Jun)

Wu Rangyuan, 46, woman research fel-

low at Semi-conductor Institute of Chinese Academy of Science. Arrested June 9 for spreading rumours and instigating people to burn military vehicles (*Beijing Daily* 17 Jun 89, *China Daily News*, 26 Jun 89)

Yang Xiao, 28, of Sichuan, graduate of Department of Sociology, Beijing University, secretary to Chen Yizi, then director of the System Reform Institute. Arrested since June 4 (AI)

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. 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 (AW 24 Jul 89)

Hong Kong & Macau Residents Arrested

Yao Yongzhan, alias Zhang Cai, 19, student of Shanghai Fudan University, and a Hong Kong resident, leader of the Autonomous Shanghai University Students Federation. Detained on 11 June at Shanghai airport, and held incomunicado. British consular staff who accompanied him to the airport got no response to their enquiries as to his whereabouts (SCMP 13 Jun). His father failed to gain access and no information was given on his condition. On 21 July (40 days later) he was formally charged with 'counter-revolutionary propaganda'. On 20 December, 1989,

his case was transferred to the Shanghai People's Procuratorate, with a recommendation for a public trial. His mother was allowed to see him around Christmas (SCMP 5 Jan. 90)

In connection with the arrest of Beijing student Zheng Xugang, five students were arrested, two of whom have since been released. They are:

Chen Zewei, 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.)

Their arrest was officially confirmed by NCNA on 25 December, 1989.

Liang Zaohua, aged 23, Macau resident and International finance student of Jinan University, and Qin Guodong, aged 21, Macau resident and medical student of Jinan University, were detained by Guangzhou city police for 28 days, released on 23 August and returned to Macau. (*Ming Pao* 25 Aug.)

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 and Xie above, the others arrested

were:

Luo Hai-xing, 40, Hong Kong businessman. Said to have organized the 'underground railroad' to smuggle wanted dissidents out of China. Went to Guangzhou in October to arrange for the escape of Chen Ziming and Wang Juntao. Arrested on 14 October in Shenzhen. Since then, his family has not been allowed to visit him.

Li Peicheng, arrested 13 October by Zhanjiang city PSB while trying to arrange the escape of Chen and Wang, then hiding in the city.

Li Long-qing, assistant of Lai, arrested in Shenzhen on 5 December, 1989.

In the same broadcast, the state TV named another Hong Kong personality, John Shum, as the 'mastermind' of the underground railroad, and linked him to the HK Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement.

Workers Executed:

Chengdu, 8 July, 1989 (updated information since last issue)

Two who 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 8 July (*Sichuan Daily* 2 July and 9 July, *Wen Wei Po* 14 July). They are Zhou Xiangcheng and Wang Guiyuan.

The Sichuan Provincial Radio Service Reported that six persons sentenced to death on 7 November by the Chengdu City Intermediate People's Court (FBIS. 9 Nov 89). They included:

Zhou Qi, found guilty of "unbridled beating", He Xiaokang and Chen Guangping — "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 High People's Court were rejected and a public sentencing rally preceded the executions (AI 16 Nov 89)

Workers arrested:

Beijing

Meng Fangjun, was jailed 13 years for stealing a machine-gun from a burned out tank and hiding it at home; two brothers (unnamed) who helped him were each jailed 10 years. The trial of these three, together with four others on similar charges, was shown on CCTV on 8 September, according to Reuters. The seven men, their heads shaven, received sentences ranging from two to thirteen years imprisonment.

Wu Qiang, 22-year-old worker, arrested in Beijing on July 2, 1989 and convicted of stealing firearms from a burned tank on 7 June. According to a Beijing radio report he would be strictly punished for refusing to surrender (AW 15 Nov. 89)

Liang Zhenyun, self-employed mechanic, reported by *Beijing Evening News* to have been arrested for taking a machine-gun and pistol from a soldier on June 4 (UPI 14 Jul, 89). Zhang Chunhui, 24, arrested in Beijing and

accused of helping kill a soldier during the unrest (*Legal News* 29 Jun, Reuters 30 Jun)

Li Bing, leader of a Beijing workers' independent organization, arrested in Beijing on June 21 for allegedly killing a soldier, and for trying to block military vehicles from entering Tiananmen Square (*Beijing Daily*, FBIS 26 Jun).

Huang Lianxi, arrested in Beijing on 6 June. Accused of setting fire to the chairs of a tandem bus (*Renmin Ribao* 21 Jun 89, in AI)

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 has been included in a document distributed to high-ranking military officers (*Express News* 13 Nov 89, *World Journal* 14 Nov 89)

Lian Zhenguo, arrested on June 10 for 'looting' (AI).

