I

On the Events in Beijing

by An Zhiguo

The situation in Beijing in the late spring of 1989 had considerable elements of disorder, but it was only in the period from May 15 to May 17 that a series of disturbances occurred, which were of varying degrees also occurred in other cities. After the Chinese revolutionary revolt; disturbances for a long time obstinately advocated Party leadership and so-called bourgeois liberalization, op

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The main difficulty in handling this event was that a handful of bad men's will. This became clear as the incident broke out. They were for a long time obstinately advocating Party leadership and so-called bourgeois liberalization, oppose democracy and opposing corruption and therefore have said that it was merely stu-

martial law enforcement troops on June 9 were sent to suppress it. The government had shown great restraint. It was only when disturbances had occurred which were of varying degrees also occurred in other cities. After the Chinese revolutionary revolt; disturbances had occurred which were of varying degrees also occurred in other cities.

The outbreak of this incident was not clear. The government had shown great restraint. It was only when disturbances had occurred which were of varying degrees also occurred in other cities. After the Chinese revolutionary revolt; disturbances had occurred which were of varying degrees also occurred in other cities.

The answer is yes.

The answer is no.

Taking advantage of students' patriotic feelings, and certain short-term means, and quite a few others died. Why was this to topple the socialist system. They are likely to have been serving a sentence, a horde of political rascals, the remnants and evil elements of the "gang of four" and counter-revolutionary rebellion are serving a sentence, a horde of political rascals, the remnants and evil elements mixed themselves in with army commanders and higher officers of the PLA martial law enforcement troops.

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A Welfare Home in Lhasa

More than 40 orphans and senior citizens live a happy life thanks to the great concern shown by the government in providing the Welfare Home for them in Lhasa.

The old people of the home were street beggars or performers in the pre-liberation society. Now, they along with the orphans have their living expenses provided for by the government.

The Welfare Home, built in 1959, gives shelter to the old people in their remaining years, while allowing the children to keep their minds on their homework.
What Has Happened in Beijing?

- An initial victory has been won in putting down the counter-revolutionary revolt that broke out in Beijing on June 3 and 4. Since rumours are spreading far and wide, and people are not quite clear about the matter, there is a need to explain the truth of this incident. This article gives details about why the PLA martial law enforcement troops entered the city, how they were intercepted and attacked by rioters during their advance, and how they were finally forced to counter-attack (p. 11).

Why Martial Law in Parts of Beijing?

- Chinese Premier Li Peng signed the State Council decree which declared martial law in parts of Beijing on May 20. In discussing the need for the imposition of martial law, Shi Wei reviews the political situation in the city and explains why the State Council made the decision (p. 16).

Li Peng Outlines Current Tasks

- At a meeting of Party and government department leaders to study Deng Xiaoping's recent speech to army commanders of the martial law enforcement troops, Li Peng called upon leaders to unify people's thinking on the basis of Deng's speech. He also outlined six current tasks facing the Party and the nation (p. 5).

Order Has Come Back to Many Cities

- China's railway system has been restored to normal by June 9 and social order in many major cities across the country has also been recovered after a spate of turmoil that began in late May. Many colleges in Shanghai, Beijing and Nanchang have resumed classes (p. 7).

MOFERT Minister on China's Open Policy

- China's MOFERT Minister Zheng Tuobin reiterated that opening to the outside world is China's consistent policy and that it will remain unchanged despite the recent turmoil and riot in Beijing. He said that China will continue to develop economic and trade relations with foreign countries (p. 6).
On the Events in Beijing
by An Zhiguo

The situation in Beijing in the past two months kept developing from campus upheaval to turmoil and finally to a counter-revolutionary revolt; disturbances of varying degrees also occurred in some other cities. After the Chinese government took drastic measures, the revolt was quickly put down, social order was restored and the political situation is now stable.

Some people who are not clear about the nature of this incident have said that it was merely students demanding democracy and opposing corruption and therefore PLA troops should not have been sent to suppress it.

The two articles "Why Impose Martial Law in Beijing?" and "What Has Happened in Beijing?" give concrete facts to show the cause and effect of the incident. They may help people understand the truth of the matter. As Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Military Commission, said in his meeting with army commanders and higher officers of the PLA martial law enforcement troops on June 9: The disturbance would have come sooner or later. It was determined by the macro international climate and by China's own micro climate. Its coming was inevitable and independent of man's will. This became clear as soon as the incident broke out. They (referring to the creators of the incident—Ed.) raised two basic slogans: one was to overthrow the Communist Party, and the other was to topple the socialist system. Their aim was to establish a completely Westernized bourgeois republic.

The plotters and organizers of the counter-revolutionary rebellion are mainly a handful of people who have for a long time obstinately advocated bourgeois liberalization, opposed Party leadership and socialism and harboured political schemes, who have collaborated with hostile overseas forces and who have provided illegal organizations with the top secrets of the Party and state. Those who committed the atrocities of beating, smashing, grabbing and burning are mainly unformed elements released after serving a sentence, a horde of political rascals, the remnants and evil elements of the "gang of four" and the dross and dregs of society.

Taking advantage of students' patriotic feelings, and certain shortcomings and mistakes in government work, this handful of people with evil motives stirred up trouble. The main difficulty in handling this event was that a handful of bad elements mixed themselves in with a multitude of young students and onlookers. For a time the alignment was not clear. The government had shown great restraint. It was only under circumstances when serious disturbances had occurred which disrupted social stability and people's normal life and social order that the government declared martial law in some parts of Beijing. This was done in accordance with the Constitution. Again, it was only after the rioters stormed Zhongnanhai—the seat of the Party Central Committee and the State Council—the Great Hall of the People, the Ministry of Public Security, the central radio and television stations and when they beat officers and men of the martial law enforcement troops and grabbed their weapons that the troops were ordered to quell the revolt. In the process, many PLA officers and men were injured and quite a few others died. Why should this have happened? Because evil elements mixed themselves in with the people, the troops did not want to cause accidental injury to the public and they found it hard to resort to drastic measures. It is distressing that some officers and men died. But after making an objective analysis of the incident, people cannot but admit that the PLA is the people's own army. In the course of putting down the revolt, and under circumstances when innocent people and bad elements were mixed together, some students and onlookers were accidentally injured. This is something which nobody wants to see. Senior officials have indicated that the government, the martial law enforcement troops and the victims' families cherish the same feelings and that they will work hard to deal with the aftermath of the incident.

The outbreak of this incident requires soul-searching, prompting a sober-minded consideration of the past as well as the future.

Does the turmoil indicate that there is something wrong with the Party's line, principles and policies? The answer is no.

At its 13th National Congress the Party's line was summed up as "one centre (that is, economic construction) and two basic points (One basic point is to persist in the four cardinal principles, that is, adherence to the leadership of the Communist Party, to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; and the other is to persist in economic reform and opening up to the outside world)." Is there anything wrong with this line? The answer is in the negative. If it can be said that there is something wrong in connection with this line, it is a lack of continuing adherence to the four cardinal principles and a lack of consistent effort to educate the people, the students, all the cadres and Communist Party members in the four cardinal principles.

Plain living and hard struggle is one of the Chinese people's fine traditions. In recent years when there has been a slight improvement in living standards, there has appeared a deliberate advocacy of high consumption, resulting in widespread waste in all fields. This has been made worse by the deficient political and ideological work, lack of a complete legal system and abuse of power and corruption. Giv-
en this, it is necessary in the future to pay close attention to education in plain living and hard struggle.

Is there anything wrong with the "basic point" of economic reform and opening up to the outside world? The answer is no. Without economic reforms and opening up, China would not have been what it is today. In the last decade, the Chinese people's livelihood has been much improved despite inflation and other problems, nobody can deny the achievements gained through economic reform and opening up. Of course, the practice of economic reform and opening up has also let in some bad things from the West. To this, the Party leadership has always kept alert. As far back as when China began economic reforms and opening up to the outside world, the Party focused its work on the following two things: economic reform and opening up while cracking down on economic crimes, including the strengthening of political and ideological work. A review of the past decade reveals that there has been a lax in the latter, and further efforts should be made to remedy it.

In reforming the economic structure, it is necessary to continue to combine the planned economy with a market economy. The reform of the political structure should be continued, and the system of people's congresses should be upheld and improved gradually.

All in all, China will, as always, unswervingly carry on all the principles and policies that have been laid down since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held towards the end of 1978, and conscientiously sum up experiences so as to persist in the right and correct the wrong. Just as Deng Xiaoping said when he recently met army commanders and higher officers of the martial law enforcement troops in Beijing, the current counter-revolutionary revolt as a bad thing may enable us to carry on our economic reform and opening up with steadier, better and faster steps, to correct our errors more quickly and carry forward our strong points more surely.

Premier Li Outlines Current Tasks

Chinese Premier Li Peng recently called for efforts to unify people's thinking on the basis of a speech made by Deng Xiaoping to army commanders of the martial law enforcement troops on June 9 (see p.4 in our last issue).

