

**WAS THERE A TIANANMEN
MASSACRE?
THE VISIT OF GENERAL CHI**

**HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION**

DECEMBER 18, 1996

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

45-254 CC

WASHINGTON : 1998

For sale by the U.S. Government Printing Office
Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office, Washington, DC 20402
ISBN 0-16-055976-6

H461-26

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1996

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND
HUMAN RIGHTS,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a.m. in room 2123, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher Smith (chairman of the Subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH. The Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights will come to order. Good morning. The civilized world was stunned last week by a statement of General Chi Haotian, the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China, that nobody was killed on Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989. The general, who was the operational commander of the forces that attacked the pro-democracy demonstrators that day, has been invited to the United States by our government. He has been given full military honors, a 19-gun salute, visits to several military bases, and a tour of a nuclear laboratory. He even had a personal meeting with President Clinton at the White House.

The idea behind official visits like these is to foster mutual understanding. If we are going to live in the same world with governments run by people like General Chi, the argument goes we had better get to know each other. There is no denying that General Chi's remarkable statement about Tiananmen Square has helped the American people to understand what he and his government are really like.

By telling us in what he called a "responsible and serious manner" that, "Not a single person lost his life in Tiananmen Square," by claiming that the People's Republic Liberation Army did nothing more violent than, the "pushing of people", the general called these people hooligans. He told us really all that we needed to know.

The purpose of this hearing is to make the process of getting acquainted a reciprocal one. We want General Chi to know the people of the United States. We want him to understand that in America it matters whether you tell the truth. Denial of the truth and the habitual use of the big lie, a tactic that was honed by the Nazis, brute deception, all of these are highly offensive to Americans.

Because our political culture also values fairness, because Americans believe in open and transparent procedures, we invited General Chi to come to the hearing and tell his side of the story. Let me say parenthetically that we said we would meet at any time,

any place, at any hour to hear from him or his representative, and that could be the ambassador or someone else from the Government of the People's Republic of China. If he could establish that the Tiananmen Square Massacre was really a myth, those of us whose view of the Beijing Government has been shaped by that massacre would have to admit that we were wrong.

We were also prepared to give General Chi an opportunity to substantiate his claim that China has sold no illegal weapons to Iran. Perhaps he could have also shown us that there are no persecuted Christians in China, no religious persecution in Tibet or in Sinkiang, no forced abortions, no coerced sterilizations, no dying rooms for unwanted children. These claims would have been contrary to all the evidence we have seen so far, but in America everyone is given a fair opportunity to be heard.

Unfortunately, General Chi has not responded to our invitation. We made clear that we would rearrange this hearing, as I indicated, to suit his schedule. We even called the Chinese Embassy and made it clear that if he couldn't make it, we would be happy to hear from the ambassador.

To date—right to this hour—we have received no response, but we are saving a place at the witness table today for General Chi or some other representative of the Beijing Government and we will hold it until the end of this hearing, just in case the Beijing Government wishes to present its version of Tiananmen alongside the accounts of human rights observers, independent journalists, and Chinese democracy advocates from whom we will hear today.

Our hearing will focus first on what really happened in Tiananmen. One observer who was present at the scene, Jonathan Mirsky, of the London Times, recorded the following series of eyewitness accounts. As he points out, Nicholas Christoff of the New York Times, who was in the Square that night, reported, and I quote, "The troops began shooting. Some people fell to the ground wounded or dead. Each time the soldiers fired again and more people fell to the ground."

When he went to the Xiehe Hospital, the nearest to the Square—this is Nicholas Christoff speaking now, "it was a bloody mess with hundreds of injured lying on the floors. I saw bullet holes in the ambulances."

Jan Wong of the Toronto Globe and Mail, looking down from the balcony in the Peking Hotel, "watched in horror as the army shot directly into the crowds...people fell with gaping wounds." Later she reported, "The soldiers strafed ambulances and shot medical workers trying to rescue the wounded."

Jan Wong, 14 floors above Jonathan Mirsky, when he saw the people being shot in front of the hotel wrote, "I counted more than 20 bodies." Mirsky crawled away, but she kept watching. "In all," she reported, "I recorded 8 long murderous volleys. Dozens died before my eyes."

We will hear our witnesses today and ask our witnesses today to help us establish for the record which version is true: "pushing" of a few "hooligans", or tanks crushing people and soldiers strafing crowds and ambulances?

The second focus of the hearing will be on how the victims of Tiananmen, as well as other victims of human rights abuses in

China, are faring today. Has the Clinton Administration's policy, which it calls "comprehensive engagement" of the Beijing Government, resulted in improvement or deterioration of human rights in that country? Frankly, my own view is that the Administration's policy is better described as one of aggressive appeasement of dictators everywhere.

It began with China, but almost everywhere else in the world—in Vietnam, Serbia, Romania, and in Russia during the brutal war against the people of Chechnya—our government has chosen to hobnob with tyrants rather than to stand in solidarity with the brave people who resist them. We stand with the oppressors, not with the oppressed.

We offered the Administration an opportunity to testify today and to defend their posture toward Beijing and their welcome of General Chi. We also asked them to come prepared to answer some questions, including how much the visits had cost the U.S. taxpayers. I still hope and expect to receive the answers to these questions.

In the meantime, I ask our witnesses today to evaluate the practical effects of the "comprehensive engagement" policy in the lives of ordinary people in China. Finally, I ask our witnesses to assess the effect of General Chi's visit. What have we learned from this experience and, perhaps, what has the General learned? Is it possible that Beijing learned that in dealing with America honesty is the best policy? Or is it possible the U.S. Government will finally learn that a government that murders its own people and then lies about it cannot be trusted as a treaty or trading partner?

I welcome our very distinguished witnesses and I look forward to their testimony. I would like before going to our distinguished witnesses to ask Mr. Faleomavaega if he would like to make any opening comments.

Mr. FALCOMAEGA. Mr. Chairman, I certainly would like to thank you for your initiative and being able to call this hearing this afternoon. I do regret that we don't have the presence of any of the officials from the Administration. I guess because of the holiday season it makes it very difficult for them to perhaps offer some comments or at least the Administration's position of some of the issues that we have taken on this matter.

I do have some observations that I am going to state at a later point in time, but I do look forward to hearing from our witnesses this morning and I, again, thank you for calling this hearing this afternoon.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Faleomavaega. Let me note for the record that you are here and I am here, holidays notwithstanding. These issues are so compelling that I think the Administration should have been here and it is regrettable they choose not to be here.

Let me introduce our witnesses and this will be in the order of their testimony. Again, I want to thank you in advance for coming and look forward to hearing from you.

Louisa Coan is the vice chair of Amnesty International USA and has been the China coordinator for that organization since 1990. Miss Coan, who also serves as the program officer for Asia at the

National Endowment for Democracy (NED), was living in China at the time of the Tiananmen Massacre.

Xiao Qiang, the executive director of Human Rights in China, was formerly a dissident leader in China. Mr. Xiao also maintains contact with numerous activists still in that beleaguered country.

Jian-Li Yang is the vice president for the Alliance for a Democratic China. Doctor Yang received his doctorate in mathematics from UC at Berkeley and is currently a Ph.D. student at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He was present at Tiananmen Square during the protests and the massacre in June 1989.

Xuecan Wu was a journalist and organizer of the demonstration in China. After the crackdown in June 1989, Mr. Wu was placed on the Chinese Government's most wanted list. After his arrest in December of that year he was convicted of, "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" and sentenced to prison. Mr. Wu arrived in the United States only 2 months ago and we welcome him as well.

Dr. David Aikman was the Beijing bureau chief for Time Magazine at the time of the Tiananmen Massacre and personally witnessed the events in and around the Square in June 1989.

And, finally, last but not least, a real stalwart on behalf of persecuted religious believers, Nina Shea, the director of the Puebla Program on Religious Freedom of Freedom House, a 5-year-old human rights and pro-democracy organization.

In addition to her fact-finding travel and work as an international human rights lawyer, Miss Shea has recently been appointed to the Secretary of State's new Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom.

Miss Coan, if you could begin.

STATEMENT OF LOUISA COAN, CHINA COORDINATOR, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Ms. COAN. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to testify today about this very serious concern.

Mr. SMITH. Your mike is not on.

Ms. COAN. Is that on? Thank you again. Amnesty International is very concerned about the question of impunity for human rights abusers. The Chinese Government has waged a 7-year propaganda campaign in a desperate attempt to deny that it killed or injured thousands of unarmed demonstrators in Beijing in June 1989.

From the beginning, the government has used its characteristic Orwellian language saying that the troops were called in to quell an armed counterrevolutionary rebellion. Denying any wrongdoing, failing to explain why the leadership chose to use lethal force against unarmed civilians, refusing to allow any impartial investigation, the government leaves us still waiting for the Truth Commission for 1989.

This effort to suppress the truth, which you alluded to is, in fact, a necessity for current leaders because were the truth to be acknowledged, there could be no justification for allowing those responsible for massive human rights abuses to get away scot-free, no justification for promoting these officials to top positions.

Over and over again, we confront the same pattern around the world. Impunity for the abusers, driven by the desire to stay in power, deprives the victims of justice and gives the green light to continued abuses. The impunity granted to the leadership responsible for the killings in Beijing in 1989 allows the Chinese system to continue to violate basic human rights standards.

Law enforcement officials throughout China know that they are extremely unlikely ever to be brought to account for violating international human rights norms or indeed the provisions of China's own constitution.

Amnesty International USA is deeply disappointed that the U.S. Government has given such a warm welcome and reception to a man like Defense Minister Chi Haotian. He tried again last week to put over the government line that the PLA has done nothing wrong. We in the United States must refuse to confer prestige on anyone who tries to deny the truth about the Tiananmen killings.

In this case, this is not just anyone denying the truth. This is the young man who commanded the troops in Beijing. All this happened with terrible symbolism surrounding Human Rights Day, December 10, as human rights groups and the U.S. State Department were commemorating, publicly observing International Human Rights Day. This welcome went on.

Amnesty International has gathered much of the same eyewitness evidence that you referred to in your statement, that many of the other witnesses today, I am sure will bring out, about massive killings, numerous injuries, all within sight of Tiananmen Square.

Now, General Chi in his statements in Washington, very carefully referred to the deaths in Tiananmen Square. This has been an ongoing tactic of the Chinese Government knowing that impartial investigators have not been allowed to gather evidence in a systematic way to know precisely where particular deaths occurred. We are unable to enter a dialog about this purely technical question of what counts as Tiananmen Square for the purpose of counting which deaths where. We know that deaths occurred in the streets surrounding the Square, in other areas of Beijing, and in fact across China.

So Amnesty International continues to call upon the Chinese Government to conduct an impartial investigation into the fate of those killed, those injured and those unjustly imprisoned in the crackdown. The victims need to be compensated, those responsible punished.

Let me just give a human face to this and remind you all of a young man we know very well and with your permission I would like to show a poster, a photograph.

This is the point. The government must acknowledge the truth about Wang Weilin, who became so famous because he was captured on videotape. Where is he now? Harry Wu, in fact, was told by officials of the Ministry of State Security, otherwise known as China's secret police, that, in fact, Wang Weilin was taken care of on the spot. In other words, the victim of an extrajudicial killing. The government must allow an impartial investigation that would bring out the truth about this case which so many across the world are concerned about.

The government also owes an explanation to another woman whom I would like to mention, Ding Zilin. Ding Zilin is a professor in Beijing whose 17-year-old son was killed by a soldier's bullet on Chang'An Avenue, the Avenue of Eternal Peace, on the night of June 3. This is the avenue that runs east-west across the city, north of Tiananmen Square, south of the Forbidden City right in front of the front door to the Zhongnanhai compound where Chinese Government officials live and work.

Since her son's death, Professor Ding has been engaged in a search for other victims' families for a chance to have an acknowledgment of her loss, which the government refuses to do, to find out what happened and to demand government accountability. Her report, published last year in Chinese and English, contains detailed information about more than 60 dead victims and their surviving families. I have a copy of this report. If it is appropriate to have it entered into the record, I would like to do so.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, it will be made part of the record. [The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Ms. COAN. This report contains very detailed information about the circumstances of the death and the families of more than 60 victims, and also 40 who are permanently injured. These numbers represent what one person was able to gather under very harsh conditions of harassment. She has been detained periodically and continually harassed. She wrote about her son, "Money and power cannot smother the human conscience or corrupt our memory of those who defended the 1989 movement with their blood and lives."

Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing to allow us to ensure that the memory is not corrupted, to demand accountability, and to demand an end to the continuing abuses.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Coan appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much for your testimony and for the tremendous work you do on behalf of innocent victims and human rights activists in China and elsewhere where totalitarian dictatorships reign.

Mr. Xiao Qiang.

STATEMENT OF XIAO QIANG, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA

Mr. QIANG. Good morning. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen.

I feel very privileged to be able to speak here. I also feel tremendously responsible, both in personal and professional elements, to testify in front of the Subcommittee today about the truth of the Beijing Massacre, which sometimes the media refers to as the Tiananmen Massacre, which happened 7½ years ago in Beijing, China.

Let me start on the personal level. Seven-and-a-half years ago I was a Ph.D. student in the physics department of the University of Notre Dame. I was the same as other 40,000 Chinese students who were studying in this country and, like billions of more people around the world, I watch CNN and other TV and witnessed on the screen what happened in Beijing. The martial troops opened fire and the tanks ran over the streets of the city where I lived.

The moment I read about the killing, I decided to go back to China right away with a personal determination to be with my people, to be in my country at its critical moment and to find out the truth, to do whatever I can do to fight against the ruthless tyranny for the freedom of Chinese people. And I left the United States 2 days after the massacre. I got on an airplane and went back to China.

I took some donations with me from the Chinese student community, which wanted me to give them to the victims and their families. I actually did find them. I visited Beijing and other parts of China during a 2-month stay in China, from June to August 1989. I was in Beijing. I visited those families, visited the students and citizens who were on the street that night and witnessed the killings, the cold-blood killings of the soldiers. And I talked to them, I gave the money to the families, and I also visited those streets where the killing happened.

I saw the bullet holes on the wall, inches above the ground. That means the soldiers fired toward the people. There was also a time in China people lived under terror and their lies. On the TV, in the newspaper, the government propaganda again, again, and again, repeated what General Chi said recently about what happened in Tiananmen, accompanied by pictures of the people who were speaking out being taken to jail, who were tortured and arrested and had heavy sentences. That was a time I will never forget.

There was a massacre on Tiananmen in China in Beijing at that time. I don't want to play the game of words defining exactly where Tiananmen Square is. There were killings. There were hundreds of people who died. I knew it, I visited those families. I also witnessed those bullet holes. The Chinese people knew it.

This time also gave me a personal commitment to continue the struggle for democracy and human rights, in other words, to know the truth of the massacre. And that is a hope the Chinese people still hope. I have been working for this goal ever since.

Mr. Chairman, today I'm speaking in my capacity as executive director of Human Rights in China, an organization begun by Chinese students and scholars 7½ years ago in this country with the same inspiration as the students in Tiananmen Square: that Chinese people want human rights and will fight for their inalienable rights.

Over the past 7½ years, our organization produced a series of reports, including a book consisting of the tragedy that was published by McMillan Company in 1990, which compiled photos, testimonies about the 1989 movement and the massacre itself. We produced a series of reports on the solving of names of political imprisonment cases in the crackdown that followed the massacre, including one called the Price of Obscurity in China, published jointly with Human Rights Watch Asia, which has 500 names of the Beijing citizens who were arrested that night during the crackdown. Many of them are still being held in the labor farms today. And their crime is counterrevolutionary rebellion.

We worked with hundreds of human rights activists inside of China, including Professor Ding Zilin, whom Louisa Coan just mentioned. This is a very special name. What she has been doing—not only by herself but being supported by hundreds of unknown peo-

ple including her own husband—is still ongoing despite the harassment, the persecution of Chinese Government. Professor Ding Zilin was forced to leave Beijing and currently lives in the southern part of China, but she seemed to refuse to leave China and wants to continue her work.

Mr. Chairman, there was a massacre in Beijing in 1989. The Chinese people knew it. My organization knew it. We have documented, we have publicized it and we will continue to do so.

I was speaking at the European Parliament Subcommittee of Human Rights in Brussels yesterday, and I met also officials from European Commission, European Council. We were talking about the current human rights situation in China and the coming U.N. Commission on Human Rights and what the international community can do to support, to promote Chinese human rights. Let me start from a Chinese expression: "The lies written by ink cannot corrupt the fact written by blood."

But why do General Chi and the Chinese Government want to deny this truth? He knows it. They have no vision, and no agenda for politicalization for today's China. This is 7½ years later. China has changed a lot. There are tremendous changes.

You can see it from the economic life of the people. But there is something unchanged, which is political repression and the regime, the same regime that conducted killings of innocent, peaceful demonstrators and that continually holds thousands of people who speak out for truth or advocate democracy and human rights. This is a simple truth.

The development the Chinese Government is conducting is a project from power to enhance their power. It is not a project to promote people's rights and they have no agenda to do so. They have no political willingness. But the more they suppress the truth, they are only promoting political instability. They are only making the future salvation of China potentially more radical, more violent.

They held back one student leader, a board member of Human Rights in China, recently. Eleven years in prison. By denying the truth of the massacre, the Chinese Government is denying the future of China, Mr. Chairman. The truth of the June 4 massacre has to come to light. If that truth is not revealed in China, there is no politicalization. If there is no political freedom for the 1.2 billion people, there is no true development in China. There is no true stability in China.

These are some of the words I also spoke at a European Parliament Subcommittee of Human Rights, and here I call the U.S. Congress to continue to speak out, to support those individuals like Wei Jingsheng, Wang Dan, Chen Ziming and thousands of others who have the intelligence and the courage to be responsible voices for the Chinese future. And I call on the international community, I call on the U.S. Congress to insist that human rights are the fundamental norms required for the Chinese Government to be integrated into the international community. And I call on the international community to help China to set up human rights as moral parameters for China's future transition.

Mr. Chairman, let me conclude. Next March there will be a Human Rights Commission of the United Nations which will dis-

cuss the human rights situation across the world. China should not be exempted from it. I call on this Congress to ask the Administration to formulate a strategy immediately, to coordinate it with the European Union and to start a forceful lobby at this multilateral forum in March to condemn the Chinese Government's human rights practices. In the end, I want to say again: There was a massacre in Beijing in 1989, and the lies written by ink cannot cover up the lies written by blood. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Xiao, thank you for your very eloquent and passionate testimony, for your personal commitment—putting your life on the line as you have for human rights and democracy in China—and for rushing back from Europe from the European Parliament to be here at this Subcommittee hearing this morning. It is another indication of your commitment to peaceful transition in China toward a democracy. So I want to thank you.

Doctor Yang.

**STATEMENT OF JIAN-LI YANG, PH.D., VICE PRESIDENT,
ALLIANCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC CHINA**

Mr. YANG. Mr. Chairman, thank you for holding this hearing. Ladies and gentlemen, the Chinese student community was astonished by General Chi's comments last week. I feel it is my duty to report to the Congress on what I saw near Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989.

The first time I heard the sound of guns was about 12:30 in the morning of June 1st. The sounds came from west Changan Street, the main east-west street in Beijing. About 1 a.m. I saw a truck of soldiers who got out and started firing automatic weapons at people and at the same time the soldiers fired tear gas at a crowd.

Each time they fired the weapons, three or four people were hit, and each time the crowd went down on the ground. We were there for about half an hour. I saw 13 people killed.

After that group of soldiers left, I saw lots of trucks and tanks moving toward Tiananmen Square.

There was one time when it was a bit quiet. We moved closer to an army truck. We grabbed onto the truck and tried to persuade the soldiers not to shoot by saying: "You are the people's army, you cannot shoot at the people. Do not be a killing machine." We sang the Internationale to try to move them. We all cried as we sang. But the soldiers showed no response.

We became angry and shouted, "Down with fascists, down with Deng Xiaoping." One officer drew his gun and shot dead a young man who was standing 9 feet from me.

Another time I saw a Xinjiang student who was walking after a military vehicle. He yelled, "You have already killed 121 people in Muxudi. My four best friends have died in my arms. Shoot me, too." We saw him, he was covered in blood.

I saw many people killed on Changan Street. About 6 a.m. it was already light. I was on a bike and walking with me were some students who had retreated from the Square and were returning to their schools. As we arrived on Changan Street, we saw four tanks coming from the Square, were going west at very high speed. The two tanks in front were chasing students. They ran over students. Everyone was screaming. We counted 11 bodies.

The soldiers in the third tank threw tear gas toward us. The fourth tank fired at us with machine guns. They hit four or five people. After the tanks had passed some people collected the bodies. I saw two bodies very close, one male student, one female. I got a good look at them. They were flat. Their bodies were all bloody. Their mouths were pressed into large——

Mr. SMITH. Please take your time. There is no hurry.

Mr. YANG. This is a photo taken right at the spot.

General Chi Haotian's comments were bold-face lies. We shouldn't be surprised, for he is a member of China's dictatorship which has always used the lie as a method to protect itself. We may at this time not be fully aware of what role Chi Haotian played in the massacre. However, we do know the role that the Chinese military played at that time. And let's keep in mind that General Chi Haotian was visiting the United States as a representative of the same military.

Why, then, was he given such a warm and cultured reception while representing such an organization that has so brutally crushed the aspirations for freedom in China? This leaves me to ponder two more questions. First, how far will the U.S. Government tolerate the deterioration of the human rights situation in China before the current policy is changed?

Second, what kind of a China do American policymakers really think is in the best long-term interests of the United States? I do not oppose the policy to engage in dialog with the current Chinese Government. However, I do strongly oppose any and all policies that ignore or have no concern with the situation of human rights in the People's Republic of China.

Certain current American policymakers seem to be guided by the belief that democracy will be automatically established in societies where there exists a high level of economic development together with a broadly educated populace.

However, I believe this thinking to be wrong. As an example, I cite developments in Hong Kong. Although Hong Kong has economic development and an educated populace similar to the western standards, China plans to eradicate its democratically elected legislature after it takes control next year while CCP, the Chinese Communist Party, seeks to encourage a similar economic level of development as Hong Kong's throughout China. It is simultaneously planning to suppress democracy and human rights to bring Hong Kong in line with the rest of China.

The Government of the United States should not be naive. Dictatorship will always oppose democracy. Economic development and a technically educated populace do not necessarily lead to an automatically democratizing society. This is especially true in China where side by side with economic development is continuous suppression of human rights. One only needs to think of Nazi Germany to see that my point is true.

As far as American economic policy is concerned, let me add a few comments on this subject as well. How many American businessmen and corporations are able to conduct business in China in a way that would be normal and standard in, say, Western Europe? Are the arbitrary and increasingly corrupt business practices in

vogue in China today good for the long-term interests of the United States?

Rather, I believe U.S. business' long-term interest is in a stable relationship built on common understanding, free and open markets, and a democratic system of government. This will never happen while the Leninist-thinking CCP has power.

I close with a reference to history. Earlier this century, our great patriot, the man who also became known as the George Washington of China, Doctor Sun Yat-Sen, approached the western democracies seeking support for his fight against the dictatorial government by Chinese warlords.

