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## Statue goes from pillar to post, then nowhere

GENEVIEVE KU

The Pillar of Shame statue has nowhere to go after next year's anniversary of the June 4 Tiananmen Square crackdown.

The statue, a gift to Hong Kong from Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot in memory of the tragedy, has been on show at the Chinese University but will be transferred to Lingnan College tomorrow.

It will then be displayed at different universities before returning to Victoria Park on June 4 - where it was unveiled

this year - for the annual candlelight vigil.

But no organisations have offered to display the statue from that date, Chinese University student union president Maggie Yung Hiu-kuen said.

Pointing out the moving costs add up to \$10,000 a time, she suggested student unions display the column of twisted faces for longer than planned.

"The standing of the sculpture should not be considered as a student union work only but a representation of freedom of speech in Hong Kong," she said.

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Head-turner: The Pillar of Shame, while being removed from the Chinese University campus, attracts the attention of two men who have to adjust their stance to read the inscriptions on the statue.

PICTURE BY MIKE HO

## Pillar of Shame moved to new temporary home

By Reggie Rathour

THE controversial *Pillar of Shame* statue has been removed from the Chinese University to its temporary home at Lingnan College.

The eight-metre-high bronze sculpture was hauled yesterday from Sha Tin to its new abode at Lingnan's Tuen Mun campus.

The statue, sculpted by Danish artist Jens Galschiot, depicts 50 bodies and anguished faces piled one on top of the other.

It first took centre stage at a candle-lit vigil in Victoria Park on June 4 to commemorate the dead from the 1989

Tiananmen Square crackdown. The Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China found temporary refuge for the two-tonne work of art at the University of Hong Kong after the Urban and Regional councils refused to permit its display on public property.

After four months at the university, it was decided each of Hong Kong's six other tertiary institutions would host the statue on a rotating basis for a month at a time.

Next month it will go on display at the Baptist University in Kowloon Tong.

It is hoped that the statue will return to Victoria Park for the next June 4 vigil.

# HONG KONG



Oliver Tsang

## Shame shared

The Pillar of Shame arrives at Baptist University after a month at Lingnan College. The work, by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot in memory of 1989's Tiananmen Square massacre, has to be moved between tertiary institutions because it has no permanent site.

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# The Pillar's historical importance

THE controversial Pillar of Shame statue was removed from the Chinese University to its temporary home at Lingnan College some days ago. It was good news for its supporters.

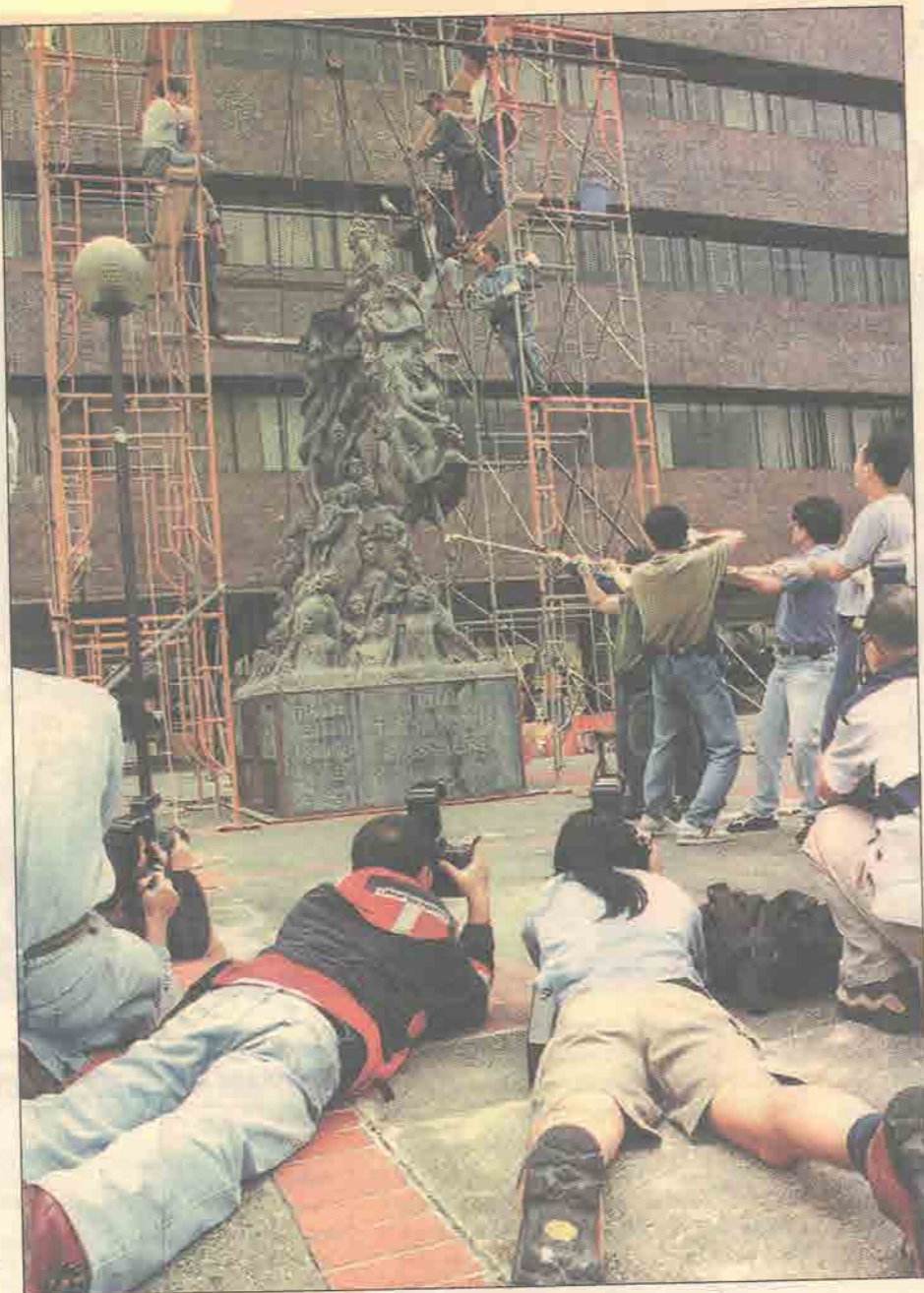


Actually, a lot of people thought that it was a pity and not ethical of the Provisional Urban and Regional Councils to refuse to permit its display on public property. Moreover, they gave a decision on the case without public consultation. They do not know whether this decision was right or wrong. I thought that the Provisional Urban and Regional Councils should be concerned about people's responses as well as comments for and against the case. Hence, communication is very important.

could have carried out other measures to settle and reduce the grievances of students, such as allowing the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. That would have been better than using violence. Furthermore, the Pillar of Shame statue shows dead people with anguished looks who cried out in pain. We can see into the minds of the people who died when we see the statue and inscriptions. It can bring the important message home to everyone and the Chinese leaders. We should always mediate on, and the politicians should learn from the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown. They should not always have numerous excuses for reaching the wrong decision and for having used military force to deal with the protesters.

The Pillar of Shame aroused strong feelings in people. I think that its main purpose is so that everyone will not forget the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown. A lot of tertiary students in China died and were shot by the police. What a shame! The students were only expressing their opinions about democracy and freedom to everyone. I really want to know why the Chinese leaders made their decision on 4 June without prudent discussion. They

Hence, the Pillar of Shame is very significant and educational. It can indirectly represent the 1989 Tiananmen Square



Moving: The Pillar of Shame being dismantled from the Chinese University.

crackdown and its historical significance.

We can teach young people that democracy is important and encourage them more and more to express their views to the government.

Definitely, I hope that there is somewhere permanent to put the Pillar of Shame statue because it could be damaged if it is moved too many times.

I do hope that the Chinese leaders will improve human rights and stop the violent treatment

of protesters after their trip to the United States recently. They should also give everyone in China more confidence and freedom.

Mak Tsui-man (F 6)  
 Kunun Tong Vocational Training Centre

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## It's time to paint the town red

By Antoine So

CHINESE flags will be flying high, the sky glittering with fireworks and the frantic stock market silent as Hong Kong pays tribute to the mainland with its first National Day holiday tomorrow.