Li made the call at the meeting of Party and government department leaders, held jointly by the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee and the State Council on June 13.

"The Party Central Committee and the State Council call on leaders of the Party and government departments to take the lead and organize Party members and other employees to conscientiously study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech," said the Chinese premier during the meeting he himself presided over when Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee's Political Bureau, had read Deng's speech.

Li said that the purpose is to "clear up the confused ideas and unify people's thinking on the basis of Deng's speech" which he said has made a profound analysis of the cause and nature of the counter-revolutionary rebellion and the correctness of the measures the government adopted.

"To oppose the counter-revolutionary rebellion is a struggle involving the fate of the Party and the state," Li said, pointing out that Beijing was gripped by anarchism in mid-May, which spread to some other large cities. If the martial law has not been imposed on parts of the capital, "the counter-revolutionary rebellion which was very likely to spread to the whole country would not be able to be quelled."

Li praised the role played by the martial law enforcement troops in winning initial victory over the rebellion.

Present Tasks

"At present, our task is to restore order and strike relentless blows at the counter-revolutionary rebels," Li said. "The Party and govern-
ment departments should continue to strive to implement the tasks set for this year.

At the present moment, Li said efforts must be made to do a good job in the following fields:
\[\begin{itemize}
  \item Continuing to stabilize the commodity price. Thanks to the effort made in this regard, Li said, commodity price increases after February were about the same with the corresponding period of last year, and that of May dropped somewhat. Li called for further efforts to stabilize the commodity price.
  \item Continuing to have a bumper harvest in agriculture this year. The total summer crop yields may reach or surpass the historical record of 1986, Li said. "Various departments and governments at various levels should do a good job of harvesting and purchasing summer grains and oils."
  \item Continuing to reduce investment in capital construction and strictly control consumption funds. In the first five months of this year, Li said, there was no slump in production in the whole nation but the irrational structure in production saw no impressive improvement. Li called for greater effort to improve the production structure, with funds thrown mainly into communications and the production of energy, raw materials and products in demand.
  \item Striving to have a bumper harvest in agriculture this year. The total summer crop yields may reach or surpass the historical record of 1986, Li said. "Various departments and governments at various levels should do a good job of harvesting and purchasing summer grains and oils."
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Better role of mass media in winning the final victory in crushing the rebellion. Having expressed satisfaction over the work of journalists in the capital, especially the work of several newspapers and radio and TV stations, Li pointed out that "some mass media, misled by the erroneous instructions on journalist work of a few comrades in the Party Central Committee, had made misleading reports on the struggle against the turmoil and rebellion."

Li hoped that the news media will quickly take the stand of the Party and the people and double their efforts to propagate the principle of the Party Central Committee, expose the crimes of the counter-revolutionary rebels and inspire people to win the final victory.

Continuing to follow the independent foreign policy of peace and the policy of opening to the outside world. Talking about the anti-China wave stirred up by a few countries, Li said that the Chinese people will not yield to outside pressure in connection with the rebellion.

"We hope that all countries that wish to keep and develop friendly relations with China will take a long-term view and avoid doing anything to hurt the feelings of the Chinese people at this time," he added.

Continuing to abide by the Party's line, principle and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978, namely, focusing all efforts on economic construction and adhering to the four cardinal principles (Communist Party leadership, socialist road, people's democratic dictatorship and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought) and the reform and opening to the outside world.

Li said that China will do so because she has learnt from the counter-revolutionary rebellion that "we have relaxed efforts in ideological and political work for a considerably long time."

Turmoil Won't Close Open Door

A senior Chinese official pledged on June 15 to continue the country's open policy, calling for expansion of business ties with the outside world and stable growth in exports.

Zheng Tuobin, minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, told a meeting of trade officials in Beijing that "the turmoil and counter-revolutionary rebellion over the past two months have done serious political and economic damage to the country."

The counter-revolutionary rebellion has brought difficulties to China's foreign economic relations and trade, he said, since international misunderstanding has damaged the country's improved international relations and domestic environment.

However, he added that domestic order has returned to normal and various economic and reform policies are now under way, bringing about better conditions for China's foreign trade and business.

"During the turmoil," he said, "many foreign governments and international organizations showed a firm belief in China's open policy by encouraging their businesses to continue operating in China, and some foreign enterprises along with their staff remain here despite difficulties."

Commenting on overseas reactions, Zheng said that "governments of the developing countries and most socialist countries have shown understanding in our crackdown on the riots and a willingness to continue business with China, while the majority of developed countries are reluctant to have their business relations with China adversely affected."

"After the counter-revolutionary rebellion in the Chinese capital was quelled," he noted, "some governments and a few foreign politicians tried to exert pressure on China and rudely interfered in its internal affairs by means such as halting loans and aid to China and suspending technology transfers."

Zheng accused them of being "short-sighted" and of "basing their actions on rumours rather than facts."

"The Chinese people will not yield under such pressures and no foreign country is allowed to meddle in China's internal affairs," he stressed.

He reminded these governments and politicians of the foreign economic sanctions and the "anti-China cantata" of the 1950s which ended in failure. By doing this, he said, they were not only condemned morally by the international community, but
construction work for the Beijing-Matsushita Colour CRT Co. Ltd, a major Sino-Japanese joint venture in Beijing.

The firm was built in September 1987 with an investment of 494 million yuan. It went into trial production early this month with an annual production of 1.8 million colour TV picture tubes.

More than 85 percent of its workers kept to their posts during the turmoil, and no Japanese workers on the projects left the country. Instead, more came to work at the plant which will start operation in July, two months ahead of schedule.

The country’s transport system has also returned to normal, Zheng added, with the major ports of Shanghai, Dalian, Tianjin, Guangzhou and Qingdao, as well as Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces now busy handling imports and exports.

The China Chamber for International Commerce (CCIC) and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT) issued a statement on June 12 pledging to further develop Sino-foreign economic exchanges.

The statement said that the Chinese government had stressed time and again that the country’s open door policy will not be changed and will firmly be continued and carried out.

As organizations for foreign economic relations and trade, the CCIC and the CCPIT will continue to work hard to strengthen and expand Sino-foreign trade exchanges and economic and technological co-operation.

Order Recovered in Major Cities

The railway transport system throughout China now has returned to normal thanks to the concerted efforts of railway workers, local governments, armed police and the army, said an official from the Railways Ministry.

All the railway lines that had once been disrupted were reopened to traffic by June 9.

On June 10, Zou Jiahua, a councillor of the State Council, sent a message to greet all the staff members and workers under the Ministry of Railways for their great success in the complete restoration of railway traffic across the country.

In early June railway transport was seriously affected as a result of a very small number of trouble makers who destroyed railway facilities, intercepted trains and blocked railway traffic in many major cities.

In Shanghai, nearly 100 armed police and firemen were injured on June 6 by a mob when they tried to put out a fire on a passenger train which was attacked and set ablaze by the rioters near the Shanghai Railway Station.

The incident caused a temporary suspension of railway traffic from Shanghai to Hangzhou and from Shanghai to Nanjing.

From June 4 to 8, a total of 49 railway lines were put out of action for nearly 350 hours, which included the main Beijing-Guangzhou trunk line that was cut for 135 hours and a 63-hour shutdown of the Beijing-Shanghai line, said the official.

An airport official said that 30 international airlines, two regional airlines and 38 domestic airlines operated by the China International Aviation Corporation have never shifted from their original schedules. More than 150 airliners depart or arrive daily at Beijing’s Shoudu Airport.

An official did admit, however, that some planes failed to depart on schedule because of passengers being delayed by poor bus and taxi service during the days of turmoil in the capital between June 4-9.

In Shanghai, China’s largest city, social order has also returned to normal after a short period of unrest that climaxed after June 3 when the counter-revolutionary riot broke out in Beijing.

All the city’s 130 highways have been reopened to traffic since June 10 and taxis can be seen day and night everywhere in the city.

Since June 10, average daily veget-
able consumption has reached the same level as in the pre-turmoil days and the sales volume of department stores now match those of the same period last year.

Bars, cinemas, coffee shops and dance halls are all back in business.

All the enterprises in Shanghai have been restored to normal production with the Municipal Economic Committee urging that they make an even greater effort to strive to recover their losses by the end of this month.

The 238 overseas-funded enterprises which had been in operation before the period of turmoil are all running smoothly. The total output value of these enterprises has even achieved a slight increase over the same period last year.

As communications and order have returned to normal in many other major cities including Beijing, Xian, Guangzhou, Guilin, Hangzhou and Nanjing, the National Tourism Administration (NTA) announced on June 14 that overseas friends may come on normal visits to China.

The announcement said that Beijing's Palace Museum (Forbidden City) was reopened June 13 after a three-week closure due to the turmoil. It assures would-be visitors that both international and domestic flights, railway transportation, mail and telecommunications are back to normal and that all large hotels, restaurants and shops are also operating normally.

The martial law in force in Beijing will not necessarily affect visits, tours or the nightlife of tourists, and their safety is guaranteed, the NTA announcement said.