Unfortunately, he was rebuffed by the western democracies because each of them kept a close relationship with warlords in China and had a tremendous business interest in keeping those relations. A great opportunity to build a Chinese-Western democratic partnership was lost.

In frustration, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen turned to the Soviet Union. This in turn led to a series of events which resulted in expansion of the CCP. Thus, a disaster was born for both China and the West through the negligence and shortsightedness of western policy makers and business communities.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Chairman, history has warned us. I strongly urge you to heed this warning and to chart a new course for Chinese-American relations based on the reality that the long-term interest of both of our two great countries is in a government in China that is democratic and espouses and implements the rule of law. Thank you for the time. Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Yang, thank you for your very powerful testimony. A generation ago, the Nazi butchery taught us that, with every massacre, there are almost always survivors and witnesses who bear witness to the truth of what has occurred. I'm also reminded that in Nuremberg one witness after another from the Nazi regime said, "I was just following orders." In my view, it is immoral that the man who gave the orders—who was in operational command and control of that operation to kill and maim and track down pro-democracy activists—is a man who was given splendid honors in our country and was received so graciously at the White House by President Clinton.

Instead, there ought to be, as Ms. Coan pointed out, a full-scale investigation, complete transparency, a Truth Commission to look into these egregious acts. Yet this man is here being so feted. But let me also say that one of the good things that may come out of this is that, as you have pointed out when you broke down with that very deep emotion: General Chi has brought this issue back into the forefront of our policy as if it were yesterday.

He and other dictators usually think time erodes memory. They are wrong and, again, it is survivors like yourselves who bear witness and help remind us all that we ought to behave as if it were yesterday in our policy vis-a-vis the People's Republic of China.

I would like to now introduce Mr. Wu and let me just point out for the record that Mr. Wu was also a senior journalist at the People's Daily prior to his arrest for the events that occurred at Tiananmen Square. And if I am not mistaken, Li Peng, himself,

had him listed as someone who was most wanted by the government for incarceration.

STATEMENT OF XUECAN WU, CITIZENS' FORUM, THROUGH AN INTERPRETER

Mr. WU. (Through interpreter.) Thank you for giving me this opportunity to testify in front of you. Exactly 7 years ago today, I was arrested for participating in the Tiananmen pro-democracy movement.

I am part of an ongoing demonstration which started on the 25th of last month. It is going to be a 100-day demonstration, which started outside of the Chinese Consulate in New York. When General Chi visited Washington, DC we drove the van all the way from New York to DC to protest. The day the Minister of Defense delivered his speech at one of the military schools in Washington, DC, we were holding a sign outside of the gate containing the sentence saying, "Say No to Beijing Butchers," and this demonstrates to you what is going on. We came yesterday with the same van.

The van was painted to look like cells, like a jail. We have posters of those still in prison, political prisoners, surrounding it. We have them in a circle around the van. It looks like a cell and we drive it around to protest.

The Chinese Government suppresses peaceful demonstrations in China and they imprison all those who just express their opinions on political issues.

My testimony:

My name is Xuecan Wu. I was formerly an editor of the People's Daily. On the morning of May 20, 1989, the day that martial law was declared, my colleagues and I printed a special edition of People's Daily containing Zhao Ziyang's five-point statement opposing martial law. We distributed it at four central points in the city: Tiananmen, Dongdan, Wangfujing and Qianmen.

By the direct order of Li Peng, I was sentenced on February 26, 1992, to a prison term of 4 years. The charge was counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement. On July 13, 1992, my editor's job at the People's Daily was terminated. On September 16, 1993, the Chinese Government authorities released me 2 days after the release of Wei Jingsheng, as a part of their bid for the Olympic Games.

After I got out of prison, Wei Jingsheng, Wang Dan, Xu Liangying, Ding Zilin, Chen Ziming and I continued to engage in pro-democracy activities. As a result, we were followed, and I was subpoenaed and detained more than 20 times. On the 30th of October this year, because I had no way to survive in China, I was forced to go into exile in America.

At 6 p.m. on the evening of June 3, 1989, I had already finished dinner. I rode on my bicycle to Tiananmen Square. As a newspaper editor, I wanted to go to the scene of the democracy demonstrations to understand the actual events.

At 9 p.m., three armed personnel carriers charged down Chang'an Avenue, Chongwenmen Avenue and other nearby streets breaking the barricades erected by the city people and crushing many bicycles that the residents had left in the streets. The armed personnel carriers drove very fast so that the city residents could

not surround them and hold them back. They maintained a speed of over 80 kilometers. People who ran slowly were crushed or wounded or killed by the carriers.

At 11:30 p.m. at the southeast corner of Tiananmen Square, I saw a city resident riding a bicycle from the direction of Jianguomen. He stopped and told everyone that he had seen with his own eyes a personnel carrier surrounded by citizens at the Jianguomen Bridge.

In order to break through the crowd and to drive on, the carrier charged into the crowd. A man who was pushing his bicycle was struck by the carrier. His skull was cracked open and he died on the spot. The bicycle was squashed flat. After I heard about this I went immediately to Jianguomen. Arriving 10 minutes later, I pushed my way into the crowd and saw a dead body lying on the ground. The man was about 1.55 meters tall. His skull was split open and he was still bleeding.

At 12:30 a.m. I went from Jianguomen to Chongwenmen and with the people there I blocked the soldiers going to the Square. We tried to persuade the soldiers not to go to the Square and get into a conflict with the students. At 1:30 a.m. on June 4, I went from Chongwenmen to Dong Dan.

I, myself, was a soldier before. General Chi said there was not a single casualty during the clearance of Tiananmen Square. The statements are shameless. When I was in jail in Qincheng, the most famous prison in China, I was in prison with another general who actually was supposed to carry out the order of opening fire and the crackdown movement. But that general refused to take that order. He stood on the tank himself and called on his soldiers to stop this crackdown action. For this gesture, he was sentenced to 4 years in prison.

At 1:30 on the morning of June 4, I went from Chongwenmen to Dong Dan. There I saw three-wheel carts and hand carts carrying dead and wounded people from Tiananmen. The carts moved, blood dripped on the ground, bullets whistled past my head. Pushing my bicycle, I followed the north side of the road in the direction of Tiananmen. I wanted to go to Tiananmen and see what was really happening.

As I was walking, a couple of people who looked like workers held me back and wouldn't let me go forward. One of them, a tall man about 30 years old said, "Why are you going there? Why are you going there? Haven't you seen them dragging out the dead? We won't let you go to your death." The other one who was about 40 saw that I was wearing glasses and said, "You seem to be an intellectual and you don't even understand this. Rather than going to your death, it would be better to stay alive so that you can do things for your country."

I couldn't get away from them, so all I could do is stand by the side of the road with them. Between 1:30 a.m. and 4 a.m. I saw at least 30 three-wheel carts and handcarts carrying dead and wounded people.

I looked carefully at five carts. Three of them were three-wheel carts, each carrying three people, and two were handcarts, each with one person on it. When I looked, only one of the people was breathing. The rest of them, seven people, were all dead. Some of

the dead had been shot in the head. Their skulls were split open, and I couldn't see their faces clearly. Some of them had been shot in the chest, and their clothes were soaked with blood.

The carts carrying the dead turned north and took them to the morgue at Xie He Hospital. Those carrying the wounded took them to Xie He Hospital for emergency treatment.

I was afraid my wife would be worried about me, so just after 4 a.m. I went home. When I got to the door of my courtyard, I saw that none of the occupants, young or old, had slept. They were all sitting there. My wife was crying. When she saw me come back, she stopped crying immediately. I had come back so late that everyone in the courtyard thought I was already dead.

I have a friend who is also called Wu. Because he is still in China, I cannot give his full name or place of work. When he saw me at 8 a.m. on June 4th he asked me where I was the previous evening. I told him what I seen the night before, and he also told me his personal experience. At 7 p.m. on the night of June 3rd he was standing in front of the public toilet on the northeast corner of Tiananmen Square. However you look at it, that counts as inside Tiananmen Square.

At about 1 a.m. on June 1st, he saw soldiers carrying guns from units and come into the square. Because the light was dark you couldn't see the situation over by the national flag too clearly, and it was even harder to see what was happening by the memorial.

In order to see further and more clearly, he wanted to stand on a nearby bicycle, supporting himself by leaning on the very young man who was standing there. But that young man was also trying to stand on the back carrier of the bicycle. My friend was annoyed that there was no one for him to lean on to climb up, so he said very directly to the young man, I am older than you, so I will let you go first. You can lean on me and have a look. But then you have to come down and let me lean on you and take a look.

The young man had just climbed up on the bicycle when there was a sound of a shot, and he fell down, right on top of my friend. My friend was immediately covered in blood. He found a three-wheel cart and tried to take that injured young man to the hospital, but he was already dead.

My friend dragged me to his house to see the bloody clothes. He told me, I will always keep this shirt. There will come a day when I will give my testimony on behalf of the dead and get justice for them.

Later, other people who were in the square at the time told me that to prevent people from seeing more of what was really happening nearly all the people who stood in high places or were using torches to light up the square were shot. Those who did not die were seriously wounded.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wu, I thank you for your excellent testimony and for paying the price, including your own incarceration, for standing up for the truth. I am glad you reminded the Subcommittee and, by extension, the Congress and the American people who were watching—whether it be on C-SPAN or some of the other media outlets that are here—that our argument is not with the people of

China. We stand in solidarity with those who aspire for freedom and human rights and democracy.

And, as a former journalist with the People's Daily, you reminded us that there are people of conscience scattered even throughout China's leadership, although they may be few and far between in the dictatorship itself and among those who are actually pulling the strings. Your comments regarding that general who was a man of conscience who refused to fire upon his own people is very telling.

Let me also say, I have led three human rights trips to China. One was with Congressman Frank Wolf of Virginia.

He and I met with Li Peng for approximately an hour, the man who personally ensured that you went to prison. He denied the truth right to our faces when we raised a series of human rights questions in an eyeball-to-eyeball conversation about people who were incarcerated because of Tiananmen Square. He denied that there were any religious prisoners even though we tendered him a list of about 100 pastors, Catholic and house church evangelicals who were known to be incarcerated purely because of their beliefs.

He said there was no forced abortion, no forced sterilization, and that prison camps were not populated by political prisoners who are producing export goods, even though Mr. Wolf and I got into such a prison camp, Beijing prison, where some 40 Tiananmen Square dissidents were being held. They didn't allow us to see them, but in a rather startling admission, the warden there told us that there were at least 40 people there, and they were making jelly shoes and socks for export. Li Peng denied it all.

Again, we are seeing with General Chi's visit that this is standard fare for the dictatorship: lie, deceive, distort, and deny. At home, they get away with it. Thankfully, with our free press, it is not likely they are to get away with it here.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Wu appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Aikman.

STATEMENT OF DAVID AIKMAN, FORMER BEIJING BUREAU CHIEF, TIME MAGAZINE

Mr. AIKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for the privilege and opportunity of being here this morning.

Just for the record, I was in Beijing during the Tiananmen Square massacre. I was not at that time the bureau chief of Time Magazine. That had been a few years earlier between 1983 and 1985.

I arrived in Beijing on the morning of June 3rd from Shanghai. And because I had been sent from the Washington Bureau of Time to watch what we all knew would probably be the denouement, the first thing I asked the driver to do was to take me straight to Tiananmen Square where we saw the playing out of the last peaceful scenes of this extraordinary demonstration for freedom within the People's Republic of China; and I walked up the steps of the Great Hall of the People to try and memorize the scene from my eyes because I was absolutely sure in a few hours it would all be smashed by the Chinese military which, of course, it was.

I stayed in and around Tiananmen Square for really the next—well, it wasn't possible to be in once the heavy shooting started be-

cause the Chinese military suddenly led it off—but at least from about 3 p.m. on June 3rd until about 10 p.m. June 3rd and then as close as one could get from about 4 a.m. until about 7 a.m. the following day when the shooting was getting very intense.

And I would just like to say that not only was I an eyewitness to many of the scenes which I will subsequently narrate but with some colleagues from Time Magazine at the time we arranged to write a book about the topic, so I spent several more days in Beijing.

We came out with a book called "Massacre in Beijing". I happened to write the chapter that covered the detailed narrative of what happened. I interviewed scores of people both in China just a few days after the events and subsequently on returning to the United States. So it is not the perfect book—that may never be written—but it is a very detailed analysis of the different reports and the different stories.

Before I come to that, I would just like to say that, to counter one of General Chi's more absurd statements—here we are talking about statements from the commander in chief or at least the chief of staff of the armed forces of China, the largest armed forces in the world, where I believe he said there was pushing and shoving—

May I read from my notes? This is the notebook I actually had in my hand as the tanks went by, trucks went by, and machine guns were being fired. These are just a very few episodes from that particular occasion.

We are talking about 5:30 in the morning. Tanks and a truck storm past the barricades. A girl comes up to me—this is Chinese, and I speak Chinese—and she says, You must report everything. Machine gun firing extensively. More trucks going into the square. From the back of the trucks, soldiers are shooting automatic weapons in all directions. Tear gas is being extended on all sides; and there were sounds of much heavier firing, probably from tank shells or very heavy machine guns.

At one point between 4 a.m. and 6 a.m. before it got light, I stood within about, I guess, 50 yards of the Beijing Hotel; and I counted shooting in eight different parts of the city of Beijing, tracer fire ricocheting through the sky. I mean, I have been in combat situations as a reporter before. This was some of the heavier shooting I had ever personally witnessed as a reporter.

Proceeding on, 5:45 a.m., machine gun firing and tank bursts. 5:45, people rushing back down a side street where we were taking cover from the shooting. A cart is wheeled by with a man wounded in the shoulder and the leg, possibly dead. I saw subsequently, just in this very short period of time, about 20 minutes, six carts with bodies either wounded seriously or dead being furiously bicycled away from the scene very close to where I was taking cover. Students or at least citizens of Beijing shouting, "Down with fascism," and some brave souls trying to throw a few bricks at the trucks as they dissipated into Tiananmen Square.

I wonder with your permission, Mr. Chairman, if I may read just a few paragraphs from this chapter in the book, narrating the events. I discuss the problematic issue of how many people died. It is a very difficult issue because there were many different

sources, and we just don't know. But for General Chi's benefit I think this ought to be on the record.

How many people died in the battle for Beijing? No one may ever know the precise figures, even if the regime in China were to change and a truly honest investigation were to be conducted.

Children were killed holding hands with their mothers. A 9-year-old boy was shot seven or eight times in the back, and his parents placed the corpse on a truck and drove through the streets of northwest Beijing Sunday morning. "This is what the government has done," the distraught mother kept telling crowds of passersby through a makeshift speaker system.

A similarly gruesome traveling atrocity exhibition was arranged by students at the pro-democracy Political, Science and Law College of China. The cadavers of five students who had been crushed by armored personnel carriers after leaving Tiananmen Square early in the morning were packed in ice and carried in grisly pomp from university to university in northeastern Beijing.

Workers were shot bicycling to factories. Old people died in their apartments as bullets went into the building. Students were crushed even on Sunday morning by armored personnel carriers roaring west along China Avenue.

Moreover, many bodies may never be located. Aside from isolated soldiers thrown into canals or the question of the dead on Tiananmen Square, some corpses were dumped into rooms and buildings that had no connection with hospitals.

Mitch Presnick of Centreville, Virginia, a graduate student at Peeking University, was taken surreptitiously into a building in northeastern Beijing and shown several corpses, several of student age, lying on tables. He never discovered where they had been killed or what the bodies were doing there.

UPI's David Schweitzberg called several Beijing hotels for a body count for the first 3 days after the massacre and added up a total of 321 dead until the hospitals refused under government pressure to give out any more figures.

Officials at the Chinese Red Cross reported that 2,600 died, but then they, too, were ordered to keep silent and to deny that they had ever given out such figures. The mayor of Beijing announced that more than 1,000 army personnel had been killed or wounded in the street fighting, but he made no mention of civilian casualties, which, it stands to reason, would have been greater.

A courageous announcer for Radio Beijing's radio service told listeners that "thousands of protestors" had died in the tragic incident and called upon the people of all countries to "join our protests against the barbarous suppression of the people." Several minutes later, another version of the same news item was broadcast; and the announcer who had read the first bulletin was never heard from again on the radio and so on.

I would just like to sum it up by saying 2 days after the massacre I got on a bicycle and I rode around the perimeter of Tiananmen Square, the Square and the side streets at that time being under the control of the military. For about 10 kilometers, say 7 or 8 miles, I bicycled all the way around. You could not see a single uniformed person, policeman, militia, army, any representative identifiably belonging to the government anywhere. The

whole city, it seemed, had collapsed. Everywhere I went, because there were so few Westerners in Beijing, Chinese would come up to me and say, "Tell the world what happened. Tell the truth to the world."

A few days later the buses started running, the military patrols started moving out; and Beijing resumed its normal life; and the regime which is in charge today carried on as though nothing had really happened.

I would just like to conclude with the following comment, if I may, Mr. Chairman. Eventually, the truth of what happened in the democratic movement in the spring of 1989 and on the night of June 3rd and 4th will become published for the Chinese people to make their own judgment of General Chi Haotian's role in that affair.

The American people are not subject to an Orwellian control of the media and all publishing activity. As Americans and as human beings, we owe it to the people of China at the very least to honor those who died in the cause of truth and freedom that night, June 3rd and 4th, 12 years ago during the Tiananmen massacre.

To honor them doesn't mean to have no contact with a dictatorial and mendacious regime, but it does mean we should not extend honors and obsequious treatment to the highest commanding general of the troops who deliberately engaged in that massacre.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Aikman, for your eyewitness accounts, for faithfully and competently reporting on what happened. That woman said to you, "Tell the truth," and you have done so and continue to do so. We are all very grateful for the work you have done. Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Shea.

STATEMENT OF NINA SHEA, DIRECTOR, PUEBLA PROGRAM ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, FREEDOM HOUSE

Ms. SHEA. Mr. Chairman, Freedom House is deeply grateful to you for holding this extraordinary hearing today. It is vitally important that the world know that many ordinary citizens in the United States are incensed by the U.S. Government's decision to honor General Chi because of that military's direct role for gross human rights in China, for which General Chi is personally responsible. We also are outraged by the general's revisionist statements, denying and minimizing the cold-blooded killing of democracy dissidents in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Freedom House's 1997 Survey of Freedom in the World is being unveiled this morning. It shows a steady growth in freedom and democracy, with this past year registering the greatest number of democracies and largest number of free societies since the survey was established in 1972. Regrettably, Freedom House finds no progress in civil or political freedoms in China, which it ranks among the world's 17 worst abusers of human rights. One of five setbacks for freedom worldwide over the past year identified in the Freedom House survey is China's "growing aggressiveness, as reflected in continued military threats to its neighbors."

But China's military is employed not only to intimidate foreign countries. China's military was used at Tiananmen Square and

continues to be used against its own people. Those practicing their religion outside government-controlled associations have been among the prime targets of the military mobilization and violence. There has been wide coverage of the army deployment against Buddhist monks and nuns in Tibet and the virtual military occupation of their monasteries and holy places. Muslims in the northwestern province of Xinjiang have also been the targets of military violence aimed at what the government calls "splitism" and a separatist movement occurring over the past year. Little has been written about the military's role in the suppression of Christians inside China.

That is what I would like to direct my attention to this morning. Sometimes the military is directly involved, and sometimes it is involved more indirectly through control and command of the Public Security Bureau and People's Armed Police. There is a very intricate web linking the two organizations and this is the chart of the military's connection and links to the police that I would like to have entered into the public record.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection it will be made part of the record. [The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Ms. SHEA. Thank you. Christians were present at Tiananmen Square. Protestant evangelical Liu Huanwen carried a six-foot cross during the Tiananmen demonstrations in 1989, and was one of the many rounded up and sentenced to a labor camp term for his efforts.

Gao Feng, a Christian employee of Chrysler's Beijing Jeep joint venture, was rounded up with dissidents prior to the U.N. Women's Conference last year and in December last year was sentenced to 2½ years of "reeducation through labor". Last we heard, he was being held in a labor camp in far north Heilongjiang Province, where he is forced to toil 10 hours each day in rice fields and shares a cell with eight common criminals. He was on the blacklist and rounded up because he had been arrested for holding a prayer service to commemorate the victims of Tiananmen Square on the 5th anniversary of the massacre.

But direct violence against the Christian Church by the military has been documented since early 1989, even before the events of Tiananmen Square and separate from the events of Tiananmen Square. I will give a few examples.

An especially egregious instance was an April 18, 1989, police rampage against 1500 pro-Vatican Catholics in Youtong Village in the northern Hebei Province, in which 30 Catholics were arrested, two killed, and approximately 300 wounded. The raid was carried out by thousands of armed men in an estimated 270 military vehicles.

During most of 1994, authorities sieged two small Catholic villages in Hebei Province in a sustained attempt to force the inhabitants to follow China's birth control policy. According to written reports, local authorities, using the slogan, "it is better to have more graves than more than one child," attacked the two villages and forced hundreds of their villagers to flee for their lives. The authorities started a popular tribunal to try those accused of violating the birth policy, and a prison was built to hold the guilty. The authorities reportedly attacked and looted homes, arrested people in-

discriminately and tortured the elderly and others who could not escape. The reported torture included being hanged upside down, squeezed under a chair, and burned on the tongue with electric batons.

Also on December 4, 1994, 4500 riot police, 200 more plainclothesmen and two truckloads of soldiers forcibly removed evangelical Pastor Yang Yudong from Gangwashi Church, an official Three-Self Patriotic church in Beijing, because under his leadership the congregation was popular and growing and because he offered moral support to political dissidents. During the 1989 protests, a banner reading "Christians Support the Students" hung from the church facade.

This year in May 5,000 troops, supported by armored cars and helicopters from the military, prevented Roman Catholics from attending an annual pilgrimage in honor of the Blessed Mother in Dong Lu in Hebei Province. In the previous year, last year, tens of thousands had participated in the pilgrimage. The crackdown on the procession in 1996 is reported to have resulted in the detention of many Roman Catholic priests and lay people. Bishop Su of Baoding, wrote in a June letter to the National People's Congress that Catholics were forced to join study groups, report to police eight times a day, fined, threatened and tortured. He said that after a month more than 4,000 Catholics were pressured to renounce their faith publicly, many of whom were students who could not continue their studies unless they cooperated with authorities.

The net result of the armed forces jackboot is that both Catholics and Protestants are saying that religious freedom has steadily eroded since 1989 in China and that 1996 was the harshest year of persecution since the Mao era. Millions of Christians refused to register with the government-controlled religious associations and risk their lives and liberty to worship freely in underground "house-churches."

Pope John Paul II called on Chinese Catholics to remain constant to the faith received and communicated, not giving in to the concepts of a church which does not respond either to the will of the Lord Jesus nor to the Catholic faith, nor to the sentiment and convictions of a great majority of Chinese Catholics. He is referring of course to the Patriotic Association, which the government controls.

At least three house-church Christians were beaten to death by police for their religious affiliation. Thousands of Christians are now being "reformed through labor" in China's vast religious gulag. Two Catholic bishops are among them. The Far Eastern Economic Review reports that in the first half of 1996 police destroyed at least 15,000 religious sites in Zhejiang Province alone and hundreds of house-churches have been shut down or destroyed in Shanghai during the same period.

