



June 2, 2009 NED/Laogai Foundation event  
**Commemorating the Unforgettable: Tiananmen 20 Years On**

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**China is ranked 167<sup>th</sup> out of 173** countries in Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index. Again, this year **China is the world's largest prison for journalists and cyberdissidents**. There are approximately one hundred of them in jail, most of them have been sentenced to long jail sentences for "subversion" or "divulging state secrets" and are held in harsh conditions.

**Even if many media outlets have been trying to shake off the grip of the propaganda department and the local authorities, the communist party is not about to abandon this "strategic" sector that is the media.** In the face of a burgeoning blogosphere, the government has chosen to play the **propaganda card**. Amongst the taboo topics are the three Ts: Tibet, Taiwan and Tiananmen Square massacre. **The Chinese authorities have done their utmost to attempt to rewrite history, and June 4 is a primary target.**

**All references to Tiananmen Square massacre - a hot topic overseas - have been closely censored for 20 years in mainland China. And today, it is still impossible for the Chinese media to refer freely to the ruthless suppression of China's pro-democracy movement in June 1989. The government has fortified its extraordinary information blockade** in the run-up to the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the massacre. **This year the party has put one of its most senior officials, vice-president Xi Jinping,** in charge of a special unit to "preserve stability" and prevent unauthorized political activities. **Some dissidents say the repression has been more subtle,** the authorities being sensitive to the outcry that tough tactics to suppress dissent can provoke online, overseas or within the Party itself.

**References** to the demonstrations that took place throughout China for several weeks and the deaths of hundreds of students and workers at the hands of the army on 4 June 1989 **are still strictly censored in the media and on the Internet. The information blackout has been enforced so effectively for 20 years that most young Chinese are completely unaware of this major event.**

When Chinese Internet users search for “4 June” in the **photos section of Baidu**, the country’s most popular search engine, they get this message: “The search does not comply with laws, regulations and policies.” The same search in the **video section** elicits this message: “Sorry, no video corresponds to your search.” If you do an **ordinary Internet search for “4 June” with Baidu**, you just get official Chinese statements about the “events of 4 June.”

The June 4 crackdown ended contemporary China’s most important pro-democracy movement. **A free press was one of the main demands of the protesters as well as many journalists and journalism professors.** Some are still paying the price in terms of administrative punishments, constant police surveillance or forced exile.

Several journalists are still in prison for referring to the massacre:

- **Shi Tao** was sentenced to 10 years in prison for sending an email about the Tiananmen Square anniversary in 2004,
- Free expression activist **Liu Xiaobo**, one of the leading figures of the 1989 movement, was recently re-arrested.
- Cyber-dissident **Huang Qi**, who has long campaigned for the June 1989 victims to be recognised, has been held without trial since June 2008 and is now seriously ill.

**The censorship imposed by the stability-obsessed Chinese authorities after the “Beijing Spring” has never been relaxed.** The Propaganda Department and the

political police have established a system of extremely strict censorship. **Self-censorship and the ignorance of the youngest generation of journalists do the rest. Why** are so many resources spent on continuing to cover up a 20-year-old event when China has evolved in so many ways since 1989? “Because the Chinese leaders know they have blood on their hands,” says Renee Xia of Chinese Human Rights Defenders. “They fear that if the truth comes to light, the government will be under pressure to bring those responsible for this crime to justice.”

**A survey conducted a few days ago by the University of Hong Kong**, the only place with Macau on Chinese soil where annual June 4 vigils are tolerated, found that 60% of nearly 1,000 people surveyed wanted Beijing to reverse its official verdict on the 1989 crackdown that ended on June 4.

**The memoirs of Zhao Ziyang**, the Communist party chief fired in 1989 for opposing the use of troops to quash pro-democracy protests in Tiananmen Square, were published mid May in Hong-Kong. Just few days later, accounts and excerpts appearing within the mainland on the Websites of American newspapers such as the NYT appeared to be blocked.

These days, **the censors are concentrating their efforts on the Internet.** Reporters Without Borders recently conducted tests that confirm the level of online censorship.

This is the results page, with the message “Sorry, we have found nothing relating to your request,” that appears when you search for “4 June” in **Baidu’s video section**:



The same video search using the Chinese version of the Google search engine, **Google.cn**, produced results but none of them were related to June 1989 massacre:

Google 六四事件 搜索所有网页 高级视频搜索 选择偏好

第 1 - 20 个搜索结果, 共约 3,640 条“六四事件”的结果 (0.03 秒) - RSS

- 四月一日灵异事件簿6 24:30 - 2 年前 you.video.sina.com.cn 相关视频
- 台湾红衣小女孩灵异事件 完整超长版 01:04 - 3 个月前 dingtv.com 相关视频
- 佛大医学院六月二十四排球事件 03:00 - 8 个月前 56.com 相关视频
- 真实鬼鬼 - 葡萄牙灵异车祸事件 02:29 - 2 年前 6.cn 相关视频
- 六二四事件 01:27 - 1 年前 v.youku.com 相关视频
- 金田一少年之事件簿六十四 10 个月前 tudou.com 相关视频
- 2008-05-30 《拒绝遗忘-1957 年学“研究”... 7 个月前 itv.ifeng.com 相关视频
- 校园七大灵异事件 (上) 27:11 - 1 年前 joke.joy.cn 相关视频
- 中央军委处分坠机和军营遭洪水袭击两... 01:31 - 2 个月前 openv.com 相关视频
- 《金鼎魔术师》启动 刘谦预言一周后热... 1:03:43 - 28 天前 ent.sina.com.cn 相关视频
- 视频: 陈楚生“失踪”事件媒体见面会现场视频 12:09 - 3 个月前 video.sina.com.cn 相关视频
- 视频: 李亚鹏继家庭战火 揭秘“打人事件”... 8 个月前 v.sohu.com 相关视频
- 拉萨暴力事件在被289人自首 07:44 - 1 年前 news.joy.cn 相关视频
- CBA“官秀昌事件”新疆队遭重罚 被判赛季... 06:54 - 8 个月前 v.youku.com 相关视频
- 宜春公安局通缉“绿海事件”五名嫌疑人 01:32 - 6 个月前 video.dvoo.com.cn 相关视频
- 越南一百六十四 24:27 - 9 个月前 video.pomoho.com 相关视频
- 哈尔滨警察打死人事件案发地 控案虚位... 02:12 - 6 个月前 v.ku6.com 相关视频
- 陵县支建七二九事件68名矿工全部康复出院 01:46 - 1 年前 openv.com 相关视频
- 葡萄牙灵异事件 1 个月前 video.kuaiche.com 相关视频
- 三明原醉事件涉事医师被撤 00:34 - 6 个月前 news.joy.cn 相关视频

A photos search with Google.cn is similarly censored. But if you do a “4 June” Google photos search using the English-language version of the US company’s search engine, the first results you get are about the June 1989 events in Tiananmen Square.

Google 六四事件 搜索图片 搜索所有网页 高级图片搜索 使用偏好

使用了 SafeSearch 功能。(了解更多)

图片 显示: 所有尺寸图 任何内容 所有颜色

约有 21,600 项搜索结果, 以下是第 1-21 项 (用时 0.17 秒)

- 与往年主张平反“六四”事件相比, 今年马... 420 x 300 - 40k blog.sina.com.cn
- 岳敬君以天安门“六四”事件为背景创作的... 480 x 242 - 47k - jpg phi.ruc.edu.cn
- ...年“六四”事件... 400 x 279 - 29k - jpg www.lcw.cc
- 当年的“六四”事件影响真不好评说... 467 x 688 - 64k - jpg bbs.pcpop.com
- 六四天安门事件 444 x 330 - 33k - jpg www.51frend.net
- 这是1989年六四事件后, 18年来中... 六月四号 (没搞又是“六四事件”的)... 584 x 800 - 148k bingtuan.com
- 500 x 375 - 170k - jpg dsecho.blogbus.com
- ...人邓小平长女邓林认为, “六四”... 就赶上了89年“六四”事件... 450 x 327 - 24k - jpg www.bokerb.com
- 据说, “六四”后邓小平要求中央常委... 第二次, 是79年六四事件, 这个... 480 x 329 - 43k - jpg xiangshi2008019yy.blog.163.com [更多内容, 请访问 ima.blog.163.com]
- “天安门”发端于中国革命的心... 间朱(金容)基, “六四”事件中... 400 x 275 - 27k - jpg blog.thmz.com
- 201 x 145 - 9k - jpg www.jlyhij.com.cn
- 马英九低调发表温和的“六四”事... 120 x 160 - 5k - jpg www.tor.cn [更多内容, 请访问 www.tor.cn]
- 事件的, 点击查看原文
- ...日报》记者, “六四”事件时曾
- ... “六四”、中国 ...
- 一九六四年第一次认识时佩服的时... 年前发生的“六四”事件一无所... 民主运动史上最伟大的事件之... 大概是六四事件后人们需要反思。

## On Google.com:



Chinese-speaking Internet users located outside China can find text, photos and video about the June 1989 events using the Chinese-language version of Google.com. But Internet users inside China who try to use Google.com are automatically transferred to Google.cn. Virtually no independent information about the “Beijing Spring” can be found using the Californian company Yahoo!’s search engine.

The Chinese-language versions of YouTube and Wikipedia are not censored in the same way, but the two websites are subject to frequent blocking within China that severely limits Chinese Internet user access to information on this subject.