But perhaps the busiest man in town will be Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa, who will be running a 16-hour race to attend seven official celebration events from 7 am to 11 pm.

Mr Tung will attend a flag raising ceremony at 7 am arranged by the Home Affairs Bureau outside the Convention and Exhibition Centre in Wan Chai and hear the day's first rendition of the Chinese anthem.

It will be followed by another five other functions in Sha Tin, Causeway Bay and Wan Chai in the afternoon.

At night, he will attend a fireworks display at Victoria Harbour which blasts off at 9.45 pm.

To cope with the predicted huge crowds, MTR services will be enhanced to three-minute intervals between 7 pm and 1 am.

Representatives of district organisations are expected to take advantage of the two-day holiday to visit the People's Liberation Army navy base on Stonecutters Island and its barracks at Stanley.

While a series of official celebrations by the government is under way, Hong Kong streets are already looking festive.

Red Chinese flags have been raised in public housing estates and a new lighting system with a red emphasis will illuminate the Lantau Link until 8 October.

But pro-democracy campaigners like April Fifth and Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China have their plans too, with a series of protests planned.

A forum will be held by the alliance in Tsim Sha Tsui to review democratic development in China.

About 20 radical April Fifth activists will march to the Convention and Exhibition Centre at 4 pm to coincide with the official National Day reception.

The *Pillar of Shame*, the controversial statue commemorating June 4, will stand erect in the grounds of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.



Moving on

Antony Dickson

The Pillar of Shame statue is dismantled at the University of Hong Kong campus.

## Students postpone rally

ALISON SMITH

University activists have postponed plans for a human rights rally, saying they need time to muster support from fellow students.

The Solidarity Front for Campus Free Speech, an action group representing all seven universities, said there would probably have been only 100 students at the planned campus "carnival" aimed at consolidating support for equality, freedom of speech and human rights.

Spokesman Lo Sze-ping, a post-graduate student at Hong Kong University, said campuses needed time to show others the relevance of human rights to their lives.

He hoped the Pillar of Shame statue, which began its circuit of all seven universities yesterday, would be a focal point for sending out the message.

More than 500 people, mostly students, gathered and scuffles broke out with police as the monument to the June 4 massacre was brought on to the university campus in June.

Management allowed the sculpture to stay until this month and it was transported to the Chinese University of Hong Kong yesterday.

"I think the pillar has achieved its historical mission in Hong Kong University and maybe it is time for it to go to another place so people can organise their activities around it," Mr Lo said.

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JUL. '97

Writers test the mood on both sides of the border and look to the future

# Former colony heads into the unknown



HONG KONG

To a severe Chinese bureaucrat, Hong Kong must seem a worrying place. Beijing sees its newly re-acquired territory as a hotbed of "kung fu movies, karaoke bars and corrupt business," says Mr Michael Yahuda of the London School of Economics.

A degree of suspicion is inevitable for any government taking on a sophisticated population with a standard of living 60 times higher than its own. China is worried that its new subjects may turn out unruly and pollute its own social development.

Its natural temptation might thus be to stifle Hong Kong's individual character. It matters much to Beijing that Hong Kong is now seen as an integral part of China even if its political and economic system is different. As to that system, one model admired by Mr Tung Chee-hwa, the territory's new chief executive, is the compliant, orderly and prosperous Singapore.

But Hong Kong's social values are complex and unique in Asia. Whether China could bend them easily to its own is another matter. Ironically, the handover has reinforced Hong Kong's own sense of pride in its own traditions as much as it has stirred

Chinese patriotism among its citizens.

Singapore's communitarian democracy with its limits on individual rights and political debate would fit badly into the Hong Kong template. Moreover, Singapore justifies its tough regime by the need to build a sense of nationhood, and Hong Kong is not a country.

Equally bad models are the corrupt democracies of South Korea and Taiwan. Hong Kong people have less experience of democracy than these other regimes, but they have longer experience of the application of democratic values to government, particularly where the law is concerned. They expect high standards.

Hong Kong has one of Asia's highest standards of living and a large middle class. Its population has always been transient, but since 1991 more than half its people were born in Hong Kong itself. Young people identify strongly with the territory even though they also feel Chinese.

Since Britain felt secure in its role as colonial master, it permitted more freedom of speech than some of Asia's authoritarian regimes. Successive governors maintained a rule of law and, in the last two decades at least, did much to stamp out corruption. They fostered a competent civil service with a tradition of vigorous and open policy debate. Unlike in

China, decisions in Hong Kong are simply not handed down from on high. Still, Hong Kong has difficulty drawing up all these formative forces into a cohesive sense of its own identity.

According to Ms Elizabeth Sinn, history professor at Hong Kong University, there is a large differ-

**People feel both proud to be from Hong Kong and proud of their Chinese heritage, even if they do not always support the Communist party**

ence between older people who were born in China and the baby boomers, born in Hong Kong, who grew up during the 30 years after the 1949 Chinese communist revolution when there was almost no contact with the mainland.

With the opening up of China since Deng Xiaoping's reforms, contacts have resumed. People feel both proud to be from Hong Kong and proud of their Chinese heritage, even if they do not always support the Communist party. "Reunification really began in the

late 1970s when people went back to China to set up factories, married women there, and a lot of old people went back to die in their villages," says Ms Sinn.

Research by Mr Michael de Golyer of the Baptist University points up other differences within Hong Kong. Perhaps because they are better educated - free secondary school education only started in Hong Kong in 1978 - young people are more outspoken than their elders. The conservative bias of Mr Tung's circle of advisers does not take this into account, he says. Failure to consult could be a source of tension.

Hong Kong's remarkable passion for newspapers belies the received wisdom that the territory is indifferent to politics. Here again, differences in background may matter. Ms Elsie Tu, the British missionary who has waged heroic battles in defence of Hong Kong's poor since the 1950s, says local people mostly want improved social conditions with better housing, pensions and job security. They are not interested in political freedom.

Yet the middle-class readers who devour Hong Kong's 50 separate newspapers display a keen interest in the world around them. By and large, they have shown realism in accepting China's decision to abolish the legislature elected under former governor Chris Patten's

democracy reforms. But the public outcry that followed the announcement of curbs on civil liberties shows a limit to that tolerance.

An abhorrence of corruption unites almost everyone. "If you don't deal with corruption, you will have the same problems as we had in the 1960s when we had riots," says Ms Tu.

But many young people are cynical about the prospects for the longer run. Mr Patrick Wong, president of the Hong Kong University Students' Union, doubts whether China will ever allow a fully elected local legislature or a popular vote for the position of chief executive. "I guess freedom of expression will gradually decrease over the years."

For the time being, though, Mr Wong and others of his generation will continue to want their say. Proudly displayed on the terrace outside the students' union is the "Pillar of Shame" sculpture by the Danish artist Jens Galschiot which commemorates those who died in the Tiananmen Square massacre.

The sculpture is in a public place, though its position inside the campus obscures it from public view. It is an uneasy compromise, but one of a sort Hong Kong will have to learn to live with for a long time to come.

Peter Montagnon

PRESSE-CLEARING

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## Sparks fly in Legco over pillar

By Maureen Pao

LEGISLATORS Selina Chow Liang Shuk-ye and Albert Chan Wai-yip clashed in a Legislative Council panel meeting yesterday.

Mr Chan called Mrs Chow "irresponsible" when she said she was not given access to information on an inquiry into the handling of the *Pillar of Shame* issue.

The row broke out during a discussion of Chief Secretary Anson Chan Fang On-sang's reply to a Broadcast, Culture and Sport Panel letter regarding the Urban Council's decision not to allow the exhibition of the *Pillar of Shame*.

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## Dangerous

I refer to the picture on page six of the *South China Morning Post*, on June 17.

Perhaps the "Pillar of Shame" statue should be rededicated to the very many people who are killed and seriously injured each year while working in similar appalling safety conditions as those shown erecting the statue.