Pastor Allen Yuan, one of the pillars of the house-church movement of China, was forced to close his house-church in Beijing in October 1996, this year. Eighty Catholics were rounded up from their homes, beaten and jailed in Jiangxi Province last month in an operation the Cardinal Kung Foundation believes to be a pre-emptive strike by authorities against unauthorized Christmas worship. And in January this year Catholic priest, Fr. Guo Bo Le of Shanghai, was sentenced to 2 years of reform through labor for

“saying Mass”, according to the court decision. That was explicitly stated.

All the while, Chinese authorities, like General Chi, engage in shameless lies and deception. They deny that religious repression even exists. One official told me this summer that “There has been no persecution on religious grounds since the Cultural Revolution.”

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving us this opportunity to set the record straight.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Shea appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Ms. Shea. Before we go to questions and I yield to my colleagues, let me say something about one of the trips I took to China. The leaders of the Chinese Government that oversee religious affairs direct and control religious expression. If you are not part, as you know, of the official recognized church you become subject to discrimination, incarceration, and other things.

When I met with a group of business leaders from the Beijing Chamber of Commerce I brought up the issue of religious oppression and the fact that it was on the rise in China during that year. That was, I believe, 1994, and Li Peng very shortly thereafter issued Decrees 144 and 145, which even further tightened the grip, the “jackboot”, as you put it, of the military, which began to further repress believers, including Tibetans, but Christians as well.

The response from those within the business community was that there is religious freedom in China. One businessman told me, “You can go to one of the churches here in Beijing. My secretary does it every week.” I reminded him it was one of the officially recognized churches, of which there are only a few anyway. He just refused to believe it. The regime’s disinformation campaign—the denial, propaganda, and the use of the big lie—has the potential of finding such fertile soil. That is why when General Chi makes a statement like he has made, it cannot go uncontested. As vigorously as we possibly can, we need to show the fallacy of it, and that this is part of a pattern. Our witnesses have done a superlative job in bearing witness to the truth, and I am most grateful.

Let me ask a question first of anybody on the panel who would like to touch on it.

I would like you to respond, if you would, about how the propaganda masters in Beijing will present the story of General Chi’s visit. For all practical purposes in China, this hearing doesn’t exist. The Chinese people will know nothing about it because their government says so. But the propaganda coup of having General Chi here going to the White House, with the kind of photo opportunity that that represented, seems a kind of affirmation—and that is the way it will be spun in my view, in China itself. Yet the President has not met with leading Chinese dissidents even though there have been requests made repeatedly.

Harry Wu, the great leader who spent years in the laogai and has written extensively, appeared twice before our Subcommittee to talk about what goes on in the laogai system. We had 6 survivors of that gulag, including a Tibetan monk, a Catholic, and Harry Wu himself, who talked about the torture and the kinds of degradation that men and women suffer.

Harry Wu has yet to set foot, to the best of my knowledge, in the White House, even though there seemed to have been a green light for that some years ago.

When I co-led the delegation that went to the Women's Conference in Beijing, I read of the Tibetans and others who were protesting about their rights being denied, including Tibetan women who came and gagged themselves to show what happens when they try to speak out. None of that was covered by the Chinese media, which instead took the presence of the U.N. Conference on Women as an imprimatur by that world body on how China treats its own women.

And now we have the question about how General Chi's visit, especially as capped off by a White House visit, will be spun. What is your view on that? What can the President do to mitigate the damage at this point? Invite Chinese dissidents in? Begin some kind of proactive effort to say: "I really am for human rights." Because, when he delinked human rights from trade, many of us thought that was the beginning of the full deterioration of his human rights policy.

Would anyone like to touch on that?

Ms. SHEA. You are absolutely right that the Chinese are going to use it to their propaganda advantage. I am holding in my hand a translated text already in the paper in Beijing reporting on the trip in glowing terms and talking about his honors and the good itinerary. I think that one of the things that is absolutely necessary is that the VOA and Chinese Language Service, Radio Democracy Asia must report on this hearing and get the facts out to the Chinese people. I think that would go far in getting the truth known.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Aikman.

Mr. AIKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I think one of the requirements is that the United States may conduct foreign policy with vicious regimes. Indeed, it has done so ever since this great republic was founded. But it does not have to pretend vicious regimes are not vicious. When we dealt with the Soviet Union during the height of the cold war, there was no pretense that we were dealing with gentle souls who never put anybody into the gulag. I think we just have to have a higher component of truth in dealing with countries who have an abominable record on human rights. We may still have to deal with them for strategic or commercial reasons, but let us not pretend that the people running them or the high instruments of their military policy are anything less than thugs when indeed they are thugs.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wu.

Mr. WU. I am a journalist. In order to let the people in China know the truth, Radio Free Asia is a very critical operation. But I am not satisfied with that project, the budget and the time level of the broadcasting. I hope that can be strengthened.

I was a Communist, but later I became a "criminal" or counterrevolutionary. My personal transition has a lot to do with listening to Voice of America, BBC, Radio France International, those Chinese information services. But now the VOA is being seriously jammed in Beijing. Basically, you cannot hear it clearly.

I think the Clinton Administration should strongly protest to the Chinese Government to clear this matter that the Voice of America

should be heard in China. I believe the U.S. Government should have a consistent human rights policy on China. It shouldn't be changed back and forth without any consistency.

There was a best seller book in China recently, called "China Can Say No", which reflected those sentiments being manipulated by the Chinese Government, which is to say "no" to American democracy. In the United States, the government cannot maintain a consistent human rights policy toward China that will disappoint a great majority of China's liberal intellectuals.

If General Chi's statement on the Tiananmen is true, then the Chinese Government should have the confidence to invite international organizations, independent observers to investigate what happened in Tiananmen. And I think President Clinton should raise this issue in the future in high-level summits with Chinese leadership to push them to face this issue. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Anyone else on the panel? Mr. Xiao.

Mr. QIANG. I just want to comment on torture in China. We often hear of "political imprisonment", but torture is so widespread, it is beyond just political imprisonment. It is a common practice in China's law enforcement system today. As a matter of fact, although we can say that China is making some progress in terms of economic activities, torture has been even increasing over the last 2 decades because of the corruption of the government and the police forces.

Also if you look at China's legal code, there is no word "torture" within the internationally defined meaning. In China, it is still legal to use the evidence of the inmate's confession—it doesn't matter how it was obtained. And that basically encourages the widespread torture in China.

We have documented many, many, not just individual cases—this is a systematic, institutional problem. I will now read part of these prison letters. One reports how the police are using inmates to beat inmates. This one reports that political prisoners—including today the internationally known figures such as Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan—are being denied medical treatment and are kept in prison cells for a long time in the winter without any heating. And that is also torture and inhuman treatment. There are thousands, millions of common people who are suffering the same or worse. I just ask the Committee to take notice of that.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Coan.

Ms. COAN. I think it is important to remember also this is not a matter only of American values being expressed but also international norms, norms which China itself has acceded to in its membership in the United Nations by virtue of subscribing to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As international norms then, this is something where our government needs to make more of an effort to make those multilateral initiatives happen. Very often we hear from our government: it is very difficult, one can't persuade the other government, the EU is very slow. This is an area where—if it is difficult to persuade the Chinese Government to change—at least we ought to put more effort into persuading our own allies to work with us on upholding human rights concerns.

The other point, to follow up on something you said about the existence of democrats, people who are pushing for human rights in China, this is something we ought to do more of to support them. We can do this through symbolism, refraining from pretending that we are not dealing with thugs, as Mr. Aikman has said. Outside direct actions of our foreign policy establishment, we do need to support giving a voice to democrats, people who do believe in human rights, through radio and other efforts. Funding is available through my own organization, the NED, to support the democrats who really are out there at the working level seeing what they can do to bring about these ideals in their country.

Mr. SMITH. Yes?

Mr. YANG. I strongly support Mr. Wu's suggestion of pressing the Chinese Government to invite an international delegation to investigate the truth of the Beijing massacre.

Another thing is I have seen a tendency for the international community to drive up the price the Chinese Government is going to ask everywhere. Everybody sees China as a big market. Everybody wants to occupy part of it. The Chinese Government depends on their international market. I believe China depends on the international market more than the international market depends on China's market. That is one point.

Another thing, is I asked this question in my testimony: How many businessmen could conduct their business in the normal and standard way they do, say, in Western Europe? What I meant was, they need to have a certain relationship with officials at certain levels to conduct their business in China. This is not the international norm. I don't oppose the policy of engaging in dialog with the Chinese Government, but I strongly oppose any policy that ignores the situation of human rights without pressing the Chinese Government to adopt international norms.

And I would urge any of the businessmen or any international people who have been to China to go to the countryside to see more of China. Don't be deceived by something on the surface. That is my comment.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wu.

Mr. WU. The more powerful a dictatorship is, the more dangerous it is to the interests of Chinese people and to peace in the world. I am deeply worried about the fact that the Chinese dictatorship is getting stronger.

Mr. SMITH. Is that the view of other members of the panel, that the dictatorship is getting stronger? That perhaps the technology transfers are strengthening it by providing the regime with harder currency, more ability to have command and control, better communications capabilities? Many of the items they are getting have a dual use, a consumer use as well as a military use. Is that the view of other members of the panel, that the dictatorship is getting worse?

Mr. QIANG. Let me express an opinion from a different dimension. The Chinese Government today is still very repressive. This repressiveness is not coming from strength; it is coming from weakness. This is the position of the powerful in China and their regime has become very inflexible and repressive toward political dissidents and human rights in general.

But the international community—especially the great countries such as the United States, who is the great champion of democracy and human rights—should not be intimidated or disillusioned by this regressive action of the Chinese Government.

Let's look down the road, say, 10 years or 20 years. International human rights commandments will not change. The value of human dignity and human freedom will not change. The Chinese Government must change. There is no question about it. There is momentum inside China. The Chinese people are just the same people as the other people in the world: they want freedom and democracy. Right now it is not because China cannot have democracy; it is because the current regime has no agenda and uses violence and lies to suppress those desires.

But the Chinese people can. Giving them some freedoms in economic activities, you see how much the Chinese people can make their lives better. Giving them the freedoms they are fighting, freedom in the political area, you will see how the Chinese people can create their own democracy and create a dignified life in China.

So I think the international community—every government—should have a long-term strategy on this issue and should continue the persistent pressure to keep this issue alive for the Chinese public.

Mr. SMITH. Let me just raise one additional question before yielding to my colleagues. I said earlier that I believe the Administration's policy can best be characterized as "aggressive appeasement", pushing very hard to pander to, to coddle the dictatorship in Beijing, and that is something Mr. Clinton himself accused Mr. Bush of during a campaign over 4 years ago.

Now when the President came into office, in a policy that I strongly supported, he issued an Executive Order that said there had to be significant progress in human rights. A few other items in the human rights area had to be satisfied, but "significant progress" was the operative language. In every category there was significant deterioration during the year the Executive Order was in place.

The President's bluff, if you will, was called. Midway through that period, I was in Beijing and met with high-ranking Chinese officials who told me: "We are getting Most Favored Nation (MFN) status, we are going to get our trading benefit and our human rights situation—though they didn't call it that—our way of dealing with our people is an internal affair. As Mr. Cohen pointed out, these are universally recognized standards; these are not American standards or Western standards.

Comprehensive engagement is the policy. Unfortunately, it is a flip-flop from what the policy was, and when you are dealing with a dictatorship and they call your bluff and you back off, it seems to me you give a green light for these kinds of things. I found it unbelievably telling—I met with Wei Jingsheng in a hotel during his very brief respite from prison. We knew that the military or police were watching so there was no doubt that it wasn't secret. A couple of weeks later, Assistant Secretary for Democracy and Human Rights, John Shattuck, the point person for the Clinton Administration on human rights, met with him. Assistant Secretary Shattuck speaks for the Administration. He is a very decent guy,

a good man. Then the next day Wei Jingsheng was gone. Several weeks later, the Chinese Government held a show trial, a kangaroo trial, and now he is back in prison, muffled and probably being tortured for his belief in democracy and human rights.

This Administration has done next to nothing. The proximity of his rearrest to his meeting with a high official from the Clinton Administration strikes me as more than a coincidence. We have a moral obligation to make sure he gets out. We passed a resolution in the House very quickly during that trial calling for his release. Unfortunately, Wei Jingsheng is now lost in the laogai.

My question is: If that, along with the crackdown on religious freedom and the worst persecution of religious believers since the Cultural Revolution, is an indicator, what message have we sent? Now, adding insult to injury, General Chi is invited to the White House and is treated with full military honors, getting the red carpet and a 19-gun salute. What message are we sending to these thugs—to use Mr. Aikman's word—in which I fully concur? I do believe we have to deal with them. But you must deal with them knowing you will bring up in a substantive and tangible way these human rights issues.

Mr. QIANG. I fully agree that any diplomatic action between the United States and China should have human rights as an important element. And a human rights policy should not be replaced by a trade policy or other political and diplomatic interests.

As the Chairman pointed out, by giving such honor to a Chinese general who was directly responsible for the massacre 7½ years ago is sending the public a wrong message that those crimes and atrocities committed by a regime can be forgotten by the world. And that is rotten.

Human rights policy, as Mr. Wu insists, has to be consistent. It is a policy. It is not an interest. I think in the long term it is there for the people of the world.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Shea.

Ms. SHEA. Mr. Chairman, I think that we not only have to think of the message that it signals to the regime in China but also to the Chinese people, and it really is a propaganda coup for the regime. It shows that the United States sends a message that the United States has simply forfeited its role as a human rights champion, at least when push comes to shove, in the pursuit of profits.

The regime is operating, I agree with Mr. Xiao, out of weakness, but it is more of a moral weakness, a psychological-social insecurity. You see this in the rise of xenophobia within China today and the government's push for that. But it also is strengthened by American trade and business, especially with the military, with Motorola giving communications equipment and other corporations strengthening the prison system, the police system.

I thought it was very revealing that General Chi said Tiananmen Square wouldn't happen today. It wouldn't happen again. And I think he is right. I think they have the equipment to stanch any kind of movement like that and therefore we should revisit the question of sanctions—whether it is directly regarding trade to the military, to the police apparatus, or whether it is some kind of special business insurance for our companies working over there. I

think we really need to re-examine that and go forward with those kinds of human rights pressures in a consistent way.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Aikman.

Mr. AIKMAN. The interesting thing about China is that the military plays a very important role in China's economy. The military owns or directs a number of key industries which import and export organizations. They deal extensively with Western corporations, including American corporations.

The impression has been given over the last 3 or 4 years that there has been an unconscionable relaxation of the standards that allows dual-use technology to get into the hands of China's military leaders, and just a general sense that trade is the only thing that matters in our relationship with China. Well, trade is very important, but I think, as these eloquent witnesses who have appeared before your Committee this morning have indicated, human beings are actually more important than trade and thus our government, I believe, should balance the needs of human dignity with the needs of its commercial sectors.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wu.

Mr. WU. A strong and democratic China will be of benefit both to the United States and to the world. But if it is strong only in an economic and military sense, that is a threat to world peace. It is also not within the interest of Chinese people.

Mr. WU. The facts have proved the Chinese authorities' political oppressiveness in China. They arrest Wei Jingsheng, they arrest Wang Dan, they send others to the labor camps, and it tells the world that the Chinese authorities somehow feel they are competent to say "no" to the Chinese people, to say "no" to the democratic values in the world.

There are always some conditions attached with economic relations and economic aid. In the past, China and the former Soviet Union have had many economic relations which had many political conditions attached to them. I believe that the economic relations between the United States and China should also be conditioned by human rights. So by engaging in economic activities with China, ~~you would also be promoting human rights and democracy. I believe~~ that is in the interest of the United States and in the interest of the Chinese people.

Mr. QIANG. The American Government sometimes emphasizes human rights and sometimes not, and that sends Chinese authorities the wrong signal. It seems like they can do whatever they want to suppress dissent, such as they have done with Wang Dan's long sentences. If that is the kind of signal being sent, I prefer U.S. condemnation, myself.

I guess I will share some of my analysis and comments on this political matter. Since we were talking about the massacre in 1989, that tragedy is the turning point when the Chinese Government lost its legitimacy in China; and still the question of the problem of legitimacy is deepening if the government continues to deny the truth about what happened. This goes beyond many other crises happening in China today—privatizing State enterprises, environmental degradation, political liberalization. But a society with 1.2 billion people without a common moral vision, without a consensus that upholds basic human values, that society is dangerous. In this

situation, the current Chinese society is only promoting this danger in order to strengthen their legitimacy. They are manipulating this so-called nationalist sentiment and going down the wrong, dangerous road that is politically repressive, authoritarian, and nationalistic. That is dangerous for the people in Tibet, the people in Taiwan, and the people in Hong Kong, and a potential threat to the region and world peace.

So democratic values and the human rights movement must be supported. It is not a luxury for the Chinese people. It is a necessity now.

Mr. YANG. Mr. Chairman, I would like to add some comments. This is a critical time for China because, with Deng Xiaoping phasing out, with the turning of the century, the Chinese leadership is considering which direction it is going to take. Recent policy made by Jiang Zemin and his like clearly show that China is thinking which direction to take. So the reception of General Chi Haotian by the U.S. Government sent a message to the current Chinese Government that they can get away easily with such brutal suppression.

So these messages contribute to their thinking that they can make a left turn without worrying. They can get away easily with whatever they do. That is the wrong message for the U.S. Government to send to the current regime of China.

And my second comment is, some suspicion has been developed among Chinese dissidents that whatever foreign policy toward China is made by the U.S. Government, behind each of the policies like that there are calculated interests. That means the U.S. Government is not pursuing the high principle of human rights anymore.

So the message sent by U.S. Government recently can only reinforce this suspicion. In my testimony I refer to historical fact that Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was denied by Western democracies, because at that time the businessmen from Western democracies found it easier to make a profit dealing with a couple of dictators that conducted business in a market way. That is why Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was denied, was rebuffed by Western democracy. In frustration, he turned to the Soviet Union. That is where and that is when the seed of the disaster was planted.

I just want to remind everybody that we shouldn't make such a mistake one more time. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Faleomavaega.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I certainly would like to commend the members of the panel for their very profound testimony; and I think, Mr. Chairman and members of the panel, there is no denying that what occurred 7½ years ago was a massacre as a matter of fact. This is not a fabrication of the media, and our witnesses who testified this morning all allude to that basic fact, and I am a little surprised that someone of the stature of General Chi comes here and denies the existence of these facts. I would simply say that not only this is absurd, but it is an affront to the intelligence of the American public and for all the people who are adhering to basic principles of democracy.

Now, I don't want to minimize the Tiananmen Square massacre and the incident that occurred 7½ years ago. As I recall, this Com-

mittee itself, when we held hearings 7½ years ago, to the surprise of even the Members of the Committee, our own embassy in China was the last one to be informed that something was coming—what happened at that time; and I guess it also proves that our network of intelligence at that time was very wanting, as far as I am concerned, and it is very surprising that the embassies of other countries were very well prepared for what was coming, except for our own embassy in trying to help American citizens that were stuck there, not only in Beijing but certainly in other regions of the country.

Mr. Chairman, our experience with Southeast Asia, if I could somewhat express an opinion of this, is somewhat bittersweet, filled with contradictions and so many inconsistencies in our policies. If I might say, as a matter of observation, one is that we simply react to given situations rather than being proactive or having some sense of range of what our foreign policy should be toward this region of the country—I mean this region of the world.

It has been my own bitter experience as a Member of this Committee to even have Members come on board, Members of the Asia-Pacific Subcommittee, it was almost like a famine. Members did not have a high interest as far as Asian-Pacific issues were concerned; and really, as Members of the Congress—and it has always been, in my humble opinion, that one of the problems that we are faced with in our policies is because of our ignorance of what is happening out there in Southeast Asia, which led to what I might aptly describe as the legacy of our experience in Southeast Asia etched in the names of some 58,000 soldiers on the Vietnam Memorial, which I am still bitter about in terms of what has been our policy toward this region of the world.

And I might say to the members of the panel, I will be asking one basic question. The fact of the matter is, our opening of the dialog with the People's Republic of China in 1972, I believe, wasn't because we had a love for the Chinese people. It was because we were more afraid of the U.S.S.R. So, you know, we seem to have this funny way of looking at things, and it is very unfortunate, and maybe some writers and those who are experts in the area will say, "Will East ever meet with West?"

And I might also mention what Dr. Yang said earlier about the mistake and the fact that someone of the calibre of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen—why do you suppose that these Asian countries turn Communist, is my question. And it is because the worst examples that we had were the democracies, the French in Vietnam, the Dutch in Indonesia, the British in China. So where do we find examples, if we really are honest, when we talk about human rights?

I am glad that we now consider human rights as an international value. I would like to share that when President Chirac was invited by the White House, even our own Speaker invited President Chirac to address a Joint Session of the Congress despite the fact that the French Government exploded nuclear bombs in the South Pacific without the consent of the people living in that part of the world.

So the contradiction, Mr. Chairman, is one I am concerned about, and I don't think there is any question of the matter of the members of the panel saying there was a massacre in Tiananmen

Square, and I think the world opinion of that fact stands pretty firm.

My question to our friends here on the panel, so we point to the problem: How do we deal with PRC? Do we want a revolution? Shall we have a force of arms? We tried sanctions. We can place embargoes. We can do all these things that have been traditionally part of the package, so to speak. We have tolerated having to deal with dictators. As Mr. Aikman said, let's not pretend, because sometimes policies don't exactly come out the way we want them to be.

And so I like the strong sentiments that have been expressed about human rights, and I am for human rights. I have been to Shanghai, and I will tell you, Mr. Chairman, I have never seen a more procapitalist city in my life, 16 or 18 million people living there, all trying to make an honest buck, I suppose. And I was amazed and surprised, Mr. Chairman, I can walk out there at 4:30 a.m., anywhere in the city of Shanghai, without being fearful of being mugged by anybody.

So I am somewhat tortured, Mr. Chairman, by this advocate; and as I said, I am not second-guessing anybody about the need for human rights, whether it be in China, whether it be in New Caledonia, whether it be in countries in Africa, and whether it be among indigenous Indians in Latin America.

Where do we stand, how do we provide this sense of consistency, whether we talk about slave labor among children in Pakistan or in other Southeast Asia countries, whose corporate entities are found in Britain and other European countries, and say, "Don't talk to us about this kind of thing?"

Human rights have a sense of being transparent, because it is an international value. But where do we go and where do we stop? I have heard some suggestions how we could influence the People's Republic of China to change its policy, but when I look back at the fact that this country was founded in 1949, and with 400 million people to feed to begin with as a government, and a Parliament now with about 3,000 members, to provide for 1.2 billion people supposedly represented by this form of government that they have.

You know, it took almost 189 years for our own government to give civil rights its true meaning as far as democracy is concerned. In our own country it took us almost 200 years to do that. So with 47 years of history, the People's Republic of China, how can we compress this subjection to colonialism and the worst example given by Western democracy in Southeast Asia, how do we go about educating the people in Southeast Asia that perhaps democracy is a better option, that perhaps the values—contradictory as it may seem, harmony is more important than individual rights, saving face is more important to a Southeast Asia person than it is maybe to other countries or other regions. So we talk about values.

