FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
Twenty years since the Tiananmen Massacre, the Chinese government refuses to accept responsibility, let alone apologize or offer compensation, for killing, injuring, imprisoning and persecuting individuals for participating in the 1989 peaceful protests. The number of the victims, and their names and identities, remain unknown. Families continue to be barred from publicly commemorating and seeking accountability for the death of their loved ones, and activists are persecuted and harassed for investigating the crackdown or for calling for a revision of the government’s verdict that the pro-democracy movement was a “counter-revolutionary rebellion.”

Many individuals continue to suffer the consequences of participating in the pro-democracy movement today. At least eight individuals remain imprisoned in Beijing following unfair trials in which they were convicted of committing “violent crimes.” Those who were released after long sentences have had difficulty re-integrating into society as they suffer from illnesses and injuries resulting from torture, beatings and mistreatment while in prison, as well as continued police harassment. Many of those injured have had to pay for their own medical expenses and continue to struggle as the physical and psychological scars leave them unable to take care of themselves or to work. Some who took part in the protests still find it difficult to make ends meet after being dismissed from comfortable jobs or expelled from universities after 1989.

It is an oft-repeated claim that the pro-democracy movement was thoroughly crushed in 1989 and the Chinese people have “moved on,” that they have become indifferent to politics and appear to be content with material gains. Contrary to this impression, individuals across the country continue to be inspired by the movement, many dedicating themselves to rights activism and helping ordinary people expose official corruption, social injustice and environmental degradation and to press local governments to address these issues. These human rights activists, who form a loosely-connected network known as the rights-defense movement, see it as an outgrowth of the pro-democracy movement or as laying the ground for future democratic reforms by raising citizens’ awareness of their rights and of the building of a civil society.

Recently, Dai Qing,a well-known Chinese intellectual, proposed that China adopt a truth and reconciliation process to address the human rights violations that occurred during the Tiananmen Massacre. This suggestion has
caught the attention of other intellectuals, former student leaders and victims’ advocates. CHRD examines this proposal in this report. We argue that, in the absence of a genuine and firm commitment by the Chinese government to human rights, democracy and the rule of law, such a process would fail in its dual goals of telling the truth about the massacre and fostering reconciliation between the people and the government.

CHRD continues to call on the Chinese government to allow independent investigations into the Tiananmen Massacre, hold officials accountable for the atrocities committed in June 1989, release a comprehensive list of victims, offer official apologies to and compensate the victims and their families and cease the harassment of individuals for commemorating, investigating and speaking out about the Tiananmen crackdown.

This CHRD report draws upon on a recent report in Chinese by Jiang Qisheng (江棋生), a Beijing-based writer and activist and a participant in the pro-democracy movement. Additionally, the report is based on interviews with other participants in the 1989 pro-democracy movement, with individuals recently released after serving long sentences for allegedly committing violent crimes during the protests and with human rights activists. Five appendices to this report are available online:

- Appendix I: list of 195 individuals killed
- Appendix II: list of 57 injured
- Appendix III: list of 15 executed
- Appendix IV: list of 654 incarcerated as part of the crackdown in Beijing.
- Appendix V: list of 254 people sent to RTL for participation in the 1989 movement.

The lists were compiled by Jiang, who has worked closely with the Tiananmen Mothers, a group of relatives of those killed during the Tiananmen Massacre that has been collecting and compiling information for the past twenty years. CHRD has consolidated and updated the lists, supplemented them with additional cases and translated them into English.

I. Two Decades of Human Rights Abuses against Tiananmen Protestors & Families

In this section, we provide an overview of the human rights abuses during and soon after the military suppression around June 4, focusing on arbitrary detention, torture and the use of the death penalty. We also discuss the violation of freedom of expression, association and assembly and political discrimination and persecution against survivors and families of victims of the massacre since 1989.

Arbitrary Detention

An unknown number of individuals were arbitrarily detained to punish them for participating in the protests. Many were sentenced and then convicted of crimes such as “counter-revolutionary incitement” and “arson” in unfair trials and then imprisoned; some were sent to Re-education through Labor (RTL) camps without trial; others were detained in Custody and Investigation centers or put under residential surveillance.
A list compiled by Jiang Qisheng and Li Hai (李海), also a participant in the pro-democracy protests documents cases of 905 individuals imprisoned or sent to RTL for participating in the 1989 pro-democracy movement. These individuals were incarcerated in facilities across 14 cities and provinces. Although it is incomplete, the list serves as a foundation for further investigation. Notably, of the 905 individuals documented, 651 were incarcerated in Beijing, the epicenter of the pro-democracy movement. Furthermore, the punishments handed out in Beijing were harsher than in the rest of the country, as the majority of those sentenced to life imprisonment (21 of 25 total) or suspended death sentences (12 of 13) were in Beijing.