When will they ever learn?  
ANTHONY HILL  
Kowloon

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# Artistic recognition isn't easy on home territory



Victoria Finlay



The Arts

**T**HERE were two artistic installations in Victoria Park during the June 4 vigil. One, a sculptured pillar of human hell created by Dane Jens Galschiot was dramatically lit and in full view of the vigil, its cause about to be championed by Hong Kong University students in a campus scuffle. The other, the

product of 10 local artists and sponsorship by the Arts Development Council, was crammed with more action-art statements than its Danish counterpart – ancestral graves, No Entry signs, windmills symbolising political manoeuvres – and was hardly visible to the crowd, hardly noticed by the press, and dismantled that night by its creators.

This in part encapsulates the plight of young Hong Kong artists in 1997. They are there, they are making their statements, they even get government money to do so. But they struggle for attention, and often do not get it.

These continuing struggles are old Hong Kong news in a way: a

century ago local Chinese artists were striving, often in vain, for recognition in a market that tended to favour European styles; today it is mainland styles that seem to attract the big buyers and the prestigious galleries.

But the real concern among so many artists in Hong Kong has nothing to do with attention and competition and jostling for sponsorship: there is a general optimistic conviction that the best art will eventually be noticed.

The real concern is that next year, and in the years after that, neither the Danish *Pillar of Shame* nor the 10 political installations from the Young Artists' Association, may be allowed in Victoria Park at all.

Ask almost any contemporary artist in Hong Kong about his or her worries, and the answer will probably be that the artistic freedom that may come from Hong Kong's renewed sense of identity risks being overshadowed by the loss of freedom that comes from censorship or, more insidiously, from self-censorship.

"Maybe next year will be difficult," acknowledged Wong Shun-kit, founder of Hong Kong's Young Artists Association, which is one of the prominent visual arts groups making political commentaries and which took part in the Victoria Park installation.

Whereas Zuni Icosahedron makes the performance arts statements and Zunzi does the cartoons, Wong and friends can usually be relied on for visual installations.

"Maybe the answers we will get from the authorities will all be 'no'. But this [handover] is all about change, and we will keep on expressing ourselves," he promised, standing beside his design for Victoria Park, a huge No Entry sign studded with branches.

They stayed and he expanded his artistic repertoire from ink paint-

ty. The sense of the whole piece is more immediate: it does not, like a film or play, take an hour or three to unravel its message. The idea of using a red pen with a painting is more likely to come from the artist – as parody – than from the censor.

"[Censorship] can be as simple as not getting funding, or [a matter] of who will show your work," said Oscar Ho, an artist who heads the visual arts section of the Arts Centre, a vigorous opponent of censorship.

The Arts Centre is in a particularly good position to set its own standards because it does not rely on government money for its running costs, being partly financed by the rental on its 15-floor Wan Chai building.

Some private galleries are more likely to practise self-censorship than to invite any government prohibition. Naturally, no gallery owners will admit this possibility on the record.

"But we have to do business here," said one pragmatically.

Another exhibitor was recently involved in a muddle about the subject of the show she was promoting. "No, it's definitely not about human rights," she told the reporter, who was looking for a positive or relevant angle to the story.

"Who told you the paintings are about human rights?" she asked anxiously, unaware this had been the message from the public relations company.

It can sometimes be hard, or irrelevant, to make satisfying political statements if you are one of the many visual artists more interested in the detail rather than the "big picture" when it comes to social organisation.

For example, for the welcome reopening late last month of Para/site – the alternative space for artists in Sheung Wan – leading installation artists and a lecturer at the Swire School of De-

ourselves with the colonial administration, nor with the Chinese Government. We grew up in an atmosphere of not really being longing, and the art that developed here did not reflect a strong national identity at all."

Wong added that he probably had more of a sense of Chinese culture than some others because he had been born on the mainland.

He has been a busy participant in some of the many summer shows for the handover, including Hanart Gallery's big show, 6/ and group exhibitions at Bap University and elsewhere.

His 1997 series is called *A Dream*, featuring abstract sculptures in Victoria Park. "The message is about dreams, because in Hong Kong we are doing a lot of dreaming now: we have expectations, and we are unsure of what is happening," he said.

His work, like his view of the future, was neither totally negative nor totally positive, said Wong. Like Lucia Cheung, another major Hanart-Gallery artist, Wong mixes traditional techniques with modern subjects usually paints mountain and views, quite unrelated to the filled landscapes of international politics.

"I wanted to show my feelings... how we all have hopes for better times..."

Yan Kwai (the artist formerly known as Yank Wong) is one of the most prominent local talents who do nothing special for the handover or, indeed, at any time over summer. "My next show is at the end of the year, I'll just keep it until then," said Yan who is known for his bright abstract acrylics as well as for other skills, which include screenwriting (credits include Jacob Cheung's *Cagemar* director (on Ann Hui's *Si* not be political, he said, "everything is about politics



Carving a niche

Sculptor Wong Shun-kit, with his contribution to the June 4 Young Artists' Association sculpture, is determined to continue expressing himself through art; and (at top) Yan Kwai, with one of his abstract acrylics, eschews politics in his painting but says the decision to do so can be regarded as political.

#ORTSATTELSE

1. Juli 97

ing - which is what he had learned to do in Shanghai - to sculpture and multimedia expressions of his ideas. "Hong Kong was so free after China. I really hope we keep this, [freedom], because it's the most important thing," he said.

sign, chose to continue the main theme of his work - nostalgia and memory - instead of embarking on something more obviously topical.

It was through the old rose wallpaper patterns, the kitchen

not doing work based is a political decision. Hong Kong's prominence this year good for younger artists ceded: "There are so many things happening every second



### Brushing up image

Mainland-born artist Wucius Wong believes local art does not reflect any national identity

Artistic censorship is nothing new to Hong Kong.

For years the colonial administrators exercised censorship in the arts; more recently the job has been done by the Urban and Regional Councils - patrons of much of today's art.

After the Obscene Articles Tribunal last year vetoed Dame Elisabeth Frink's *New Man* sculpture and by their definition of indecency also damned Michelangelo's *David* - the Urban Council followed suit.

Not to be outdone, the councillors labelled "indecent" an art talk showing a picture of Edouard Manet's *Le Dejeuner sur l'Herbe*.

With its nude woman sitting down for a picnic with clothed men in top hats, it was a spicy enough painting a century ago, but today there is more spice to be found on a wall of the Foreign Correspondents' Club.

With exceptions, censorship in the visual arts is sometimes more difficult to pin down than in the performance arts.

In theatre a line of dialogue can be cut here, a verbal nuance changed there, and the message can be watered down, possibly without the audience noticing.

But with a picture or physical artwork it is harder to censor sub-

items, the bamboo memories of old Sheung Wan (where he grew up) that Tsang managed to express a sense of wanting to cling to the past and an unwillingness of Hong Kong residents to confront the future.

His fellow artist, Chan Kaiwin, who works as a freelance illustrator, was more overtly and symbolically "1997-aware": his *Para/site* work included a ceiling painting strongly reminiscent of Tibetan Buddhist iconography, dotted with clocks and most easily seen through fractured mirrors on the floor.

In some ways the new political situation may benefit the visual arts in Hong Kong - and not just the more patriotic artists such as sculptor Van Lau.

There could be a new sense of being part of a larger land with 5,000 years of art history rather than sitting on the edge of a rather crumbled empire where money might sometimes have been said to replace culture as well as to pay for it, and where attending an academy of visual arts involved going abroad.

"I have always thought that Chinese artists in Hong Kong lack a strong identity," said older-generation artist Wucius Wong.

"We didn't tend to identify

keep your eyes open for things. But what I see in Hong Kong are already polished things that happen in the art world.

Yan Kwai is not a subject of the handover a frequent subject. Hong Kong has many art galleries, hundreds of them. Yet skim through the most exhibiting artists in China or overseas.

Even (or especially) called handover shows, they do not seem to come from outside Hong Kong as within: outside Hong Kong somehow seem to be

"I don't feel much about 1997," admitted Oscar Kwok-cheung, of the Artists' Association. There have been some exhibition on the political side but the trend is to be taken down. As artists we have not done enough. As artists in Hong Kong people want to get back to our roots.