But I think I would like to go back to my basic question to the members of the panel. We know the problems. You have offered some solutions. Where shall we go from there?

Can the United Nations play a vital role in this perhaps, Mr. Xiao?

Mr. QIANG. A number of suggestions coming from this panel, including my own, continue forcefully pushing the revolution past the

imagination. But that is only using that as one example. I heard your eloquent expression about the many troubles the Western nations in general and the United States are facing, about how to promote human rights in China, but let me give you a general direction. Human rights and democracy can only be realized by Chinese people in their own society. And the Western countries, including the United States, must do everything to support them, not abandon them. They must do everything to send a clear, strong signal and insist on international norms to the current, transient regime, not encourage this regime to suppress the efforts of the Chinese people.

Right now in China there are responsible, rational voices trying to participate and promote those changes. Let me name a few. Wei Jingsheng, Wan Dan, Xu Lingying. There are thousands of them. These are the people who have a vision for China, and these are the forces who want to be generally, gradually, peacefully transitioned to participate in the politicization process.

The key problem right now is this Chinese regime. As you can tell from General Chi's outrageous lies, they refuse this future or this process for China, and this particular moment is a critical moment that the United States can do good. Engage with China, fine. But engage with a strong human rights policy, with strong human rights pursuits. Again, I repeat, set up moral parameters for China's future transition, and directly support those struggling voices of the people that will eventually translate the dynamics in the society and transform Chinese society.

You have a lot of questions about Southeast Asia and other countries. Yes, there are incredible inconsistencies there. In the United States' own foreign policy in the past 50-some years, there are plenty of things I can point out there that are flaws and failures in terms of promoting those values. But that does not undermine the importance of China realizing the value of human rights. I am trying to say it this way: the Chinese Government today is not only suppressing the rights of people domestically; it is the leading nation in the world against the international human rights movement.

Against international human rights values, it argues about the "Chinese version" of human rights and the "Western version" of human rights. Have you ever asked your Chinese counterparts where this masochism comes from? Don't they mention that the economic modernization today in China is meeting the world standard? It is only when it comes to the issue of human rights, only when it comes to the relation between individuals and State power that they somehow endorse a "Chinese version". It is this regime during the past 40 years that wiped out Chinese traditional values.

The worst situation is cultural revolution. I disagree with the observation this regime feeds 1.2 billion people. No. Only when they were forced to give freedom to the peasants in the 1980's did the people feed themselves. Before that, there were millions of people who died. And today there is economic progress going on in China, but unless it is accompanied by a political liberalization process promoting the value of human rights and democracy—unless the regime lets the truth of the June 4 massacre be viewed in Chinese society, lets those critical prisoners go free, lets the civil society

grow—then there is no stable China, there is no true development in China. And the United States can help by holding standards in this world, particularly toward China.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I just might say to Mr. Xiao that I think the Administration previously did try advocating, very strongly, human rights with the leaders of China; and we got caught with our pants down because none of the other countries supported us. I did not hear one country, not only from Europe, but other countries of the United Nations, saying, "We support what the United States is doing, promoting human rights in China." I did not hear that.

So this again raises another question: Do you think the United States is the only country that can single-handedly advocate strongly enough that China is going to bend? What do you suppose that these other countries are trying to do?

Right now when we talk about economics, we can talk about the economic opportunities of our European allies, who are true competitors in the business community. You have heard this argument before. If we don't get there, the Europeans are going to make the money out of 1.2 billion people that need to be fed and provided for as far as economic competitiveness is concerned.

But back to your point that I well respect. Your point of view is the fact that what happens if the United States is the only one advocating human rights, and as I recall, I didn't hear other countries also getting on board and joining the United States in its effort to proclaim human rights to our counterparts in China. I did not hear that.

Mr. QIANG. I just came back from Europe, where I spoke exactly the same words toward European countries. I visited six European foreign ministries, speaking the same message to them. Yes, the United States should not be the only one upholding these standards against the Chinese authorities now.

But the United States is a superpower. A superpower has a super responsibility. The European countries, they have their public opinion; they are doing their work.

I am not asking the United States to single-handedly confront China economically; which practically doesn't work if European business people and Japanese business people are going to China. I am asking the United States to take the leading role, as it is taking the leading role in many other areas.

It is fundamentally important in the human rights area to use international influence to work with the European Union and work with other countries, together at the multilateral forums and bilateral forums, to form pressure to hold those values.

I just want to end, to say that, without this pressure, there is no meaningful engagement, there is no meaningful dialog that can be conducted.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry. I didn't mean to take—I have our very distinguished friend, Congressman Payne from New Jersey. I will wait for another round, if I could.

Mr. SMITH. Would the gentleman yield just briefly?

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Sure, and I really appreciate our dialog with our friends here, and I look forward to meeting with them more. Because this is not the end, this is just a beginning. And I want to commend you again, Mr. Chairman, for taking this issue in the

limelight in light of what General Chi has—public comments during his visit here in Washington. I think your point was well taken that we take this hearing and bring it to the forefront and open it up for public discussion, and I really appreciate this.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, and I appreciate your yielding. You know, Rome wasn't built in a day. Human rights cannot be promoted and expected to just break out overnight. We have got to be in this for the long run, and I think the word that comes to mind is that we need leadership. As I think Mr. Xiao pointed out, in the Gulf War, no matter how one felt about that, it took U.S. resolve and leadership to stand up to Saddam Hussein. None of the other countries could do it.

And especially when people are paying with their lives, are enduring torture day in and day out—people like Wei Jingsheng and others—when so many have spilled their blood, we should at least be willing to shed some short-term profit for long-term gain in the area of human rights and democracy. In the end, human rights and democracy mean a better trading relationship, contract law that will be respected and not violated with impunity when it suits the dictatorship. Again, let's not forget we are talking about a dictatorship.

You know, had we taken the view that let's wait until everyone else follows or joins us, we might not have seen other human rights improvements that have since occurred. I was one of those who felt that sanctions against South Africa were appropriate, that apartheid was an abomination, but that the end of apartheid wouldn't take place overnight, it might take years. But in the meantime, we should not be pandering to a dictatorship the way that we were.

Mr. FALCOMVAEGA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH. I'd be happy to yield.

Mr. FALCOMVAEGA. I couldn't agree with you more in your comments, and I look forward to working with you. I understand that our good friend, Congressman Porter from Illinois, plans to take a congressional delegation to China next month with this very single point in mind, and that is the human rights issue. So I look forward to working with Congressman Porter in that light and, certainly, with your leadership on this Committee, and I appreciate that.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. Let me also congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, for calling this very important hearing. And let me just say that all through the 104th Congress I think the issues that you have raised—General Chi, labor, human rights abuses throughout the world—have been outstanding, and I would just like to commend you for having a very proactive committee.

Let me also say that I agree with my colleague, Mr. Falcomvaega, that this was an outstanding panel, and I think that the information that you have given us has been extremely, extremely helpful. I could not agree more with issues that have gone on, and I agree with my colleague who just left that many of the policies that we are dealing with today are because of the old historical ties that abused many of the countries that were colonized.

That is when they moved to the Communists, not only in Asia but in African countries like Mozambique and Angola who—Chissano and the Portuguese regime—or whether it was countries—or even our policy in South Africa before we decided to implement sanctions, which turned the other way like we are doing now in China, this constructive engagement policy. Until the Congress said that we have to change the policy and the Congress suggested that we should have sanctions, over the Administration's protests.

So I think that we find ourselves today in a lot of situations because of previous poor policies or our way of aligning with our allies, and we find that we have inherited a lot of problems since that time.

But let me just say that I think that it also is very disgraceful that the Defense Minister, Chi, could come here and be given the red carpet treatment. I mean, the chief organizer of the military crackdown, of the 1989 Tiananmen Square situation, even a person with a nickname "the butcher of Beijing" could be allowed to come in and to have such courtesies extended. I just cannot understand what this Administration is thinking about.

I also have been one who opposed the MFN status for the People's Republic of China and voted against it every time it came up, and I think that the new talk of granting permanent MFN status and membership in the WTO really to me will be sending the wrong message. I also oppose the policy of a year or so ago which suggested that MFN should be delinked from human rights. I think that was a serious mistake, and I believe that it just sent a signal that you can continue to do what you want in the People's Republic and the United States will look the other way.

And so I think that the various kinds of insults, with the statement by Mr. Chi that there were no deaths in Tiananmen Square, and also the arrogance at the recent Pentagon's National Defense University where he announced that China will not renounce the use of force to reclaim Taiwan, which he calls Breakaway Province, I think their behavior is continually going in the wrong direction.

It appears to me that we need to really reevaluate our policy to the People's Republic of China. We see there are still dissidents in prison. Wang Dan and Liu Xiaobo, who were supporters of the march and the movement in 1989, are still in prison, and Wang Xizhe had to flee China simply because he brought a petition asking for greater freedom for people.

We also see alarming alliances between the military government of China and the military regime of Nigeria, which is an unholy alliance that I do not think we ought to take too lightly. The brutal dictator, Abacha, in Nigeria recently hung 9 Ogoni people in that region and has just taken the civil rights away from people in that country. To now cozy up to the People's Government in China and Nigeria, I think it is something that needs to be watched.

Also the question of Hong Kong with June 30, the sovereignty transforming, we have already seen the 6.3 million people in Hong Kong being told that there may not be the same kind of democracy that they have had, that there will be their hand-picked future leader, Tung Chee-hwa, who recently emerged as the person to take over the government there. The behavior of the People's Re-

public of China in Tibet, where actually U.S.-built S-70C's, Black Hawk Sikorsky helicopters, are used to support the military operations in Tibet, where tens of thousands of troops from the People's Liberation Army found themselves, and also we even see that members of the People's Armed Police, the PAP, are finding themselves in Tibet.

The question of Macao, which is not even discussed, which Portugal will turn over at the end of 1997 to the People's Republic of China, what will happen there? Once again, a suppression of a government. I think what is going on is very disturbing.

I question the President's recent statement on Asia, in Australia, where he was quoted as saying the United States has no interest in containing China. Well, I do not think the question is containing China. I think the question is, are we going to have an engagement and a discussion and a dialog and mutual respect so that we can suggest that there should be liberty for people, there should be freedom of speech? But the way that we are going now, as it has been mentioned, just seems like it is appeasement.

Even yesterday in the Washington Post this Administration praised the European Union for linking trade with Cuba based on continued progress in the area of human rights, and said that we were happy that the European countries, European Parliament, decided to do that. Well, then, why is it good for European countries to link human rights to trade and insist that it be improved, when in our country here we are saying that in China it is not necessary to link these together?

And so I have a lot of questions, too, about the policy. I think the policy is flawed. I think it is a policy that gives encouragement to dictatorial regimes when we have people still languishing in prison.

We continue to drive up the balance-of-trade deficit with the People's Republic of China. It was \$33.8 billion in 1995. The first 9 months of this year it is \$28.9 billion, and it is anticipated to exceed \$38 billion dollars' deficit with the People's Republic by 1998. I think that we should have—and actually I think that the People's Republic will in the next year exceed Japan in the balance of trade deficit with the USA.

I believe that is a leverage. We have a tremendous leverage if we use it properly. I do think, too, that the European countries have to step up and also join us. I think we need to be the leaders but we need to have support from the European Community, and we have not had support during our sanctions to South Africa from the European countries in particular.

Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain continued to trade with the government, although the U.S. companies, many of them, withdrew, and the British went in and just made profits. We have seen the continued purchasing of timber and lumber, timber and diamonds and gold from Liberia by the French businessmen, and supported by the French Government, during that brutal civil war, dealing with Charles Taylor, the military leader there.

We see the refusal of Britain to go along with sanctions against Nigeria, and the USA cannot go it alone, and we see no support there for sanctions against Nigeria. We see people looking the other way when Mobutu returns to Zaire, and the French and the Bel-

gians saying that he must be returned and he must keep the country together. Well, we think that Mobutu should be turned out of government. We think that this country has built the most corrupt and brutal dictator in the world, one of the worst, and we now see countries like France and Belgium being supportive of Mobutu's return.

So there has to be a unified effort on the part of the world leaders. The United States must take the lead, but France and Britain and Germany and the other countries in western Europe and Japan must also join in and say that we will work in unity. That is the only way we are going to move this world through the next millennium.

And so I just basically wanted to say that, and I just might ask a general request about what do you think the future of Hong Kong and Macao will be, the question of Tibet. Do you see this all being linked together? Does anyone want to comment on that?

Mr. AIKMAN. Mr. Payne, I have conducted extensive reporting in Hong Kong precisely to look into the issue of what will happen to Hong Kong after June 30, 1997, and I think the evidence is quite obvious that the People's Republic of China does not have the slightest intention of allowing a continuation of the civic freedoms currently available to the citizens of Hong Kong. So the whitewashing, if you like, of the transition process which tries to give the impression that it is all just going to be hunky-dory and pleasant is very unfortunate, because I think the citizens of Hong Kong are going to be in for a very rude shock when that changeover takes place.

The real issue, which I think you pointed out with great astuteness, is the issue of Taiwan and General Chi's statement while he was in this country that the use of force has not been ruled out. The United States is going to have to make a very serious decision at some point whether or not it is going to allow the incorporation of Taiwan into control by the People's Republic of China through the use of force, which is at this stage the only likely eventuality because virtually nobody in Taiwan wants to be united with the mainland under terms of Communist party control.

The United States is going to have to decide. Are we going to sit back and watch that vibrant society being taken over by a dictatorial regime, and if we do sit back and watch that happen, what is going to be our reputation in Asia and in the world? Human rights at that point may play a lower role than the integrity of this Nation as a champion of freedom and democracy in and around the world. And these are issues—I am very glad, Mr. Congressman, that you raised them—that Americans need to think about and this Administration in particular needs to pay a lot of attention to.

Mr. QIANG. I fully agree with the previous speaker's comment on the issues of Taiwan and Hong Kong. I just want to add, looking from a different dimension, that Hong Kong's transition is very crucial both for people in Hong Kong and for many other countries in the world.

Hong Kong is not China. Hong Kong has a large middle class, and they have enjoyed freedom and political liberty in the past, and they have their representatives, the Hong Kong Democratic

Party which is currently still holding the majority of seats in the legislative council.

The Chinese Government's political priority is to gain political control in Hong Kong. To do so, they have to win the election in 1998, in other words, have their people win the seats in the legislative council. But how that can happen? That election can be fair. Can it be democratic?

Between 1997 and 1998 there is only the Kung Zho, in which the seats are only being filled by the pro-Chinese Government people. But coming to the point of 1998, there should be a real election by Hong Kong people, and the democratic party will come back to the council by election by the people. In other words, the close monitoring of the Hong Kong transition, particularly the 1998 election, and direct support of the democratic forces in Hong Kong is crucial.

I just want to mention that Human Rights in China just recently established our own office in Hong Kong, working with other international human rights organizations, monitoring Hong Kong's transition.

Mr. PAYNE. I think that is going to be very important, and I might just ask the young lady from NED in a second about whether the National Endowment For Democracy will become involved. But my concern is, if the People's Republic's Government did what it did to its people in Tiananmen Square, and even if in fact the elections in 1998 go the right way, do you feel that there could always be constraints from the military?

There is no reason that a 1.2-billion population culture will have to adhere to some elections by 6 million people. The question is, would they even overturn and just step in and just say, "Elections are fine, we are simply putting in a new regime." And it was supposed to be this 40-year policy of no change, no significant change, before they even—in the country—well, there have been changes already, so I do not know how this, I think it is a 40-year period of time of transition, is going to work. We have already seen the wrong behavior.

So I think it is important, as you have indicated, that the elections be won in 1998. I am not so sure that will necessarily dictate the future of the behavior of the Government of the People's Republic toward Hong Kong throughout the next millennium.

Would you tell me whether the National Endowment is going to participate or become involved in Hong Kong?

Ms. COAN. The NED supported a number of programs over the past few years to try to establish a baseline from which to help strengthen the legal safeguards or individual rights, and the general support for democratic ideas that exist in Hong Kong. The International Republican Institute has monitored several previous elections in the legislative council to establish a baseline for the way they are conducted, in order to be able to compare future conduct of the election, and to establish whether there has been a deterioration in the freeness and fairness of those elections and whether they will be conducted in what we consider to be a free and fair way.

In addition, we support the local human rights group, the Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor, which is able to represent the Hong Kong people's views at international forums such as the U.N. Com-

mission on Human Rights, working in coalition with existing civil society groups that are attempting to monitor for this, have contacts with supporters all over the world, in the United States and in Europe, to keep track of this. We also support people working on labor rights throughout China as well as in Hong Kong, and also Human Rights is a grantee of the NED. So we are able to support their work in general.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you—also, going on for people in the People's Republic. I guess I should have asked that question.

Ms. COAN. The NED has had a fairly large program, a portfolio of more than a dozen grants every single year to dissidents, to people who are able to work within the system to try to influence people, looking at incremental legal reform, using the lever of economic liberty to help promote political liberty, the connection that Xiao Qiang was just mentioning there in Hong Kong. So we have been very, very active in supporting the democrats, as I certainly advocate every entity trying to do its part.

Mr. PAYNE. And then the final part, and then I will let the others. What about Macao? Has that issue come up? You know we do not hear anything about it.

I recall when I first came to Congress, and my first question on the Foreign Affairs Committee—used to go by seniority and was, when they got to me, like number 40, it was time to leave—but I asked Secretary Baker, "What about Hong Kong, you know, in 1997, what's going to happen?"

And he was kind of shocked because it was 6 or 7 years off and, you know, first he wondered, I guess, "Who's this guy here at the end of this line, and what kind of question is that?" At this time we are talking about issues that were prominent 7 years ago and 8 years ago. But I wonder, is there any discussion or question of concern on what the situation will be when the Portuguese give up possession there in Macao?

Mr. QIANG. Let me follow up on just what Ms. Coan said about NED's program. Human Rights in China is one of the grantees of NED, and we conduct our activities not only within the United States but the majority of our efforts go to the activists inside of China—families of victims, families of political prisoners—collecting information and also mounting a monitoring program in Hong Kong. And the support is critical. We actually are looking for NED to be able to enhance that support, and also ask the Congress to support NED's program.

The question of Macao: It is very similar to Hong Kong, except that Macao is on a much smaller scale geographically, and population-wise closer to China. Whatever the Chinese Government does in Hong Kong will be a direct influence on or an example for what happens in Macao; even more than that, in Taiwan as well, because the Chinese Government is proposing exactly the same political proposal, the so-called "one country, two systems", for the people in Hong Kong. There is no way they can win Taiwan public opinion to be reunified under this regime.

Supposedly, it is also in their political interest to keep Hong Kong's prosperity and freedom. However, by the nature of this regime, as we always see, they often use their political, domestic political logic to violate other people's freedom, and Hong Kong's free-

dom is in danger. I would just like to say that for Hong Kong, for Macao, and for Taiwan, it is important that we support Hong Kong's democratic force.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you. And let me just say about NED, I think both Mr. Smith and I are very supportive of the organization, and we hope that it does not have continued cuts that have been recommended in some of our—I think sometimes we—you know, this rush to balance the budget, we may end up in the year 2002 with a balanced budget, the whole world will be collapsed around us, the whole country will be collapsed internally, and we can hold up and say, "You know, we got a balanced budget," and that's about it. But we support Mr. Gerskin and the programs and Leonard Dees in the African area, but we will be pushing, Mr. Smith and I, I guess from our two different sides of the aisle, to see that NED continues to be supported the way it ought to.

Mr. YANG. As to the Hong Kong issue, I have a couple of suggestions. First, I would suggest the Western leaders, including the U.S. Congress leaders like Mr. Smith and Mr. Payne, visit Hong Kong before Communist China takes over to ensure and convince the Hong Kong people that the outside world really cares about their future. That is one suggestion.

And the other, I remember in the very beginning of the economic reform in China, in order to strengthen confidence in the reform, Deng Xiaoping, at certain areas like Shenzhen, a special economic zone, just to let the people in that area become rich first and to show other people in, you know, other parts of China that reform really works or, in other words, capitalism really works. We can follow this example. We should try to resort enemies to let the idea that—let Hong Kong be a special democratic zone, to let this idea spread out in China, to show people democracy really works, to strengthen the confidence of all human people within the mainland that democracy really works.

There are two suggestions. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you for your comments earlier. This Subcommittee has worked over these last 2 years to be consistent wherever human rights are violated—whether by friend or foe, by a dictatorial regime or a country where we have so-called interests—wherever we have concerns about human rights, we have raised them and we will continue to do so.

Let me just conclude, then, and ask if anyone else has anything they would like to add.

Last week on the way in to work, on two occasions I heard what can only be described as soft, political-campaign-type ads, apparently financed by the Bank of China, on WTOP, the local affiliate for CBS all-news radio. They were like pseudo-news stories, updates on the progress that is going on in China, as if to update us that democracy is flourishing there. It reminded me of what some politicians do when they take their record and start bending and manipulating it, so that it becomes more palatable to their constituencies.

Against the backdrop of General Chi's visit, which was occurring while I was listening to these radio ads, I find it appalling that this

is how what is going on in China is being painted. I think we are going to see a massive attempt by the friends of the Chinese dictatorship—I consider myself a friend of the Chinese people but not of the dictatorship—over these next several months to try to whitewash, to use Mr. Aikman's words, what has gone on there, what is going on there. The dictatorship is getting worse and the repression is on the rise, contrary to the Chinese Government's assertions.

I share the concerns of my friend, Mr. Payne, and others about what happens in Hong Kong and elsewhere. People like Martin Lee and others, good, solid elected officials, the judiciary, the basic law, are all at risk, and I think you know the dictatorship is taking the measure of the Western world and the United States in particular to see how we are responding to multiple events. The Hong Kong reversion will be another event that we have to be absolutely committed on or else that, too, will become another bastion of oppression.

I really believe that General Chi's blunder—his statement as if he were talking to his own media, which carries hook, line and sinker all that he says; the use of the big lie which is pervasive in China by the dictatorship—was America's wake-up call. And I agree with Mr. Faleomavaega and with Mr. Payne, in a very persuasive, articulate, and knowledgeable way, this panel has ripped the mask off the dictatorship, exposed this lie for what it is. Hopefully, with the media that is here, that message will be amplified many times over.

Let's deal with the Chinese Government, but let's do so in an honest way, and not allow them to get away with this dishonesty. Your testimony today was a disinfectant for the lies and the germs of last week, so I want to thank you for it. You have done a valuable service for humanity, and so many of you put your lives on the line. We are all appreciative of that.

Unless you would like to add anything further—

Mr. PAYNE. Just before they conclude, I just want to also mention the arrogance of the Government of the People's Republic. Recently, I guess attempting to intimidate the Disney corporation—now a film that is going to be made about the Dalai Lama or about Tibet and they just do not like the film—they are saying, "If you make it, you can't show it in China, and we may even ban other Disney products or other companies that are associated with the Disney company." And so I think that this regime is not only getting bolder internally, but getting to the point where there is dictation to other countries as to what you should do or should not do.