Lu Zhongshu, born in Hebei. Arrested on June 4 for burning military truck (*Renmin Ribao* 12 Jun 89, *World Journal* 11 Jun, 1989)

Liu Jianli, member of Beijing Autonomous Workers Union. Arrested on June 15 (AI 24 Nov 89)

Wu Qiang, aged 22, Beijing construction worker. Accused of taking a machine gun on June 5. Arrested on July 2 (*Beijing Daily* 4 Jul 89)

Wang Weilin, 19-year-old son of a Beijing factory worker, arrested by secret police. (*London Express*, 18 Jun 89), 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 recognized him when CCTV showed a line-up of detainees with their heads shaved. It is feared that he has been executed.

On 20 June, seventeen executions were carried out in Jinan, after the condemned were paraded through the streets. They were among a group of 45 who stood trial, others having been given reprieve, imprisonment or enforced labour (AW 15 Nov 89)

Sun Baohe, a gas-furnace worker, was executed October 14 after being found guilty of burning a car during anti-government protests in June, according to the official *Masses Daily* of Jinan (SCMP 21 Oct 89). Another, unnamed, was sentenced to 18 years in jail for making counter-revolutionary speeches and blocking traffic, on the same day

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 SCMP 28 Jun) Zhang Jianzhong, 26, bodyguard for Beijing Students Autonomous Federation and for their broadcasting station, accused of mutilating the body of a dead soldier.

Bai Xinyu, aged 60, former Nationalist soldier allegedly KMT agent, said to

have burnt a military vehicle.

Wang Guo-qiang, Miao Desun (accused of starting fires); Dong Shengkun; Shi Guoquan; Zhai Yicun (accused of looting); Li Wenbao, aged 20, peasant; Liang Hong Chen, aged 18, peasant from a suburb of Shenyang; Li and Liang were sentenced to death by the Beijing Intermediate Court after a public trial on 26 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 UPI and AFP) Believed to have been executed.

Another 5 charged with 'disturbing social order' during the pro-democracy protests were sentenced by a Beijing district court on 6 July, (*Beijing Evening News*, 6 Jul 89, relayed by UPI & AFP), including: Lin Qiang and Wang Liqiang; Yi Jingyao, aged 20, driver for city government, 4 years imprisonment. Tan Minglu, also a driver, 3 years imprisonment. All are said to have incited workers of Capital Steel Works on May 20 to join the democracy movement and were soon arrested.

Wang Changhong, 38, cadre of a factory in Beijing — arrested about June 20 for spreading rumour and stirring up strike. Alleged to be a Chinese Nationalist agent, recruited while 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 90). Sentenced to 15 years' prison and deprivation of political rights for 3 years

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Qian Rongmian, cadre of a Beijing factory, arrested June 23 in Zhangjiakou. Accused of being recruited by Wang above to be a Nationalist agent and stirring people up. (CCTV evening news 23 Jun), sentenced to 6 years prison and deprivation of political rights for 1 year (*Wen Wei Po* 5 Jan. 90).

Liang Qiang, 36, cadre of a Beijing factory. Arrested 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 Jun 89). Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment and deprivation of political rights for 3 years (*Wen Wei Po* 5 Jan. 1990).

Zhao Yasui, 28. Arrested in Beijing for beating soldiers and stealing a rifle. (*Beijing Evening News*, in AW 10 Jul).

Zhang Yansheng, Bai Fengying 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 Jun, in FBIS 23 June).

Zhao Guoliang, aged 22, self-employed garment seller from Wuhai City. Had participated in the Dare-to-Die Corps in Tiananmen. Authorities say he kidnapped two public security personnel and stormed the Beijing PSB. Said to have helped Chai Ling on June 4. Arrested by the PSB of Chi Feng City on June 5, according to a Hohot (Inner

Mongolia) radio broadcast (FBIS 19 June, 1989)

Li Shiqian, worker at Beijiao farm near Beijing. Arrested June 20 with his son. Shown on television on June 22 with a pistol his son had taken from a soldier. His son had apparently been a liaison between the students and independent workers' union, fled Tiananmen Square on 4 June, and buried the pistol and walkie-talkie in the farm. The son was arrested on 13 June, but Li hid the articles in another place until they were found (*Beijing Ribao* 23 June, in FBIS 20 July)

Bai Wenbo was arrested June 11 for allegedly burning a military vehicle and giving a counter-revolutionary speech (*Beijing Daily*, 13 Jun 89)

Fourteen workers went on public trial on 23rd June, for organizing a "Wild Goose Dare-to-die Corps" during the student unrest, obstructing traffic, deflating tyres and beating drivers (*Shanghai Wen Hui Bao*, reported in SCMP 27/6/89), Among them: Tang Jianzhong sentenced to 13 years imprisonment, Chen Honggen to 11 years, Zhan Xinghu to 8 years, and Yuan Zhiqiang to 8 years.