Although the majority of the prisoners have already been released, and some exiled overseas, at least eight are still incarcerated in Beijing. Authorities have justified the long prison terms of these protesters by accusing them of violent crimes, such as killing soldiers, burning army trucks, or overturning armored tanks:

**Individuals still in prison for taking part in the 1989 Protests**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Current age</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Original sentence</th>
<th>Where imprisoned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhu Gengsheng</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Counter-revolutionary arson</td>
<td>Suspended death sentence</td>
<td>Beijing No.2 Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Yujun</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>Suspended death sentence</td>
<td>Beijing No.2 Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang Jingqiang</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Counter-revolutionary assault</td>
<td>Life term</td>
<td>Beijing No.2 Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiang Yaqun</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Counter-revolutionary arson</td>
<td>Suspended death sentence</td>
<td>Yanqing Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi Xuezhi*</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>70s</td>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>Life term</td>
<td>Yanqing Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Pu</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>Suspended death sentence</td>
<td>Yanqing Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miao Deshun</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>Suspended death sentence</td>
<td>Yanqing Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song Kai</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50s</td>
<td>Counter-revolutionary assault</td>
<td>Life term</td>
<td>Yanqing Prison</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Although the Dui Hua Foundation was recently informed by the Chinese government that Shi Xuezhi was released (See Dui Hua, "Dui Hua Reduces Estimate of Remaining June Fourth Prisoners", May 12, 2009, [http://www.duihua.org/2009/05/duihua-reduces-estimate-of-remaining.html](http://www.duihua.org/2009/05/duihua-reduces-estimate-of-remaining.html)), CHRD has been unable to contact Shi or his family to confirm his release. CHRD has therefore not taken Shi off the list of prisoners still held for violent crimes during the Tiananmen Massacre.*

**Torture & the Death Penalty**

At least twelve Beijing residents were swiftly sentenced to death and executed within weeks after they were arrested following the crackdown of June 3 and 4, 1989. These twelve were accused of various violent crimes, including “setting fire to a train” and “setting fire to military vehicles.” However, the details and circumstances around their
trials and executions have remained unclear; it is believed their trials were unfair. CHRD has learned from those released from prisons and RTL camps that some, especially those accused of “violent crimes,” were beaten and tortured to extract confession prior to trial (see Case Study #1).

Some prisoners complained of harsh conditions in prisons and labor camps, particularly the long working hours and hazardous working environments (see Case Study #2, page 8). Tiananmen prisoners convicted of violent crimes in particular were tortured, beaten and otherwise mistreated in prisons or RTL camps (See Case Studies #1, this page & Case Study #3, page 9).

**Freedom of Expression, Association, & Assembly**

Although 20 years have passed, much about the circumstances of the crackdown on the pro-democracy movement remains unclear. Since 1989, many participants in the pro-democracy movement and victims of the massacre and their families have recorded and published testimonies of the events and compiled lists of individuals who were killed, disabled, or imprisoned as part of the crackdown. Chief among them is a group of relatives of those killed who, from December 1999, began referring to themselves as the “Tiananmen Mothers.” However, their repeated calls for an official reversal of the verdict that the 1989 movement was a “counter-revolutionary riot,” an independent investigation into the actions of the government in the massacre, compensation for families of victims, and punishment in accordance with the law for those responsible for the massacre have been ignored. Instead, the main organizers of the Tiananmen Mothers have, for the last 20 years, been persecuted, intimidated and warned against continuing their activities. Below are some examples of harassment against the Tiananmen Mothers:

Between August 18 and September 30, 1995, Ding Zilin (丁子霖) and Jiang Peikun (蒋培坤), founding members of the group, were confined to a hostel in Wuxi City, Jiangsu Province, and...
The Tiananmen Mothers

subjected to “residential surveillance” to prevent them from returning to Beijing where they were intending to meet foreign delegates to the World Conference on Women.

On March 28, 2004, Beijing and Jiangsu authorities detained group members Ding Zilin, Zhang Xianling (张先玲) and Huang Jinping, (黄金平) to prevent them from organizing a memorial ceremony for the victims of the crackdown during the Qingming Festival, a traditional festival to remember and honor the dead. Ding was subjected to residential surveillance while Zhang and Huang were criminally detained. They were released after the Festival.

On May 30 and June 1, 2008, several Beijing-based independent writers and scholars including Liu Xiaobo (刘晓波), Jiang Qisheng, Yu Haocheng (于浩诚) and Zhang Zuhua (张祖桦) were questioned for a number of hours by police from the National Security Unit of Beijing Public Security Bureau (PSB) about the commemorative articles they wrote for the Tiananmen Mothers’ website, www.tiananmenmother.org. During the Beijing Olympics in August 2008, Ding Zilin and Jiang Peikun were pressured to leave Beijing.

The Tiananmen Mothers are not alone in striving to bring attention to the events of 1989, nor are they the only targets of police attention. Below are some recent cases of individuals who have been summoned, interrogated, detained, or had their homes searched and property confiscated for expressing their outrage about what happened and commemorating those who were killed:

- **On May 15, 2009**, Jiang Qisheng, a former 1989 prisoner, dissident writer and vice-chairman of the Independent Chinese PEN, was taken from his home in Beijing and interrogated by police from the National Security Unit under the Beijing PSB Haidian District Subdivision. His home was searched and his computer, books and most recent manuscripts were confiscated and his home searched for a report he was writing on the June 4th crackdown. A little over a month earlier, on March 31, Jiang was taken away from his home and interrogated by the police for six hours. During the interrogation, the police produced a copy of an article about the June 4th crackdown that Jiang had been working on. He was threatened and warned against playing any role in organizing commemorative activities to observe the 20th anniversary. Officers searched his home and confiscated three computers, bank cards, many books, notebooks and manuscripts.