And, as I mentioned, you know, the whole question of the manufactured clothing that continues to be—and toys. I mean it is just almost—it is almost ironic that many of the toys that bring joy to children are made by people, children in China. That is—we need to put an end to the exploitation of children wherever it may be. And somehow, if we show that we are serious, it would stop using children around the world and use people they ought to use, but because everyone looks the other way, everyone continues to do what they are doing. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. As we know from history, appeasement always emboldens a dictatorship. I think on human rights and democracy

we need to draw the line. I do believe that, in a bipartisan way, Congress will speak more forcefully. Hopefully, the Administration will also be strong in this regard.

Would anyone like to add any final comment? Mr. Xiao?

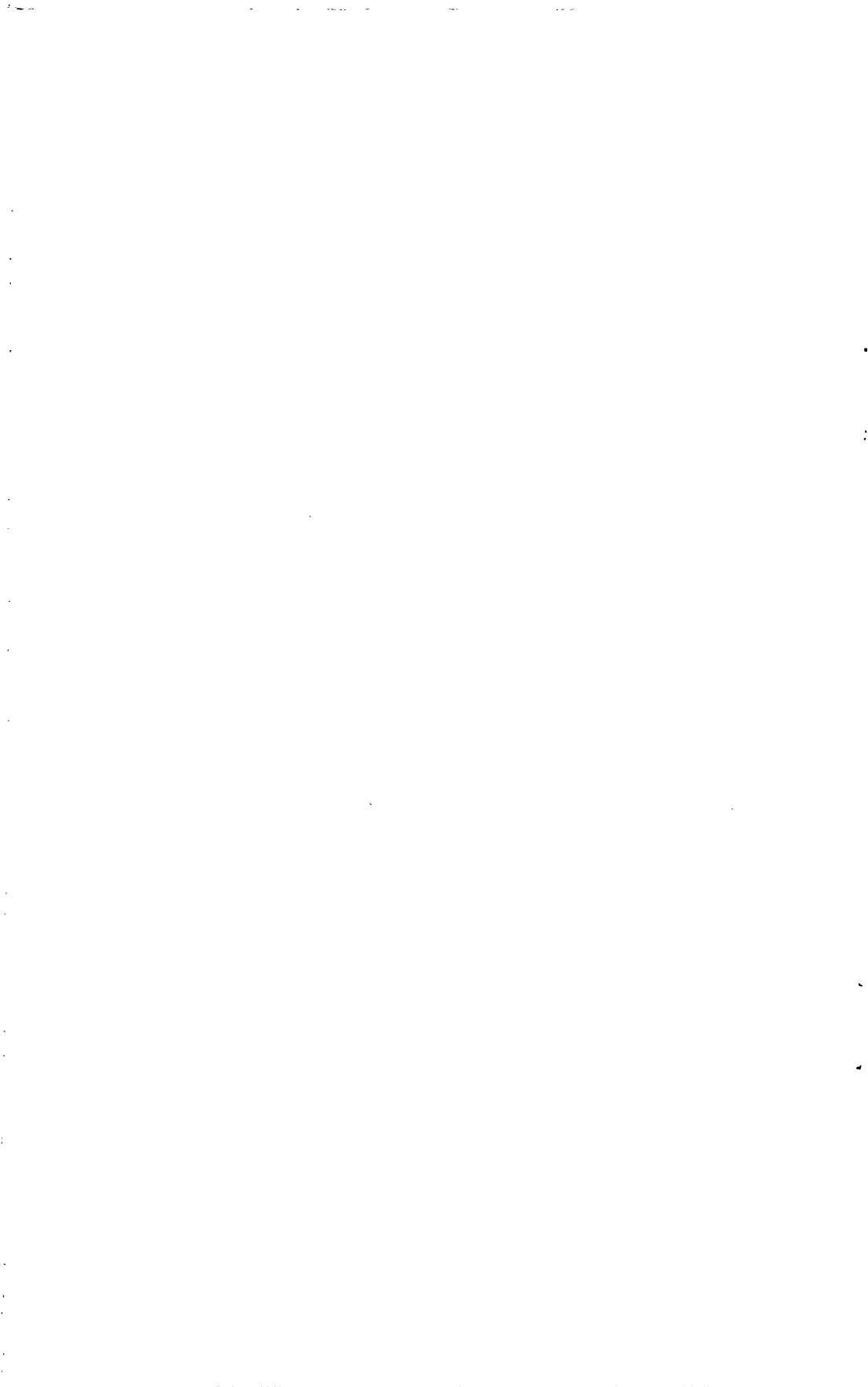
Mr. QIANG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for having this hearing. I think it is very important.

I just want to add to the comment that Chinese authorities are becoming more and more aggressive on human rights abuses, both domestically and in their foreign relations. I understood that the Chinese administrator of foreign affairs has been repeatedly asking the Clinton Administration to give a commitment to the Chinese Government to not raise human rights violations in Geneva, not to support a Human Rights Commission resolution condemning their practice. In that case, we are not talking about the U.S. Government unilaterally upholding those things. We are talking about the international community giving in to an aggressive dictatorship—and that is wrong. On those issues, draw the line. That principle should be upheld, and I call on the Congress to urge the Administration to take forceful actions in both bilateral and multilateral forums to uphold human rights values for China and for the world.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. Again, we reiterate the request that a representative of the Chinese Government, either the ambassador or General Chi, come and present testimony, and we will again invite the Administration to give an accounting for this past week's misguided policy.

The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:25 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]



APPENDIX



MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS

STATEMENT OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA

Defense Minister Chi Haotian and the Tiananmen Massacre:
Putting an end to denial and impunity

Before the House Committee on International Relations
Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights

December 18, 1996

Louisa Coan
Vice-chair, Board of Directors
Amnesty International USA

Thank you very much for the opportunity to testify today about a very serious concern: impunity for human rights abusers. The Chinese government has waged a seven-year propaganda campaign in a desperate attempt to deny that it killed and injured thousands of unarmed demonstrators in Beijing in June, 1989. The government has claimed from the beginning, using its characteristic Orwellian language, that the troops were called in to quell an armed "counter-revolutionary rebellion." The government has denied any wrongdoing, has not explained why the leadership chose to use lethal force against unarmed civilians, has refused to allow an impartial investigation. We're still waiting for China's Truth Commission.

The concerted effort of the Chinese government to suppress the truth is a necessity for current leaders. Were the truth to be acknowledged, there could be no justification for allowing those responsible for massive human rights abuses to get away scot-free, for promoting these officials to top positions. Over and over again we confront the same pattern around the world. Impunity for abusers, driven by the desire to stay in power, deprives the victims of justice and gives the green light to continued abuses. The impunity granted to the leadership responsible for the killings in Beijing allows the Chinese system to continue to violate basic human rights standards; government, military and law enforcement officials throughout China know that they are extremely unlikely ever to be brought to account for violating international human rights norms, or indeed the provisions of China's own Constitution.

Amnesty International USA is deeply disappointed that the United States government has given such a warm reception to a man like Defense Minister Chi Haotian, who was in operational command of the troops responsible for massive human rights violations in Beijing in 1989, and who last week tried, once again, to put over the government line that the PLA had done nothing wrong. We must refuse to confer prestige on anyone who attempts to deny the Tiananmen killings. As if that were not bad enough, the honors went to the very man who commanded the

Amnesty International is an independent worldwide movement working impartially for the release of all prisoners of conscience, fair and prompt trials for political prisoners, and an end to torture and executions. It is funded by donations from its members and supporters throughout the world.



troops. All this as human rights groups and even the State Department publicly observed International Human Rights Day, December 10.

Amnesty International has gathered extensive eye-witness and firsthand documentation of the massive killings in Beijing around Tiananmen Square: at least a thousand civilians were killed by troops in Beijing on June 3 and 4, many within sight of Tiananmen--literally, the "Gate of Heavenly Peace," the massive gateway to the Forbidden City overlooking the Square and surrounding streets.

The General referred very carefully to "deaths in Tiananmen Square" because he knows that impartial investigators have not been allowed to gather evidence of precisely where the deaths occurred. As a result, no one has the needed evidence about the purely technical question of what counts as "Tiananmen Square" for the grisly purpose of arguing whether deaths occurred there. What we do know is that at least a thousand deaths on the streets surrounding the Square, as well as in numerous other areas of Beijing and in other cities in China, are well documented by witnesses and extensive video footage.

The General and all those responsible for these indiscriminate killings of unarmed demonstrators in China must be held responsible because without accountability, the system can continue unhindered its arbitrary abuse of power and ruthless repression of all dissent.

Amnesty International once again calls upon the Chinese government to conduct an impartial investigation into the fate of those killed, injured and unjustly imprisoned in the Tiananmen crackdown. The truth must be made known, the victims compensated, and those responsible punished.

The government must acknowledge the truth to Fang Zheng, the young man who became internationally famous because the Chinese government prevented him from participating in a sports meet for handicapped athletes. Why? The government was afraid that the cause of his injury would come out: he had lost his legs while rescuing a fellow student from the path of an onrushing tank on the avenue bordering Tiananmen Square. She emerged unharmed, as far as we know. He escaped with his life, at least. But human rights monitors reports that at least 12 others were not so lucky; they were knocked down and run over by PLA tanks. Where did this occur? Less than 30 yards from the front entrance to Zhongnanhai, the heavily guarded complex housing all the top Politburo and government officials. All within sight of Tiananmen Square and the Tiananmen Gate.

The government must acknowledge the truth about Wang Weilin, the young man famous for standing so courageously, alone, in front of four tanks on Chang'an Avenue (the "Avenue of Eternal Peace"). Where is he? Harry Wu was told by officials of the Ministry of State Security, during his unjust detention in China in the summer of 1995, that Wang Weilin had been taken care of on the spot: an extra-judicial killing. The government must allow an impartial investigation to bring out the truth about his case and many others.

The government must acknowledge the truth to Ding Zilin, a professor whose 17-year-old son was killed by a soldier's bullet on Chang' An Avenue (the Avenue of Eternal Peace) on the night of June 3. Professor Ding has been periodically detained and continuously harassed by the government since she began her search for other victims' families. Her report, published last year in Chinese and English, contains detailed information about more than 60 dead victims and their surviving families, as well as information about more than 40 people who sustained lasting injuries. These numbers represent what one person has been able to find out while working under severe conditions of harassment; she has gathered even more evidence since the report was published, and her research continues even in the face of government attempts to silence her.

Thinking of her dead son, Ding Zilin wrote in 1994:

Money ... and power cannot smother the human conscience or corrupt our memories of those who defended the 1989 movement with their blood and lives.

No one can be permitted to corrupt this memory, or to ignore the record since the massacre, one of repeated assaults on human rights: unfair trials, widespread torture, widespread arbitrary abuse of power, labor camps for administrative detention, and harsh sentences meted out to hundreds of prisoners of conscience.

Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing, to allow us to ensure that memory is not corrupted, to demand accountability, to demand an end to the continuing abuses.



**Amnesty
International
USA**

News Release

December 16, 1996

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: T. Kumar 202/544-0200 ext 224

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S MEETING WITH CHINESE DEFENSE MINISTER DISREGARDS HISTORY OF TIANANMEN SQUARE

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- In a letter to President Clinton today, Amnesty International USA (AIUSA) said the President's meeting with General Chi Haotian, the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China, undermined Chinese human rights leaders and their efforts to build a society which respects internationally recognized human rights.

General Chi had operational control of the troops that carried out the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, when thousands of unarmed student protesters were killed, including hundreds who were summarily executed. Despite international requests, the government of China refused to conduct an inquiry into the massacre.

"Since General Chi conducted the operation that crushed the democracy movement in Tiananmen Square, little has happened in China to justify this meeting or the warm reception that General Chi received at the Pentagon," said Dr. William F. Schulz, Executive Director, AIUSA. "The record since the massacre is one of repeated assaults upon internationally recognized human rights. Political trials are grossly unfair, torture is commonplace, and people are imprisoned or sent to labor camps for nonviolently advocating the ideals of democracy. General Chi plays a major role in these activities."

Meeting on the eve of International Human Rights Day -- the 48th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights -- is a sad indication of how far the United States has drifted from the days when Eleanor Roosevelt led the US delegation to craft that historic document.

"If one is not surprised that China seems determined to flaunt its disregard for international human rights norms, one can still be deeply disappointed when the United States so publicly acquiesces," said Schulz.

END

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**AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL
USA**

304 Pennsylvania Avenue SE · Washington DC 20003
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December 16, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Amnesty International USA is deeply concerned by your decision to meet with General Chi Haotian, the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China. As you are no doubt aware, General Chi had operational control of the troops that carried out the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, when thousands of unarmed student protesters were killed, including hundreds who were summarily executed. Despite international requests, the government of China refused to conduct an inquiry into the massacre.

This meeting was particularly troubling because it does not seem to have been required by protocol and came literally on the eve of International Human Rights Day.

Since General Chi conducted the operation that crushed the democracy movement in Tiananmen Square, little has happened in China to justify this meeting or the warm reception that General Chi received at the Pentagon. Indeed, the record since the massacre is one of repeated assaults upon internationally recognized human rights by the Chinese government. In China today, thousands of people languish in prisons simply because of their political views. Others are held — often without charge or trial — in "reeducation through labor" camps for advocating the ideals of a democracy. Political trials are grossly unfair, torture is commonly practiced and women suffer due to the "one child" policy. General Chi is one of those who plays a major role in these activities.

It undermines the Chinese human rights leaders and their efforts to build a society which respects internationally recognized human rights for your Administration to play host to General Chi during the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights — celebrated around the world and in this country as International Human Rights Day. The timing is a sad indication of how far the United States has drifted from the days when Eleanor Roosevelt led the US delegation in helping to craft that historic document. If the Clinton Administration ignores such symbolism there is ample reason to think the Chinese government does not. Indeed the timing of this visit has the same aggressive symbolic quality as the arrest of prominent human rights activist Wang Dan during Secretary Christopher's recent visit to Beijing or the arrest of Wei Jingsheng following his meeting with Assistant Secretary for Human Rights John Shattuck last year.

If one is not surprised that China seems determined to flaunt its disregard for international human rights norms, one can still be deeply disappointed when the United States so publicly acquiesces.

Sincerely,

Bill Schultz

William F. Schultz
Executive Director

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- Testimony of Dr. Jian-li Yang
Vice President, The Alliance for a Democratic China
Before The House Subcommittee of Human Rights
On General Chi's Comments on Tiananmen Square
December 18, 1996

My name is Jian-li Yang, a research associate at JFK School of Government at Harvard, vice president of the Alliance for a Democratic China. In 1989, I was a Ph.D. student at U.C. Berkeley and went back Beijing in the middle of the student demonstration to show support.

I am going, first of all, to report once more to the Congress on what I saw near Tiananmen Square on June Fourth, 1989.

The first time I heard the sound of guns was about 12:30 in the morning of June 4th. The sounds came from western Changan Street, the main east-west street in Beijing.

About one o'clock, I saw a truck of soldiers. The soldiers got out and started firing automatic weapons at the people. At the same time, the soldiers fired tear gas at the crowd. Each time they fired weapons, three or four people were hit, and each time the crowd went down on the ground.

We were there for about half an hour. I saw 13 people killed. After that group of soldiers left, I saw lots of trucks and tanks moving toward Tiananmen Square.

There was one time when it was a bit quiet. We moved closer to an army truck. We grabbed onto the truck and tried to persuade the soldiers not to shoot by saying: "You are the people's army, you cannot shoot at the people. Don't be a killing machine."

We sang the Internationale to try to move them. We all cried as we sang. But the soldiers showed no response. We became angry. We shouted, "Down with Fascists, Down with Deng Xiaoping!" One officer drew his gun and shot dead a young man who was standing about nine feet from me.

Another time I saw a Xinjiang student who was walking after a military vehicle. He yelled, "You have already killed one hundred twenty one people in Muxudi. My four best friends have died in my arms. Shoot me too." We saw he was covered in blood.

I saw many people killed on Changan Street. About six in the morning, it was already light. I was on my bike, and walking with me were some students who had retreated from

Tiananmen and were returning to their schools. As we arrived at Changan Street, I saw four tanks coming from the square going west at very high speed. The two tanks in front were chasing students. They ran over the students. Everyone was screaming. We counted eleven bodies.

The soldiers in the third tank threw tear gas towards us. The fourth tank fired at us with machine guns. They hit four or five people. After the tanks had passed, some people collected the bodies. I saw two bodies very close: one male student and one female. I got a good look at them; they were flat. Their bodies were all bloody. Their mouths were pressed into long shapes. Their eyes were flat and big.

General Chi Haotian's comments were blatant and boldfaced lies. We should not be surprised for he is member of China's Dictatorship which has always used lying as a method to protect itself.

We may at this time not be fully aware of what role Chi Haotian played in the Massacre. However, we do know the role that the Chinese military played at that time. And let's keep in mind that General Chi Haotian was visiting the United States as a representative of that same military. Why then, was he given such a warm and cordial reception while representing such an organization that so brutally crushes aspirations for freedom in China.

This leads me to ponder two more questions: 1) How far will the United States' Government tolerate the deterioration of human rights situation in China to go before the current policy is changed? 2) What kind of China do American policymakers really think is in the best long term interests of the United States?

I do not oppose the policy to engage in dialogue with the current Chinese Government. However, I do strongly oppose any and all policies that ignore or have no concern with the situation of human rights in the People's Republic of China.

Certain current American policy makers seem to be guided by the belief that democracies will be automatically established in societies where there exists a high level of economic development together with a broadly educated populace.

However, I believe this thinking to be wrong. As an example, I cite developments in Hong Kong. Although Hong Kong has economic development and an educated populace similar to western standards, China plans to eradicate it's democratically elected legislature after it takes control next year. While CCP, the Chinese Communist Party, seeks to encourage similar economic level of development as Hong Kong's throughout China, it is simultaneously planning to suppress democracy and human

rights to "bring Hong Kong in line" with the rest of China.

The Government of the United States should not be naive; Dictatorship will always oppose democracy. Economic development and a technically educated populace do not necessarily lead to an automatically democratizing society. This is especially true in China where side by side with economic development is continuous suppression of human rights, freedom of the press and the slightest development of democratic minded organization. One only needs to think of Nazi Germany to see that my point is true.

As far as American economic policy is concerned, let me add a few comments on this subject as well. How many American businessmen and corporations are able to conduct business in China in a way that would be normal and standard in say western Europe? Are the arbitrary and increasingly corrupt business practices in vogue in China today good for the long term interests of U.S. business.

Rather I believe U.S. business' long term interest is in a stable relationship built on common understanding, free and open market and democratic system of government. This will never happen while the Leninist-thinking Chinese Communist Party has power.

I close with a reference to history. Earlier this century, our great patriot, the man who also became known as the George Washington of China, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, approached the western democracies seeking support for his fight against the dictatorial government by Chinese war lords. Unfortunately, he was rebuffed by the western democracies because each of them kept a close relationship with a war lord and had a good deal of business interest in it. A great opportunity to build a Chinese-Western democratic partnership was lost.

In frustration, Dr. Sun turned to the Soviet Union. This in turn lead to series of events which resulted in the expansion of the CCP. Thus a disaster was born for both China and the West through the negligence and short sightedness of western policy makers and business communities.

Distinguished Committee members, history has warned us. I strongly urge you to heed those warnings and chart a new course for Chinese-American relations based on the reality that the long term interest of both of our two great countries is in a government in China that is democratic and espouses and implements rule of law.

Thank you for your time.

Testimony to: House of Representatives Committee on International Relations
Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights

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Date of Testimony: 12/18/96

My name is Xuecan Wu. I was formerly an editor at the People's Daily. On the morning of May 20th 1989, the day that martial law was declared, my colleagues and I printed a special edition of the People's Daily containing Zhao Ziyang's five-point statement opposing martial law. We distributed it at four central points in the city - Tiananmen, Dongdan, Wangfujing and Qianmen.

By the direct order of Li Peng, I was sentenced on February 26 1992 to a prison term of four years. The charge was counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement. On July 13th 1992, my editor's job at the People's Daily was terminated. On September 16th 1993 the Chinese Communist authorities released me, two days after the release of Wei Jingsheng, as part of their bid for the Olympic Games. After I got out of prison, Wei Jingsheng, Wang Dan, Xu Liangying, Ding Ziling, Chen Ziming and I continued to engage in pro-democracy activities. As a result we were followed, and I was subpoenaed and detained more than twenty times. On the 30th of October this year, because I had no way to survive in China, I was forced to go into exile in America.

At 6pm on the evening of June 3rd 1989, I had already finished dinner. I rode my bicycle to Tiananmen Square. As a newspaper editor, I wanted to go to the scene of the democracy demonstrations to understand the actual events. At 9pm, three armed personnel carriers charged down Chang'an Avenue, Chongwenmen N. Avenue and other nearby streets, breaking the barricades erected by the city people, and crushing many bicycles that residents had left in the street. The armed personnel carriers drove very fast so that the city residents couldn't surround them and hold them back. They maintained a speed of over 80 kilometers. People who ran slowly were crushed and wounded or killed by the carriers.

At 11:30, at the Southeast corner of Tiananmen Square, I saw a city resident riding a bicycle from the direction of Jianguomen. He stopped and told everyone that he had seen with his own eyes a personnel carrier surrounded by citizens at the Jianguomen bridge. In order to break through the crowd and drive on, the carrier charged into the crowd. A man who was pushing his bicycle was struck by the carrier. His skull was cracked open and he died on the spot. The bicycle was squashed flat. After I heard about this, I went immediately to Jianguomen. Arriving ten minutes later, I pushed my way into the crowd and saw a dead body lying on the ground. The man was about 1.55 meters tall. His skull was split open and he was still bleeding.

At 12:30 I went from Jianguomen to Chongwenmen and with the people there I blocked the soldiers going to the Square. We tried to persuade the soldiers not to go the Square and get into a conflict with the students. At 1:30 on the morning of June 4th, I went from Chongwenmen to Dong Dan. There I saw three-wheel carts and hand-carts carrying dead and wounded people from Tiananmen. As the carts moved, blood dripped on the ground. Bullets whistled past my head. Pushing my bicycle, I followed the North side of the road in the direction of Tiananmen. I wanted to go to Tiananmen and see what was really happening. As I was walking, a couple of people who looked like workers held me back and wouldn't let me go forward. One of them, a tall man about 30 years old, said "Why are you going there? Haven't you seen them dragging out the dead. We won't let you go to your death." The other one, who was about 40, saw that I was wearing glasses and said "You seem to be an intellectual, and you don't even understand this. Rather than going to your death, it would be better to stay alive so that you can do things for your country." I couldn't get away from them, so all I could do was stand by the side of the road with them. Between 1:30am and 4am, I saw at least 30 three-wheel carts and hand carts carrying dead and wounded people. I looked carefully at five carts. Three of them were three-wheel carts, each carrying three people, and two were hand carts, each with one person on it. When I looked, only one of the people was breathing. The rest of them (seven people) were all dead. Some of the dead had been shot in the head. Their skulls were split open, and I couldn't see their faces clearly. Some of them had been shot in the chest, and their clothes were soaked with blood. The carts carrying the dead turned North at Dong Dan to the morgue at Xie He Hospital. Those carrying the wounded took them to Xie He Hospital for emergency treatment.