According to a Xinhua report, 24 out of 38 universities and colleges in Shanghai have resumed classes. 18 municipal colleges in Beijing and all the 13 universities and colleges in Nanchang City, Jiangxi Province, have even resumed classes since June 14.

400 Arrests Follow Riots

Police and martial law troops arrested 400 people by June 10 who were charged with having committed counter-revolutionary crimes.

Some of those arrested were accused of such criminal activities as assault, rioting, robbery, arson and murder. Others were accused of being leading members of outlawed organizations such as the "Beijing College Students' Autonomous Federation" (CSAF) and the "Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation" (WAF), which had instigated and planned the counter-revolutionary riot.

Many of those arrested have participated in damaging and burning military vehicles and public buses, looting military materials, trying to break into government offices and beating soldiers who attempted to enforce martial law.

Guo Haifeng, member of the standing committee and secretary general of Beijing's CSAF, was arrested by soldiers when he and a group of ruffians were preparing to set fire to an armed troop carrier.

One of those arrested, Ban Huije, on the evening of June 3, picked up a military belt from the ground to whip soldiers. The accused was seen to have dragged one soldier away from others and, with the help of a group of thugs, beat the soldier. The soldier, who required 50 stitches for his head wounds, is still hospitalized in critical condition.

Lu Zhongshu, who cycled from Hebei Province to Beijing to take part in the riot, is another under arrest. On the evening of June 4, he stole a drum of petrol from a military vehicle to help set a blaze several military trucks and other vehicles.

According to a June 15 Xinhua report, some of the thugs who killed Cui Guozheng, a soldier enforcing martial law, have been caught.

The report said that Zhao Yue-tang, a farmer from Hubei, poured petrol onto Cui's body at the Chongwenmen pedestrian bridge June 4 along with a group of ruffians who were doing the same. Zhao then scratched the match that set the soldier's body ablaze.

Yang Shizeng, previously a worker at the Chongwen Hospital, threw Cui's body down from the pedestrian bridge.

Li Weidong, who is unemployed and with an arrest record, joined with others to hang Cui's body from the same bridge.

The Beijing Public Security Bureau issued a search warrant June 13 for 21 leaders and those who formed the backbone of Beijing's CSAF. These students include Wang Dan, a history student at Beijing University, Wu'er Kaixi, of Uygur nationality and a freshman educational science student at Beijing Normal University and Chai Ling, a female psychology graduate student of Beijing Normal University. Two of the 21 leaders on the wanted list are female.

One of the wanted students, Zhou Fengsuo, a physics student at Qinghua University, was marked on by his elder sister and was later captured at his brother's family in Xian. Xiong Yan, a postgraduate of the Law Department of Beijing University, was also caught on June 14 in Fengzhen County, Inner Mongolia.

Over the past few days, some of the main leaders and backbone members of illegal organizations surrendered themselves to local judicial departments scattered throughout the country. Various illegal organizations, such as the China Minzheng Party in Dalian, Liaoning Province, and the students' autonomous federations in many cities, have been banned.

June 17, eight criminals who took part in the counter-revolutionary riots in Beijing were sentenced to death. The sentence was meted out by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court. They were found guilty of burning army vehicles, assaulting soldiers and officers and looting military supplies.

In a related incident, soldiers guarding the Xizhimen overpass in west Beijing drew fire from a lorry after they tried to stop and check it on June 17. The driver ignored the soldiers' signal and sped away as two men on the truck fired on the soldiers, injuring one of them in the head and thigh.

The two gunmen jumped from the truck and fled when the troops returned fire. The driver and another suspect in the truck were detained when the truck was later stopped.
VOA Disgraces Itself

The following is a commentary by “Beijing Daily,” the official organ of the Beijing Municipal Communist Party Committee, on June 12.—Ed.

Since mid-April, the Voice of America (VOA) has shown unusual enthusiasm for the turmoil and counter-revolutionary rebellion that occurred in Beijing, China’s capital.

It allocated more than 10 hours every day in three programmes to cover these events. Unfortunately, its reports do not hold water. Aside from its instigations, attacks and slanders, fabrication of rumours by VOA has reached a surprising peak in its career. For an official media organ that has long claimed objectivity, fairness and strict observance of journalistic ethics in news reporting, such acts are really a disgrace.

At the beginning of the student movement on April 18 and 19, at the instigation of an extremely small number of people, some students tried to break into Xinhua Gate where the Party Central Committee and the State Council are situated. In the early morning of April 20, after most students had left the gate, security police forced the few that refused to leave on to a bus and sent them to Beijing University. During the whole process, not a single student was detained.

The VOA, however, reported that day that public security personnel arrested about 200-300 students who were staging a sit-in in front of the Xinhua Gate, and later it said that 300 people had been detained.

Some people in China responded immediately by fabricating the so-called “April 20 Tragedy,” escalating the students’ movement.

On May 12, the VOA reported that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had shown interest in speaking to Beijing University students during his forthcoming visit to Beijing, but that the Chinese government rejected this arrangement. This is a pure invention. The Chinese Foreign Ministry confirmed that there was no such arrangement at all on the agenda for Gorbachev’s visit which was agreed upon by both the Chinese and Soviet sides.

Although the State Council declared martial law in some regions of Beijing on May 20, most of the PLA martial law enforcement troops were still stationed in the suburbs. However, the VOA broadcast in its programme that day a rumour that Chinese troops in armoured vehicles had blockaded Tiananmen Square. The clumsy tactics of the VOA in spreading such a groundless rumour are unworthy.

In the recent period, the VOA has had a hankering to report about trends in China’s leadership, especially in the leadership of our troops. On May 23, it quoted Liu Binyan as saying that more than 100 army generals and officers jointly opposed the wrong decision (to impose martial law) and many provinces, armies and divisions had clearly shown that they did not recognize the Li Peng administration.

It is an absurd rumour. As a matter of fact all provinces, municipalities and military area commands had sent telegrams to the Party Central Committee and the State Council to express their support for the central authorities’ decision.

On the same day the VOA also quoted Liu Binyan as saying that he believed the number of people taking part in demonstrations at Tiananmen Square exceeded 10 million.

This report must be from ignorance or for ulterior motives since the total population in Beijing is 10 million including 3 million farmers and several million elderly people and children, and it was impossible for all of them to take part in demonstrations on Tiananmen Square.

On June 3 the turmoil in Beijing developed into a shocking counter-revolutionary rebellion and the VOA could hardly disguise its joy and gave many reports on the event. When Chinese martial law enforcement troops put down the rebellion, the VOA again spread many rumours. It reported on June 5 that the Chinese troops’ bloody slaughter caused thousands of deaths and that at least 1,400 people were believed dead in the massacre perpetrated on Tiananmen Square by the People’s Liberation Army. What was really true? The comments of many eyewitnesses on Tiananmen Square and video tapes that have been broadcast have laid bare this lie. There was no “massacre” of the sit-in students on the square, and no one died there. As for the death toll of army men and civilians during the advance of the troops into the city, State Council spokesman Yuan Mu had put it clearly at a press conference. The VOA’s exaggeration has its ulterior motives.

In recent days the counter-revolutionary rebellion has been put down, the army and civilians have united as one and the army itself is unified in their efforts to restore normality to the capital. They have achieved a good result.

Depressed, the VOA fabricated rumours on the Chinese army. On June 6 it spread a rumour that there were “power struggles” among troops loyal to different factions and that a civil war might...
break out in Beijing. On June 7 it again spread the rumour that there had been an exchange of fire in western Beijing between martial law enforcement troops and other troops who have not been authorized to suppress the demonstrators. On June 8 it further said that Chinese troops had earlier taken up advantageous positions in the city, ready to fight opposing troops.

All these tall stories might deceive those who did not understand the real situation in Beijing or provide demagogic material for those inside and outside China who desired to stir up trouble. Every Beijing citizen who has seen the real situation can prove that the VOA’s reports are entirely lies.

On June 9 Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders met army commanders of the martial law enforcement troops. This fact proved that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is united and the army is unified.

Now the VOA has again started up its propaganda machine and tried to create terror among students. It reported on June 9 that a curfew had been imposed on campuses starting from Thursday night and that policemen had taken away 12 students from Beijing University. In fact, up to now the martial law enforcement troops have not declared a curfew anywhere and those taken away were not students but wanderers and pilferers from outside Beijing who were committing crimes in Beijing University. According to students’ reports, the security section of the university handed these bad elements over to the public security department.

The rumours fabricated by the VOA are too many, its performance is too exaggerated and its efforts to fuel the flame of the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing are more than enough. Now that order is returning to Beijing and people are calming down, the VOA should take a rest. However, since it lives on spreading rumours, we will wait and listen for what new lies the VOA will fabricate.

**INTERNATIONAL**

**News in Brief**

**Berlin, Pyongyang & Sofia On Beijing Affairs**

Democratic Germany’s People’s Chamber, or parliament, passed a statement June 8 on China’s current situation, saying that recent events in Beijing are purely a Chinese internal affair.