This is the Wikipedia entry:

## 天安门清场

[编辑]

6月3日，中共中央决定清场。当天下午4时，**杨尚昆、李鹏、乔石和姚依林**等召开军政会议，指令翌日6时前要完成任务，并宣布“如遇阻拦，戒严部队可以采取各种自卫措施和一切手段予以排除”。当晚7时，中央电视台新闻联播播放戒严部队紧急通告，宣布“戒严部队、公安干警和武警部队有权采取一切手段强行处置，一切后果由组织者肇事者负责。”<sup>[4][44]</sup>

晚上10时后，天安门与长安街的形势急转直下。军队入城后遭到市民阻挠，军队开枪，其中**木樨地**是死伤最多的焦点。该处聚集数千人，部分人用碎砖头砸打军队，军队立即一排排冲上大桥，边喊着“人不犯我，我不犯人；人若犯我，我必犯人”的口号，边向投石头的市民开枪。

从这时起，军队时而向天开枪，时而对正人群扫射，有人中弹倒下。民众不断向后退，高喊：“法西斯！流氓政府！杀人犯！”军队用冲锋枪向骂声扫射，约百名学生和市民倒在血泊中，大部分立刻被送往旁边的复兴医院。<sup>[53]</sup>复兴门外大街两旁的市民从自家窗户上探出头来痛骂，也有人从窗口上往马路上投东西，军队开枪还击，从木樨地到全国总工会约五百米左右的路段，两旁建筑物都被打得火星四溅，其中22号楼、24号楼两幢部长楼有3人在楼上被子弹打死，当中据报包括人大法律委员会副主任委员**宋汝尊**的女婿<sup>[54]</sup>。

根据BBC现场报道，解放军从卡车上不分目标的向人群射击；在天安门广场的一次扫射中，她自己被尸体绊倒，几码之外被当场射杀的还有两人，重伤倒地不起的两人；之前北京某儿童医院20分钟内送来40多名遭枪击的重伤者，其中包括妇女和老人，不少人是在自己家中中弹，其中有两人已死亡。<sup>[55]</sup>有说一些死者遗体被**戒严部队**埋在多处，但说法并未得到证实，但一些有录像却显示解放军直接在长安大街向市民开枪<sup>[56]</sup>。

广场上的学生虽然知道镇压开始，但起初以为军人只用橡胶子弹和催泪弹，示威者最多是被军人押走。后来从跑入广场的人得知，军队荷枪实弹并扫射示威者，令广场群众陷入恐慌。<sup>[57]</sup>

凌晨1时，天安门以西约四公里的复兴门传出枪声，军队向堵塞他们的群众开枪，最少逾30人死亡，200多人受伤，复兴门外医院接收大量死伤者。1时30分，北京市政府和戒严部队发出《紧急通告》，内容说：

“首都今晚发生了严重的反革命暴乱。暴徒们猖狂袭击解放军指战员，抢军火，烧军车，设路障，绑架解放军官兵，妄图颠覆中华人民共和国，推翻社会主义制度。人民解放军多日来保持了高度克制，现在必须坚决反击反革命暴乱。首都公民要遵守戒严令规定，并同解放军密切配合，坚决捍卫宪法，保卫伟大的社会主义祖国和首都的安全。凡在天安门广场的公民和学生，应立即离开，以保证戒严部队执行任务。凡不听劝告的，将无法保证其安全，一切后果完全由自己负责。”

中国官方资料称，《通告》内容广播后，至凌晨2时，几十万人的广场只剩下数千名学生和市民。<sup>[58]</sup>凌晨2时20分，军队开进广场，施放催泪弹，部队从广场南面的前门向中央推进，沿途向高空发射照明弹，群众向天安门广场北面后退。<sup>[59]</sup>据报中枪者包括徒手阻拦军队的平民以及旁观的民众，也包括现场抢救的医务人员<sup>[60]</sup>，另外有一队学生（包括**北京体育学院**学生**方政**）被军队坦克碾压<sup>[61]</sup>，至少五人被压死，九人被压伤<sup>[62]</sup>。

3时左右，约3000名学生围坐在人民英雄纪念碑周围，此时正在进行绝食**侯德健、刘晓波、周舵、高新**决定劝学生离开，并在广播中发言，大意是指北京已在流血，足以唤醒人民，赞扬学生不畏死的精神。刘晓波等人发现有学生之前**从军队抢来的枪支**，要求立即砸毁枪械，并命令学生必须坚持非暴力原则，否则解放军就会有堂而皇之的理由向学生开枪。

5时20分，一大部分学生已离开，但广场仍有约200名民众不肯散去。侯德健等人直接要求会见军队指挥官，表达愿意由他们出面劝余下的学生离去，希望和平解决事件，军队同意，学生遂以“声音投票”方式，想留的人喊撤退，想留的人喊留，两把声音旗鼓相当，但考虑到喊撤退的人可能不敢高声呼叫，学生领袖认为想撤退的人更多，宣布离开。