- **Zhang Shijun (张世军)**, a former soldier who was present during the crackdown in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989, was seized at his home in Tengzhou City, Shandong Province, by local police in the predawn hours of March 19, 2009. CHRD learned on April 4 that Zhang was released but he was unwilling to divulge details of his detention. Prior to his detention, Zhang issued a public letter to President Hu Jintao denouncing the Tiananmen Massacre and calling for democracy, and had accepted interviews with a number of international media organizations.
• On March 3, 2009, Dong Changlin (董长林), a resident of Tiexi District, Shenyang City, Liaoning Province, was subject to five days administrative detention for posting a comment mentioning the Tiananmen Massacre on Kaidi Forum, a popular internet site in China. Dong posted the comment on March 1 and two days later he was detained for “spreading rumors and disrupting social order.”

• On June 11, 2008, Sun Wenguang (孙文广), a 75-year-old retired Shandong University professor and vocal dissident based in Jinan City, Shandong Province, had his home searched and his computer, portable hard-drive, an address book and articles confiscated by police from the National Security Unit of Jinan City PSB. Sun believed that his home was searched because of articles he posted online commemorating the 19th anniversary of the Tiananmen Massacre and for his criticism of the government for its handling of the Sichuan earthquake.

• Between June and December 2007, Chen Yunfei (陈云飞), a businessman and democracy activist from Dazhou in Sichuan Province, was put under residential surveillance for six months by the Chengdu PSB for placing an advertisement in the Chengdu Evening Post entitled, “A tribute to the strong mothers of June Fourth victims.” Chen continues to be harassed by Chengdu police. On April 20, 2009, he was summoned by officers from the Chengdu PSB National Security Unit, but they never showed up. Then, on May 8, he was “invited for tea” by officers from the National Security Unit under the Chengdu PSB. Although the police refused to divulge the reasons for the summons or the “tea,” Chen believes that they were related to the approach of the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Massacre.

The Chinese government not only forbids the commemoration of those killed in the Massacre, it also bars any public recognition of the individuals who shaped the 1989 pro-democracy movement. Police often tighten the control and surveillance of activists during the dates surrounding the anniversaries of those who died at that time:

• On April 5, 2009, the day of the Qingming Festival, a group of unidentified men severely beat Sun Wenguang as he was on his way to the local cemetery to commemorate Zhao Ziyang (赵紫阳), the late reformist CCP Secretary General known for his sympathy toward the student demonstrators during the 1989. Police from the National Security Unit of the Jinan PSB Sun warned Sun against visiting the grave. Sun believes that the police, who followed him closely in a vehicle, witnessed the beating yet did nothing to stop it.
April 15, 2009, the twentieth anniversary of the death of former General Secretary Hu Yaobang (胡耀邦), whose funeral in 1989 sparked the student protests that ultimately culminated in the military crackdown on June 4, became an occasion for the persecution of activists across the country.

Local police or PSB National Security officers summoned at least five activists in five different provinces: Luo Yongquang (罗勇泉), of Shaoguan City, Guangdong Province; Zou Wei (邹巍), of Hangzhou City, Zhejiang Province; Chen Xi (陈西), of Guizhou Province; Qi Zhiyong (齐志勇), of Beijing; and Zheng Enchong (郑恩宠), of Shanghai. At least two other activists, who do not want their names made public, were detained at their homes in Beijing.

A ceremony to present awards to Excellent Citizens, sponsored by non-governmental groups and activists scheduled to be held at Guofeng Square, Beijing, was prevented from taking place by police because of the “sensitive” nature of the date. Beijing scholar Du Guang (杜光), who was asked to attend the ceremony and present the awards, arrived at Guofeng Square at the scheduled time, only to find the hall empty. Du was eventually led into a room with three uniformed police officers and two plainclothes individuals, who recorded his identification information before allowing him to leave. Other invitees, such as Zhang Zuhua, were barred from leaving home to attend the event.

On November 3, 2007, large contingents of policemen were mobilized to block mourners from attending a memorial service for Bao Zunxin (包遵信), an influential dissident intellectual who inspired the 1989 pro-democracy movement. About 200 people who had planned to attend the service were prevented by the police from going. Before the funeral, a variety of methods were used to prevent mourners from attending: friends and supporters of Bao were visited and questioned in order to intimidate them; dozens of well-known human rights defenders were placed under house arrest, residential detention or administrative detention, including Mo Shaoping (莫少平), a human rights lawyer, Jiang Qisheng, Zhang Xianling (张先玲),

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**CASE STUDY #2**

HARSH LABOR CONDITIONS

LEFT TIANANMEN PROTESTORS PERMANENTLY DISABLED

At 11 pm on June 3, 1989, together with about 1,000 Beijing residents, 19-year-old Zhao Xing (赵庆) blockaded three military vehicles carrying around 100 unarmed soldiers en route to Tiananmen Square near Guanyuan Bridge, Xicheng District. The soldiers were surrounded by the crowd and were taken to a nearby primary school, where their food and drink were taken from their vehicles and dumped on the ground. Around midnight, when news of Beijing residents being killed and injured by the military reached the them, the crowd angrily set the vehicles alight.

Zhao was singled out by police and convicted of “robbery” and “arson” and sentenced to 18 years in prison, with three years’ deprivation of political rights. As a result of harsh labor conditions during his 14 years of imprisonment in Beijing No.2 Prison, two of Zhao’s fingers were permanently disabled due to “joint inflammation.”