The statement said that the Chinese Communist Party and state leadership, having failed to solve internal problems in political ways because of the bloody rebellion by anti-constitutional elements, had to use armed forces to reestablish order and security.

It also said that the People’s Chamber opposed any foreign interference in China’s internal affairs.

On June 11, a commentary in a Pyongyang-based official newspaper accused the United States of its intention to impose "sanctions" against Beijing, describing it as "interference in China’s internal affairs."

The Bush administration said recently that what happened in Beijing in the past few weeks was a "violation of human rights."

Rodong Sinmun, organ of the ruling Workers’ Party of Korea, said that Washington’s accusation is "undisguised interference in the internal affairs of China and an attempt to impose its intention on others."

No matter what may happen in China, it is not the business of the US, the paper said, adding "it is none other than the US who human rights are totally trampled underfoot." The US is not entitled to meddle in other’s affairs and it must stop doing so at once, said the paper.

Bulgaria also gave its support on June 13 to China’s recent crackdown on counter-revolutionary riot in Beijing, and expressed opposition to foreign interference in China’s internal affairs.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Peter Mladenov made the statement while meeting with Chinese Ambassador Li Fenglin.

Mladenov said both the Bulgarian leaders and people showed concern for the recent events in China. He expressed his satisfaction that the riot had been suppressed, and that life in Beijing was returning to normal. He also said that foreign interference in China’s domestic affairs would hamper stability in that country.

**Indonesia & Singapore: Normalization With China will Go Ahead**

A minister of Indonesia said on June 12 that China’s current situation would not affect the process of normalization between his country and China, according to the Jakarta Post.

No matter what happens at home, China will not change its promise of not interfering in Indonesia’s domestic affairs, the minister said.

Meanwhile the paper quoted the Indonesian foreign minister as saying that another round of talks between the two nation’s representatives to the UN will soon be held, and that the foreign ministers of both countries will also hold talks during the upcoming UN assembly this September.

Singapore’s First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence Goh Chok Tong said on June 14 that the establishment of diplomatic ties between Singapore and China will be carried out as planned. He made the remarks while visiting Japan.

**US Journalists Expelled**

John Edvin Pomfret of the Associated Press and Alan W. Pessin of the Voice of America have been ordered to leave China within 72 hours for having conducted “activities incompatible with their status as journalists" and for "violating Chinese laws and regulations during the period when martial law was declared in part of Beijing," according to local authorities on June 14.
A counter-revolutionary revolt broke out in Beijing on June 3 and 4 after turmoil lasting a month. The martial law enforcement troops from the People's Liberation Army (PLA), armed police and public security men and officers, through their valiant struggle and relying on the co-ordination and support of the people, have won an initial victory in putting down the revolt. At present, various rumours are circulating both at home and abroad and many people are not clear about the truth. Therefore, there is a need to explain the truth about this counter-revolutionary rebellion.

1. Was it necessary for the martial law enforcement troops to enter the city?

After martial law was proclaimed on May 20, a handful of people incited the masses unclear about the truth of the matter to stop the troops from advancing into the city. To avoid a clash, the troops, wearing civilian clothes or adopting other methods, moved towards the city and arrived at some of the designated places. With the troops' arrival at their designated positions and through the hard work of people from various quarters, the tumultuous situation began to ease. However, a handful of rebels had not for a moment stopped their attempts to create turmoil and had not in the least changed their aim of overthrowing Communist Party leadership.

They declared that members of "a new government" had been appointed and a name list of cadres to be suppressed had been prepared. They said that continuing a "sit-in" demonstration on Tiananmen Square and constantly creating disturbances could help achieve the aim of "overthrowing the present regime and establishing a new one."

They actively organized forces, gathered together hooligans, and scraped together those cherishing inveterate hatred for the Communist Party and the socialist system to rig up a "flying tiger corps," an "army of volunteers," and a "dare-to-die corps." They threatened that they would place Party and state leaders under "house arrest" and "storm the Bastille" to seize political power.

They used funds and materials provided partly by overseas reactionaries to prepare to permanently occupy Tiananmen Square and they opened a "democratic university," declaring that it was the "Huangpu Military Academy of the new period." (The Huangpu Military Academy was founded jointly by the Kuomintang led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Communist Party in 1924 in Huangpu near Guangzhou.—Ed.)

They erected a goddess-like statue by the Monument to the People's Heroes, first calling it "the statue of liberty" and then renaming it "the statue of democracy" and then using the "freedom and democracy" of the United States as their spiritual support.

They said that they would use "the struggle on the square to support the struggle of the whole country." Forbidding the young students to withdraw from the square, they even threatened, "We'll kill whoever wants to withdraw."

Fearing that the students' sit-in and petitioning act could hardly persist, they attempted to organize a "hunger strike involving 5,000 intellectuals." But they did not get much response. In the end they put on a two-bit farce of a "hunger strike" by four persons for 48-72 hours.

They distributed leaflets inciting a counter-revolutionary armed revolt, clamouring that they would organize "an armed force" and "unite with various forces including the Kuomintang in Taiwan," and that they would "take a clear-cut stand against the Communist Party and its government" and "would not hesitate to die."

All this shows that the turmoil created by a handful of rebels in a planned and premeditated way was by no means tending to subside as imagined by some kind-hearted people. Rather, under a changed appearance, these elements were continuing their desperate struggle.

They knew full well that once the martial law enforcement troops were in position, their plot would fall through. So they waited for an opportunity to provoke disturbances and intensify the turmoil.

On June 1, when public security organizations detained several leaders of the "Beijing workers' autonomous federation," an illegal organization, for investigation, the handful took advantage of this opportunity to instigate some people to encircle and attack the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee, the Beijing Municipal Government Office and the Ministry of Public Security.

On the evening of June 2, when a jeep, which the China Central Television had borrowed from an armed police troop for ten months to produce a full-length documentary to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, was on its way back to
its original work unit, an accident occurred in which the jeep overturned due to excessive speed and a slippery surface, killing three people and injuring one. None of them were students. This was of course a traffic accident, and the department concerned was already handling the case. However, a handful of elements deliberately linked this accident with the martial law enforcement troops' planned action of entering the city. They spread a lot of rumours, claiming that it was the troops' "pave-the-way" vehicle which ran over students on purpose, inciting people not clear about the facts. They tried to seize the three bodies and carry the coffins in a procession through the streets. The atmosphere was very tense for a while and the flame of the rebellion was thus ignited by them.

2. What Happened on June 3?

In the small hours of June 3, when the martial law enforcement troops were on their way to the security area according to a set plan, some people shouted at the tops of their voices and incited others to intercept motor vehicles and cars, put up road blocks, stop military vehicles, beat soldiers and seize military supplies at the Jianguomen, Nanheyuan, Xidan and Muxidi crossings along the Changan Boulevard.

At one o'clock in the morning, 12 military vehicles were intercepted near Lugezhuang. Soldiers passing the Yanjing Hotel were forcibly searched and military vehicles in front of the Telegramme Building were shut in by road barriers and had their tyres slashed.

Before and after dawn, military vehicles were overturned at either end of Yongdingmen Bridge and the tyres of the military vehicles in Muxidi were slashed. More than 400 soldiers moving to the city were stoned by rioters in Chaoyangmen. Military vehicles were stopped and soldiers were pinned down in Liubukou and Hengertiao.

About seven o'clock in the morning, some rioters rushed to the military vehicles besieged at Linbukou and snatched loaded machine-guns. From Jianguomen to Dongdan and Tianqiao, martial law enforcement troops were sporadically blocked, attacked and beaten. On the Jianguomen overpass, some soldiers were stripped to the skin and others were reduced to tears because they were so badly beaten.

In the morning, the martial law enforcement troops were attacked near Hufangqiao and soldiers were so badly beaten that some of them were blinded. Some wounded soldiers were intercepted on their way to the hospital. The ambulance tyres were deflated and the wounded soldiers taken away. From Hufangqiao to Taoranting, 21 military vehicles were besieged.

At noon, Liberation Army fighters were blocked at the southern entrance of Fuyoujie, at the northern entrance of Zhengyi Road and at Xuanwumen, Hufangqiao, Muxidi and Dongsi. Some were wounded, and the helmets, military caps, raincoats, kettles and satchels of others were snatched away. At some crossings, hard tack and canned food were spilled on the ground. Some rioters intercepted a military vehicle laden with firearms and ammunition in Liubukou, and the armed police and the public security officers failed to rescue it after repeated efforts. If the firearms and ammunition had been taken or there had been an explosion, the consequences would have been disastrous. In order to protect people's safety and property in the capital, the armed police, out of absolute necessity, fired tear-gas shells and recovered the ammunition vehicle. At that time, some students were wounded and sent to hospital for treatment.