Ho said he was about Hong Kong's situation under the wave of change but added: "I have a more positive attitude towards culture, and you can see it in Hong Kong in the movies that are successful in the world: perhaps our culture with its own identity

EBI'NIP

55.000 personas evocan la matanza

# Hong Kong recuerda por última vez Tiananmen antes del retorno a China

V. BRUNSCHWIG, Hong Kong  
 ¿Fue el miedo a perderse "la última vez" o el deseo de retar al futuro dueño del lugar a tan sólo 27 días de la retrocesión de Hong Kong a China? Jóvenes, ancianos, padres e hijos se congregaron ayer para conmemorar el octavo aniversario de la matanza de Tiananmen, el aplastamiento de la revuelta estudiantil que en la noche del 4 de junio de 1989 causó una cifra elevada, aunque nunca determinada, de muertos. Según los organizadores, 55.000 personas se reunieron en medio de la calurosa y húmeda noche —una cifra superior a los entre 30.000 y 40.000 que asistieron en años precedentes— sin importarles la amenaza de lluvia que durante la mañana había inundado la ciudad. Presentes estaban miembros del Consejo Legislativo, el Parlamento de Hong Kong elegido en parte democráticamente, que quedará disuelto por decisión de Pekín el próximo 30 de junio para ser reemplazado por un órgano compuesto por personalidades nombradas por el poder central. El parque Victoria se encontraba abarrotado, iluminado con miles de candelas, símbolo de las lágrimas vertidas hace ocho años. En medio de la multitud, "la columna de la vergüenza", el pilar de ocho metros que evoca la ma-

tanza de Tiananmen, obra del escultor danés Jens Galschiot.

"Esta noche la candela brilla en el parque Victoria para siempre y nuestra fe permanece", gritó Cheung Man Kwong, el jefe de la Alianza para el Apoyo del Movimiento Demócrata y Patriota en China. "Algunos pretenden que ésta sea la última vigilia en favor del movimiento democrático en China, [pero] queridos compatriotas, eso es falso. Incluso si nuestro movimiento es ilegalizado después del próximo 30 de junio, continuaremos luchando cada 4 de junio. No habrá democracia en Hong Kong sin una China democrática", sentenció Cheung.

Este llamamiento a mantener vivo el recuerdo choca con las palabras que dos días antes pronunció el futuro jefe del Ejecutivo de Hong Kong, Tung Chee Hwa, elegido con el visto bueno de Pekín. Tung exhortó a los hongkoneses a "dejar al margen" la memoria de Tiananmen y a concentrarse en la reunificación con China a través de una "transición en calma".

[En Pekín el aniversario transcurrió sin incidentes, informa Reuter. La policía autorizó a que familiares de las víctimas de Tiananmen llevaran flores y alimentos a las tumbas de sus parientes en los cementerios de la ciudad.]

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## World watches uncertain future

CHRIS YEUNG

Commemorative envelopes bearing the frank "June 4th, 1997" were sold at \$50 each. A replica of the Goddess of Democracy cost \$100.

"Probably the last time you can buy them," said a hawker.

Next to the alliance activists were members of pro-democracy groups, labour unions and students' organisations handing out pamphlets, selling copies of their publications — or seeking donations to keep their campaign going.

Nobody seemed to know whether they would be allowed to gather

again next year to mark the ninth anniversary of Tiananmen.

As a result, many were putting the vigil on permanent record. Some were taking pictures or videos with one hand, while holding memorial candles in the other.

The feeling of uncertainty aside, the mood of the crowd and the scene at the park was little different to the previous seven memorials.

The only visible change was the *Pillar of Shame* erected in the centre of the football pitches, next to a replica of the Memorial Monument of the People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square.

The sculpture was such a centre of attraction that organisers had to repeatedly ask participants not to linger around it.

Similarly, Hong Kong has emerged as a magnet for the international media as the handover approaches — weaving through the crowd last night were several teams of cameramen from overseas news networks.

Another change saw alliance activists preparing English translations of their manifesto and memorial speeches.

For the first time, the world could watch and listen.

## CASPER STAR-TRIBUNE

CASPER, WY  
 DAILY 33,161

FRIDAY  
 MAY 9 1997

BURRELL'S

## Tiananmen Square memorial to be built

HONG KONG (AP) — In a challenge to upcoming Chinese rule, Hong Kong activists said Thursday they will erect a 26-foot statue to commemorate victims of China's 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators.

The *Pillar of Shame* will be unveiled at a candlelight vigil on June 4, the anniversary of China's crushing of demonstrations at Beijing's Tiananmen Square and in other Chinese cities, the activists said. The three-story-

high bronze statue by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot depicts 50 painfully twisted human bodies, said the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China.

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has said Hong Kong activists should not hold their annual rally commemorating the 1989 crackdown after the colony reverts to Chinese rule. But the alliance has vowed to continue the June 4 events.

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30 JUN 1997

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PRESSE-CLEARING

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# Students fight for freedom of speech

GENEVIEVE KU

University students alleging political censorship yesterday formed an action group to defend freedom of speech on campuses.

Students from seven universities launched the Solidarity Front for Campus Free Speech at University of Hong Kong's Haking Wong podium.

Spokesman Lo Sze-ping said universities had restricted freedom of expression in the lead-up to the handover.

The row over whether the *Pillar of Shame* June 4 sculpture could be erected at the University of Hong Kong had increased their determination to become organized, he said.

Yesterday, when a television station tried to interview students inside the Haking Wong building, security guards stopped the crew from filming.

"A change of political positions among university administrations has highlighted their control over freedom of speech on campus," Mr Lo, a University of Science and Technology student, said. "It doesn't necessarily mean things will get worse in the future. But we are worried."

"These are not individual events. We came together after experiencing different forms of political censorship on campuses."

The Front's manifesto listed allegations of censorship in the past year, including rejections of human rights events and the erasure of June 4 commemorative paintings.

Mr Lo said the group would involve students from various universities and planned a big rally after term began in September.

A spokesman for the University of Hong Kong's External Affairs Department yesterday said they were not aware of the group's formation and could not comment on its manifesto.

Management initially refused to allow the *Pillar of Shame* at the university, citing safety concerns, then agreed the sculpture could be displayed until September.



'Pillar of Shame': Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, right, supervises the erection of his statue in Hong Kong's Victoria Park that memorializes victims of the Tiananmen massacre.

# In Hong Kong, doubtful art Avant-garde captures uncertainty of future

By Mimi Pei-Yee Lok and James Cox  
 USA TODAY

## COVER STORY

**HONG KONG** — Hong Kong's avant-garde artists are trying to capture the doubt and drift they see in their community on the eve of its historic return to China.

The territory's "installation" artists are using red paint, bamboo bird cages, calendar pages, flags and other symbolic materials to convey the deep ambivalence they sense about rejoining China.

Several art exhibits will take place as part of festivities marking the transfer of power from Britain to China on midnight June 30.

But most are apolitical displays by mainstream artists that celebrate the vibrancy and grandeur of Hong Kong.

Meanwhile, a tiny band of unconventional mixed-media artists is determined to express something else: the powerlessness and blurred identity they see among Hong Kong people as British colonial authority is replaced by communist Chinese rule.

"Hong Kong people feel a kind of awareness — and some resentment — that their future was decided for them," says David Clark, art history lecturer at the University of Hong Kong.

Shanghai-born artist Wong Shun-Kit says the handover has inspired artists "to question their identity — or lack of it — and their ties, political and emotional, to the (Chinese)



'Remembering June Fourth': Lithograph shows candle lit in memory.

motherland." Wong's "Floating Identity" is a lightweight sculpture of Hong Kong's geographic territory left to drift in a large swimming pool. "No artist can choose not to face up to the changes in our society," says artist To Wun. He displayed a piece with or-

ange grave markers during Hong Kong's recent commemoration of the anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre in Beijing.

Some local artists were alarmed by the treatment received by a Danish sculptor who donated a 26-foot bronze to the pro-democracy groups organizing Hong Kong's annual Tiananmen anniversary vigil.