Between 1991 and 1993, Zhao and other inmates were forced to work overtime to produce rubber gloves for export. Zhao told CHRD that, “as an inspection worker, I had to inspect over 2,000 pairs of gloves every day. If you did not finish the target set by the prison staff... you were be subjected to beatings by police batons.”

**INTERVIEW BY CHRD, MARCH 2009**
a member of the Tiananmen Mothers, and Qi Zhiyong (Qi Zhiyong) and others. At the Beijing Eastern Suburb Funeral Home, the site of the memorial service, a large contingent of policemen from the Chaoyang District PSB National Security Protection Unit monitored mourners, videotaped them and took some of them away.  

Participants in the 1989 pro-democracy movement who have since lived abroad continued to be barred from entering China and are at risk of retaliation if they enter the country. For example:

- **Yi Danxuan** (易丹轩), a former student leader in Guangzhou during the 1989 pro-democracy movement, was denied entry to China on March 7, 2009. According to the border police at Luohu, the immigration point between Hong Kong and Shenzhen, Yi was being prevented from entering the country on the basis of Article 12 of the Law of the PRC on the Control of the Exit and Entry of Aliens, which states that “aliens who are considered a possible threat to China’s state security and public order shall not be permitted to enter China.” Yi’s multiple-entry visa, valid until December 2009, was cancelled.

- **Zhou Yongjun** (周勇军), a former student leader during the 1989 pro-democracy movement, has been detained since September 30, 2008, after entering Chinese territory at Luohu. Zhou was returning to China to visit his family and was initially detained on suspicion of spying but this charge was later changed to “financial fraud.” Zhou was formally arrested on the fraud charge in early May 2009.

Every year around June 4, authorities detain, put under residential surveillance and threaten well-known activists to prevent them from organizing commemorative activities. For example, around the 19th anniversary of the Massacre in 2008:

- **Qi Zhiyong**, a Beijing activist who was shot during the 1989 Tiananmen Massacre and left disabled, was under intermittent house arrest between May 23–28, 2008, and again on May 31, when four or five Beijing policemen were stationed at his home. On June 1, when police learned that journalists were coming to interview him, he was removed to a Beijing suburb and was returned home on June 2 and put under house arrest. Qi is often subjected to harassment and detention at other “sensitive” times; for example, during the Olympic Games in August 2008, he was forced by the authorities to leave Beijing.
• Chen Xi, a human rights activist from Guizhou Province, was put under house arrest for attempting to fly to Beijing to commemorate the Tiananmen Massacre. On May 31, 2008, Chen was kidnapped by a dozen policemen at Guiyang Airport and detained for nine hours at Shixi police station in Guiyang City, capital of Guizhou Province, before being released on June 1 and put under house arrest.18

• On the afternoon of June 4, 2008, a gathering at a public square in Guiyang City, Guizhou Province, commemorating the Tiananmen Massacre was broken up by about 200 police. Some of those present, including Tian Zuxiang (田祖湘), Wu Damin (吴大敏) and Shen Youlian (申有连), were taken into custody. Many others were intercepted or put under house arrest.

• Beijing-based lawyer Pu Zhiqiang (浦志强) was barred from commemorating the 19th Anniversary of the June 4th Massacre. From June 2, 2008, Pu was closely followed by the Beijing police and warned to stay away from the square. On the afternoon of June 3, Pu was taken into police custody for several hours and was later released, but monitoring of him continued. Each June 3 since 1989 Pu has commemorated those killed in the Tiananmen Massacre.19

• On June 4, 2008, Liu Xiaobo (刘晓波), prominent Beijing dissident and intellectual, was manhandled by Beijing police. At six p.m., Liu and his wife were on their way to dinner when they were stopped outside of their apartment block by officers from the local police station under the Beijing PSB. Liu was asked to accompany them for a “chat” but refused to go. The head of the police station then grabbed Liu’s head and neck while several other policemen took his arms and dragged him to a small house nearby. He was later released.20 Liu was taken away from his home on December 8, 2008 and remains detained at an undisclosed location in Beijing. Though the main cause of his detention is his role in organizing the endorsement of Charter 08, CHRD believes he was also incarcerated to prevent him from organizing activities to mark the 20th anniversary of the 1989 crackdown.21

• Li Jinping (李金平) a Beijing dissident known for his public call for a re-evaluation of the legacy of the late CCP Secretary Zhao Ziyang, was detained in a black jail at Nali Holiday Resort in Huairou District, Beijing. On June 2, 2008, Li was seized by police from Changying Police Station and the National Security Unit of Beijing PSB Chaoyang District Sub-division. He was released after June 4.

As the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Massacre approached, CHRD received reports from activists across the country about heightened levels of official surveillance and monitoring. Local authorities became increasingly nervous about gatherings and meetings of activists, interrogating individuals travelling to those meetings or barring them from leaving their hometowns. Gatherings specifically focused on commemorating the Massacre, even if attended by a few intellectuals and families of victims, were disrupted:

• On May 17, 2009, policemen from the Ministry of State Security barred Ding Zilin and her husband Jiang Peikun from leaving their apartment to attend a memorial organized by the Tiananmen Mothers on behalf of those killed during the Tiananmen Massacre.22

• On May 10, 2009, Beijing police questioned at least one of the 19 intellectuals who attended a scholarly forum discussing the 1989 crackdown.
Political Discrimination

After the crackdown, many protestors were dismissed from their universities and work units and some were expelled from the CCP and from their government jobs. When they applied for new jobs or submitted applications to new universities, they were turned down or denied entry. There were wide-ranging consequences for these individuals: they lost their allocated housing, benefits and pensions that came with the work unit or were denied entry to their chosen professions. Many of them endured years of hand-to-mouth existence as a result of their participation in the 1989 protests (See Case Study #4).