I was afraid my wife would be worried about me, so just after 4am I went home. When I got to the door of my courtyard I saw that none of the occupants, young or old, had slept. They were all sitting there. My wife was crying. When she saw me come back, she stopped crying immediately. I had come back so late

that everyone in the courtyard thought I was already dead.

I have a friend who is also called Wu. Because he is still in China, I cannot give his full name or his place of work. When he saw me at 8am on June 4th, he asked me where I was the previous evening. I told him what I had seen the night before, and he also told me his personal experience. At 7pm on the night of June 3rd he was standing in front of the public toilet on the Northeast corner of Tiananmen Square. However you look at it, that counts as inside Tiananmen Square. At about 1am on June 4th, he saw soldiers carrying guns form units and come into the square. Because the lights were dark, he couldn't see the situation over by the national flag too clearly, and it was even harder to see what was happening by the memorial. In order to see further and more clearly, he wanted to stand on a nearby bicycle, supporting himself by leaning on a very young man who was standing there. But that young man was also trying to stand on the back carrier of the bicycle. My friend was annoyed that there was no one for him to lean on to climb up, so he said very directly to the young man, "I'm older than you, so I'll let you go first. You can lean on me and have a look, but then you have to come down and let me lean on you and take a look. The young man had just climbed up on the bicycle when there was the sound of a shot, and he fell down, right on top of my friend. My friend was immediately covered in blood. He found a three-wheel cart and tried to take the injured young man to the hospital, but he was already dead. My friend dragged me to his house to see the bloody clothes. He told me, "I will always keep this shirt. There will come a day when I will give my testimony on behalf of the dead and get justice for them."

Later, other people who were in the square at the time told me that to prevent people from seeing more of what was really happening, nearly all the people who stood in high places, or were using torches to light up the square, were shot. Those who did not die were seriously wounded.

Name: Xuecan Wu
Date of Birth: May 23, 1951
Place of Birth: Caiqiao, Binhai County, Jiangsu Province, China.

Biography

- Sep. 1957 to July 1963:** Student of Caiqiao Elementary School, Binhai County, Jiangsu Province.
- Sep. 1963 to Feb. 1968:** Student of Caiqiao high School, Binhai County, Jiangsu Province
- March 1968 to April 1972:** Served in Army and Navy in Guanyun, Jiangsu and Ningbo, Zhejiang Province
- Sep. 1972 to July 1975:** College student of Philosophy Department, Zhongshan University, Guangzhou Province
- Sep. 1975 to Dec. 1980:** Editor of the *People's Publishing House*
- Dec. 1980 to August 1983:** Editor of the *People's Daily* (newspaper).
- Sep. 1983 to June 1985:** Graduate student of the Social Science Academy of China. The major was Journalism
- June 1985 to May 1989:** Editor of the *People's Daily (Overseas Edition)*(newspaper)
- May 1989 to June 1989:** Involved in Democratic movement in Tiananmen Square. Published the declaration of Premier Zhao Ziyang on student movement demanding Democracy on *People's Daily Extra*, since it was not allowed to be published
- June 1989 to Dec. 1989:** Was "Most Wanted" by authorities.
- Dec. 17, 1989:** Was arrested at Sanya, Hainan Province
- Dec. 29, 1989 to July 1, 1992:** Sentenced to four years in prison. Being jailed at Qincheng Prison, room #108(alone)
- July 1, 1992 to Sep. 16, 1993:** Being jailed at Beijing Number One Prison
- Sep. 16, 1993 to now:** Released along with Wei Jingsheng and others. But lost job

A Summary of Account of Wu Xuecan's Own Words

I at first doubt, then adamantly oppose communistic government. Even since 1979, my life goal has been to overturn the dictatorship.

In 1989 when the student democratic movement erupted, I enthusiastically joined it. May 20th, 1989, I, with several other young editors, published the *People's Daily Extra*, which astonished the world. This issue informed the Chinese and the world of the Premier Zhao Ziyang's different opinions on Chinese government's order of suppress(student movement) and martial law.

For this reason, I was listed as "Most Wanted" by authorities. I was arrested on Dec. 17, 1989, and convicted by Beijing People's Court with charges of "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement". I was sentenced to four years in prison.

In Sep. 16, 1993, to bid for hosting the 2000 Olympic, Chinese government released me along with Wei Jingsheng and others.

After the release, I lost my job as an editor. I can't be hired by any people, either. Because I continue to join the democratic movement for human rights, I am persecuted constantly by the authorities. My phone is tapped, I am followed wherever I go. I also was watched 24 hours a day at home. From June 3rd to June 4th, 1993, I was jailed by Beijing Police for 24 hours for no reason.

These persecutions makes it impossible for me to lead a normal life in mainland China. I don't really mind that I do not have a income, but what bothers me is that I can't concentrate on what I want to study. I need a good environment to continue my studies on following subjects.

The Control of information Exchange. The Method of Traditional Chinese Governing.
 How Chinese Authorities Control Mass Media to Carry out Their Wish.
 An Outline of the Past, Present, and Future of Mass Media in China.
 Party's Newspaper: Its Structure, Function, and Content.
 Press Freedom and Political Democracy.
 The Compare between the Political Systems of The West and the East.



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TESTIMONY OF NINA SHEA, DIRECTOR
PUEBLA PROGRAM ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
FREEDOM HOUSE
before the
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND
HUMAN RIGHTS*

December 18, 1996

Mr. Chairman, Freedom House is grateful to you for calling this extraordinary hearing today. It is vitally important that the world know that many ordinary citizens in the United States are incensed by the U.S. government's decision to honor General Chi of China's Peoples Liberation Army because of that military's direct role for gross violations of human rights in China, for which Gen. Chi is personally responsible. We also are outraged by Gen. Chi's revisionist statements denying and minimizing the cold-blooded killing of democracy dissidents in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Freedom House's 1997 survey of Freedom in the World is being unveiled this morning. It shows a steady growth in freedom and democracy with this past year registering the greatest number of democracies and largest number of free societies since the survey was started in 1972. Freedom House finds no progress in civil or political freedoms in China, which it ranks among the world's 17 worst abusers of human rights. One of five setbacks for freedom worldwide over the past year identified in the Freedom House survey is China's "growing aggressiveness, as reflected in continued military threats to neighbors."

But China's military is employed not only to intimidate foreign countries. China's military was used at Tiananmen Square and continued to be used this year against its own people. Those practicing their religion outside government-controlled associations have been among the prime targets of military mobilization and violence. There has been wide coverage of the army deployment against Buddhist monks and nuns in Tibet and the virtual military occupation of their monasteries and holy places. Muslims in the northwestern province of Xinjiang have also been the targets of military violence aimed to stem "spittism" and a

* Attached to the Freedom House statement is a chart showing the organization links between China's Peoples Liberation Army and the Public Security Ministry, the Popular Armed Police and other security units. Source: Defense Intelligence Agency.

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separatist movement over the past year. Little has been written about the military's role in the suppression of Christians inside China and that is what I wish to direct attention to now.

Christians were present at Tiananmen Square. Protestant evangelical Liu Huanwen carried a six-foot cross during the Tiananmen demonstrations in 1989, and was one of the many rounded up and sentenced to a prison term. Released in 1990, the 32 year old was arrested on July 10, 1994 and sentenced to two-years of "reeducation through labor" on a spurious charge of "hooliganism." The real reasons were that he had been involved in an independent, and thus illegal, union, he had supported religious freedom and had signed a petition in May 1995 on "Lessons Drawn From Blood, Push Forward Democracy and the Rule of Law." He was one of fifty political-religious petitioners, a number of whom were arrested and sent to labor camps as a consequence.

Gao Feng, a Christian employee of Chrysler's Beijing Jeep joint venture, was rounded up with some other dissidents prior to the UN Fourth World Conference on Women and sentenced last December to two and a half years of "reeducation through labor" for authoring protest petitions. Last we heard, he was being held in a labor camp in far north Heilongjiang province where he is forced to toil ten hours each day in rice fields, and shares a cell with eight common criminals and several political prisoners. He had been put on the arrest list because in 1994 he had been arrested for holding a prayer service to commemorate the victims of Tiananmen Square on the fifth anniversary of the massacre.

Direct military violence against the Christian Church has been documented since early 1989, even before and separate from the events of Tiananmen Square. I will give just a few examples. An especially egregious instance was an April 18, 1989 police rampage against 1,500 pro-Vatican Catholics in Youtong Village in the northern Hebei Province, in which 30 Catholics were arrested, two killed, and approximately 300 wounded. The raid was carried out by thousands of members of the armed forces in an estimated 270 military vehicles.

During most of 1994, authorities in the Liang Zhou region of Hebei Province laid siege to two small Catholic villages in a sustained attempt to force the inhabitants to follow China's birth control policy. According to written reports that were confirmed by the international media, local authorities, using the slogan, "it is better to have more graves than more than one child," attacked the villages of Feng Jia Zhuang and Long Tian Gou (population 2,000 total) and forced hundreds of villagers to flee for their lives. The authorities started a popular tribunal to try those accused of violating the birth policy, and a prison was built to hold the guilty. The authorities reportedly attacked and looted homes, arrested people indiscriminately and tortured the elderly and others who could not escape. The reported torture included being hanged upside down, squeezed under a chair, and burned on the tongue with electric batons. In one case, a sickly 40-year-old woman who was unable to run away was beaten repeatedly with electric batons, bound

in chains and sexually abused. Exact numbers of those detained by police are unknown, but reportedly all those arrested were physically injured.

Also on December 4, 1994, 4,500 riot police, 200 more plainclothesmen and two truckloads of soldiers forcibly removed evangelical Pastor Yang Yudong from Gangwashi, an official Three-Self Patriotic church in Beijing, because under his leadership the congregation was popular and growing and because he offered moral support to political dissidents. During the 1989 protests, a banner reading "Christians Support the Students" hung from the church facade.

This year in May, 5,000 troops, supported by armored cars and helicopters prevented Roman Catholics from attending an annual pilgrimage in honor of the Blessed Mother in Dong Lu in Hebei Province. In 1995, tens of thousands had participated in the pilgrimage. The crackdown on the procession in 1996 is reported to have resulted in the detention of a number of Roman Catholic priests and laypeople. Others have been placed under house arrest or subjected to severe restrictions. Bishop Su of Baoding, wrote in a June letter to the National People's Congress that Catholics in Dahou, the same area, were forced to join study groups, report to police eight times a day, fined, threatened and tortured. He said that after a month, more than 4,000 Catholics were pressured to renounce their faith publicly, many of whom were students who could not continue their studies unless they cooperated with authorities.

The net result of China's military jackboot is that both Catholics and Protestants are saying that religious freedom has steadily eroded since 1989 and that 1996 was the harshest year of persecution since the Mao era. Between 60 and 100 million Christians refuse to register with the government-controlled religious associations and risk their lives and liberty to worship freely in underground "house-churches." On December 3, Pope John Paul II, referring to the government-controlled Catholic Patriotic Association, called for Chinese Catholics "to remain constant to the faith received and communicated, not giving in to concepts of a Church which does not respond either to the will of the Lord Jesus, nor to the Catholic faith, nor to the sentiment and convictions of the greatest majority of Chinese Catholics."

At least three house-church evangelicals were beaten to death by police this year for their religious affiliation. Thousands of Christians are now being "reformed through labor" in China's vast *laogai*. Two Catholic bishops are among the prisoners. *The Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that in the first half of 1996 police destroyed at least 15,000 religious sites in Zhejiang province alone. Hundreds of house-churches have been shut down or destroyed in Shanghai during the same period. Pastor Allen Yuan, one of the pillars of the house-church movement was forced to close his house-church in Beijing in October 1996. Eighty Catholics were rounded up from their homes, beaten and jailed in Jiangxi province in November, in an operation the Cardinal Kung Foundation believes to be a preemptive strike by authorities against unauthorized Christmas worship. And in January this year, Fr. Guo Bo Le of Shanghai was sentenced to two years of reform through labor for "saying Mass," according to the court decision itself.

All the while, Chinese authorities, like Gen. Chi, engage in shameless lies and deceptions

They deny that religious repression even exists. One official told me this summer that "there has been no persecution on religious grounds since the Cultural Revolution"

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving us the opportunity today to set the record straight.

THE FACTUAL ACCOUNT OF A SEARCH FOR THE JUNE 4 VICTIMS

(I)

Ding Zilin

The Nineties Monthly

**The Factual Account of A Search for the June 4 Victims
Compiled by Ding Zilin**

Published by the Nineties Monthly
Flats A & B, 1/F, Southward Mansion, 3 Lau Li Street,
Causeway Bay, Hong Kong.
Telephone: 887 3997 Facsimile. (852) 887 3897

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Represented by COMMISSION CHINE
c/o Marie Holzman
21 rue de Ecouffes 75004, Paris, France.

ISBN 962-7174-24-6

*Preface***Bandaged my Wound, Dried my Eyes,
I Started to Search for the Victim's Families**

Ding Zilin

Five years. At times it seems like yesterday. At times it seems as though it never happened

Whenever memories of my dead son return to haunt me, I pray for release, for a sudden affliction of amnesia to erase those nightmares. I wish my life could regain some semblance of normality, like some happy people around me. All my life various ailments have made their call, but not amnesia, not now.

There are days of splendid sunshine, breath-taking skies. The streets of Beijing are humming with purposeful pedestrians and traffic. Children are playing their games underneath the multi-storey buildings. Complacent officials are appearing on TV, followed by images of song and dance about this peaceful time. I could almost be convinced myself that a hair-raising, bloody massacre had never taken place here! Yes, the blood-splattered streets have been paved over by a new concrete - brandnamed "economic progress".

The traces are gone, gone completely. "Let bygone be bygone" the Chinese Communist Party chairman Jiang Zemin told reporters last year when he met Bill Clinton, the President of the United States, in Seattle. What a casual, throw-away remark! He said so as if he was talking about something that took place in the ancient past.

Is history always on the side of the aggressors, condemning helpless victims to their own devices?

The Chinese people also seem to have acquired a different mindset. Some idealistic youths from five years ago are now millionaires, on their way to becoming masters of the world in future. Some hang out in cabarets, luxuriating in the comforts of the present, convinced that the world exists only for them. Of course, some of them have survived in discomfort, feeling frustrated, hemmed in

However, my friends, did it ever occur to you that some of your peers and associates were removed from among you five years ago? This world should also exist, inalienably, for them.

I'm the mother of a dead victim of June 4. It's far from my wish to make the burden of our lives more bur-

2 A Search for the June 4 Victims

densome, to dampen and soot the little joyful colours of our existence. What I can't do is to avert my gaze from the pain of those who suffered the same fate as mine. In this ungenerous and uncaring world, these people are languishing in their silent grief. Because even though they've lost their beloved ones, they cannot even make that fact known and seek support from any source. And nobody is able to offer help of any kind. Now they're left behind in our society, forgotten and forsaken. While other people may be able to adopt a see-nothing-say-nothing attitude toward this cruel situation. I can't.

That's why I am determined to track down the June 4 victims. I don't want those victims to die an anonymous death in unknown circumstances. I also don't want the victims' surviving parents, wives and children to suffer mistreatment and humiliation anonymously. I have to find them in order to clarify some questions about what had happened.

My search for this group of survivors, which include maimed victims and families of the dead ones, started spontaneously shortly after June 4, 1989 - out of a natural need for mutual comfort by getting in touch with a few families in similar situations. In the summer of 1991, I was interviewed by ABC, the American network, during which I condemned the Chinese government's bloody suppression of civilians, denounced the lies about the June 4th incident told by (China's premier) Li Peng, and called on the international community to express concern over the fate of the victims' families. As a consequence, my party membership was struck off (with the official explanation that I didn't renew it before it expired) and my position as supervisor to graduate students cancelled. These penalties finally freed me from my security shackles. I expanded my project of identifying and assisting the June 4 survivors with the help of some concerned friends and victims' families.

In June of 1993, I was barred from attending the meeting of the United Nations human rights subcommittee, despite a formal invitation. However, I sent in a written statement to highlight the 4-year-ordeal of the June 4 survivors. Once again I urged the international community to offer support and to press the Chinese government to shoulder its responsibilities toward the survivors. Since then, my friends and I have conducted a more extensive search. The enthusiastic response from individuals overseas, Chinese organizations, as well as international humanitarian and human rights groups, makes me feel better about the task on hand. Without their moral and financial support, our work cannot be continued.

Here I have to extend special thanks to Mr. Xu Liangying, Mr. Wei Jingsheng and some other friends living in this country. Their encouragement has kept me going. Mr. Xu is always there to keep up our morale when goings get tough. Mr. Wei is a new friend. However, he asked me a lot of questions about the survivors at our first meeting. And right away he offered a sizable amount of cash - probably some award money he received from abroad - to dispense to the victims' families. I refused to take it because he was then just released from jail. He needed the money to shape up his ravaged health. After that, he met the victims' families many times, offering condolences and reassurance. Moreover, he helps us liaise with overseas humanitarian and human rights groups to develop assistance schemes. All that has made a lasting impression on me. Both Mr. Xu and Mr. Wei have done their utmost to help further our cause within the constraints in and outside China.

Often overseas friends involved in providing humanitarian aid to the victims' families fail to comprehend the recipients' hesitation. They find the survivors' too cautious. In view of that, Mr. Wei wrote to our overseas

supporters some time ago. In the letter, he says, "Please consider our aid to the families of the deceased victims a responsibility, if not an obligation. It surely is no charity. If the recipients dare not accept our aid, it only means we have not done enough for them and we have no right to shun their timidity. Remember, their beloved ones have paid too high a price, higher than anything we have given so far." As one of the survivors, I deeply appreciate Mr. Wei's sensitivity to our feelings. Death is painful, especially those caused by gunshots and crushing tanks. For the victims' families, the old wounds haven't even begun to heal, how can we expect them to risk sustaining new wounds? Their plight isn't easy to understand. They've lost their right to a normal life, lost their right to disclose to the world their woes and torments, lost their right to put forward their views and express their feelings. They're being ruled by a bunch of inhuman, power-worshipping abusers who denied the people their right to whine even after opening fire on them. How do we expect the survivors to behave?

There may be hundreds of thousands of tenets in this world, but there's only one that I subscribe to - one that treats human life as sacred. We can always replace objects, but not human lives. For that reason, I distrust any tenet that regards human lives as wagers, or like pawns in a children's game.

Now there are some self-proclaimed "elites" who've begun to impugn the 1989 movement of people's protests. After so much bloodshed, so many deaths, they're not levelling their accusations at the killers, instead the 1989 movement was denounced for obstructing the so-called "progress in opening up toward reform". Some even play the Judges of History, donning their super-human masks, pronouncing that every small advancement in history has to exact tremendous costs, including that of famine, massacre and death. It's a "sophisticated" theory, maybe on account of my stupidity, that completely eludes me. However, it's my understanding that our country's progress in opening up and reform - so as to get out from under the shadows of poverty and backwardness - is not a gift from our rulers. It is actually a process that reflects the demands of China's *laobaixing* (common populace). Does it mean that fulfilling such demands would require a bloody sacrifice from them? Or is it simply that all of a sudden history has regressed to the gory savagery of primitive rites? In my view, our elites' theory is no different from the kind that espoused "certain years of peace could be achievably traded off by certain number of deaths". Such a "theory" vainly attempts to justify not only the killings for the killers, but also the cowardice and disloyalty of those "elites" when confronted with the killings. What would they have said, if the killings actually fell on their heads?

I also would like to address the democratic leaders in exile. I'm only an ordinary university professor and an ordinary mother. I'm no expert on democratic theories. However, I fully understand what you strove for at that time. My dead son, who was only 17 years old, threw in his lot because of his ideals for democracy and liberty. I condemned the government's bloody crackdown. And I wouldn't put up with any impugment of the democratic movement even though the participants might have made countless strategic mistakes. But I would like you to know, if you are serious about historical consequences, then you should face up to the consequences the movement unleashed five years ago. I don't expect the aggressors to avow their guilt. But I do expect the leaders and initiators of the movement to shoulder the moral responsibility of the suffering they brought on the people because of that movement.

I'm quoting from a letter sent to me by an overseas student. "By chance I met some 'heroes' from those

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days. They are still boasting about their great deeds and their plans of writing memoirs. With due respect for the epic of the 'heroes' I don't think we can afford to forget those anonymous *laobaixing*. What a great people you're talking about. When you marched, they came to cheer. When you fasted, they brought in drinks and rice. When the troops came, they blocked their advance. When the troops opened fire, they shielded you with their bodies. After you ran, they were there to face the consequence - to get beaten up, to get thrown into jail, to get killed".

I dare not say this is a fair description of what happened. Yet he has pointed out an undeniable fact - most of those killed and injured in the June 4 crackdown are ordinary students and citizens. It's a fact worth pondering.

The student who wrote me that letter is named Zhang Yalai. He left for the United States two years ago and is now chairman of the AIFC, a humanitarian foundation established under the Confederation of Chinese Students and Scholars in America. He himself is a June 4 victim, with one of his legs taken away by bullets of the troops. He spent the 1992 Lunar New Year with several of us survivors. He paid dearly for what he believed in and has now assumed the responsibility of assisting the June 4 survivors. That's really admirable. Let's hope that money, fame and power cannot smother the human conscience or corrupt our memories of those who defended the 1989 movement with their blood and lives. After all, there should be something in this world more valuable than money and fame.

I'm not a very strong mother. After my son's death on Chang'an Avenue, several times I hovered between life and death myself. Somehow it became clear to me that my son died for the future of China, and the only choice left for me is to live for the future of China. I wish that there will never be another killing in this much-ravaged country, that there will no longer be innocent civilians dying on streets. That's why I bandaged my wound, dried my eyes, knocking on one door after another to visit the survivors, the victims' families, and tried my best to reveal to the world every story, steeped in tears and blood, that I unearthed along the way.

May the souls of the deceased find an early and peaceful rest.

.....(This article is an edited version.)

Ding Zilin
March 8, 1994.

A Few Words about the June 4 List of Dead and Maimed Victims

This list has been compiled over the last two years by me and those who have suffered a similar fate to mine. It shows only a tiny percentage of the dead and maimed victims. We know time passes without any feeling for the tragedy. That's why this compilation is not only an act of remembrance for those who sacrificed their lives trying to bring liberty and democracy to China, but also an appeal to the world to provide support to the victims' families. The job of identifying and compiling the list of victims should have been done by the Chinese government. I have noticed that several leaders of the country have made promises to visiting VIPs that such an undertaking will be carried out, as evidenced in overseas media coverage. However, it has remained an empty promise. Because of that, as one of the survivors, as a mother who has lost her son, I did the little I could to collect information on the June 4 victims. I hope there'll be more people to carry on this work.

