

cover workers' paychecks, which means renewed inflation.

Democracy activists "believe that if the West maintains an economic boycott, the Chinese economy may collapse. Popular discontent could then force the disintegration of the Li Peng regime. They say: 'We would rather suffer hardship for the sake of China's future,' " an anonymous Beijing dissident wrote in an essay in the London *Guardian* May 31. "For some countries to give succor to the regime for their own economic advantage is immoral. . . . The West should not be fooled into thinking the Chinese economy is in good shape because a few areas seem prosperous or a few technological achievements have been reported. The reality is that the Chinese Communist Party is like a thin man who pummels his own face to make it look fat."

Economy grinds to a halt

Key industries, the dissident wrote, "which were facing a stoppage of production have received loans to keep them going. Mr. Li [Peng] cannot ignore the weaknesses of the planned economy." With prices of food, soap, and matches already rising steadily, "large increases in grain, oil, electricity and fuel are expected after the Asian games in September. The regime also plans to sell off housing into private hands then, so rents are being sharply increased."

After 20 months of murderous austerity, with production collapsed and the country strangling on its internal debt, Prime Minister Li Peng was forced in late May to allow China's banks to make 25 billion yuan (about \$6 billion) in loans to keep the bankrupt state sector operation. China's internal debt situation is so bad that industries cannot collect enough funds from their customers even to pay operating costs. Last year, the An Shan Steel company, China's biggest enterprise, unable to pay its work force, asked the workers to come up with the tens of millions of yuan to bail the company out, Hong Kong's *Perspective Monthly* reported March 18. Another company, the Fulaerji Heavy Machine Works in Heilongjiang province, the largest industrial machine-builder in Asia, was forced to shut down for a month in early 1989, because it could not buy essential materials. Just months later, the entire works, unable to collect anything, was threatened with final closure. The situation has changed little. At the beginning of April, the government took—by force—some 5 billion yuan out of workers' wages to pay for a new issue of government bonds.

Yet at the same time, the government has been bankrupting itself by subsidising the entire state-owned economy. In 1989, government subsidies were nearly double the figure from just four years before. Subsidies were 25% of national income in 1986, but reached 32.6% by 1989.

Even the People's Liberation Army, despite its key role in keeping the regime in power, is being hit hard. Military spending was boosted to almost 30 billion yuan in the projected 1990 budget, an over 15% increase. But the army will be lucky to get an additional 10 billion yuan.

Chai Ling: Don't forget the martyrs of Tiananmen Square

On June 3, Chai Ling, the 24-year-old former leader of China's Tiananmen Square student movement, addressed a commemorative rally in Washington, D.C. on the occasion of the first anniversary of the massacre. Chai Ling was in hiding in China for nearly a year after the massacre. She escaped to France in April. Her remarks are the first that she has publicly made in the United States. For many, Chai Ling has become a symbol of the Chinese struggle for freedom.

One year ago today, a few hours from now, the killing began in Tiananmen Square. The massacre ended the peaceful demonstration that had lasted for over 50 days. For 50 days, we peacefully presented our government with our hopes and dreams for China. The government responded with martial law, tear gas, bullets, and tanks.

The major theme of the democracy movement last year was peace. The highest principle of peace is sacrifice. The people in China, indeed all over the world, were inspired by our belief in peace, and our willingness to sacrifice for peace.

During the hunger strikes, all of Beijing was full of the human spirit of peace and love which had never been felt in the 40-year history of Communist China. That history had been dominated by hatred and class struggle.

One year ago, when the tanks came into Tiananmen Square, the students were simply sitting there, facing the tanks peacefully. Outside the square, thousands of people blocked the tanks with their bodies. Their weapons were not guns, but human dignity. But that is the most powerful weapon that people can have. That night, it took four to five hours for the tanks to move 100 meters forward.

Wang Weilin, the 19-year-old student, blocked the tanks on Changan Boulevard with his love, the love for the lives of the peaceful demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. That scene was captured by the photographers, and made known to the world.

There was also a scene that wasn't so well known. A young woman, a student from a university in Beijing, also tried to block the tanks from going into Tiananmen Square. She put one hand on her waist, and the other hand up in a stop sign in front of the tanks. But for her, the tanks did not stop. She was crushed. Her young blood forever is a stain on

Tiananmen Square, and on our current government.