The sculptor had difficulty getting government permission to display his *Pillar of Shame*, a depiction of the victims killed by Chinese troops in 1989. Local pro-democracy groups have had trouble finding a home for it ever since the June 4 ceremony.

"Censorship is something I'm very worried about after the handover," says artist Oscar Ho. "Just look at the *Pillar of Shame*. That's the first incident so far of very obvious political censorship."

Ho, who also is curator at the independent Hong Kong Arts Centre, uses images inspired by imperial China in lithographs that highlight the problems of life in today's Hong Kong.

To has done much the same in his installation piece, *Change*. He uses two facing chairs to represent China and Britain.

From the back of one flows a pigtail symbolizing imperial China. From the other protrudes a swallow's tail, symbolic of the topcoats once worn by British men.

Please see COVER STORY, next page ▶

Continued from 8A  
 Clark says much of the art inspired by the change of power in Hong Kong is shallow and clichéd.  
 "There's an attitude of 'Let's splash red paint all over the place.' It's not particularly subtle," he says.

## COVER STORY

Less direct is the work of Kun Chik-keung, who has used dozens of bamboo bird cages to represent the physical and psychological confines of life in Hong Kong's massive apartment blocks — the "hectic and

desperate" existence in "a land-scarce utopia." Since the start of Communist Party rule in China in 1949, art has been viewed as a tool of the state.  
 Paintings of valiant soldiers and determined workers are meant to glorify the party and its leaders and reinforce their

messages.  
 There has been some of that in Hong Kong, as well. One well-known local artist has created a massive mural that shows a constellation of Chinese leaders teasing the handover against a backdrop of skyscrapers and mountains.  
 Clark says Hong Kong's

avant-garde artists are likely to continue creating works that provoke, regardless of whether they might offend China.  
 Wong says Hong Kong artists are unlikely to face pressure and censorship.  
 "Still," he says, "I think everyone has it in mind to be a little more careful."

# Avant-garde artists may continue to provoke



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## Bid to leave tripod in park permanently

ANGELA LI

The world's heaviest Chinese tripod may be placed on permanent display in Victoria Park, it emerged last night.

The Association for All Sectors on Hong Kong Island and the Celebration of the handover wants to give the five-tonne tripod to the Urban Council if it goes on permanent display. It was on display at the park yesterday.

Chiang Yu-tui, the association's deputy secretary-general, said: "The tripod will be stored at the China Merchants warehouse for the time being."

Earlier, the tripod had to be repaired after one of its legs snapped while being loaded onto a lorry in Kennedy Town.

The Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement wanted to put the sculpture *Pillar of Shame*, which commemorates the Tianan-

men crackdown, on display in the park for three months.

But the council refused permission for the Danish-made sculpture to be displayed through the summer.

Mr Chiang said: "We feel that they carry totally different meanings. This tripod is to celebrate the unification of Hong Kong to China."

"For the *Pillar of Shame*, it seemed to be with no logic at all as it is made by a foreigner for Chinese people."

Alliance member Cheung Man-kwong said politics should not compromise an artwork's chances of display.

"I expected Hong Kong to be a pluralistic and free city which can accommodate the Chinese tripod to celebrate the handover as well as the *Pillar of Shame*."

"As an international city with a cultural mix, there should be no boundary for arts."

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## Sculpture backed by university chiefs

QUINTON CHAN

Three university heads last night said the controversial *Pillar of Shame* sculpture, commemorating the Tiananmen Square massacre, could stand on their campuses if students overcame technical difficulties.

Although they raised concern on safety and security matters, the principals said students were free to express their opinions.

Speaking at a forum organised by the Better Hong Kong Founda-

tion, the university chiefs revealed that meetings had been held between universities and student unions on whether to allow the sculpture.

Professor Chang Hsin-kang of City University said: "I am quite happy to have this sculpture moving in." Hong Kong Polytechnic University president Poon Chung-kwong said there were technical problems, such as the risk of the work's collapse in high winds.

Professor Woo Chia-wei of the University of Science and Techno-

logy said he feared that if the sculpture was allowed on campus, there could be problems accommodating other large works.

All the heads questioned whether the sculpture's arrival had been timed to coincide with the handover to gain exposure in the foreign media.

The sculpture is at Hong Kong University until September.

The statue was erected at the university this month after scuffles and protests between students and police and security guards.

## SHAWNEE NEWS-STAR

SHAWNEE, OK  
DAILY 11,895

WEDNESDAY  
JUN 4 1997

**BURRELLE'S**

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Legislator Tsang Kinshing, left, supervises the erection of the *Pillar of Shame*, a bronze statue by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, to mark the military crackdown of a pro-democracy student movement in Beijing June 1989 at Hong Kong's Victoria Park on Tuesday. (AP Photo)

PRESSE-CLEARING

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# A place for our memories

In a city that scarcely has time, or a place, to pause, David Clarke wonders how our efforts to put aside the past affect the future



Squaring off ... above, in Tiananmen Square, crowds cheered the 'return' of Hong Kong. Left, 26 days earlier, Victoria Park became an emblem of Tiananmen

In recent years there has been a fair bit of discussion in Hong Kong about the paucity of public space. Those spaces that do exist tend to be commercially owned (and privately policed) spaces for buying things or rushing through: there are few places for staying still.

Instead of forums - public spaces for gathering and talking - we have shopping malls and walkways.

The spectacle of domestic helpers trying to find a forum-like venue for themselves every Sunday in places designed only for transit makes clear how inhospitable the public landscape of our city is to conviviality.

Many artists, too - because they wish to communicate with more people than simply those who choose to go to museums - bemoan the shortage of public sites for their work.

The impossibility of gaining permission to place the *Pillar of Shame* in a public park is an important recent example of how art has been excluded from public spaces.

There seemed to be official resistance to letting a park become a place to allow discussion on matters of public concern.

You might even say that art tends to be allowed to be displayed in Hong Kong public spaces over the long term only if it has a private - and uncontentious - meaning.

The Sunday occupation of Central by Filipinas has a parallel in the annual occupation of Victoria Park on June 4 by demonstrators wishing to commemorate the brutal suppression of the 1989 Beijing democracy movement.

The former may be a rather forlorn attempt by people without any private social space of their own to re-create a slice of their home country in less-than-ideal circumstances, the latter a rather more successful and focused attempt at imagining a forum into at least temporary existence.

What the demonstrators are doing is making Victoria Park into an imaginary Tiananmen Square.

Although the presence of the *Pillar of Shame* at the most recent June 4 demonstration received a great deal of attention, that particular sculpture has only a generalised (and even that a cliched) statement to make about suffering.

Far more significant was the placement in Victoria Park, on the occasion of this vigil, of a replica of the Monument to the People's Heroes.

This, more than any item brought there for the demonstration, turned Victoria Park into another Tiananmen Square.

The demonstration at such a time becomes not just a commemoration of the rallies held in that Beijing public space - and of their suppression - but amounts, in a sense, to an imaginary recreation or continuation of them.

By holding candles aloft, the participants are mimicking the gesture of the Beijing Goddess of Democracy, and thereby embodying her.

In a generic Hong Kong public space, through a powerful act of empathy with the students at Tiananmen Square, it becomes possible to breathe new life into something thwarted on that site.

The Beijing democracy movement becomes a Hong Kong democracy movement, and the very

physical identification Hong Kong people made with the Beijing demonstrators in 1989 ("It's our blood," people would say to me) is given a way of perpetuating itself.

Hong Kong public spaces (except for a few colonial structures preserved in a rather antiseptic way) do not prompt strong historical associations, so this temporary creation of a site for remembering events that happened elsewhere is very unusual.

Tiananmen Square is exactly what Hong Kong public space is not: a site designed to provoke a sense of the past, and in memorialising events that took place there the demonstrators are remembering a place deliberately saturated with memory for ideological purposes.

The Mao Memorial Hall and Monument to the People's Heroes are the ways officialdom prompts public memory, designed as they are to inculcate communist ideology.

Less according to plan, the monument became associated with protests against the rule of the Gang of Four when its official memorial connotations were hijacked by people who placed wreaths there in 1976 on the death of Zhou Enlai (周恩来).