At the same time, some rioters began to encircle and charge government offices and important departments. They charged the Great Hall of the People, the Publicity Department of the CPC Central Committee, the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television and the west and south gates of Zhongnanhai (where the State Council and the headquarters of the Party Central Committee are

On the morning of June 3, a bus of the martial law enforcement troops was besieged at Liubukou. The besiegers took guns and helmets from the vehicle and put them on the roof.
located). Several dozen armed police and public security officers and men protecting these organizations were wounded.

The rioters became more reckless as the situation deteriorated. About five o'clock in the afternoon, some people of the illegally organized “Beijing college students’ autonomous federation” and “Beijing workers’ autonomous federation” issued kitchen knives, daggers, iron bars, iron chains and sharpened bamboo poles to the masses who were unaware of the true situation on Tiananmen Square, and vowed to “beat the soldiers and policemen to death.” A broadcast call of the “Beijing workers’ autonomous federation” shouted about “topping the government with weapons.” A mob of some 1,000 people incited by a gang of rioters pushed over the enclosing wall of a construction site near Xidan, seized large quantities of construction tools, reinforced steel and bricks and were prepared for street fighting.

At this crucial moment, the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee decided to order the martial law enforcement troops stationed in the surrounding areas to force their way into the capital and suppress the rebellion.

3. PLA soldiers were forced to shoot.

It is evident to all that from the announcement of the martial law decree, PLA soldiers in downtown Beijing had always exercised a high degree of restraint to avoid any possible conflict. On June 3 when the riot broke out, in order to avoid injuring ordinary people, the Beijing Municipal People’s Government and the Headquarters of the PLA Troops for Martial Law Enforcement jointly announced an emergency notice at 6:30 pm, demanding, “All Beijing residents must keep alert, and from now on must not go to streets and Tiananmen Square; Beijing’s workers and staff members must stand fast at their posts and residents stay at home so that their personal safety will be guaranteed.” This notice was aired repeatedly through radio, TV and other broadcasting devices.

Around 10 pm on June 3, all the martial law enforcement troops received their orders and began moving into downtown Beijing from all directions. However, they were severely obstructed and held up at all the major intersections. Even so, they still exercised an extremely high degree of restraint. Nevertheless, a handful of rioters, taking advantage of the soldiers’ self-restraint, launched a hair-raising melee of beating, smashing, looting, burning and killing.

From 10 to 11 pm the same day, altogether 12 military vehicles were burned on the road from Cuweiulu via Gongzhufen and Muxidi to Xidan. Some rioters brought in a truckload of bricks and debris and hurled them at soldiers, while others blocked the road by pushing a trolley bus to the intersection and then setting it on fire. Even a fire-engine which was on its way to fighting a fire could not escape and was smashed and burned on the spot.

Around 11 pm, three more military vehicles were destroyed and one more jeep was overturned in the Hufangqiao area. Military vehicles were intercepted around the Andingmen Overpass; soldiers about the size of a regiment were blocked on Chongwenmen Street; 30 more military vehicles were encircled around the Jianguomen Overpass; and more than 300 military vehicles besieged to the west of the Beijing Coal Industrial School. In order to keep moving forward, officers and men got down from their vehicles to persuade people to make way for them. However, they were either beaten or kidnapped and some of them are missing. Military vehicles besieged around the Nanyuan area in southern Beijing had to make a detour to avoid conflict with the masses. However, they were encircled again when they arrived at the southern gate of Tianan Park (the Temple of Heaven Park), and many of the vehicles were either destroyed or burned. When a group of rioters climbed on top of a military vehicle besieged at the area of Zhushi-kou, a man looking like a cadre came up and tried to persuade them to come down. He was beaten up and no one knows whether he died or not.

In the small hours of June 4, the
situation became even worse. Hundreds more military vehicles were set alight with gasoline, home-made incendiary bottles and flame throwers at East Tian-tan Road, the north gate of Tian-tan Park, the west entrance of Qianmen Subway Station, East Qianmen Road, Fuyou Street, Liubukou, Xidan, Fuxingmen, South Lishi Road, Muxidi, Lianhuachi, Chegongzhuang, Donghuamen, Dongzhimen; Chaoyang District's Dabeiyao, Hujiadou, Beidougezhuang, the Jiugong township seat of Daxing County and at many other intersections. Many soldiers were either burned or beaten to death. At some of these intersections, several and even dozens of vehicles were burned, turning the scene into a sea of fire. For example, more than 70 armoured vehicles were held up around the Shuangjing Intersection, and 20 of them were stripped of their machine guns. More than 30 military vehicles were set alight on the road from Jingyuan Intersection to Laoshan Crematory. Some rioters, iron bars and gas drums in hand, guarded every intersection and burned all cars identified as military in defiance of warning shots. Several rioters captured an armoured vehicle around the area of the Fuxingmen Overpass and fired wherever they drove. The illegal “Beijing workers' autonomous federation” declared in a broadcast call that they had captured a military radio and a cipher code book. Some military supply and provision trucks were also either burned or ransacked.

Taking advantage of the mess, some rioters also smashed and destroyed civilian facilities. For example, they broke all the display windows of the Yanshan and other stores and set to fire the pine fences to the west of the Memorial Hall of Mao Zedong and destroyed and burned public buses, fire engines, ambulances and taxis. What was most ruthless was that some rioters pushed a public bus under Tiananmen (the Gate of Heavenly Peace) and attempted to set the gate tower of Tiananmen on fire.

While attacking military vehicles and indulging in beating, smashing, looting and burning, these rioters also killed PLA soldiers ruthlessly.

Early on the morning of June 4, a horde of rioters attacked the soldiers with wine bottles, bricks and even bicycles at the intersection of Dongdan, wounding many of them. At Fuxingmen, one military vehicle was intercepted and attacked. The 12 soldiers on the vehicle, including a management section chief and cooks, were forcibly pulled out, body-searched and cruelly beaten. Many were seriously wounded. At Liubukou, four soldiers were besieged and attacked, and some of them were killed. At Guanganmen three soldiers were beaten up. One was rescued by some people but the whereabouts of the other two is still unknown today. At Xixingsheng Lane in the Western District, some 20 armed police were attacked by rioters. Some of them were seriously wounded and the whereabouts of some others are still unknown. At Huguosi, one military vehicle was intercepted by the rioters and the soldiers were cruelly beaten up and taken as hostages. The rioters grabbed many of their machine-guns. When one truck loaded with bricks bound for Tiananmen Square from Dongjiao Minxiang passed by, people on the truck shouted, “Are you Chinese? Then hit the soldiers with bricks!”

After dawn, the hair-raising atrocities of beating and killing PLA armymen shocked the whole city. One ambulance of the armed police, which carried eight wounded soldiers, was intercepted and attacked by rioters. They killed one of the wounded soldiers and threatened to kill the others.

In front of a bicycle store at Qianmen, three soldiers were beaten up and seriously wounded, and the rioters shouted to the onlookers, “We'll kill whoever dares to rescue them!” On Changan Boulevard, one moving military vehicle broke down suddenly, and was attacked right away by about 200 rioters. The driver was killed inside the cab.

Thirty metres to the east of the crossroad at Xidan, the rioters
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killed one soldier and, pouring gasoline over the body, set it on fire. At Fuchengmen, the rioters hung the body of a soldier up on the balustrade of the overpass. At Chongwenmen, they threw one soldier down from the overline bridge and, pouring gasoline over the soldier, burned him alive. At a place near the Shoudu Cinema on West Changan Boulevard, one PLA officer was beaten to death by the rioters, who then gouged out his eyes and cut open his belly. The body was hung over a blazing military vehicle. The rioters also killed one soldier, gouging out his eyes, cutting off his penis and throwing his body into the moat.

According to incomplete statistics, the rioters destroyed and burned more than 450 military vehicles, police cars and public buses, including some 180 military trucks, some 40 armoured vehicles, some 90 police cars, some 80 public buses and some 40 motor vehicles. They took away weapons and ammunition, killing about 100 martial law enforcement soldiers, armed police and public security officers and wounding several thousands.

Such a tragic scene convincingly tells of the great restraint exercised by the martial law enforcement troops. Otherwise, how could so many soldiers be killed and wounded? And how could the troops suffer such great losses? Driven beyond forbearance, the martial law enforcement troops, who could hardly move one step forward, counter-attacked, killing some of the rioters. Because there were numerous onlookers and students, some were knocked down by vehicles, some were caught up in crowds and others were hit by stray bullets. During the riot, more than 1,000 of the people were wounded and more than 100 died. Nobody likes to see such a thing happen. As to the people and students accidentally injured, the government and the martial law enforcement troops have the same feelings for them as have their family members. The aftermath of these accidental injuries will be carefully dealt with.

