

## California History-Social Studies Standards

10.9.4 Analyze the Chinese Civil War, the rise of Mao Tse-tung, and the subsequent political and economic upheavals in China (e.g., the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the Tiananmen Square uprising).

10.10 Students analyze instances of nation-building in the contemporary world in at least two of the following regions or countries: the Middle East, Africa, Mexico and other parts of Latin America, and China.

## Tiananmen Chronology

1989.4.15 Death of Hu Yaobang, people gather in Tiananmen Square

1989.4.22 Official memorial service for Hu Yaobang in the Great Hall of the People

1989.4.26 People's Daily editorial condemns the demonstrations

"Taking advantage of the situation, an extremely small number of people spread rumors, attacked party and state leaders by name, and instigated the masses to break into the Xinhua Gate at Zhongnanhai, where the party Central Committee and the State Council are located. Some people even shouted such reactionary slogans as, Down with the Communist Party. In Xi'an and Changsha, there have been serious incidents in which some lawbreakers carried out beating, smashing, looting, and burning...

"Their purpose was to sow dissension among the people, plunge the whole country into chaos and sabotage the political situation of stability and unity. This is a planned conspiracy and a disturbance...."

"All comrades in the party and the people throughout the country must soberly recognize the fact that our country will have no peaceful days if this disturbance is not checked resolutely...."

1989.4.27 Students from dozens of universities march to Tiananmen

1989.5.13 Hundreds of students begin a hunger strike

1989.5.15 Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev arrives in Beijing, government cannot welcome him as planned in Tiananmen Square

1989.5.18 Premier Li Peng meets with several students for a televised discussion in the Great Hall

1989.5.19 Li Peng calls for the firm and resolute action to end the turmoil

1989.5.20 Martial Law is declared, people block the army when it tries to reach the central city

1989.5.23 Troops pull back

1989.5.30 Goddess of Democracy erected in the Square

1989.6.2 Liu Xiaobo (future Nobel Peace Prize laureate), Hou Dejian, Zhuo Duo and Gao Xin start a hunger strike

1989.6.3 At about 10 pm, troops begin using force to reach Tiananmen with orders to clear the square, first deaths occur

1989.6.4 Remaining students leave the square through army cordon at about 5 am

1989.6.5 "Tank Man" blocks advancing line of tanks on Chang'an Avenue near Tiananmen

## Chinese Marxism-Leninism

### Mao Zedong 毛泽东 (1893-1976)

"[A] revolution is not the same as inviting people to dinner, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing fancy needlework; it cannot be anything so refined, so calm and gentle, or so mild, kind, courteous, restrained, and magnanimous. A revolution is an uprising, an act of violence whereby one class overthrows another. A rural revolution is a revolution by which the peasantry overthrows the authority of the feudal landlord class."

"Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (March 1927),  
*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. I, p. 28.

"Every Communist must grasp the truth; 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.'"

"Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938),  
*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. II, p. 224.

### Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 (1904-1997)

"In China the overriding need is for stability. Without a stable environment, we can accomplish nothing and may even lose what we have gained."

Comments made to U.S. Pres. George H.W. Bush, Feb. 26, 1989  
*Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, v. 3.

"The key to our success in modernization, the reform and the opening to the outside is stability. I have told President Bush that in China the overriding need is for stability. We must counter any forces that threaten stability, not yielding to them or even making any concessions. We should not be concerned about what foreigners say; let them say what they please. They'll only abuse us for being unenlightened. We have been berated for so many years! But have we been toppled by their criticisms? Anyway, the affairs of Chinese should be handled by the Chinese themselves. China cannot afford any disorder: we should explain that plainly and repeatedly. If we don't, we shall appear to be in the wrong. We have to send out a signal that China will tolerate no disturbances.

"...Tightening our control in this area will not deter foreign businessmen from investing in China; on the contrary, it will reassure them. We should make it clear at home and abroad that the purpose of tightening control is to maintain stability and to facilitate the reform, the opening to the outside and the drive for modernization."

Talk with members of the Communist Party Central Committee, March 4, 1989,  
*Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, v. 3.

"Comrades, you have been having a hard time!