This event, which helped trigger the end of the Cultural Revolution, was consciously recalled by those who placed a memorial portrait of Hu Yaobang (胡耀邦) on the Monument in April 1989.

The wreaths that surrounded the replica of the Monument in Victoria Park last month recalled the 1989 deaths, constituting a fourth layer of memorial associations but one that in all of China can be kept publicly alive only in Hong Kong.

The communist ideology that Tiananmen Square was intended to celebrate after that site was re-designed is now no longer of active appeal to most people in China. Furthermore, the events of 1989 have made the idea of memories

in the square problematic for the administration. What was a support for state ideology now poses a danger to it. So the authorities have tried to turn a space created for a communist remembrance of the past into a space for a nationalist anticipation of the future.

I feel the Hong Kong countdown clock that was placed there signalled this shift from remembrance to forgetting the past.

The square was to be dominated by happy thoughts of national reunification.

The "return" of Hong Kong was to be the joyous event to cement national unity, celebrated by happy and carefully picked crowds in the square itself, so erasing its vexed recent history.

Paradoxically, while identification with Hong Kong in Tiananmen Square was being used to propagate nationalistic feeling in China, in Hong Kong itself an identification with Tiananmen Square was helping to create a sense of Hong Kong's autonomy, and being used to express fears about its post-handover fate.

A place for memory was learning to forget, while a place with no past associations of its own was being used as a site of remembrance.

David Clarke teaches in the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Hong Kong

JUN 8 1997

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# PILLAR OF SHAME



A man looks at part of a dismantled sculpture, titled Pillar of Shame, at Hong Kong University on Saturday. The 26-foot-high statue honors pro-democracy demonstrators slain in China in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989. Students won a battle to erect it on campus after college authorities initially tried to block the truck carrying it. The Pillar of Shame, by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, depicts 50 painfully twisted bodies. (AP photo)

CLARKSVILLE, TN  
SUNDAY 25,000

JUN 8 1997

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AP photo

**THE PILLAR OF SHAME DISMANTLED** — A man looks at part of a dismantled sculpture, titled Pillar of Shame, at Hong Kong University, Saturday. The 8-meter (26-foot) high statue honors pro-democracy demonstrators slain in China when the army shot its way into Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989. Students won a battle to erect it on campus after college authorities initially tried to block the truck carrying it entering the campus early Thursday. The Pillar of Shame, by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, depicts 50 painfully twisted bodies.

JUN 8 1997

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

# Pillar of Shame

A man looks at the dismantled sculpture called Pillar of Shame Saturday in Hong Kong. The 26-foot statue, which depicts 50 painfully twisted bodies, honors the pro-democracy demonstrators slain at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China, in June, 1989.

Students battled to erect the statue at Hong Kong University after college authorities initially tried to block the truck carrying it from entering the campus. Hong Kong is set to be turned over to Chinese authority July 1.

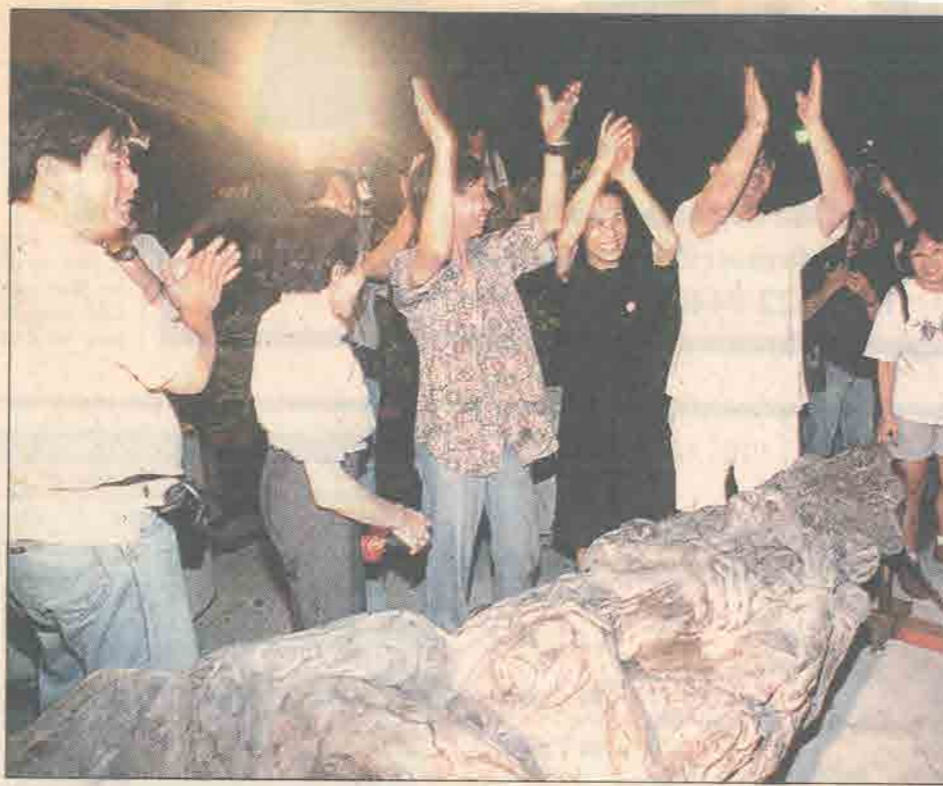
South China  
morning post  
7.6.97

HKU STANDARD 6/5  
**Students set for face-off in battle to erect Pillar of Shame**

Inoch Wong  
The University of Hong Kong students have launched an assault on the heads of the controversial *Pillar of Shame* which was banned from being erected on campus. In a showdown with university vice-chancellor Yiu-chung today, student leaders will tell him the statue must go up. We are not going to seek approval from him on this subject. We totally have the right to erect the *Pillar of Shame* anywhere inside campus," HKU Student Union vice-president La Wong Shui-hung said.

Sections in the college grounds after it was taken there by students from Wednesday night's candlelit Tiananmen vigil in Victoria Park. College heads refused to let students stand the two-tonne copper work of art on the campus' podium because they said it was too heavy for the building to support. But students will challenge Professor Chen to give them strong enough safety reasons for the ban. They insist they have the right to put it there as the podium is "owned" by their union. The eight-metre high sculpture, inspired by the 1989 Beijing crackdown, was the focus of clashes

with police and college guards as students tried to get it on campus. After three hours police let the lorry carrying it through the college gates. HKU's Rupert Chan Kwan-yan, director of its external affairs office, denied there were political considerations behind the refusal. "Our university is politically neutral. We tolerate all strands of opinion. "But our primary concern is safety as the pillar is 1,800 kilograms and it may be too heavy for the podium," he said. Regional and Urban Councils have already refused to allow it to be put on public display. ■ More reports: Page 3



Gaining entry: Students cheer after guards and police give in and let the sculpture be driven on to the campus. College officials insist it must not be erected. PICTURE BY JELLY TSE

**Jiang to miss democracy march, noisy protesters**

By Philip Ho and Neville de Silva  
CHINESE President Jiang Zemin will be saved from embarrassment when he visits Hong Kong for the handover ceremony on 30 June. Chances are he will not be able to witness a pro-democracy demonstration and march on 1 July as he will by then have left for Beijing. Mr Jiang's whirlwind visit to Hong Kong was confirmed yesterday by diplomatic sources who told the *Hong Kong Standard* that Beijing had decided to have the president and party chief himself represent the central government at the midnight handover ceremony on 30 June. Mr Jiang will also attend the ceremony inaugurating the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region at 10 am on 1 July. But he is expected to fly back to Beijing at noon immediately after the ceremony in time for the handover celebration to be held at the Chinese capital later that day. Mr Jiang will not be able to witness a pro-democracy march organised by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China which will start a few hours later that day. Participants from the radical April Fifth Action Group have vowed to chant "Down with Jiang Zemin" and "Down with Li Peng" during the march.