4. The "massacre at Tiananmen" is totally a rumour.

The fact is: After the martial law enforcement troops entered the square, at 1:30 am, the Beijing Municipal People's Government and the headquarters of the martial law enforcement troops issued an emergency notice, "A serious counter-revolutionary riot occurred this evening in the capital. The rioters furiously attacked PLA commanders and soldiers, grabbed arms and ammunition, burned armoured vehicles, set up road blocks and kidnapped PLA officers and soldiers, in a vain attempt to subvert the People's Republic of China and overthrow the socialist system. For many days, the People's Liberation Army has exercised a high degree of restraint. Now, the counter-revolutionary riot must be resolutely counter-attacked. Citizens of the capital should abide by the martial law decrees and cooperate closely with the PLA to resolutely safeguard the Constitution and protect the security of our great socialist motherland and the capital. For those who turn a deaf ear to persuasion, their safety will not be guaranteed and all the consequences will rest completely with them." This emergency notice was broadcast repeatedly for more than three hours through loud speakers. Most of the onlookers quickly left the square. The sit-in students now numbering several thousand then massed around the Monument to the People's Heroes at the southern fringe of the square. At about 3 am, they sent representatives to tell the martial law enforcement troops that they were willing to withdraw from the square voluntarily, and this was welcomed by the troops.

At 4:30 am, this notice of the headquarters of the martial law enforcement troops was broadcast at the square, "The clearance begins now and the students' appeal to withdraw from the square has been agreed too." At the same time, the circular of the Beijing Municipal People's Government and the headquarters of the martial law enforcement troops on quickly reviving Tiananmen Square's normal order was broadcast. The circular says, "One, all people on the square must immediately withdraw from the square after hearing this broadcast. Two, if there are people who defy or refuse to carry out this order and continue to stay at the square, the martial law enforcement troops have the right to adopt all necessary means to disperse them. Three, after the clearance is completed, Tiananmen Square will be strictly controlled by the martial law enforcement troops. Four, we hope the broad masses of students and the public who cherish patriotic feelings and who are unwilling to see disturbances in the country will actively co-operate with the martial law enforcement troops to complete the clearance task."

After hearing the circular broadcast, the several thousand students on the square gathered their ranks and organized hand-in-hand pickets. At about 5 am, they began to leave the square in an orderly way, carrying their own banners. The martial law enforcement troops left a broad thoroughfare at the southern end of the east side of the square to ensure the quick, smooth and safe departure of the students. At that time, there were still a few students who refused to leave, and armed policemen compelled them to leave according to the requirements of the circular. At 5:30 am, the clearance was completed. The whole process took less than half an hour. None of the students who took part in the sit-in on the square, including those who in the end were compelled to leave, died. The claim that "the bloodshed on Tiananmen Square became a river" is sheer nonsense.
Why Imose Martial Law in Beijing?

SHI WEI

By the end of last year the young people's patriotic activities of a very small number of people who are creating turmoil. How, then, did these few people stir up turmoil by making use of the well-meaning aspirations of the broad masses of students, by making use of the same people's confused thinking, by making use of their own selfishness and by making use of some failings in the work of the Party and government, and the difficulties encountered in the course of China's advance? We have only to examine the recent series of extremely abnormal events which have occurred to come to the correct conclusion.

A. The turmoil fomented by a tiny minority was premeditated.

As early as the end of last year and the beginning of this year, a small number of people inside and outside universities conspired to stir up campus upheaval and provoke incidents on the occasions of the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, and the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

In early March this year, some anonymous big- and small-character posters were found in Beijing and Qinghua Universities, directly attacking the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system. One small-character poster entitled "Lament for the Chinese People" termed the present government "autocratic and despotic," and called upon everyone to "fight for freedom." A big-character poster entitled "The Call of the Times" asked "whether there is any reason for the existence of socialism" and "what kind of philosophical system can be used to replace Marxism-Leninism?" At the campus of Beijing University, a poster entitled "A Letter to the Broad Masses of Youth and Students" called upon them to fight for "democracy, freedom and human rights" under the leadership of Fang Lizhi, a scholar who advocates bourgeois liberalization. In society at large, certain people became very active and held incessant meetings. Fang Lizhi praised these meetings for "adopting an attitude of total boycott and thorough criticism of the authorities" and "having a strong smell of gunpowder." He predicted that "with three meetings of this kind in succession, people will take to the streets." When Hu Yaobang died on April 15, certain people thought the time was ripe, and were determined to stir up great disturbances.

B. The political aim of the tiny minority was to negate the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system.

A so-called Message to the Youth and Students of the Nation, signed "Nankai University," included the call to "establish a committee for the revision of the Constitution and abolish 'princi-
pies' and 'adherences' in the Constitution, which are deeply hated by the people.” Ren Wanding, former head of the illegal organization League for Human Rights, said in a speech delivered in front of Tiananmen Gate: “Without the removal of the Four Cardinal Principles from the Constitution…they will take precedence over the people's interests.” (The Four Cardinal Principles are: Keeping to the socialist road, and upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.) He continued, saying, “The false relaxation, harmony, unity and stability of our society are obtained at the price of an overall policy of high-handedness over the entire people and at the cost of the blood, life, loss of freedom and health of millions of the best talents.”

In their articles and posters, this tiny minority, completely disregarding the great achievements that ten years of reform have brought, slandered socialist China as being “black as pitch,” “reaching a severe crisis,” “rampant with profiteering officials, full of corruption and degeneration, and collapsing morally.” They claimed regarding the great achievements that ten years of reform have brought, slandered socialist China as being “black as pitch,” “reaching a severe crisis,” “rampant with profiteering officials, full of corruption and degeneration, and collapsing morally.” They claimed that “China is moribund, the people are degenerating, everything is dying,” and advocated the overthrow of the socialist system.

Zhongnanhai, seat of the Party and government headquarters, was besieged on May 17.

C. The turmoil stirred up by the tiny minority was carefully planned; various political forces at home and abroad were involved. For more than a month, at each stage of the turmoil, every action,

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slogan and demand was carefully planned and arranged. At the beginning, according to the plans of the small minority, there was an all-out attack on the Four Cardinal Principles. Party and government leaders were assailed one by one. Before and after April 18 and 19, when there were attempts to storm Zhongnanhai where the Party and government headquarters are located, the attack was concentrated on Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng. After April 26, when People’s Daily issued the editorial exposing the nature of the turmoil incited by the small minority, these people made an abrupt and drastic change in their tactics. Slogans such as “Support the Chinese Communist Party,” “Support socialism” and “Support the Constitution” appeared.

Several days later, when they saw that the Party and government were exercising great restraint, they withdrew these slogans. When the situation deteriorated after May 4, the slogan “Down with Deng Xiaoping” appeared again all over the city of Beijing, causing a temporary uproar. After May 19, when Premier Li Peng made an important speech calling for resolution measures to curb the turmoil, these people first put forth the slogan “Down with Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng.” Later the tactics were readjusted once again, and care was taken not “to shout extremist slogans, especially those directed at Deng Xiaoping” — in order to “win over Deng Xiaoping for the benefit of the next step of the struggle.” They therefore concentrated their attack on Li Peng and the “bogus government.”

Some people have said that if the leaders of the central authorities had held dialogues earlier with the students, things would not have become so serious. This is not true. As planned by the tiny minority, the organizers of the student agitations on the one hand expressed their willingness to hold dialogues with the government; on the other hand, they laid down a number of preconditions and spread the word that the government was not sincere. In fact, it was they who obstructed the dialogues and did their best to erect barriers. At first, they said that they would send 20 representatives to the talks with the government. When the government agreed, they asked to increase the number to 200. At the same time, they started a rumour that the government had limited them to only 20 representatives. As a result, the dialogue was not held as scheduled. On the morning of May 13, the Offices of the Party Central Committee and the State Council invited them to a dialogue on May 15. While expressing their agreement to hold a dialogue, they promptly issued a declaration, prepared beforehand, announcing the start of a hunger strike, and started the rumour that the government had refused to hold any dialogues, thus pushing some students to the forefront of the hunger strike.

During the student agitations, a few people who were able to obtain top-level secrets of the central authorities even sent people to some of Beijing’s colleges and universities and to Tiananmen Square to divulge confidential information and stir up disturbances. Sometimes, only a few hours after a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Party Politburo had been held, and before the subjects discussed had been transmitted officially, certain university campuses were already in possession of the information and had made it publicly known. The different views of leaders of the Party Central Committee with regard to the student agitations were widely publicized by a minority with ulterior motives, and caused serious ideological confusion.

Various political forces at home and abroad intervened in the student agitations. They gave counsel to the students and acted in concert with each other. Hu Ping, Chen Jun and other members of the reactionary organization China Democratic Alliance jointly issued an “Open Letter to Chinese University Students” from New York. This was posted up in many Beijing universities. It called upon the organizers of the student agitations to pay attention to “consolidating the organizational links established during this movement and to strive for a strong mass effort in order to be effective.” It said that at that time “the complete negation of the anti-liberalization movement of 1987 should be used as a breakthrough point” and “it is necessary to strengthen your contacts with various press media and other circles...to try to win their support and participation.” Two leaders of the organization, Wang Bingzhang and Tang Guangzhong, hurriedly flew to Tokyo from New York in an attempt to reach Beijing to take a hand in the turmoil.