Re-integration into society has been particularly difficult for those convicted of violent crimes and who served lengthy prison terms after the 1989 protests. These individuals, who tend to be less educated and possess fewer skills, are discriminated against for having been imprisoned for violent crimes. They have searched for low-skilled positions but even if they succeeded in finding one, they have had difficulty holding down a permanent job. Dong Shengkun (董盛坤), released in September 2006 after serving 16 years for ‘arson,’ worked as an insurance salesman and then later selling furniture. However, he has been unable to hold down a job because of poor health and constant police harassment. Many released prisoners live on handouts from family or pensions of aging parents, but others cannot as their parents have passed away or their family is no longer willing or able to support them.

Zhang Maosheng (张茂胜) released in September 2006 after serving 16 years for “arson,” is now

CASE STUDY #4
EXCERPTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH SUN BAOQIANG

Below are excerpts of interview with SUN BAOQIANG (孙寶慶), a typist who worked at an oil refinery in Shanghai before June 4, 1989.

For making a public speech and leading a protest in Shanghai denouncing the Tiananmen Massacre, she was convicted of “assembling crowds to disturb traffic order” and sentenced to three years of imprisonment.

INTERVIEWER: When you were released from prison, your work unit dismissed you from your job?

SUN: [Yes], when I was released from prison in 1992, the old Director at the street office tried to help me to secure a job [at the original work unit], but he was resolutely refused.

INTERVIEWER: You must have had a difficult time in recent years.

SUN: “For the first three years after I was released, I lost my position and did not have a regular job. To support the family, my husband fixed household appliances as a second job on top of his regular job. Because he worked so hard for so long, his health is not very good. In 1992, I worked in management for Hongkou Technology Association… the salary I earned back at the oil refinery was seven times more than what I earned at the Technology Association. One time, I typed for 20 days at the Technology Association and earned RMB 50.

My son has attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), and his studies were already not very good. One time I yelled at him, “Why are your grades so bad?” My son retorted, “Why did you participate in ‘June 4th? It’s your fault our family has no money, not even an apartment!” I was stunned. After my release he was clearly more estranged from me, and less and less interested in studying. When he graduated from Middle School, I worked day and night. My son did not manage to get into high school or technical school. The teachers at the school criticized me for failing in my responsibility to my child…

I was dismissed from my job, so I lost the apartment allocated by the work unit. In 2003, when it was time for me to retire the Social Security Bureau continued to make things difficult for me. In the end, although I got my pension, it was only half of the pension I would have gotten at the oil refinery. The municipal CCP committee wrote off the 21 year pension I would have gotten at the oil refinery. The municipal Social Security Bureau continued to make things difficult for me. When I applied for the work unit, it was clearly more estranged from me, and less and less interested in studying. When he graduated from Middle School, I worked day and night. My son did not manage to get into high school or technical school. The teachers at the school criticized me for failing in my responsibility to my child…

On the surface I was sentenced to three years, but the conviction and the sentence was like a nuclear accident: the after-effects continue for so many years and a healthy family is destroyed.

INTERVIEW CONDUCTED IN APRIL 2009 BY YAN RAN (聂然), AN ACTIVIST IN CHRD’s NETWORK. THE FULL TRANSCRIPT OF THE INTERVIEW IN CHINESE IS AVAILABLE ON MINZHU ZHONGGUO’S WEBSITE, http://www.minzhuzhongguo.org
without a job or a home; it was demolished when he was in prison and his former work unit did not allocate him new accommodation. Zhang depended for support on his parents after being released but they became impatient with his inability to support himself. Zhang moved out of his parents’ home and now lives in a shelter.

Wang Lianxi (王连喜), released in 2007 after serving 17 years for “arson,” is now incarcerated at a Beijing mental institution. While imprisoned his parents passed away and his wife and children left him. After his release he was put up in a small apartment by the Xicheng District Judicial Bureau and his local Neighborhood Committee in Beijing, but when space ran out he was sent to a hospital and then to a psychiatric institution. Wang remains “hospitalized.”

As a result of torture, beatings and mistreatment while in prison, these ex-prisoners suffer various illnesses and cannot afford to seek medical attention because they have no medical insurance; those who have reached retirement age have no pensions. Despite being released, many of them are still deprived of political rights, which means they are required to report their whereabouts every week to the authorities and attend “correctional education” organized by their Neighborhood Committees. They are also required to submit a “thought report” to the judicial bureau every month. During major events or festivals, they are required to attend “meetings” organized by the local police to ensure they will not do anything that poses a “security threat” to the public.