Shanghai

Wang Zhengming, self-employed tailor and leader of counter-revolutionary organization called the "China Youth Democratic Party", established 1986. Arrested 10 June in Shanghai with other key members of the group. (*Wen Wei Po*, 12 June) Wang was said to have argued for the necessity of an opposi-

tion party in China and gone around to several universities around Shanghai to recruit members for the CYDP.

Zhang Renfu, worker at Shanghai Aquatic Products Cold Storage Plant; Zheng Liang; Gong Chencheng; all leading members of Shanghai Patriotic Workers' Organization. Turned themselves in or arrested with 23 others (Beijing TV report, 16 June). Zhang and Zheng were found guilty of organizing illegal demonstrations, spreading political rumours and setting up roadblocks, and sentenced to 2-8 years in prison, date of sentencing unknown. Gong was not punished because he turned himself in (FBIS 22 Nov 89).

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 10 years. The trial of these three, with four others on similar charges, was shown on CCTV on 8 September, according to Reuters. The seven men, their heads shaven, received sentences ranging from two to thirteen years imprisonment.

Wu Qiang, 22, was arrested in Beijing on July 2, 1989 and convicted of stealing firearms from a burned tank on 7 June. According to a Beijing radio report, he will be strictly punished because he refused to surrender (AW 15 Nov. 89).

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)

Zhang Chunhui, 24, was arrested in Beijing and accused of helping to kill a soldier during the unrest (*Legal News* 29 June, Reuters 30 June).

Li Bing, leader of a Beijing workers' independent organization, arrested in Beijing June 21 for allegedly killing a soldier, and for trying to block military vehicles from entering Tiananmen Square (*Beijing Daily*, in FBIS 26 June)

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 AI.)

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Wu Qiang, 22, Beijing construction worker. Accused of taking a machine gun on June 5. Arrested on July 2 (*Beijing Daily* 4 Jul, 89)

Western China

Rui Chaoyang, temporary employee of the Huangbao Boiler Co., Xi'an. Ac-

cused of participating in a riot in Xi'an Xincheng 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 Reuters release of August 17 (AW 17 August 1989)

Zhang Bingbing, contract worker with an installation team, third Shaanxi Provincial Construction Co. Accused of participating in a riot in Xi'an's Xincheng Square following a memorial service for Hu Yaobang and sentenced to 16 years prison. (*Gongren Ribao*, 17 Aug 89 AW 17 Aug).

Five others were also tried and sentenced by the Xi'an Intermediate People's Court for their involvement in the April 22 riot. They are (AW 15 Nov. 1989): Fan Changjiang, unemployed, sentenced to 12 years for stealing audiotapes and looting a clothing store. Wang Zunning, Xiao Sanfeng, peasants from Lantian county, Zhao Jian, a temporary worker, sentenced to 3-4 years for 'disrupting of the Xi'an Institute of Metallurgical Engineering

Sun Chaohui, a temporary worker in the Chengzhong office of the Employment Service Co. of the Xian Survey and Drawing School

Pu Yong, 22, was arrested in connection with 'a major counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement case' (*Sichuan Ribao*, in FBIS. 1 Nov 89). Pu, a worker at the Nanjiang County Hospital of Traditional Chinese Medicine,

and elected deputy director of Liangshui township, 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 Community Party and China's socialist system and slandered its leaders.'

Li Xingfu, Chen Jiahua and 10 other core members of a 'counter-revolutionary clique' called the "China Saviour Party", formed in 1988 in the Wuchuan Gelao-Miao Autonomous county in Guizhou province, have been arrested and put on trial, according to the People's Public Security News (FBIS 3 Nov. 1989) Li and Chen had previously served prison sentences for organizing a 'counter-revolutionary' party. The China Saviour party reportedly involved a total of 118 people from 4 counties and 28 towns. Li was said to have gone to Chongqing in May to watch the situation and to collect and copy leaflets, and to have encouraged core members to 'put objectives and aspirations into practice'. There is no information on the sentences of the twelve.

Zhang Jun, a self-employed worker, was arrested on June 14 in Chuxiong, (Kunming radio broadcast, in FBIS 16

Jun, 89) Zhang was said to have used the pen-name "Tang Shije" to write to *Qinghai Wenzue Bao*, and was editor-in-chief of *Xiaoxi Bao* and *Xinfeng Zaobao*, newspapers apparently circulated during demonstrations in Kunming.

