

Testimony about the 24<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Protests and the June 4 Massacre at the Hearing Held by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States House of Representatives

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It has been 24 years since the June 4 Massacre. I want to testify here about people's views on this Massacre after 24 years, and the impact on Chinese politics due to people's widespread view.

The current widespread and representative view of the Chinese people is different from the view more than twenty years ago. At that time, the most widely held view was to ask for the redress of the June 4 Massacre from the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). However, now, more than half of the people's concern is not the issue of redress, but an investigation of the people responsible for the crime, and a demand for the Communist Party to plea guilty for this Massacre.

This change of attitude illustrates that people have gradually lost illusions to the Chinese Communist Party. A so-called redress is a wrong thing to be corrected. In the past, people asked for redress, because they still had illusions about the CCP and had the misconception that the Communist regime is a reasonable government. Now people have changed their minds. This change illustrates that people no longer consider the Communist regime as a reasonable government. In other words, the Chinese Communist government has seriously lost its legitimacy in the eyes of the Chinese people.

Within the Communist leadership, the view regarding the Massacre 24 years ago also is changing. There are often rumors that the new leadership will redress the June 4 Massacre. There is a certain basis to political rumors in China; the Communist Party has the habit of using rumors for political struggles. Thus, some of these rumors are often very accurate, which can reflect the closed-door struggle within the Communist Party.

Every year before the anniversary of June 4, the Chinese government is very nervous. To prevent people taking to the streets, the regime dispatches a large number of police, and puts dissidents under surveillance and house arrest. This action alone results in a lot of pressure over the Communist Party. The main cause of this pressure is due to the public opinion of the Chinese people; the pressure of public opinion from the international community is another important reason. Over the years these two pressures have become important reasons for the poor image of the Chinese government

both inside China and internationally. This is a serious burden to the Chinese government, and is considered to be one of several reasons for people to incite revolution.

When the Communist leaders who participated in that Massacre were still in power, these leaders considered this burden as what they must bear. But now the leaders who did not participate in the Massacre have come into power, and they consider this as an extra unnecessary burden. Under the premise that this burden distresses them both diplomatically and internally, removing this burden and reducing the hidden risk of social instability has become an issue that the new leadership clique must consider.

Some in the Chinese Communist leadership will naturally think of imitating successful international experience, to ease people's lasting resentment against this massacre by way of redressing and reparation for the June 4 Massacre, thus reducing the instability factors made by the previous leaderships. But other people in the leadership clique consider concessions to the people as reducing the authority of the Communist Party that will bring new instability, so they oppose redress and reparation. These two views are causing new conflicts within the Communist Party, and have increased the divisions within the Chinese leadership.

Of course, to the Communist Party, this seems not the most urgent and the biggest problem now. As China's economic crisis looms, as its tensions with the neighboring countries intensify, improving their image and reducing domestic social pressure by a June 4 redress is not a particularly pressing problem. It now appears that the Communist regime still considers this as a historic problem that can be resolved by suppression. For the time being, they do not have motivation to solve historical problems completely. The guilt accountability and reparation of the June 4 Massacre may have to wait until the collapse of the Communist regime in China.