**College to exhibit Pillar of Shame**

GENEVIEVE KU  
Hong Kong University yesterday backed down and allowed the *Pillar of Shame* to be erected on campus. But it wants the sculpture removed in two weeks. After meeting student leaders, Vice-Chancellor Professor Cheng Yiu-chung said the sculpture, which commemorates victims of the June 4 crackdown, could be displayed provided safety standards were met. "We reiterate the freedom of expression of the University of Hong Kong by any members, including staff and students. I must deny any allegations against us that there has been an attempt at political censorship," he said. However, he recommended the sculpture stand for only two weeks, which would mean it would be removed just before the handover. He said that was the usual time given to exhibits. Student union external vice-chairman Linda Wong Shui-hung welcomed the university's compromise, but said the two-week time limit was unreasonable. "We strongly protest against the time limit and will fight for continuous display. General procedures for exhibits do not apply to this sculpture because we are not occupying the exhibiting area," Ms Wong said. The union wants the sculpture, which will be erected on the Haking Wong podium, to stay for six months. Students demanded an apology from the university for preventing the entry of the sculpture early on Thursday. Professor Cheng said the confusion was caused by misunderstandings.

**Government won't act on Pillar's ban**

By Willow Hui  
THE Government says it has no right to interfere with the Urban and Regional councils' decision to refuse pro-democracy activists' requests to display the controversial *Pillar of Shame* statue. Secretary for Recreation and Culture Chou Tat-hei said yesterday the two bodies had been elected democratically and the Government would not interfere in their decisions. He said any intervention by the Government in decisions would damage the councils' independence. Both councils had rejected requests by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China to display the sculpture in public places. It will now be displayed at the University of Hong Kong.



Lying around: The Urban and Regional councils refused to display the *Pillar of Shame*, now at Hong Kong University. PICTURE BY AP

DAILY REPUBLIC  
FAIRFIELD, CA  
DAILY & SUNDAY 21,000  
FRIDAY  
MAY 9 1997  
BURRELLE'S

**Hong Kong activists to memorialize crackdown**

HONG KONG — In a challenge to upcoming Chinese rule, Hong Kong activists said Thursday they will erect a 26-foot statue to commemorate victims of China's 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators. The *Pillar of Shame* will be unveiled at a candlelight vigil on June 4, the anniversary of China's crushing of demonstrations at Beijing's Tiananmen Square and in other Chinese cities, the activists said. They called the monument a last gesture of defiance toward China before Hong Kong's handover, 27 days later.



SCMP Picture

### Car trouble

Students attempt to remove a security car blocking the entrance to the University of Hong Kong yesterday where the Pillar of Shame was allowed on to the campus.

## Pillar of Shame on campus after scuffles

JOICE PANG and GENEVIEVE KU

After hours of scuffles and protests yesterday morning, students at the University of Hong Kong were allowed to place the Pillar of Shame on campus.

But whether approval will be given for the controversial sculpture to be formally erected has yet to be decided.

University spokesman Ru-

pert Chan Kwan-yun warned they would have no choice but to take action if the sculpture was put up without approval.

Mr Chan said: "Political considerations have never been a factor in this issue."

"Safety is our primary concern."

But student unionists accused the university administration of self-censorship.

"It is hard to imagine that the event has nothing to do

with politics," said union chairman Wong Chun-shing, referring to the university's earlier action to remove June 4 slogans written on a pavement inside the campus.

Union representatives will soon meet Vice-Chancellor Cheng Yiu-chung to find a solution.

There was confusion after students tried to take the statue to the campus after it was displayed at the candlelight vigil

in Victoria Park. The lorry carrying it was blocked at the university entrance.

More than 500 people, mostly students, gathered and demanded the statue be admitted.

Scuffles broke out after students tried to prevent an electric gate from closing.

They also attempted to move a security car blocking the entrance.

About 80 Police Tactical

Unit officers were called in but no one was injured or arrested.

► People should be able to hold candlelight vigils to commemorate the Tiananmen Square massacre - like the one in Victoria Park on Wednesday - after the handover, Governor Chris Patten said yesterday. He said that the gathering was an example of how Hong Kong people expressed their views in a dignified and lawful way.

6/6-97 HK Standard

LOCAL 3

## June 4 passion 'will live on'

By Chan Sing

ACTIVITIES commemorating the Tiananmen Square crackdown will continue after 1997 if Hong Kong remains a free society, Governor Chris Patten says.

"You can't stop people thinking as they do in Hong Kong," he said yesterday.

"You can't stop people having the same passions and feelings as they do in Hong Kong."

Mr Patten described the Victoria Park vigil on Wednesday as "an example of Hong Kong's heart".

He said the rally was "dignified and moving".

"I can't believe that these dignified occasions won't happen again in the future."

More than 55,000 people flocked to Victoria Park to honour the victims in the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown, filling all six playgrounds with lighted candles.

Concerning the controversial "Pillar of Shame", which became the prime attraction of this year's commemoration, Mr Patten said he was not responsible for its installation.

But he believed many Hong Kong people felt the sculpture was a way of commemorating a significant historical event.

In a reaction to Chief Executive-designate Tung Chee-hwa's call for Hong Kong people to drop the "baggage of June 4", Mr Patten said: "If you are governing a community it is important that you do everything you can to understand what is in people's hearts."

The Governor said he believed Hong Kong people would like to see the 1989 Tiananmen incident redressed, like the re-assessment of the April 5 Incident in 1976, when authorities clashed with people in Tiananmen Square who were trying to honour the late Zhou Enlai.

## LAST WEEK IN REALITY

MAY

**24** A housewife shouts at police officers after they ask to see her ID card in an MTR station. The woman "flies into a rage" when she realizes the police have mistaken her for a mainland because of her taste in clothing.

**25** The provisional legislature endorses the choice of Andrew Li as post-handover chief justice, but declines an interview with him. That way, Li doesn't have to give his opinion on whether the provisional legislature is legal, explains future Secretary of Justice Elsie Leung.

**26** Music stores report a sales boom in Chinese martial music. HMV and Tower Records respond by creating special People's Liberation Army sections with selections like *The March of the Volunteers*, *The East is Red* and *The Red Sun*.

**27** A vessel carrying Diaoyu Island activists collides with a Japanese coast guard boat near the disputed islands. The Hong Kong-based skipper's actions are described as "suicidal" by one marine consultant: "...like driving down a motorway the wrong way."

**28** Organizers of the July 1 Victoria Harbour handover spectacle urge the public to bring radios so they can join in a record-breaking mass karaoke singalong of handover anthem: *Song of Peace*.

**29** A man winds up in court after preying on the city's lonely. He had falsely promised potential members of a "friendship club" that for a joining fee of as much as \$1,800, they would be able to meet new friends.

**30** Pro-Beijing members of the Regional Council quash a proposal to display the *Pillar of Shame* sculpture in Shatin Central Park. One councillor says the sculpture, which commemorates the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, is too unpleasant. "I would support the application if it featured a beautiful girl," he says.

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## ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER

SANTA ANA, CA  
DAILY 353,779

FRIDAY  
JUN 6 1997

**BURRELLE'S**

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The Associated Press

**MONUMENTAL ALTERCATION:** Police try to prevent University of Hong Kong students from moving the Pillar of Shame, erected at a Tiananmen Square-massacre commemoration, onto campus early Thursday.

# China names veteran diplomat as its senior Hong Kong official

Reuters

BEIJING — China announced Thursday the appointment of seasoned diplomat Ma Yuzhen as its top civilian official in Hong Kong after the British colony reverts to Beijing rule at midnight June 30.

Beijing appointed Ma commissioner of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Hong Kong, ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai told reporters.

Cui gave no further details of Ma's appointment.

Meanwhile, the Hong Kong government welcomed Beijing's announcement.

Ma and garrison commander Gen. Liu Zhenwu will be Beijing's most senior officials in Hong Kong after the handover.

Hong Kong's domestic affairs will be run by residents after the handover, but foreign affairs and defense will remain the central government's turf.

Ma, 62, has been vice minister of China's Cabinet since 1995.

He served as Chinese ambas-



JULY 1  
**HONG KONG  
CHANGES HANDS**

One in an occasional series  
of articles about the impending  
Chinese takeover of Hong Kong  
from Great Britain

sador to Britain in 1991-95, consul general in Los Angeles in 1988-91 and director of the Foreign Ministry's Information Department in 1984-88.