A group of original members of the “China Spring” organization living in the United States set up a “China Democratic Party” and sent a “Letter to All Compatriots” on April 16 which reached some Beijing university campuses. It incited the students to “demand that conservatives and bureaucrats step down” and “push the Chinese Communist Party to end its autocratic rule.”

All these facts show that a small number of people at home and abroad colluded with each other, acted in collaboration and planned the turmoil carefully.

D. The tiny minority used rumours and instigations to steadily worsen the situation.

Since the beginning of the student agitations, Beijing has been full of rumours of various sorts. It is food for thought that whenever the government took measures to ease the situation and once the students became calm, there were always new rumours and instigations which led to greater unrest.
After the death of Hu Yaobang on April 15, some people spread the rumour that “Li Peng abused Hu Yaobang at a Politburo meeting, which made Hu terribly angry and thus caused his death.”

On April 20, a few people tried to break through Zhongnanhai’s Xinhua Gate. Finally, some people who had gathered in front of the entrance were put into buses by the police on duty and sent back to their universities before dawn. During this process, both sides pushed and tussled with one another. Then came the rumours, “The police beat people at Xinhua Gate -- not just students, but workers, women and children.”

“More than a thousand workers in science and technology fell in the bloodshed.” At the same time, another rumour ran that a student from Beijing Normal University was run over by a police car (in fact, a student on a bicycle was unfortunately killed in an ordinary trolley bus traffic accident).

Many other students who knew nothing about the truth were sympathetic and angry.

On April 22, after the memorial meeting for Hu Yaobang, some people spread to students at Tiananmen Square the rumour that “Premier Li Peng had promised to meet the students on the square at 12:45.” Actually, he had made no such promise, and when it did not happen it was rumoured that “Li Peng has cheated the students,” with the result that 60,000 students staged a class boycott. So the student agitations escalated.

On April 23, as university students in the capital boycotted classes, a small minority distributed leaflets of the so-called “Beijing workers’ autonomous federation” everywhere in order to incite workers to go on strike.

On May 13, a number of students from Beijing’s universities started a hunger strike at Tiananmen Square. The small minority spread everywhere the rumour that “The workers of Beijing are going on general strike” in order to make the situation deteriorate further.

On May 20, after the imposition of martial law in sections of Beijing by the State Council, the following rumour was spread: “Li Peng presided over a meeting which has made four decisions: 1. The nature of the student movement has been determined to be a rebellion; 2. All the 200,000 students at Tiananmen Square are to be suppressed; 3. All the large prisons in the capital will be emptied to hold students; 4. All the street cleaners will be mobilized to clean Tiananmen the morning after the suppression.” Later, more rumours circulated, saying that “troops will be air dropped” and “they will use teargas.” All this was aimed at intensifying the conflict between students and city residents and the People’s Liberation Army.

The tiny minority has created turmoil by fabricating rumours to cheat the masses. When some of their rumours were spiked, they started new rumours by changing the appearance of the old ones.

E. A few people have wilfully trampled upon democracy and the legal system, and their deeds have led to serious chaos in the social order.

For more than a month some people, incited by a tiny minority, organized parades, demonstrations, sit-ins and hunger strikes, all without approval and regardless of the 10-point regulation about parades and demonstrations passed by the Standing Committee of the Beijing People’s Congress. They occupied Tiananmen Square for a long period, and as a result some important state affairs, such as the Sino-Soviet summit meetings, could not be carried out as planned and some activities had to be cancelled. This situation harmed the prestige and image of China.

After the beginning of May this year, the demonstrations steadily increased in scale, growing from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands, even to over a million. This seriously disrupted Beijing’s regular production, work and social order. Some people surrounded the offices of the Party Central Committee, offices of the State Council as well as the houses of some State leaders. Some rogues harassed the Beijing Party Committee and the Beijing Municipal Government, cursing and using scurrilous words. Public transport in Beijing’s urban area was seriously disrupted and even paralyzed for a time. Industrial raw materials could not be brought in
and finished products carried out. Even the transport of gas and foodstuffs were hampered. Shops and enterprises could not make bank deposits in time.

Some people took on the roles of policemen and public security personnel without authorization, stopping vehicles and checking the ID cards of people as they liked. Some lawless people willfully abused and even struck policemen and public security personnel. As anarchic conditions became increasingly serious, local security personnel and armed police felt they could not carry out their heavy task of keeping the capital in order, and beating, smashing and looting repeatedly occurred. Some lawless people took the opportunity to rob banks. Once dozens of bandits robbed the Huiyuan Department Store at Dongsi Street. Some 3,800 bottles of milk carried in a truck of the Guanganmen Dairy Products Plant were seized. Near Yongdingmen Railway Station, some No. 54 buses were smashed.

Six ruffians robbed some Hubei province farmers on the highway between Fangshan county of the Beijing Municipality and Liangxiang, saying “We hear Beijing is in turmoil, and we are going to get some pocket money.” During the period of demonstrations, some ruffians went to the downtown areas of Wangfujing and Qianmen, preparing to rob shops and stores, but thanks to the efforts of staff members and policemen, they did not succeed.

What is more serious, the turmoil spread from Beijing to other parts of the country, and disturbances happened also in many other cities. In some areas, attacks on local government and Party committee offices occurred one after another. Beating, smashing, looting, burning and other disruptive activities were carried out. China’s transport network was broken for a period. Students in some areas forced their way onto trains to Beijing without tickets; some even lay on the tracks to stop trains. During this time, over 200,000 students from other parts of China entered Beijing. They boarded trains without tickets and did not pay for their meals, just as young people had done during the “cultural revolution.”

F. A few people attempted to seize power by taking advantage of the turmoil.

Provoked by a tiny minority, some university students proclaimed the abolition of the regular Student Union and Postgraduate Student Union, leaders of which had been elected by the students, and the establishment of a so-called autonomous student organization. Some students even took over campus broadcasting stations. Later, these groups united to become the directing center of the student agitation.

Before martial law was declared, the situation was becoming more and more serious. Some work units had prepared to ask their leaders to “transfer their power.” In some ministries of the State Council, certain groups of government employees asked the ministers to step down. Some people distributed leaflets proclaiming the establishment of a “Preparatory Committee for an All-Circles Representative Congress of Beijing” to replace the current Beijing People’s Congress, and calling for the setting up of a “Beijing Regional Government” to take the place of the present legal municipal government. Some people attacked the legally selected State Council as a “bogus government,” spread rumours that China’s Foreign Affairs Ministry and some 10 other ministries had declared their independence from the present State Council and that more than 30 countries had broken diplomatic relations with China. Some persons claimed that “Deng Xiaoping has left power” and that a “new government” would be founded in three days’ time.

A few people organized some rogues and local ruffians into a “flying tiger corps,” which included over a hundred motorcyclists, and a “dare-to-die corps” of over a thousand bicyclists. People were asked to rise up as the masses had in the great French Revolution, to “attack the Bastille.” The handful of people threatened to put Party and state leaders “under house arrest.”

Do these facts constitute turmoil? In this chaos, to restore the social stability of Beijing and protect people’s life and private and public property, and to enable the central departments and the Beijing municipal government to carry out their normal duties, it was necessary for the State Council, as provided for in the Chinese Constitution, to declare martial law in some sections of the city. If the state did not take decisive measures, but let the serious situation deteriorate, even greater disturbances would occur in the capital, the whole country would fall into serious turmoil and the reforms and modernization drive would fall apart. This, of course, is not what the 1.1 billion Chinese people really want to see.

Why Martial Law Is Necessary

Some people have asked, why was martial law imposed on May 20, since the fasting students at Tiananmen had ended their hunger strike on the evening of May 19? Here, two points have to be clarified:

1. The imposition of martial law on some sections of the capital was not just to solve the problem of some hunger-striking students, but to end the turmoil, eliminate the serious, anarchic situation, restore normal order in Beijing and prevent more serious turbulence.

2. The news that the State Council had decided to impose martial law was leaked very quickly. So a small number of people immediately mobilized the students to change the hunger
strike to a sit-in. This showed the tactics of the tiny minority.

Some people have also asked, why is it still necessary to enforce martial law in Beijing, since order has basically been restored?

First, for more than a month, under extremely difficult circumstances, the broad masses of workers, farmers, commercial people, teachers, medical workers, cadres of street committees, Party and government office staff and armed police and public security personnel have remained at their posts, performed their duty and made great contributions to ensure normal production and operations in the capital. Notably, after the declaration of martial law and when enforcement troops reached Beijing, people from all walks of life pooled their efforts to set things right.

However, it is also true that social unrest in the capital had not really come to an end despite all these efforts. During the first two days after the declaration of martial law, all street intersections were immediately blocked and 227 buses were flagged down to be used as road blockades. No military vehicles were able to enter the city. The delivery of government documents also ran into difficulty for some time. Parades, demonstrations, protests and sit-ins which had received no prior approval still occurred one after another. The sites of the Party Central Committee and State Council offices were surrounded by crowds. Speeches of incitement could be heard here and there in the streets. Leaflets containing rumours could be seen everywhere. Most institutions of higher learning have still not resumed classes. A very few people were still planning secretly to struggle to the end against the government. Thus it is very clear that to end turmoil and restore normal order in the capital remained a very grave task.