"First of all, I should like to express my deep grief over the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army, the People's Armed Police Force and the Public Security Police who have died heroically in this struggle. I also want to express my sincere solicitude for the thousands of PLA, PAPF and PSP officers and men who have been wounded. I extend my cordial greetings to all your officers and men who have taken part in the struggle.

"Let us stand in silent tribute to the martyrs!...

"This disturbance would have occurred sooner or later. It was determined by both the international environment and the domestic environment. It was bound to occur, whether one wished it or not; the only question was the time and

the scale. That it has occurred now is to our advantage, especially because we have a large number of veteran comrades who are still in good health. They have experienced many disturbances and understand the possible consequences of different ways of dealing with them. They support the resolute action taken against the rebellion. Some comrades do not understand that action for the time being, but they will come to understand it and support the decision of the central authorities.

“The April 26th editorial in People’s Daily described the disturbance as turmoil. The word “turmoil” is quite appropriate. It is this word that some people object to and are trying to change. But facts show that the assessment is accurate. It was also inevitable that the turmoil should grow into a counter-revolutionary rebellion. We have a number of veteran comrades, including some in the army, who are still in good health, and a number of other leading cadres who joined the revolutionary ranks in different periods. It has therefore been relatively easy to cope with the incident that has broken out.

“The major difficulty in handling it has been that we have never encountered a situation in which a handful of bad people were mingled with so many young students and crowds of onlookers. Since for the moment we were not able to distinguish between innocent and guilty, we could scarcely take the actions that should have been taken...”

Speaking to generals who commanded the Martial Law troops in Beijing, June 9, 1989,  
*Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, v. 3.*

**Letter to the New York Times:  
Chengdu Had Its Own Tiananmen Massacre**

To the Editor:

To many people, the appalling recent events in China were something that happened primarily in Beijing. It may be little understood just how geographically widespread the democracy movement and its brutal suppression were, and how broad the movement's support was through all segments of Chinese society.

I have just returned from Chengdu city, Sichuan Province, where I was personally witness to the viciousness with which army and police proceeded against entirely unarmed demonstrators. The security forces in Chengdu undertook two major actions against the demonstrators, one on the night of Sunday, June 4, the other on the following night of Monday, June 5.

Unlike Beijing, there was little gunfire (although some people were shot); the troops used tear gas and concussion grenades to control the crowds and attacked with truncheons, knives and electric cattle prods. Many people were killed and more wounded. The clear object of the intervention was not simply to control the demonstrators: even after having fallen to the ground, victims continued to be beaten and were stomped on by troops; hospitals were ordered not to accept wounded students (at least in one hospital some employees were arrested for defying the order), and on the second night of the attack the police prevented ambulances from functioning.

Reliable estimates of civilian casualties were difficult to come by but by the time I left on Wednesday, June 7, there was a consensus that from 300 to 400 people had been killed and upward of 1,000 wounded. A doctor from one hospital reported a personal count of 27 deaths in that medical facility. There are several major hospitals in Chengdu and undoubtedly a number of people never made it to any of them.

It is also important to know that among the wounded and dead were not only students but also many others. I was told, but could not confirm independently, that among the victims were children and a woman in her 70's. Conversation with people in the streets during Monday, the day intervening between the two major nighttime assaults, showed that the movement had fundamentally changed from being primarily based on students to one that had extremely broad popular support from people in all walks of life. Words fail to describe the popular outrage not only about the fact of suppression itself but its extreme brutality.

The United States Government has chosen to take a cautiously critical approach to the situation. To those of us who have witnessed the events and who have seen the despair in the eyes of Chinese citizens and heard the grief in their voices, this may fall short of the mark.

In spite of such official caution, it is nevertheless likely, and probably inevitable, that United States-China relations are on a downward spiral. At this time, just as important as official statements and sanctions are our individual actions. I appeal to all with interests in China, academics, private citizens and corporations, to suspend all activities that might be of direct or indirect benefit or interest to the Chinese Government. How could we possibly deal with a Government that murders its unarmed children?

KARL L. HUTTERER, Professor of Anthropology University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Mich., June 10, 1989