II. From the 1989 Pro-Democracy Protests to the Rights Defense Movement

Rapid economic growth and the continued suppression of open expression of dissent and organized opposition makes it appear as if the people of China have since “moved on,” focusing their energies on improving their material well-being rather than seeking political reform. The young are uninformed about the Tiananmen Massacre as all textbooks, printed publications as well as the internet have been censored to ensure only the official version of events is represented. However, quietly, a nascent civil rights movement (weiquan yundong, literally translated as “rights defense movement”) is growing in China. This movement, similar to those in other parts of the world, has as its objective the promotion and protection of human and constitutional rights through non-violent means. Many participants in the 1989 pro-democracy movement have devoted themselves to defending human rights and played active roles in this civil rights movement (See Case Study #5). In preparing this report, CHRD interviewed a number of human rights activists within the rights defense movement about their experiences of the 1989 pro-democracy movement and their road to becoming human rights defenders. Though many took part and were leaders during the 1989 demonstrations, others were too young to understand what had taken place until years later. But, regardless of their level of engagement during the events, all reflected on the
profound effect the pro-democracy movement and its bloody suppression has had in shaping the course of their lives and of their activism.

1989 Pro-Democracy Movement as Inspiration

For many human rights activists today, as student leaders or participants in the 1989 protests, the pro-democracy movement crystallized myriad issues and provided a framework for understanding the relationship between the people, their rights and the government. As Sichuan activist Chen Wei put it, “the democratic movement... deepened our understanding of individual rights, spurred us to study true democratic theory, and reflect on problems of social justice.” According to Chen, not only was 1989 a moment of awakening of rights consciousness, but also it was an opportunity for transforming thought into action, for laying a foundation for a future of activism and willingness to risk one’s own security to unite with others to “use concrete actions to defend their rights [and] put forward their own political views.” These activists, already inclined towards analyzing the problems they and their country face, now found a sharpened focus both philosophically and physically.

For those belonging to a generation of rights activists too young to participate in or comprehend the 1989 pro-democracy movement at the time, the events of 1989 were to force a critical assessment of the issues of human rights and social justice by bringing them to the forefront of popular discussion and making it impossible to ignore them. Hebei activist Li Jinfang (李金芳) remembers,

Though at the time I didn’t truly understand what democracy, freedom, and justice were, I, like most Chinese, bitterly detested corruption. I understood that society, politics, and individual citizens were closely connected, and that human rights relied on the efforts of everyone, but I didn’t understand where the source of corruption lay or what harm a one-party autocracy brought to the country and the people. After June 4th, and following the volcanic political changes in Eastern Europe, I began seriously

CASE STUDY #5
FROM STUDENT PROTEST LEADERS TO HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

LIU YANBIN (刘贤斌)
Male, 40, Suining City, Sichuan Province
Liu was a student at People’s University in 1989. For protesting against the Tiananmen Massacre on June 5, he was imprisoned for two years and six months. After his release, Liu continued to actively promote democracy and, later, human rights, publishing public letters calling for democratization, promotion of the rule of law and the release of political prisoners. In October 1998 he applied to the authorities to establish the China Democracy Party Sichuan Branch Organizing Committee, as well as China Human Rights Watch Sichuan Sub-division. For these activities, Liu was arrested, convicted of “inciting subversion of state power” and sentenced to thirteen years of imprisonment. He was released in early November 2008. Soon after being released, Liu signed Charter 08, a public declaration outlining a vision for a democratic and human rights-respecting China.

LIAO SHUANGYUAN (廖双元)
Male, 56, Guiyang City, Guizhou Province
In 1989, Liao worked at the PSB of a ball-bearing factory in Guiyang City. During the democracy movement, he participated in protests, distributed leaflets, gave speeches and organized meetings to call for support. Liao was arrested on June 13, 1989, and convicted of “counter-revolutionary incitement” and sentenced to three years of RTL. Liao endured severe beatings in the camp. On his release, he participated in the organizing of the China Democracy Party Guizhou Branch, and for which he was convicted of “counter-revolution” and sentenced to four years imprisonment. Since being released in May 1999 Liao has continued to promote democracy and human rights. He is an active member of the Guiyang Human Rights Rights Forum, a group of Guiyang citizens interested in promoting human rights in the city. Liao was also a member of a team of citizen investigators who looked into the suspicious death of a teenage girl in Wengan County, Guizhou Province, in which the circumstances of her death allegedly had been covered up by the local police. For these activities, Liao has been frequently harassed and detained by the police.
thinking about China, its people, and myself... in order to better understand the pro-democracy movement, from the Democracy Wall period to the present.

Her focus on June 4th in particular, the bloody crackdown on students and citizens, was a common theme in a number of activists’ responses.

There is a reason that the massacre on June 4th has come to define the series of pro-democracy demonstrations that began in April, 1989; more than one activist traced their decision to put their own comfort and security on the line for their beliefs because, “the students and workers of 1989 put their constitutional rights into practice and were the victims of a crackdown, a lesson learned in blood,” as Beijing human rights activist Wang Debang (王德邦) said. It is impossible to separate the crackdown on the pro-democracy movement from the movement itself, and the two seem to have left equally important, if subtly different, impressions on activists involved in today’s rights defense movement. Hubei cyber-activist Liu Yiming (刘逸明) said:

The 1989 pro-democracy movement left a profound impression on me. Although I didn't experience it personally, I find it impossible to remain indifferent to this event. Whenever I think about the many people ruthlessly murdered, I am firmly confident in my decision to support democratic reforms in China. In this country, to be a free writer or a democratic or human rights activist today, one faces the threat of being imprisoned, but the chance of losing one's life is not very high. Those who joined the 1989 pro-democracy movement have already given their lives, so what is a few years spent in prison?