这张由多间西方媒体录下的画面，摄于6月4日，一位据称叫**王维林**的人只身阻挡坦克，他尝试爬上车上，士兵探出头观看后，试图绕道而行，但未成功，王维林事后被数名身穿便服的人扶走。这幅照片后来成为六四的象征，中国官方就以以此说明军队相当克制。（图片由原作者Jeff Widener (The Associated Press / 美联社) 授权维基使用）

**The Chinese and Hong Kong-based TV stations that are broadcast within China are also affected by censorship.** Transmission of a 30-minute programme about the June 1989 events on Hong Kong-based ATV was blocked in the southeast of China, where viewers saw a tourism promotional documentary instead.

**The rare appearances of the term “4 June” or references to the pro-democracy movement in the press in recent years have resulted in severe sanctions** for those responsible. At least seven of the newspaper *Chengdu Wanbao*'s employees were fired in June 2007 for allowing the publication of a personal announcement that paid tribute to the courageous 4 June mothers, referring to the organisation of mothers and other relatives of Tiananmen Square victims who defend their memory.

Journalists, writers and academics still take big risk if they dare in any way to commemorate the “Beijing Spring” or question the official line that the army’s intervention on 4 June 1989 was “appropriate”.

The Chinese Human Rights Defenders network says **Public Security Bureaux in various parts of the country have contacted or visited dissidents of late** to threaten them with reprisals if they write articles, give interviews or try to organise demonstrations linked to the 20th anniversary of 4 June 1989. The Beijing-based

dissident **Zhang Zuhua** and blogger **Zan Aizong**, for example, were warned by the police in April not to write about June 1989.

Zhang Xianling, a member of the Tiananmen Mothers group, said she was placed in police custody before a gathering in Beijing to commemorate the anniversary so that she would be unable to invite foreign news media or write articles about it.

**The Chinese authorities have been monitoring the activities of foreign reporters closely for the past 20 years, especially their contacts with dissidents.** **Jiang Qisheng**, a pro-democracy activist and vice-president of the Independent Chinese **PEN Centre**, a writers organisation, says he has been prevented several times from contacting or meeting foreign journalists who wanted to interview him about the 20th anniversary of Tiananmen. **Students at Beijing and Dalian Universities** have been banned from giving any interviews to the foreign media until after the anniversary. The Public Security Bureau in Dalian warned that “any indication of an approach from a foreign journalist must be reported immediately”

**Witnesses of the June 1989 events who dare to talk to the foreign media are systematically harassed.** Retired soldier Zhang Shijun is being held by the security forces in an unknown location after agreeing to be interviewed by *Associated Press* reporters and expressing his regret for taking part in the tragedy.

**A TV crew from Russia’s *RIA Novosti* news agency were arrested** while filming an attempt to stage a demonstration on the edge of Tiananmen Square on 25 May. The police tried to erase the footage they had filmed. Several **other foreign journalists have been followed by the police** when they have tried to meet with June 1989 witnesses. And security has been stepped up on Tiananmen Square.

**The Chinese signatories of Charter 08**, which cites the June 1989 crackdown as one of the “many human rights disasters” attributable to the ruling Communist Party, are also often questioned or otherwise harassed.

On the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre, **Reporters Without Borders urges the Chinese authorities to:**

- release the journalists, bloggers and free speech activists currently detained for participating in or referring to the 1989 pro-democracy movement
- allow the Chinese press and Internet users to report on the events of May and June 1989 and the activities of dissident groups in China and abroad
- rehabilitate all the journalists who have been transferred, dismissed or forced into retirement for supporting the 1989 student movement
- end US Internet company censorship of online references to China’s pro-democracy movement
- put a stop to all harassment and use of repressive measures against journalists and intellectuals who participated in the “Beijing Spring”, including house arrest, having them followed, phone taps and forced exile
- respect the regulations for foreign journalists when they cover dissident activity and events relating to June 1989.

**Reporters Without Borders is also asking the international community and the Obama administration** to raise the issue of the jailed dissidents and Tiananmen prisoners during human rights and economic dialogues with China.

**Human rights, including press freedom, cannot be ignored. They are at the heart of the global issues world leaders hope to tackle with the Chinese authorities.** How can you resolve the environmental crisis if the Chinese media are not free to cover pollution stories? How can you emerge from the financial crisis if the Chinese media are not as free as they would like to discuss the yuan’s under-evaluation? How can you allow a freer press, ease censorship without letting the world know what happen on June 4, 1989? **For the Chinese people deserve to know about this critical page of their history from domestic sources and not only from foreign reporters.**