Some people think that if the government had showed more warm concern for the fasting students and done more work among them, the situation might have been relaxed and there would have been no need to impose martial law.

In fact, as soon as the students' hunger strike began at Tiananmen Square, the Party and government anxiously did their best. First, university staff and leading cadres at all levels and even some Party and government leaders went to see them again and again, trying to persuade them to end the strike. Second, the Party and government helped the Red Cross Society to send more than a hundred ambulances and hundreds of medical workers to the hunger strikers, to be at their service day and night. At the same time, nearly 2,000 beds in 52 hospitals were made available to ensure that the students who suffered from shock or diseases because of fasting could be treated and their lives saved.

Third, the Party and government provided all kinds of goods and materials to lessen the sufferings of the hunger strikers and to ensure their safety. The Beijing Municipal Party Committee and municipal government assigned cadres, workers and vehicles to transport drinking water, salt and sugar day and night to the fasting students through the Red Cross. The Environmental Sanitation Bureau provided street sprinklers to carry water, washtubs and towels for the use of the fasting students. Pharmaceutical companies offered sufficient medicines for prevention of heatstroke, colds and diarrhoea and asked the Red Cross to give them to students in need. Food departments sent to the Square large numbers of drinks and bread for emergency use by the students. Commercial departments supplied 3,000 straw hats and the Beijing Military Command offered a thousand cotton quilts to the students for shelter from the sun during the day and the cold at night. To help sanitation at the site of the strike, temporary toilets were set up and street cleaners cleaned the site deep into the night. Before the rains on May 18, the Municipal Public Transport Company drove 78 buses and the Bureau of Goods and Materials sent 400 thick wooden sheets to the Square to protect students from the downpour.

All this shows that the Party, government and whole society cared for, cherished and took responsibility for the fasting students. It is not that the Party and government did not show concern for the fasting students, but that a tiny minority of people were using the fasting students as hostages to force the government to accept their political conditions. Subsequent developments fully proved this.

Some people think that the martial law enforcement troops were sent in to "suppress the students and the masses of people." This is a misunderstanding.

Since the declaration of martial law the enforcement troops, armed police and public security personnel have been well-disciplined. They have shown great restraint and tolerance when they were misunderstood, and even insulted and assaulted by some of the masses. For nearly ten days after the imposition of martial law, not a single student was arrested. Rather, more than 60 soldiers of the enforcement troops, hundreds of armed police and public security personnel were wounded by assaults. They have proved with their own deeds that they are the people's own army, like sons and brothers to them, serving the people heart and soul. They came to the capital to enforce martial law, not to suppress the masses and the young students. The martial law enforcement troops, armed police and public security personnel are now winning the understanding of more and more students and masses of people, and are warmly cared for and supported by the masses.
Chinese Expressionism: Art’s New Statement

Dull eyes look out at you over their tightly-closed lips. A repeat pattern of heads face out from their 2 metres by 1.8 metres canvas entitled My Feelings About This Era.

Feelings, by 27-year-old artist Ma Gang attracted the most attention at a Beijing art exhibition that brought together 10 Chinese expressionist painters recently held at the Museum of Chinese History.

“Our era lacks fervour, to say nothing of agitation,” says Ma. “Beneath the noisy and crowded society is a hidden coldness and insensitivity that expressionist art shouts out in the midst of.”

Ma says that Feelings is aimed at waking people from this numbing coldness.

Another artist, Yi Jianxiang expressed his feelings towards the world with a series of bright coloured works. In his work Door he used the arrangement of bright colours; red and yellow patches over a deep blue background, reflects the artist’s sense of the outside world.

“I have only put a flash of my lifetime’s inspirations on canvas,” says Yi while facing one of his works.

One of the two women artists who had their art displayed at the exhibition was Sun Min who exhibited around ten paintings which combine Western techniques into Chinese ink and wash style.

It is the strong contrast of black and white, she told me, that can most vividly express her inner feelings of the current period.

Her work, Self-Split shows this best with its sketched black twisting lines on white that conveys her inner contradictions and struggle.

All the exhibits were done by painters between 25 and 35 years of age who are influential in China’s expressionist school.

The artists all graduated from Beijing’s Central Academy of Fine Arts or the Academy of Applied Arts. On display were the works of Li Di, Shi Benming, Wu Shaoxiang, Ma Lu, Yi Jianxiang, Xiao Li, Huang Jin, Sun Min, Zhang Gaoshan and Ma Gang.

These young painters have brought new blood to Chinese expressionism that went into a dormant period of about two years after its initial fast growth stage.

The artists say that this exhibition is the result of two years of artistic probing and development.

Chinese traditional
freehand brushwork can also be expressionistic art, they say, but rich contemporary expressionist art carries this further and integrates the traditional ancient Chinese outlook with modern industrial ideas.

With social change, art has moved from a leisurely and carefree attitude to a point where canvases echo a world crowded with people and noisy machinery conveyed through "Soliloquy."

SUN MIN

"Not Human" (second series).

restless brush strokes of strong colour.

China's expressionists have drifted into two trends. One approach combines feeling with colour that expresses a kind of philosophy and state of mind which evolves into a unique Chinese form of expressionism. This type of expressionism does not strive for outward appearances but rather attempts to reach an inner richness.

The other area of Chinese expressionism that shares strong links to its counterpart in the West makes every effort to produce a kind of impact on the viewer that places emphasis on maximizing the visual effect.

Li Di, the sponsor of this exhibition, who had the largest number of works on display, said that expressionism is the best way for artists to convey their feelings.

A painting, says Li, should express one's innermost thoughts in a deep and more refined language. Such art can go without explanation.

"The appearance of this exhibition presents a challenge to our era, no matter how moderate that may be.

"Its purpose is to create an open world for the artists and it will help them to recover their self-confidence," says Ma Gang.

by Zhang Zhiping
Cell Function Secrets Unlocked

A micro-video camera reveals substances entering from one cell to another in a growing wheat endosperm.

Science has made a significant stride in adjusting and controlling plant growth by research due to researcher Zhang Weicheng in the Shanghai Plant Physiology Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

According to some experts several strange pictures taken by Zhang have helped assist in the understanding of how an external substance, macromolecules, enter cells.

By using modern photographic techniques Zhang came up with the strange pictures showing the growth of wheat endosperm tissue.

The pictures show macromolecule substances, with their molecular weight being tens of thousands of dalton, moving from one cell to another by means of protoplasmic connection.

Plant cells are divided by cell walls into what appear to be isolated “islands.”

It is the protoplasmic connections between the cells that provide the conveyance of information and nutrition that supports the plant’s normal growth and reproduction.

With the hole diameter of the protoplasmic connections being only 40-60 millimicron scientists around the world were in agreement that they can only convey substances with 1,000 dalton of molecular weight.

The discovery has been described as a breakthrough in the traditional theoretical study of protoplasmic movements.

Zhang also found this true since under normal conditions the “channel” of protoplasmic connections between cells would not increase in size to convey macromolecule substances.

But, he also discovered that during a certain period the channel obviously enlarged so that macromolecule substances could pass through in order to meet the nutritional needs of plant growth.

Zhang’s study has also proved that the increase size of the cell “channel” usually occurs during the time of rapid tissue growth or deterioration. By that time, protoplasm, he says, moves between cells in an active way of expanding and contracting—a rapid movements by minutes and seconds in terms of time.

China Premieres Film Festival

China’s first film festival will be simultaneously held in Beijing and Shenzhen between September 21 to 27.

The first Chinese film festival, sponsored by the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television, is aimed at getting film fans to see the advances in the Chinese cinema.

More than 40 of China’s best films produced over 1988 and 1989 will be shown to commemorate the 40th anniversary of New China’s founding.

Festival participants will be able to view the most influential and representative films that show why the film industry has gained strong support in its efforts to cater to China’s diverse audience.

Besides presenting the awards, the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television is inviting film people from around the world to the film festival.

It is also exploiting the occasion to conduct a film market on the side.

Film people from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao are also invited to enter their films in the festival.

Organizers believe the Chinese Film Festival, to be held once every two years, will eventually become a grand competition on a world scale.
Sculptures by
Liu Wanqi

Liu Wanqi has been engaged in popular art work for a long time. Born in Xinjin County, Sichuan Province in 1935, Liu now works at the Guizhou Provincial Studio of Popular Art. His works express both the characteristics of folk art and a distinct personal style.

Child (wood sculpture).

An Old Man (bamboo-root sculpture).

A Miner (pottery sculpture).
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With varied models, new styles, bright colour and high transparence, the various kinds of glassware are ideal for big or small banquets, restaurants, bars and family use.

In addition to the above-mentioned goods customers can also choose from and order the products made by the Tianjin Light Industrial Products Import & Export Corp. that offers sales services and can also process goods according to buyers' samples (including designs).