He concludes, “When I think about the innocents who died, I feel stronger, calmer in my decision to dedicate myself to protecting human rights.”

Rights Defense Movement Seen as “One Part of Pro-Democracy Movement”

The relationship between the pro-democracy movement of 1989 and the current rights defense movement is complex and nuanced. Some activists involved in the rights defense movement developed their approaches to activism through their experiences participating in, and reflecting on, the 1989 pro-democracy movement. The lessons they learned have been turned into inspiration. As Li Jinfang recalled:

I felt that the pro-democracy movement had not succeeded in capturing the hearts and minds of the people... the masses just didn't believe that they had a personal interest. As a matter of fact, in reality the pro-democracy movement was disconnected from Chinese society, the common people.

Though the rights defense movement does not present itself as an alternative to the pro-democracy movement in any way, those involved in rights defense work strive to address more immediate problems that fellow citizens face today, such as rights abuses, which in many ways bring them closer to “the common people.”

Some activists involved in both the pro-democracy movement and the rights defense movement view the latter as a necessary response to the current situation in China, both given government efforts to suppress democratic activism and the litany of rights abuses taking place daily. Activist Yang Hai (杨海) believes that the promotion of human rights helps build a strong foundation for democracy, saying:
The only way the democratic movement has a hope of succeeding is if it becomes linked with the direct interests of the people. Since the beginning of the new century the rights defense movement has become a wide-ranging people's movement... as the idea of human rights and the rule of law spreads and is implemented more widely, it effectively puts into practice the ideals of the democratic movement and will speed up the democratization of China. It is growth in a new direction and is the inevitable outcome of the pro-democracy movement.

Others, like Chen Wei, see the rights defense movement as “Our true and effective way of getting involved in the democratic movement”; saying, “it is the responsibility of a democratic activist” to become involved in the rights defense movement. These activists thus see the two movements as tightly linked and mutually reinforcing.

“The Spirit of June 4th”

Li Jinfang, who felt that the pro-democracy movement was “disconnected from the common people,” spoke of her recent work as a human rights activist working with petitioners:

I discovered, in every corner of society, in every hour and every minute, that there are unjust events taking place, and suddenly I understood: no matter how society advances, how it changes, the ultimate goal is that people may live in a peaceful, just environment. We can all learn from experience and treat others with respect; this is the most basic human right, and also the most pressing need today. So, I should begin with myself, and work to give a voice to the powerless, to use my conscience and courage to supervise the government. In this way can I better carry on the spirit of the pro-democracy movement, the spirit of June 4th.

Regardless of whether activists see the rights defense movement as an outgrowth of the 1989 pro-democracy movement, or as laying the ground for future democratic reforms by raising awareness of rights and building rights-advocacy capacities in civil society, the sense of June 4th as a defining moment was common to all the interviewees. And as these activists continue their work and build relationships with ordinary Chinese from all walks of life, even in remote regions of the country, they live and carry on the ideals of June 4th: democracy and human rights. In that important way, the “spirit,” as Li terms it, lives on, and that moment which changed the lives of a generation of Chinese activists and touched the hearts of many around the world has found new meaning. It continues to inspire activists today, as they push for social and political reforms.

III. Looking Forward: Should Truth & Reconciliation be Put on the Agenda?

Twenty years after the suppression of the pro-democracy movement, there has been little progress in resolving the conflict. Participants in the movement and families of those killed and injured during the Massacre continue to press their demands for justice and accountability, while the government continues to ignore them and suppress all public discussion of the events of that time. Inspired by the use of truth and reconciliation commissions in other countries in dealing with past atrocities, Dai Qing (戴晴), a Chinese intellectual, recently advocated the establishment of a truth and reconciliation process as a means for the Chinese government to address its human rights violations during the Tiananmen Massacre.23 The suggestion has since caught the attention of other intellectuals and student leaders in the 1989 pro-democracy movement as well as victims’ advocates. Some find the
suggestion refreshing and a plausible way forward, while some others, such as exiled student leader Wang Dan (王丹), find the suggestion “laughable.”

According to Dai, a society with “hatred resolved” should result from the process, where victims and their families, and China as a whole, would be able to “move on.” As to where exactly China should move on to, Dai did not make clear.

What purpose would a truth and reconciliation commission serve? For countries which have opted for a truth and reconciliation process, such as South Africa, Chile, Argentina and others, the transition has been from a violent political regime—whether it was an apartheid-based, military or genocidal regime—to a regime committed to human dignity and equal rights, a regime in which its constituent members, no matter their ethnicity, tribe, or position in society, have equal rights to vote and equal protection under the law. In other words, truth and reconciliation is not a stand-alone “product,” but is an integral part of a wider process of political and societal transformation.

Without being part of such a transformation, genuine truth and reconciliation would be impossible. The idea of a truth and reconciliation process is that, for people to be able to reconcile with each other, parties to the conflict must be able to tell the truth about the events which occurred during the violence. Could one tell the truth about the Tiananmen Massacre when there is no protection of basic human rights, such as freedom of expression and the right to a fair trial? People would be too fearful of retaliation to tell the truth and the government would exert control over the media in order to propagate its own version of events. A genuine truth and reconciliation process would therefore require that the Chinese government firmly commit to protecting human rights. Could one tell the truth about the Tiananmen Massacre while staying silent about all other human rights violations committed by the same government, such as the persecution of Rightists in the 1950s and the starvation of tens of millions during the Great Famine between 1958 and 1961, to name just a few? Telling the truth about the Tiananmen Massacre would necessarily mean exposing the deeply-rooted problems within China’s political system which underlie all current and past human rights violations. Therefore, a genuine truth and reconciliation process must be comprehensive and not limited to the Tiananmen Massacre and its aftermath.