Why was she willing to die? Because in her heart she has the same beliefs as the peaceful demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. The power of love, the power of peace, the power of hope ruled in Tiananmen Square those 50 years before the massacre occurred. The people protected each other.

It would have been easy for the Chinese government to arrest the unarmed students. They didn't need to kill us to stop the peaceful demonstration. They certainly didn't need the tanks and machine guns and other heavy weapons in order to kill us. The reason they were so brutal was because for 40 years, the Chinese Communist Party had systematically killed many innocent people. Their killing had made the leaders of the government live constantly in fear, fearful of the evils within their own souls. They feared the students' peaceful spirits, they feared the power of love, they feared most of all the awakening of the people.

It is peace and love which the students had found within themselves in Tiananmen Square that awoke people all over China. By government counts, in 1989, there were demonstrations in 84 Chinese cities. The spirit of Tiananmen Square has lit the Chinese people's desire for freedom and democracy.

Brutal force and terror can never win the hearts and minds of the people. After last June, the people have less fear of death, both physically and spiritually. This is true all over China. That is the reason I could escape successfully. Hundreds of people were no longer afraid to help me.

The current situation

The Tiananmen massacre last year was the first time that the Chinese government had used troops to kill innocent people in full view of the world. The Chinese people had trusted their government, and had believed that the Communist Party would improve the lives of ordinary Chinese people. But the massacre last June had finally shaken their trust and belief. The mandate to govern the people of China is being withdrawn by the people of China.

The peaceful demonstration in Tiananmen Square and the brutal oppression since, have exposed to the world the true nature of the Chinese Communist Party. This had never happened before in the party's 40-year history. Now the Communist Party's lies will no longer be believed. The government of the lie can no longer rule by the lie, so they rule by sheer terror.

Today, we see all over China passive resistance against the government. Since people no longer believe in the government, it has lost its legitimacy. This resistance is very strong among workers and peasants. In the 10 months of hiding, it was the ordinary Chinese people who helped me to escape. In my journey, I discovered a great number of people were listening to VOA and BBC. The people of China know the truth. They see the government without its skin. They see the evil, and feel the fear of the Chinese Communist Party

leadership.

After the massacre in Tiananmen Square, the government of China can never be the same. During last year's democracy movement, the majority of government officials were sympathetic and supportive of the students and peaceful demonstrators, some of them even helped us to escape. They are just like us, eager for freedom and democracy.

And the society of China can never be the same. Today the underground resistance organizations are still alive and determined. They are careful and waiting, but alive and determined.

Today is a day of sorrow. Thousands of mothers, teachers, and friends who lost their loved ones last June have been grieving for a year. There have been many tears, but the tears have not been in vain. The tears will become the seeds of change and the seeds of human rights, the seeds of freedom and democracy.

The Chinese government didn't just want to kill the people in Tiananmen Square. They wanted to kill everything—the hope for freedom, the brave call for basic human rights, and the love deep in our hearts. But during the 10 months of my escape, I saw that no one can kill hope. The hope for a free life, the hope for a better future, and the hope hidden deep in the hearts of every Chinese man and woman. People tried to realize their hopes for the future by helping me and keeping me alive. I am determined to fight, to keep their hopes alive, and to see the day when our hopes become reality.

Today, as I stand in freedom, under the protection of democratic governments, I plead to the people of the world that you must not forget those who gave up their lives for freedom and democracy. Please listen to the cries of China's prisons, and the voices of students, workers, and peasants who are still deprived of basic human rights. People of the world, please do not forget the people of China. Indeed, do not forget people everywhere who suffer in the hands of brutal governments. The economic well-being of the world is important, but it cannot be more important than the lives of people. Let your voices of support be heard. The road to freedom and democracy is long and difficult; we must not give up so soon after so much blood had been shed.

After 10 long months in hiding, it is freedom at last for me. I know how precious freedom is. I cannot forget, even for a minute, those who are not free. I say now to the governments of the world, do not look at the Chinese people with the eyes of the 1970s, for the people of China have been emboldened in their quest for freedom. The struggle for justice is deeply felt by the Chinese people. It is not imported from abroad. It is deeply rooted in our own culture and history. It is our political leaders who now resist this idea.

I am grateful to be in Washington, D.C. with all of you today. And I appreciate all the support of the people of the world for me and for the Chinese people. But one day, I hope to return to my beloved China, when it is free.