Here are a few points I would like to make:

1. This list is compiled through the help of many concerned friends, including some overseas students who returned to China for family visits. My thanks to them for making this collective endeavour possible.
2. There are many obstacles to our information gathering. Firstly, some victims' families or even maimed victims themselves, through fear of pressure from the authorities, refused to provide information. Secondly, some witnesses were uncooperative out of their self-preservation instinct. Thirdly, the mobility of people over the past four years has created many missing links, especially concerning the victims from out of town. These are the main reasons many victims did not make it into the present list.
3. The cases listed here have been carefully verified. The unverifiable ones are marked "unknown". The "remarks" column states the attitude of the survivors toward being contacted, or being identified, which is also based on an objective evaluation of the survivors' situation. Please respect their particular wishes when citing cases relevant to them.
4. Most of the maimed victims and survivors listed here have developed direct or indirect contact with me. Those unwilling to be contacted can be contacted indirectly through me.

Ding Zilin
July 6, 1993.

*Taking into consideration the wishes and situation of the survivors, certain information on the victims is deleted from this booklet

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No.	Name	籍贯	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Second-year student of Class 4 of the High School of the Chinese People's University.
0001	Jiang Jielian		M	17		
Circumstances of Death	He left home at about 10:30 p.m. on 3/6/1989. At about 11 p.m. behind the long flower bed in front of Building 29 at Maxida, a bullet shot through his left back and came out of his chest. He was taken to the Beijing Children's Hospital for emergency treatment, which failed to save him. The hospital certified that he "died before arrival". He was cremated on the 7th of June at Babaoshan and ashes of his remains were kept at home.					
Status of Family	Father : Jiang Peikun, Professor of the Philosophy Department at the Chinese People's University Mother : Ding Zilin, Assistant Professor of the Philosophy Department at the Chinese People's University. Jiang Jielian was their only son.					
Address	1st Floor, No. 43, Jing Yuan, Chinese People's University, Beijing.				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Has contact with people outside					

No.	Name	籍贯	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	2nd year student of Yu Yuetan High School, Beijing
0002	Wang Nan		M	19		
Circumstances of Death	He left home with a camera at 11 p.m. on 3/6/1989. In the early morning of 4/6 he was shot by a bullet which hit his head at the south entrance of Nanchang Avenue. The medical emergency team was stopped from rendering emergency treatment by the troops. He died two or three hours later. Together with other corpses, his body was subsequently buried in front of Beijing City No. 28 Middle School, to the west of Tiananmen. On June 7, due to the pungent smell of these corpses, the school complained to the authorities, and the bodies were dug out. Since Wang had been wearing army clothing, he was suspected to be a soldier of the martial law troops. His body was therefore taken to Huguosi Hospital and was found by his family on June 16. On June 26, Beijing Public Security Bureau issued a "death when outside" certificate, making it possible for his body to be cremated at Babaoshan. Ashes of his remains are now placed at the Remains Hall of Wan'an Public Cemetery.					
Status of Family	Father : XXXX ... Mother : XXXX ... Wang Nan has two elder brothers					
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Willing to accept letters and cards of consolation, but unwilling to disclose names and statuses of family members. Does not want to contact outside people directly					

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No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Legal Division of the China International Trade Promotion Association.
0003	Yang Minghu	杨明胡	M	42		
Circumstances of Death	He was shot by the martial law troops outside the Public Security Bureau at East Chang'an Avenue in the early morning of 4/6/1989. His stomach was hit by an explosive bullet. He was taken to the Tongren Hospital for emergency treatment. His bladder and pelvis shattered. After surgical operation, high fever persisted. He died on the 7/6/89. After cremation, his remains were laid at the Remains Hall of Wan'an Public Cemetery.					
Status of Family	Wife : XXX Son : XX					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Willing to contact the outside, but unwilling to reveal the names and status of family members					

No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Student of the class of 1988, Journalism Department, Chinese People's University.
0004	Xiao Jie	肖杰	M	19		
Circumstances of Death	He had a train ticket to Chengdu, Sichuan dated 5/6/1989. At about 2p.m., he walked on the south side of Nanchizi. When he was crossing the road, he passed over the red enforcement line and when he failed to heed the "stop" shout of the martial law troops, he was shot dead by a bullet in the back which came out through the chest. At about 4p.m., the Public Security Bureau, from the student identity card found on him, informed the University to take back his body.					
Status of Family	A native of Chengdu, Sichuan province. His parents are ordinary cadres. He was their only son.					
Address	unknown				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

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No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Graduate of the photography class (admitted in 1989) for the Xinhua News Agency, Journalism Department, Chinese People's University.		
0005	Chen Laishun		M	23	Unit before Death			
Circumstances of Death	On the night of the 3/6/1989, when he was taking photographs on top of a house by the northwest side of the Great Hall of the People, his head was hit by a bullet and he died. After his death, his classmates pulled together some money to purchase a plot of land somewhere near Jinshan Cemetery at Hongqi (Red Flag) Village in Xiangshan as his grave to put his remains. A gravestone was also erected there.							
Status of Family	Native of Beijing Father : XXX, Mother : XXX, both are retired workers, weak and suffering from illness. He has an elder brother and 2 elder sisters.							
Address	.....					Postal Code	Telephone	
Remarks	Not willing to disclose the names of the family members, but can be contacted indirectly.							

No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Assistant Researcher, Science and Technology Policy and Management Research Institute of the Central Academy of Sciences. He visited the U.S.A. in 1988.		
0006	Hao Zijing		M	30	Unit before Death			
Circumstances of Death	He was shot in the left chest by a bullet at Muxidi shortly after 11pm on 3/6/1989. He died at Fuxing Hospital. His family found his corpse on 4/7/1989. His remains were buried at Wan'an Public Cemetery.							
Status of Family	He was married for less than a year. His widow has gone to U.S.A. and remarried. Father : XXX, ... retired, Mother : XXX, also retired.							
Address	.....					Postal Code	Telephone	
Remarks	Willing to contact the outside, but feels it is not suitable to disclose the names and status of the family members.							

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No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	2nd year student of the Light Industry Institute of the Beijing United University.	
0007	Xie Jinsuo		M	21	Unit before Death		
Circumstances of Death		In the early morning of 4/6/89, he was first injured by batons at Liubukou. Then his chest was hit by a bullet. He died at the City Emergency Centre. He had a camera with him.					
Status of Family		Father : Xie Jianguo, a worker of the Factory Building Bureau of the Department of Railways Mother : Liu Meihua, originally a housewife, started to work in 1958. He had four elder sisters. Both parents are retired.					
Address		.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks							

No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Instructor in the Chemistry Department, Beijing University. He was admitted to the Technical Physics Department of Beijing University at the age of 16.	
0008	Xiao Bo		M	27	Unit before Death		
Circumstances of Death		3/6/89 was his birthday. That night, he went to Muxidi with a view of persuading the students to return to school. He was hit in his right chest by a bullet. He died in Fuxing Hospital. After cremation, his remains were returned to his native place in Longshan county in the west of Hunan province.					
Status of Family		Father : XXX, Mother : XXX, retired. He had an elder sister and a younger brother. Wife : XXX, has remarried. Her present husband, XXX, was a good friend of Xiao. When Xiao died, his twin sons were only 70 days old. One of them,, suffering from a brain disease since birth, is still receiving treatment and now resides at at his maternal grandparent's home					
Address		.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks		Willing to accept letters of consolation, etc. Not willing to reveal the names of family members. Not convenient to contact the outsider directly.					

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No.	Name	孫輝	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Student of Class 4 (admitted in 1988) of the Chemistry Department, Beijing University.
0009	Sun Hui		M	19		
Circumstances of Death	In the early morning of 4/6/1989, he was wearing a singlet bearing the Beijing University logo and a pair of jeans. He was riding a bicycle looking for his classmates who had been dispersed by the martial law troops. He was shot at Xidan and died there. After cremation his remains were placed in the Hall of the Laoshan for 3 years. They are now placed at home.					
Status of Family	Father : XXX ... , Mother : housewife. His grandmother was so griefstricken by the death of her grandson that she died in 1992 Sun had an elder brother and an elder sister. His elder brother was married.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Dares not reveal the names and address of the family members. Can contact them indirectly.					

No.	Name	陸春林	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Graduate student admitted in 1986, Philosophy Department, Chinese People's University.
0010	Lu Chunlin		M	27		
Circumstances of Death	He was shot dead by the martial law troops at Muxidi on the night of 3/6/1989. Before he died, he gave his identification papers to a pedestrian for him to bring back to the University. His body was retrieved by the University and was cremated.					
Status of Family	Mother died long ago. Father is a farmer in Jiangsu province. He had a younger brother who had gone abroad to further his studies after he graduated from the university.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	The name of the father has to be investigated. Correspondence has to be directed to him.					

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No.	Name	張向虹	Sex	Age	Studying / Working Unit before Death	Student admitted in 1987, majoring in the study of the Communist Movement in the Chinese Political Science Department of the Chinese People's University.
0011	Zhang Xianghong		F	20		
Circumstances of Death	Shortly after 11p.m. on 3/6/1989, Zhang and her elder brother, sister-in-law and others were going home from a relative's place at Zhushikou. On their way, at Qianmen, they were blocked and dispersed by the martial law troops. Zhang and her sister-in-law hid behind a bush in the west side of Qianmen. A bullet hit her in left chest and main artery and went through her back. She was taken to the City Emergency Centre and died in the early hours of 4/6/89. Her remains were buried at the Public Cemetery of Taiziyu.					
Status of Family	Family consists of parents, elder brother and sister-in-law. Father: Zhang Yaozu, a retired cadre of a vegetable company in the East City District. Mother: Wang Peijing, a retired kindergarten teacher with the Information Institute of the Science Academy. Elder Brother: Zhang Xiangmang. Sister-in-law: Kang Zhanju, with the casualty ward, Chaoyang Hospital.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

No.	Name	程紅興	Sex	Age	Studying / Working Unit before Death	Double major student, admitted in 1987, in the Soviet Union and East Europe Research Institute, Chinese People's University.
0012	Cheng Hongxing		M	25		
Circumstances of Death	Unknown.					
Status of Family	From a farming village in Hubei, originally graduated from the English Department of Central China Normal University.					
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

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No.	Name	王一帆	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Datong Company (Seconded from the Earth Physics Institute of the Central Academy of Sciences.	
0013	Wang Yifei		M	31			
Circumstances of Death	On the night of 3/6/1989, Wang was shot in his left chest at Muxidi. He was found carrying his name cards. His family claimed his body from the Naval General Hospital. The urn containing his ashes is kept at home.						
Status of Family	Mother : XXX, head of the Housing Division, Earth Physics Department of the Central Science Academy. Retired. Wife : XXX, primary school teacher at Zhongguan Village. Daughter : XXX, born 1984, of weak constitution, student at Zhongguan Village No 2 Primary School.						
Address	...					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Not willing to disclose names and addresses of family members, can be contacted indirectly ...						

No.	Name	楊燕聲	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Employee of Sports News.	
0014	Yang Yansheng		M	31			
Circumstances of Death	Incident leading to death unknown. Cremated with ashes installed at Wan'an Public Cemetery.						
Status of Family	Wife : Huang Liping, work unit unknown. Survived by a one-year old son.						
Address	Unknown					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks							

No.	Name	張 瑾	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Trainee of International Trade Centre. A graduate majoring in foreign trade at Beijing's Vocational High School.	
0015	Zhang Jin		F	19	Unit before Death		
Circumstances of Death	At about 12 midnight on 3/6/1989, Zhang was hiding with her boyfriend Hao Gang in a lane close to the Palace of Nationalities. She was shot in the head by the martial law troops. Died on the morning of June 4 at the Postal College Hospital. Cremated on the 14/6/1989 at the Taiziyu Public Cemetery.						
Status of Family							
Address						Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Willing to keep outside contacts, but not convenient to disclose the status of family members						

No.	Name	段 昌 隆	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Graduate of Qinghua University (admitted in 1984) Chemical Engineering Department	
0016	Duan Changlong		M	24	Unit before Death		
Circumstances of Death	On the night of 3/6/1989, he left home on his bicycle, and came across martial law troops which was in confrontation with a crowd of people at the vicinity of the Palace of Nationalities. Duan went up to mediate. He was shot in the chest at close range by a small diameter pistol. Duan died on the early morning of June 4 at the Postal College Hospital.						
Status of Family	Father : Duan Hongbing, member of the People's Consultative Conference of West City District, retired secondary school teacher, was aged 44 when his only son was born. Mother : Zhou Shuzhuang, retired cadre. Duan was the grand nephew of Duan Qirui. He was survived by his parents, one elder sister and one younger sister.						
Address						Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Willing to contact with the outside						

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No.	Name	王薇萍	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Doctor of the Department of gynaecology and obstetrics, Beijing People's Hospital. Bachelor of the Beijing Medical University.
0017	Wang Weiping		F	25		
Circumstances of Death	Circumstances of death unknown. Ashes of her body were buried in the Wan'an Public Cemetery. On the tombstone are carved her name, identity, dates of birth and death. "Born on December 21, 1964. Died as a victim on June 3, 1989."					
Status of Family	Unknown					
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

No.	Name	王健平	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Truck worker of the southern suburb of the Beijing City Gas Company.
0018	Wang Jianping		M	27		
Circumstances of Death	On the night of 3/6/1989, he was shot in the left chest at Xidan. His lung was hurt. He died in the Emergency Centre of Beijing in the early hours of June 4. Ashes of his body were buried in the land of a farmer's on the outskirts of Beijing.					
Status of Family	Wife : Hou XX has not remarried, with her twin daughters who were only eight months old at the time of Wang's death..... She lives with Wang's parents. Brother : XXX; Father : XX, Mother : XXX, retired workers. In financial difficulties.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Not willing to reveal names and identities. Correspondence can be mailed to Hou in person.					

No.	Name	王佩文	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Student of the Youth Work Department of the Chinese Youth Politics College admitted in 1988.
0019	Wang Peiwen	M	21			
Circumstances of Death	In the early hours of 4/6/1989, near Liubukou, Wang walked at the head of a group of students withdrawing from Tiananmen Square. He was run over by a tank and his body was crushed to pieces.					
Status of Family	Father : Wang Jixu, engineer of the Shaanxi Xianyang Colour Kinescope Factory					
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Letter has been sent in June '93 for building up contacts. No reply yet.					

No.	Name	董晓军	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Student of the Youth Work Department of the Chinese Youth Politics College, admitted in 1988.
0020	Dong Xiaojun	M	19			
Circumstances of Death	In the early morning of 4/6/1989, near Liubukou, Dong walked in back of a group of students withdrawing from Tiananmen Square. He was run over by a tank chasing from behind and his body was crushed.					
Status of Family	Father : Dong Xiang, headmaster of the Nanyang Xinmin Primary School on the outskirts of the Yancheng county, Jiangsu province.					
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Letter has been sent in June '93 for building up contacts. No reply yet.					

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No.	Name	职业	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Engineer of the Electrical Machinery Department of the Beijing Machinery Industry Research Institute
0021	Yuan Li		M	27		
Circumstances of Death	Around 11p.m. on 3/6/1989, he was shot dead at Muxidi, soon after he had left home. Unknown body No. 2 in the Naval General Hospital. After being identified by his family, he was cremated on June 24 and buried in the Wan'an Public Cemetery.					
Status of Family	Father: Yuan Kezhu, head engineer of the Design Institute of the Textile Department. He is over 70 and retired. Mother: Li Xuewen, Doctor of the Beijing Children Hospital, retired and is suffering from heart disease. Yuan Li had finished his postgraduate studies in Northern Jiaotong University. He had visited Germany before and was granted a visa to the USA. He had an elder brother and an elder sister.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Willing to accept cards or letters of consolation. Only limited outside contacts are possible because of the poor health and old age of Yuan's parents.					

No.	Name	职业	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Third year student of the Beijing City No 57 Middle School, class monitor, executive of student union
0022	Ye Weihang		M	19		
Circumstances of Death	On the night of 3/6/1989, he was shot at Muxidi and died in the Naval General Hospital at around 2a.m. on June 4. Unknown body No. 1 of the Hospital. He was shot three times, with an external wound at his right shoulder, and internal wounds at his right chest and at the right lateral part of his brain. His family identified his body on June 5. His bone ashes were placed at home.					
Status of Family	Father: Ye X, in his sixties, retired technical cadre of the Public Security Department. He is now working in Hainan. Mother: XX, previously doctor of the Public Security Department. Now working for the Yinyin Bao of China. Ye had an elder brother.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Willing to accept letters of consolation but not willing to reveal names of the family members or establish direct contacts with outsiders.					

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No.	Name	英名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Graduate of the Industrial Economics Department of the Chinese People's University, admitted in 1989.
0023	Wu Guofeng		M	22		
Circumstances of Death	On the night of 3/6/1989, he left school with a camera. In the morning of June 4, Professor Jiang Peikun, while searching for the dead body of his son, discovered Wu's body in the Postal College Hospital. Jiang was entrusted by the Hospital to bring the namelist back to school. After cremation, Wu's bone ashes were taken back by his parents.					
Status of Family	Father: Head of factory in a remote county in Sichuan. Mother: Geihu, (sole proprietor) in that county. Wu was the only child of his parents and the only university student of that county. Dozens of people saw him off when he left the county for Beijing.					
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

No.	Name	英名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Stone Corporation
0024	Wang Chao		M	30		
Circumstances of Death	Circumstances of death unknown. Unknown body No. 3 in the Naval General Hospital. His bone ashes were stored in the Jinshan Tomb Garden near Xiangshan.					
Status of Family	Father: XXX, cadre of the Central Science Academy. Mother: XXX, staff member of Technology Department of the Conditions Division, the Central Academy of Sciences. Died soon after he was married. Status of widow unknown. Wang had two younger sisters.					
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Willing to accept letters of consolation, but not willing to reveal the names of family members. No direct contacts with outsiders.					

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No	Name	性别	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Editor of the Magazine "Township Construction" of the Chinese Architectural Technique Research Centre under the Construction Department
0025	An Ji	男	M	31	Unit before Death	
Circumstances of Death	Around 11 p.m. of 7/6/1989, An and five other young people (3 men and 2 women) accompanied their friend to Yangfangdian. As they walked past the Beijing Children's Hospital, they were ordered to stop by the martial law troops. Four of the young men ran to hide. An and another man were shot dead. The two women knelt down, begging for mercy, and were released.					
Status of Family	Both of his parents were veteran cadres. His father died in the Cultural Revolution, and mother XX has retired. Wife XX, previously worked in the Iron & Steel College, now transferred to an unknown workplace. When he was killed, his son was a primary one student.					
Address	Unknown				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Unwilling to establish contacts with outsiders or reveal the names of family members.					

No	Name	性别	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Engineer of the Beijing Solar Energy Research Institute. Had received award for inventing, in collaboration with colleagues, certain electro-thermal products.
0026	Yu Di	男	M	32	Unit before Death	
Circumstances of Death	At 2 a.m. on 4/6/1989, the martial law troops came into confrontation with civilians internal at Nanchizi all the way up to the History Museum. The soldiers shot at the people four times and Yu was among the first group who got shot. A Bullet pierced through his left lower rib and came out through his right upper rib, hurting eight of his organs including his liver, kidney and lungs. His spinal column was hurt, bones broken. He underwent four major surgical operations in the Xiehe (Concorde) Hospital, with one of his kidneys removed. His fever did not go down. The emergency treatment which lasted for 20 days proved to be in vain. He eventually died in the Hospital on June 30.					
Status of Family	His parents are retired veteran cadres. His younger brother was married. Wife Xu Liping was his colleague in the same work unit. Now living with her parents (in Northern Jiaotong University).					
Address	Original address has changed. New address unknown.				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Has contacts with outsiders. Enquiries can be made to XXX for Xu's address.					

No.	Name	姓 文	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Second-year student of the Mathematics Department of Beijing University.
0027	Yan Wen		M	22		
Circumstances of Death	At around 1a.m. on 4/6/1989, he was shot at the artery of his upper leg when he was taking photographs at Mu'idi. He died, in spite of the emergency treatment received in the Naval General Hospital. After cremation, his remains were buried in the Taiziyu Public Cemetery.					
Status of Family	Father : XXX, senior engineer of the Planning Institute of the Metallurgy Department Elder Brother : XX, postgraduate student of the Computer Department of Beijing University. Pursuing further studies in the USA in 1989. Mother : senior engineer of the Beijing Cigarette Factory, retired					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Unwilling to reveal names and address of family member. Can be contacted indirectly.					

No.	Name	姓 名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Student of the Beijing's Economics and Trade University, admitted in 1986. Graduated from Beijing No. 4 Middle School.
0028	Qian Jin		M	21		
Circumstances of Death	.....				
Status of Family	A native of Beijing. Details unknown.					
Address	Unknown				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

20 List of Victims

No.	Name	性别	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Postgraduate student of environmental studies of Qinghua University, admitted in 1988. Admitted into the University in 1983
0029	Liu Hong	M	M	24	Unit before Death	
Circumstances of Death	In the early hours of 4/6/1989, he was shot in the abdomen at Qianmen. His intestines squeezed out and his schoolmates pressed them in and covered his abdomen with a small basin. He was still alive on the way to hospital but eventually died in the arms of his schoolmates.					
Status of Family	Both of his parents had been in Xinjiang as intellectuals helping the borderland. He had a younger sister.					
Address	Unknown				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

No.	Name	性别	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Student of Precision Equipment Department at Qinghua University, admitted in 1986
0030	Zhong Qing	M	M	21	Unit before Death	
Circumstances of Death	On the night of 3/6/1989, he was shot right in the head at Muxidi. Half of his face was blown off. His dead body was identified because of the key in his pocket. His school was then informed of his death.					
Status of Family	Unknown					
Address	Unknown				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

List of Victims 21

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Graduate, Biophysics Research Institute of the Central Academy of Science	
0031						
Circumstances of Death	Unknown					
Status of Family	Home in the village. Both of his elder brothers died in accidents. After his death, the whole family was tremendously depressed.					
Address	Unknown				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Ticket seller of route 101	
0032		F				
Circumstances of Death	Before 5p.m. on 4/6/1989, her dead body was found lying at the north of the crossroads of Hongmiao (Red Temple) in the eastern suburb.					
Status of Family	Unknown					
Address	Unknown				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

22 List of Victims

No.	Name	籍 × ×	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Section chief of the Capital Construction Department of the Heat and Power Plant of the eastern suburb				
0033	Zhang XX		M	53						
Circumstances of Death		Same as 0032.								
Status of Family										
Address							Postal Code	Telephone		
Remarks										

No.	Name	籍 ■ ■	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Primary three student of Beijing Shunchenggen Primary School.				
0034	Lu Peng		M	9						
Circumstances of Death		At around midnight of 3/6/1989, he was shot in his chest by the martial law troops near the flyovers at Fuxingmen. Died instantly.								
Status of Family		Lu's parents were intellectuals who had gone to work and live in a rural area. They are working out of Beijing. Lu was brought up by his grandmother.								
Address		.....					Postal Code	Telephone		
Remarks										

No.	Name	莊捷生	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Staff member (salesman) of Beijing Wudaokou Shopping Mall
0035	Zhuang Jiesheng		M	27	Unit before Death	
Circumstances of Death	Born on August 27, 1962. He had not returned home after he had left on June 3, 1989 at daytime. On June 11, his family identified his body in the pictures of those unknown corpses in Tongren Hospital. He was shot twice, in the chest and on his arm. After cremation, his bone ashes had been stored in the Bone-ash Hall of Babaoshan for three years. Later, they were transferred to the Dongsheng Bone-ash Hall.					
Status of Family	His father and mother are both retired workers in their seventies and sixties, respectively. Their names and address are unknown. He had not got married but had a girlfriend before his death. He had one elder brother and one elder sister. They are both married. His elder brother Zhuang Ruisheng is a staff member of the Wudaokou Shopping Mall.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Unwilling to have contacts with outsiders. Letters can be sent to his elder brother at . . .					