CHRD takes the position that, in the absence of a genuine and firm commitment to human rights by the Chinese government, a truth and reconciliation process for the Tiananmen Massacre would be a farce, and would fail in both areas of telling the truth and reconciliation. Perpetrators of human rights atrocities during the 1989 crackdown on the pro-democracy movement would also enjoy complete impunity, as they already do, in such an officially-controlled process.

While the suggestion for a truth and reconciliation process is currently inappropriate for China, members of civil society could still pave the way for such a process. In fact, many are already contributing to the process of truth telling. The information collected and compiled about victims of the crackdown by the Tiananmen Mothers would serve as useful basis for a truth-telling process and perhaps even for reconciliation when China is ready for this kind of transition. In Argentina, for example, when the military regime was replaced by a democratic one and a truth and reconciliation commission (the National Commission on the Disappeared) was established in 1983, detailed information about those who “disappeared” gathered by families of victims, most notably the group
Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo), formed the foundation for the Commission’s investigation. The information they provided, coupled with their untiring public campaigning to maintain pressure on successive democratic governments, has kept the process moving forward, resulting in not only a national report documenting the disappearance of more than 9,000 individuals, but also the trials of military officers and others for the atrocities they committed.

▼ Recommendations & Demands

Chinese Human Rights Defenders reiterates its demands put forward in previous reports or statements concerning the bloody suppression on pro-democracy protests in 1989, that:

- The Chinese government allow a full, transparent and impartial investigation of the Tiananmen Massacre and of allegations of torture, including the use of the death penalty, and wrongful imprisonment;
- Any officials responsible for ordering the execution, torture, or wrongful conviction of protestors or for ordering troops to open fire on unarmed civilians be held accountable for their crimes;
- People imprisoned for merely engaging in peaceful protests or acts of self-defense be immediately released and compensated for their suffering;
- Where there is corroborated evidence that people engaged in violent acts, their sentences be reviewed by an independent judiciary and early release considered given the circumstances at the time;
- The authorities publish a comprehensive list of individuals who were killed, injured, disappeared, imprisoned, detained, or otherwise punished for participating in the protests;
- The government apologize to and compensate those whose family members were killed, who were disabled, imprisoned, detained, or otherwise punished for participating in the protests;
- The authorities immediately cease the persecution and harassment of individuals for commemorating, investigating and speaking out about the Tiananmen Massacre.

Useful Resources

- **Tiananmen Mothers**
  
  http://www.tiananmenmother.org/

  The new website of the Tiananmen Mothers, with lists of those who died and who were disabled as a consequence of the Massacre (but currently not yet available on the website), interviews with the victims and their families, audio-visual information related to the Massacre, commentaries as well as petitions to the government and donation drives to aid families of victims. A map of the locations where victims were killed, as well as a map showing hospitals to which victims were sent, are available on the site.

- **20th Anniversary of June Fourth Massacre in China**
  
  http://www.alliance.org.hk/

  In its section on Tiananmen Massacre Victims (in Chinese), this website by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of
the Patriotic Democratic Movement of China has the list of 188 individuals who died and 49 individuals who disappeared as documented by Tiananmen Mothers. It also contains a 60-minute film of testimony by six family members of the Tiananmen victims.

- **Human Rights in China**
  www.hrichina.org
  HRIC’s site contains a few of webpages which have an English version of the list of 155 individuals killed during the Tiananmen Massacre as documented by the Tiananmen Mothers and testimonies by the families of the victims.

  Lists of Known Victims, complied by June Fourth Victims' network (in English)

  Testimonies from the families of those killed and wounded in the June 4 Massacre (in English)

- **Beijing Street Locations & Hospitals Where Some Victims of the Tiananmen Massacre Died on June 4, 1989 (in English)**

- **64 Memo**
  http://www.64memo.com/

- **Virtual Museum of China 89**
  http://museums.cnd.org/China89/

- **Selection of Blogs by former participants:**
  Wu Wenjian http://www.bullogger.com/blogs/w/
  Shao Jiang http://blogs.amnesty.org.uk/blogs_profile.asp?uid=235312

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1. [http://www.crd-net.org/Article/Class1/200905/20090519211621_15481.html](http://www.crd-net.org/Article/Class1/200905/20090519211621_15481.html)
3. According to the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, deprivation of a person’s liberty is “arbitrary,” if the case falls into at least one or all of three categories (http://www2ohchr.org/english/about/publications/docs/fs26.html). A) When it is clearly impossible to invoke any legal basis justifying the deprivation of liberty; B) When the deprivation of liberty results from the exercise of the rights or freedoms specified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; C) When the international norms relating to the right to a fair trial have not been observed. Fact Sheet No 26, The Working Group on Arbitrary Detention.
4. 收容审查
5. Li Zhixin (李志新) and Wu Chunqi (武春启), who were in the list of prisoners in 2008, have been released. The current list is from Dr. Jiang Qisheng, who collected the information by interviewing friends and former fellow inmates of these prisoners.
FREEDOM OF EXRESSION