He Qunyin and You Dianqi, two 'core members' of the Beijing Autonomous Workers' Union, captured in Xi'an on June 14, according to UPI. Both were accused of taking part in a May 28 protest outside Beijing police headquarters demanding the release of detained workers. Also accused of attacking army troops (AW 15 Nov 89).

Gao Xiaoshi, 32, worked in a theatre company in Ningxia. Arrested on 2 June for stirring up trouble and spying for KMT (FBIS 23 Jun 89, AI)

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 89)

Northern China

Li Yongsheng, unemployed, arrested in Tianjin around June 11, accused of organizing a 'Tianjin Residents Petitioning Team' and rumour-mongering. (*Tianjin Ribao*, AW 15 Jul 89).

Wang Jinji, occupation unknown, was also arrested in Tianjin on June 10 and accused of collecting funds for the students, said AI (AW 15 Nov. 89).

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. (AW 17 July 89)

Tang Yuanjun, arrested on June 10 in Changchun with five other 'counter-revolutionary' workers at an automobile factory. Li Wei and Leng Wangbao are among those arrested. Accused of having 'often secretly gathered together' with other counter-revolutionaries. (FBIS 10 July 89) According to a July 19 UPI 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' (AW 15 Nov. 89).

Zhou Liwei, arrested in Tianjin sometime after June 5. Had been bodyguard for the AFBUS in Beijing. (*Tianjin Ribao* AW 17 Jul).

Wang Guishen was arrested 4 Dec. 89 in Dalian city for writing 'anti-revolutionary' slogans and posting them throughout the city during the democracy movement, according to official (*Liaoning Legal News*, *Ming Pao* 15 Jan. 90)

Zhao Shujian, 33, a cadre in the Kaifeng Housing Construction Company, arrested Nov. 7, 1989 for 'counter-revolutionary' crimes. According to the 20 Nov. edition of *Henan Legal Daily*, Zhao painted more than 30 reactionary slogans on May 20 on streets, schools and factories, organized illegal demonstrations and spread the content of VOA 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 (SCMP 21 Nov. 89, FBIS 15 Dec 89).

Liu Chengwu, 25, unemployed Shenyang resident, 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" (AW 2 Jan 90).

Yang Jianhua was arrested by authorities in Dachang Hui Nationality Autonomous County for burning 30 military vehicles during the 'counter-revolutionary rebellion' (*Hebei Ribao*, AW 15 Nov. 89)

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 p.m., shouted at the students, threw rocks at trucks and tried to protest in front of the PSB itself. Liu had a criminal record for pickpocketing, and reportedly confessed to joining in the incident to 'vent his spite upon the government'. He is also accused of robbing trucks in the Nangang district of Harbin City (AW 15 Nov. 89)

Xu Guocai, a peasant from Songiaguo village, Huanhe township, Tieling county, Shenyang, was arrested for sending 13 'counter-revolutionary' letters between April 20 – May 26. Signed in the name of the "Special Administra-

tive 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. (AW 15 Nov. 89)

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, AW 15 Nov. 89)

Han Yanjun, aged 24, from Dingzhou city, Hebei. Member of the Dare-to-die Corps in Tiananmen Square. He and Zhao Guoliang left for Chifeng by train on June 4, and were arrested there on June 5 (Hohot, Inner Mongolia, radio broadcast, in FBIS 19 Jun.)

Xiao Zhongwu and Qu Yutang were arrested in Harbin, Heilongjiang, on June 10 for allegedly inciting passengers to destroy a bus (AI)

Huang Jun, 35, native of Huantai County, Shandong, was punished in 1983 for 'criminal acts'. Now, charged with being a spy for Taiwan-authorities (Jinan Radio 28 Aug. 89, in AI.)

Luan Jikuee, arrested for setting military trucks on fire in Hebei (AI).

Southern China

Two were tried by the Guangzhou Intermediate People's Court on espionage charges and sentenced to imprisonment of 13 and 10 years respec-

tively. (NCNA Guangzhou 23 Oct. 89, *Wen Wei Po* 24 Oct 89). 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, 25, unemployed — arrested in Guangzhou for spreading rumours and stirring up trouble (FBIS 23 June), and Wu Jidong, 23, hotel worker.

Sun Xiongying, 24, cadre of the Fuzhou Sparetine University, was arrested in Fuzhou's Gulou precinct on charges of counter-revolution, according to an official radio broadcast (FBIS. 2 Nov 89) He is said to have repeatedly "written reactionary slogans, and defaced and damaged Chairman Mao's statue, as well as the government name plagues at Wuyi Plaza, the Workers' Cultural Palace and the entrance to the city government building in Fuzhou. On 18 September, he wrote reactionary slogans at Xiamen University."

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, 89).

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, 89).

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