No.	Name	袁敏玉	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Electric Welder of Beijing Geological Equipment Factory.
0036	Yuan Minyu		M	35	Unit before Death	
Circumstances of Death	On the night of 3/6/1989, he was shot in his chest and throat somewhere between Sanlihe and Muxidi. He died in the Children's Hospital on the afternoon of June 4. His body was put in a coffin on June 5 and brought back to his old home in Hebei by his relatives.					
Status of Family	His widow Kang Junfen, is a worker in a bricks factory at Shijingshan. His son Yuan Boen is now a ten-year-old primary school student. His father Yuan Changlu, in his sixties, retiring as a cook from a technical institute of the Public Security Department, is now paralysed in bed, after his mother died of illness in early 1989. His brother, living in the hospital, is suffering from mental illness. His youngest sister is at home totally paralysed. His younger sister has replaced his father's job as a cook.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	The family is suffering from extreme hardship and is in need of assistance.					

24 List of Victims

No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Staff member of a company under the Beijing City Labour Reform Bureau (Originally a graduate of Beijing Aviation College, admitted in 1982)
0037	Du Yanying	杜燕英	M	29	Unit before Death	
Circumstances of Death	At 2 p.m. of 4/6/1989, he was shot by an explosive bullet in his lung near Daibei Photo Studio at Qianmen. Died in the Youyi (Friendship) Hospital in the early morning of June 5.					
Status of Family	Both of his parents were cadres of the Chadian Labour Reform Bureau. His father had passed away. Du was the only son in the family. He had two sisters. Du's widow Song Huiming is 33. She is a librarian of the Chinese Science Academy. Du survived by his son Du Hanfei, aged six.					
Address	...				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	Willing to have contacts with outsiders. Letters can be sent to the work unit.					

No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Driver of the Beijing Tourist Bureau
0038	Lu Jianguo	路建刚	M	40	Unit before Death	
Circumstances of Death	At 11 p.m. of 3/6/1989, he was shot dead, by an explosive bullet in the left chest, near the Sanluhe Shopping Mall at the February 7 Theatre Road. His dead body was placed in Fuwai Hospital.					
Status of Family	His father is a veteran cadre. He had been the driver of Bo Yibo's son, Bo Xicheng. His daughter Shen Ran is 14, a student of the No. 113 Middle School. His widow Shen Hui is 40, originally a doctor of the Dongfeng Television Factory. She could not work as a doctor because of the depression she suffered from after Lu's death. She was then relocated to work in the trade union of the Beijing Exhibitions Gallery.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

No.	Name	王学勝	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Staff worker of the North China Maternal Station
0039	Wang Zhengsheng		M	20		
Circumstances of Death	On the night of 7/6/1989, he was killed together with An Ji (see No. 0025 of Group A) and others. His elder brother Wang Zhengqiang was also shot and wounded at the same spot.					
Status of Family	His father, now in his seventies and has retired for many years, was the chief of the State Maternal Bureau. His mother is the head of the neighbourhood committee. The Wang family has many children. Wang, named Little Six when he was a small boy, was the youngest. He had just become engaged shortly before he died.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

No.	Name	李长生	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Librarian of the Automation Engineering College of the Beijing United University.
0040	Li Changsheng		M			
Circumstances of Death	In the early hours of 4/6/1989, he left home and went to Tiananmen Square. He never returned and his dead body could not be found, either.					
Status of Family	His mother's name is not known.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

26 List of Victims

No.	Name	性别	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Labour Service Company of the Beijing Exhibition Gallery
0041	Xi Guru	F	F	24		
Circumstances of Death						
Status of Family						
Her husband Wang Lin, now 30, was also a staff worker of the Beijing Exhibition Gallery. Her son Wang Xingyu is now 5.						
Address						
Postal Code Telephone						
Remarks						

No.	Name	性别	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Student studying for university examination
0042	Dai Wei	M	M	20		
Circumstances of Death						
Status of Family						
Mother — Liu Xiuzhan, 45, worker in the Xingjiekou Cinema Younger sister — Dai Ju, 20, worker at the Hepingmen Roast Duck Restaurant						
Address						
Postal Code Telephone						
Remarks						

No.	Name	姓向東	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Graduate of Television University.
0043	Wu Xiangdong	M	23	Unit before Death		
Circumstances of Death						
Status of Family						
Father : Wu Xuehan, staff worker at the Ore Deposit Research Institute of the Chinese Geological Science Academy. Mother : Xu Jue.						
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

No.	Name	劉建國	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Worker at the Great Wall Raincoats Company.
0044	Liu Jianguo	M	35	Unit before Death		
Circumstances of Death						
Status of Family						
His widow Ning Shuping is a worker at the Beijing No. 4 Spectacle Factory. His daughter is now a 11-year-old primary student.						
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
.....				
Remarks						
Ning has to work from Monday through Saturday in the spectacle factory. She refuses outside contacts.						

28 List of Victims

No.	Name	籍贯	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Second year student at Beijing Medical University.	
0045	Lai Bi		M	20			
Circumstances of Death							
Status of Family							
Address		.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks							

No.	Name	籍贯	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	The People's Court of Beijing City East District.	
0046	Dong Lin		M	20+			
Circumstances of Death		Killed at Muxidi on the night of 3/6/1989.					
Status of Family		Father : Dong Zhimin, Section Chief of the Logistics Department of the Beijing Documentary Film Production Company.					
Address						Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks							

No.	Name	籍安民	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Graduate majoring in Jet Motivation Machinery, the Beijing Aviation and Aerospace University, 1989.
0047	Guo Anmin	M	23			
Circumstances of Death	Had already passed the master examination before his death. He was shot in the head in the early morning of June 4. Died instantly, with half of his face blown off. His dead body was placed in the main building of the Zhengfa University. A few days later, it was taken back to the Beijing Aviation University.					
Status of Family	A native of Hunan.					
Address					Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks						

No.	Name	林仁富	Sex	Age	Studying/Working Unit before Death	Doctorate graduate of the Beijing Science and Technology University in 1989.
0048	Lin Renfu	M	30			
Circumstances of Death	In the early hours of 4/6/1989, he and his schoolmate Wang Kuanbao withdrew from the Tiananmen Square. He was run over by a tank when they reached Liubukou.					
Status of Family	He had married, with no child. Before his death, he arranged to go to Japan in October, 1989. His father had already died. His mother is still alive. His elder brother: Liu Renqou. His younger brother: Liu Renmin.					
Address	.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks	.....				

30 List of Victims

No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Driver of the Beijing Construction Furnace Company.	
0049	Sun Yanchang	孙彦昌	M	24	Unit before Death		
Circumstances of Death		On the night of 3/6/1989, he left home to look for his younger brother. He was shot at the south 110 Bus Terminal near Hong Miao (Red Temple) in the eastern suburb by the martial law troops. The gunshot wounded his nerve at the fourth spine-bone at the neck. He received emergency treatment in the Chaoyang Hospital. He died six months later.					
Status of Family		Sun was the eldest son. Both parents alive. He had two younger brothers. His father Sun Hengyao is the director of the printing section of the Beijing Printing and Dyeing Mill.					
Address		.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks							

No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Student of Journalism, majoring in reporting and editing, at Beijing Broadcasting College. Graduate of 1989.	
0050	Qian Hui	钱辉	M	21	Unit before Death		
Circumstances of Death		In the early morning of 5/6/1989, outside the entrance of the Broadcasting College, a huge bullet from a tank burst his bladder. Another shot cut the artery of his upper leg. He was not dead by that time. He told his companion, "Watch out! The tank has not gone yet!" His companions dragged him into the campus. He died, leaving behind a trail of blood a hundred metres long.					
Status of Family		Qian was the only child in his family. The identities of his parents are not known. When his father came to Beijing to take back his son's bone ashes, he had asked for the college's permission to let him carry the cinerary casket and walk round the school. But his request was turned down.					
Address		.....				Postal Code	Telephone
Remarks		In the process of contacting his family.					

No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Student of the Beijing Broadcasting College, admitted in 1988				
0051	Zou Bing	邹冰	F	19	Unit before Death					
Circumstances of Death		Zou was under examination for having participated in the pro-democracy movement in 1989. She could not get through, and she committed suicide by jumping down from the 13th floor of the tower building in the school. After her death, the school authorities claimed that Zou had mental illness while in fact, she did not. A few days before she killed herself, she wrote a letter to her parents, saying that she owed them for raising her with care. Ten minutes before her death, she even helped other students by filling up several kettles of water for her dormitory.								
Status of Family		Her parents are doctors								
Address		They are natives of Hubei. Other details are unknown				Postal Code	Telephone			
Remarks										

No.	Name	姓名	Sex	Age	Studying/Working	Musician of the Central Ethical Performance Troupe.					
0052	Piao Changkui	杲长奎	M	47	Unit before Death						
Circumstances of Death		On the night of 3/6/1989 or in the early hours of June 4, he was shot somewhere between Xidan and Fuxingmen. The bullet hit his left brain at the rear and came out his right neck. He died in the Postal College Hospital. He was then buried in the Jinshan Tomb Garden. No tombstone has been erected.									
Status of Family		Wife: Jin Zhenyu, caretaker of labour insurance division of the Iron and Steel Institute. He had two daughters. The elder one, now 24, has got married. The younger one, now 21, is working									
Address		.....				Postal Code	Telephone				
Remarks											

Acknowledgements:

The Chinese version of this booklet was published in June 1994 by the *Nineties Monthly*. This English translation is made possible with the contributions of some sympathetic friends.

We acknowledge the participation of Evan Chan, S.K.C. and W.H.C. in the preparation of this translation.

An Appeal for Humanitarian Aid to the June 4 Victims

Professor Ding Zilin of Beijing's Chinese People's University is making an appeal to the international community for humanitarian aid to the June 4 survivors. In January 1994, Prof. Ding summarized her survey as follows:

1. At the moment, we are able to find more than 40 maimed victims (we count only those who had sustained lasting injuries) and more than 60 dead victims' families. Together we have been able to locate more than 100 families. As our network grows, we are getting more clues to track down other survivors. This is an on-going search. Many cases are in the process of being verified. We expect to find more people in need of aid.
2. Among the 60-odd victims' families, 27 of them lost their only child. The surviving parents are either poor or sick or very elderly. 16 of the families lost their husbands and fathers, leaving behind widows and children. Among these 16 families, 3 of them consist of orphans left by students; another 3 consist of impoverished and sick elderly family members; and one is in extreme hardship.
3. Among the 40-odd maimed victims, 25 of them have been seriously wounded; 7 of them have completely lost their ability to work or make a living; and 5 of them are still undergoing treatment.
4. Other than those highlighted above, all survivors and victims' families are, in varying degree, in need of financial aid.

In view of the plight of these survivors, Prof. Ding is appealing to compassionate and concerned individuals overseas for financial support. She said: "All contributions to help the June 4 survivors should be considered strictly humanitarian, without any political strings attached."

Prof. Ding has been kept under surveillance since March 1994. All contributions can be sent to:

Commission Chine
c/o Marie Holzman
21 rue de Ecouffes
75004, Paris
FRANCE



Tang Zhi is assistant professor of philosophy
at Beijing's Chinese People's University,
author of *Love & Sexism*

九十年代

Attn: Nina Shea

4 PAGES

**DIRECTORY
OF
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
MILITARY PERSONALITIES
OCTOBER 1995**

This Directory supersedes USDO Hong Kong Directory of People's Republic of China Military Personalities dated October 1994. Information received through 30 September 1995 is included.

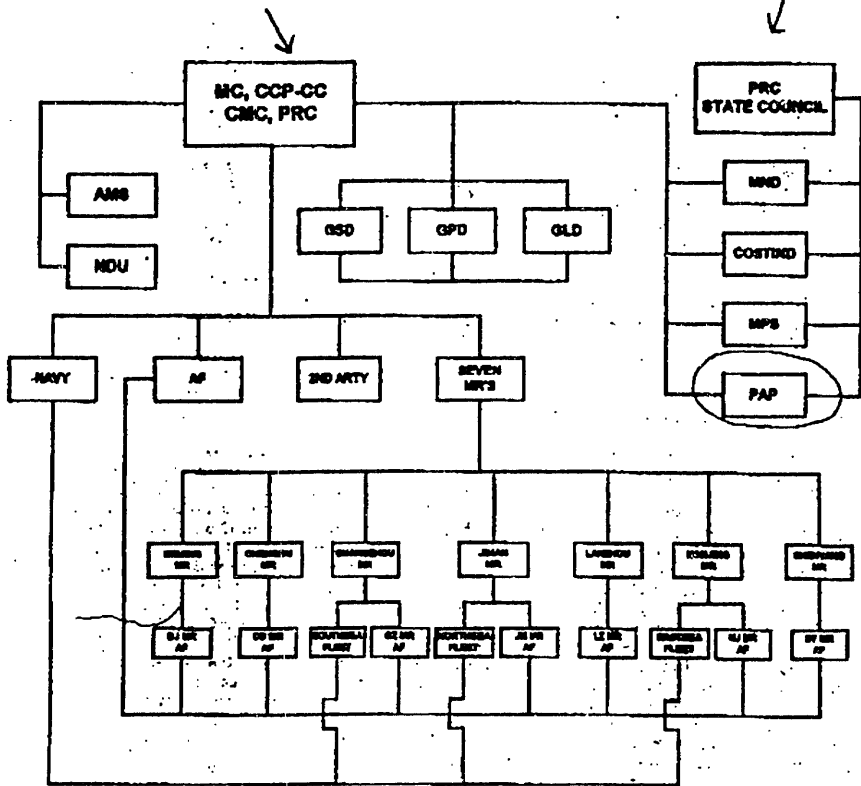
SOURCE: DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

ABBREVIATIONS

A	ARMY
AD	AIR DEFENSE
ADV	ADVISOR
AF	AIR FORCE
AMS	ACADEMY OF MILITARY SCIENCES
ANAF	ARMY, NAVY, AIR FORCE
APC	ARMY PARTY COMMITTEE
ARTY	ARTILLERY
ATT	ATTACHE
BDE	BRIGADE
CAMA	CHINESE ARMYMEN'S ASSOCIATION
CC	CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CCDI	CENTRAL COMMISSION FOR DISCIPLINE INSPECTION
CCL	COUNCIL
CCP	CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY
CDI	COMMISSION FOR DISCIPLINE INSPECTION
CDR, DCDR	COMMANDER, DEPUTY COMMANDER
CDT, DCDT	COMMANDANT, DEPUTY COMMANDANT
CHM, VC	CHAIRMAN, VICE CHAIRMAN
CISS	CHINA INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC STUDIES
CMC	CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION OF THE PRC (STATE)
COGS, DCOGS	CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF, DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF
COMMON	COMMISSION
COS, DCOS	CHIEF OF STAFF, DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF
COSTED	COMMISSION OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INDUSTRY FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE
CP	COMMAND POST
CPPCC	CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE
CSMPS	CHINA SOCIETY OF MILITARY FUTURE STUDIES
CTH	COMMITTEE
D	DEPARTMENT
DAIT	DEFENSE ATTACHE
DEP	DEPUTY
DIR, DDIR	DIRECTOR, DEPUTY DIRECTOR
ENGR	ENGINEER, ENGINEERING
ED	EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY DEPARTMENT
EXEC	EXECUTIVE
(F)	FEMALE
FAB	FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUREAU
FAO	FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE
GA	GROUP ARMY
GARR	GARRISON
GEN	GENERAL
GLD	GENERAL LOGISTICS DEPARTMENT
GPD	GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT
GRD	GROUND
GS	GENERAL SECRETARY
GSD	GENERAL STAFF DEPARTMENT
HON	HONORARY
HQD	HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT
LAD	LIBERATION ARMY DAILY
LD	LOGISTICS DEPARTMENT
LG	LEADING GROUP
LO	LEADING ORGAN
MGR	MEMBER
MC	MILITARY COMMISSION (OF THE CCP-CC)
MD	MILITARY DISTRICT

MIL	MILITARY
MIM, VMIM	MINISTER, VICE MINISTER
MND	MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE
MPC	MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEE
MPO	MUNICIPAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
MPS	MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SECURITY
MR	MILITARY REGION
MSD	MILITARY SUBDISTRICT
M	NAVY
MAIL	NATIONAL
MDU	NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY
MPC	NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
OFF	OFFICE
OP	OPERATIONS, OPERATIONAL
ORON	ORGANIZATION
(P)	PROBABLE
PA	PRE-ASSIGNED (E.G. LOCAL PARTY SECRETARY PRE-ASSIGNED AS POLITICAL COMMISSAR OF RESERVE UNIT)
PAD	PEOPLE'S AIR DEFENSE
PAP	PEOPLE'S ARMED POLICE
PB	POLITICAL BUREAU
PBA	POLITICAL BUREAU ALTERNATE MEMBER
PBP	POLITICAL BUREAU FULL MEMBER
PBSCM	POLITICAL BUREAU STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER
PC, DPC	POLITICAL COMMISSAR, DEPUTY POLITICAL COMMISSAR
PCC	PRODUCTION AND CONSTRUCTION CORPS
PD	POLITICAL DEPARTMENT
PLC	POLITICAL AND LEGAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
PFC	PROVINCIAL PARTY COMMITTEE
PFG	PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
PFOD	PROPAGANDA
PRES, VPRES	PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT
PSB, PSD	PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU, PUBLIC SECURITY DEPARTMENT
RES	RESEARCH
RF	RESPONSIBLE PERSON
RPC	REGIONAL PARTY COMMITTEE
RPCOSC	REGIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE
RPG	REGIONAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
RSV	RESERVE
S, IS, DS	SECRETARY, FIRST SECRETARY, DEPUTY SECRETARY
SAD	SPECIALISED ARMS DEPARTMENT
SC	STANDING COMMITTEE
SCI	SCIENCE
SCM	STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER
SEC	SECRETARIAT
SG, DSG	SECRETARY GENERAL, DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL
SR	SENIOR
SUBD	SUBDEPARTMENT
TECH	TECHNOLOGY
TRANS	TRANSPORTATION
TRNG	TRAINING
*	CCP-CC FULL MEMBER
**	CCP-CC ALTERNATE MEMBER
+	POLITICAL BUREAU FULL MEMBER
++	POLITICAL BUREAU ALTERNATE MEMBER
-	MEMBER, CENTRAL COMMISSION FOR DISCIPLINE INSPECTION
000000*	DATE ON WHICH A PERSON IS DEDUCTED TO BE IN LISTED POSITION

PRC MILITARY ORGANIZATION



One source said funding is from Public Security Bureau but control/command comes from the PLA.



**AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL
USA**

304 Pennsylvania Avenue SE - Washington DC 20003
Phone (202)644-0200 - Fax (202)646-7142

December 16, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Amnesty International USA is deeply concerned by your decision to meet with General Chi Haotian, the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China. As you are no doubt aware, General Chi had operational control of the troops that carried out the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, when thousands of unarmed student protesters were killed, including hundreds who were summarily executed. Despite international requests, the government of China refused to conduct an inquiry into the massacre.

This meeting was particularly troubling because it does not seem to have been required by protocol and came literally on the eve of International Human Rights Day.

Since General Chi conducted the operation that crushed the democracy movement in Tiananmen Square, little has happened in China to justify this meeting or the warm reception that General Chi received at the Pentagon. Indeed, the record since the massacre is one of repeated assaults upon internationally recognized human rights by the Chinese government. In China today, thousands of people languish in prisons simply because of their political views. Others are held - often without charge or trial - in "reeducation through labor" camps for advocating the ideals of a democracy. Political trials are grossly unfair, torture is commonly practiced and women suffer due to the "one child" policy. General Chi is one of those who plays a major role in these activities.

It undermines the Chinese human rights leaders and their efforts to build a society which respects internationally recognized human rights for your Administration to play host to General Chi during the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - celebrated around the world and in this country as International Human Rights Day. The timing is a sad indication of how far the United States has drifted from the days when Eleanor Roosevelt led the US delegation in helping to craft that historic document. If the Clinton Administration ignores such symbolism there is ample reason to think the Chinese government does not. Indeed the timing of this visit has the same aggressive symbolic quality as the arrest of prominent human rights activist Wang Dan during Secretary Christopher's recent visit to Beijing or the arrest of Wei Jing Sheng following his meeting with Assistant Secretary for Human Rights John Shattuck last year.

If one is not surprised that China seems determined to flaunt its disregard for international human rights norms, one can still be deeply disappointed when the United States so publicly acquiesces.

Sincerely,

Bill Schultz

William F. Schultz
Executive Director

Amnesty International is an independent worldwide movement working impartially for the release of all prisoners of conscience, for and groups that for political reasons and on only to torture and execution. It is funded by donations from its members and supporters throughout the world.

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Mort Winston	William F. Schultz	Lorna Raddley	Steve Rickard



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

 2400 DEFENSE PENTAGON
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-2400


27 MAR 1997

Honorable Christopher H. Smith
 House of Representatives
 Washington DC 20515

Dear Congressman Smith:

On January 8, 1997, this office provided an interim response to your inquiry of December 16, 1996 regarding the visit to the United States by the Minister of National Defence of the People's Republic of China, General Chi Haotian. I have enclosed a copy of that response which also describes the itinerary for his 5 to 17 December 1996 visit. Following is the remaining information which you requested regarding the cost of General Chi's visit which was unavailable to be included in the earlier correspondence to you.

Q: What will be the total cost of General Chi's visit (including, but not limited to, the cost of transportation, security, food and lodging, logistic and administrative support, and other arrangements for the General, his entourage, and any American personnel required by the visit)?

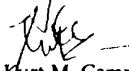
A: According to the records of the U.S. Air Force Executive Agent/Foreign Liaison Division, the following costs were incurred in the course of conducting the Secretary of Defense counterpart visit for the Minister of Defence, the People's Republic of China, General Chi Haotian:

Food	\$27,478.38	
Lodging	\$59,885.46	
Administration	\$ 3,683.93	(Miscellaneous portorage fees, tips, service charges, etc.)
Interpreters	\$ 6,960.00	(State Department)
USAF Security	\$50,000.00	(Air Force security arranged and conducted the visit)
Transportation		
Ground	\$ 5,185.63	
Military Aircraft	\$37,719.45	(KC-10 aircraft for 5.45 hours @ \$6921/hr)
	\$87,998.40	(DC-9 aircraft for 14.55 hours @ \$6048/hr)



Again, thank you very much for your letter. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me or my staff on these or any other matters.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'K. Campbell', with a horizontal line extending to the right.

Kurt M. Campbell
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense
(Asian and Pacific Affairs)

○