Ma was secretary at the Chinese Embassy in Ghana in 1980-84, deputy division chief of the Foreign Ministry's Information Department in 1969-80 and third secretary at the Chinese Embassy in Burma in 1963-69.

He joined the Foreign Ministry in 1954.

### OTHER HAPPENINGS

► Britain's garrison chief in Hong Kong, Maj. Gen. Bryan Dutton, recently suggested that China might be erring in sending five Chinese generals to replace him when Hong Kong reverts to Chinese rule. "I said I wasn't quite sure this was a good message, since it implied that it took five Chinese generals to do what it took one British general to do," Dutton told the Foreign Correspondents' Club. "They looked at me very quizzically, and then they said, 'Yes, general, but five Chinese generals come much cheaper than one British general.'"

► The South China Morning Post said it surveyed five Hong Kong pager firms, finding that three had refused to take a message describing Chinese Premier Li Peng as a "turtle's egg," a common Chinese insult, on grounds that it was defamatory. ► A \$57.8 million cleanup of China's heavily polluted Pearl River — which supplies 80 percent of Hong Kong's water — includes planting trees, renovating factories and building sewage-treatment plants, the China Daily reported. The Ministry of Forestry plans to add 3 million acres of forest along the river by 2010.

Source: Register news services

## ANALYSIS

It was 7.40pm as I left the Legislative Council Chamber for Victoria Park, having just lost every amendment on the Official Secrets Bill moved by the Bills Committee.

It was a terrible defeat. Or, more accurately, it was a terrible victory. For, the meaning of victory was that the UK Official Secrets Acts of 1911 and 1988 with all their draconian measures have now become local Hong Kong law made to transcend July 1 into the Special Administrative Region.

It means the victory of the wilful violation of one of the most sacred principles of individual rights: presumption of innocence.

It means if a person is accused of "spying", he may be convicted on what is, in effect, suspicion on the basis of the circumstances or his "known character".

It means the disclosure of official information, provided some damage or likely damage can be shown, will be a criminal offence.

It means no one who has done the community a service by exposing even corruption and crime can claim a public interest defence, if what he discloses is an "official secret" - ie, information falling within any of the six categories of the bill. The adverse effect on the freedom of speech and freedom of the press is obvious.

The bill is supposed to be just part of the "localisation of laws" exercise.

It is argued that what is acceptable in the UK and applicable to Hong Kong must be acceptable to Legco, conveniently forgetting that in the UK, there is at least the political restraint on account of the government being elected.

It is also argued that enacting the bill as is, is a great bargain, because China has agreed that would be sufficient to meet the requirement of prohibiting the "theft of state secrets" under Article 23 of the Basic Law. In fact, the prohibitions in the bill far exceed what is required under Article 23.

You can hardly make the innocent more defenceless when accused of a serious crime as Clause 3 of the bill makes you for "spying", which attracts 14 years' imprisonment. To say this is a bargain is to say giving up all your money to a robber so as to avoid being robbed is a bargain.

One would have been less distressed if there had been any respectable attempt at opposing the amendments on the basis of reason. Nobody apart from Ronald Arculli, representing the Liberal



Candles in the wind... pro-democracy figures, among them Leung Yiu-chung, Yeung Sum and Szeto Wah, remember Tiananmen Square at Victoria Park. Photograph: Reuter

## Symbols of sadness

Party, even bothered to present anything resembling an argument.

It was clear that one's duty as a Legco member is of no account, and the safeguards for the innocent who may be unjustly convicted are unhesitatingly sacrificed for political considerations.

It is not the conscientious efforts of the Bills Committee, now wasted, which I mourn. I mourn only for the naked triumph of might, with the most disastrous consequence to the rule of law.

As I left the debating chamber, I was asked to comment on the observation that the amendments could have carried but for the fact that some supporters were away in Victoria Park organising the annual June 4 candlelight vigil.

Indeed, I knew a moment's frustration. It must be accepted that each of us has our priorities. One can easily agree that the last commemoration before the hand-over is of great importance.

Yet to me, as a lawyer, what is enacted in Legco is real, has effect on the life and freedom of an individual. What is being organised in



Margaret Ng

the park is only a gesture, of symbolic value only.

But by the time the amendments of the bill were lost, staying to cry "nay" to the third reading became itself hardly even of symbolic value. To go to be counted with those who fearlessly stand by their commitment to democracy was not only more important but also more compelling.

Almost like a consolation, Victoria Park was packed with people holding up their candles with flames burning bright. People sat shoulder to shoulder and knee to back, right to the edge of the lines of trees. They were ordinary folk, young and old. There were families with children. Most of them

have come year after year to this faithful vigil for those who died eight years ago for democracy in Beijing.

The sentiment was thoroughly Chinese - and thoroughly Hong Kong. In the moving speeches, the prayers, the music, the songs to the final declaration, there was that passionate awareness of suffering and hope for deliverance typical of the Chinese people which, as someone Chinese, I immediately recognised.

The tone of mourning was not sadness and lament, but a determination out of sorrow, a reaffirmation of the meaningfulness of the sacrifice, a dignity in the old spirit of "succeed, or die in the attempt" for an ideal society. Yet nowhere else but in Hong Kong will anyone be able to find these traditional sentiments given such strong and simple expression, straight from the heart, without fear or wile.

Watching this, I felt maybe those who gave up the debate to be here to organise the event have a point, after all. There is something

to be said about giving priority to the symbolic over the "real" law-making, to the creation of an occasion where thousands can let their hearts speak out, over endeavours to win by rational debate. And particularly so when debate is rapidly becoming divorced from rationality, and trying to express the will of the people through the legislative process becomes increasingly futile.

In the end, perhaps there is no difference. Had the Bills Committee won, and the amendments carried, the effect of those amendments may not have been allowed to remain for more than a few weeks before they were reversed. And members of the Bills Committee had always known the possibility was there.

Perhaps the meaning of all this hard work and meticulous vetting of the bill also lies in its nature as a symbol - as a strong expression by deed of the dedication to the task of keeping the law worth its name.

Heart or head, in Legco or Victoria Park, we are doing the same thing.

## Crowds worthy of close scrutiny

### MOREOVER

The June 4 vigil is a time to stand up and be counted - twice. One of the enduring mysteries of the rally and the march to Xinhua (the New China News Agency) held the preceding Sunday is how the police and organisers come up with such different figures for the crowd.

For Sunday's march, for instance, the police said 3,500. Organisers said 7,000.

Counting crowds is more of a craft than a science. Some 28 years after it took place, there is still a lively debate about the number of people who attended the legendary Woodstock rock festival in the United States.

Legislator Lee Cheuk-yan, a spokesman for the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, admitted he often found it surprising how the organiser's figure and the police figure were so different.

Some organisers even reckon the police deliberately count down the number in the crowd to make it appear the event has less support than it really has.

Police unease at crowd estimates has been rising for a number of years. So this year, the police changed tack.

Senior officers at the vigil, asked how many people were attending, replied simply: "Ask the organisers. It's their rally."

In fact, both organisers and the police have been using the same technique to count the crowds at the Victoria Park event.

"What we do is estimate how many people can be on one football pitch and then we count how many football pitches of people there are," said Mr Lee, who organised Wednesday night's count.

But the alliance are also careful to include those spilled on to the side and take their count at the peak time of around 9pm. This was the method used to get the proudly-announced figure of 55,000 on Wednesday night.

While the alliance is keen to use estimates to show popular sup-

port, the police are reluctant to come up with a figure.

"Unless one is needed we won't do one," said Superintendent Lo Mung-hung, in charge of training at the Police Tactical Unit.

The most common technique previously used is for an officer to see the area taken up by 50 people, then count blocks of 50. "It is not really accurate," concedes Superintendent Lo.

In contrast, for Sunday's march to Xinhua, the alliance counted people passing a fixed point.

"We counted them at the beginning and there was 5,000. At Causeway Bay there was 7,000," said Mr Lee.

The police figure of 3,500 was a rough count prepared for the commander as the crowd approached Xinhua, which was overheard by reporters listening to the beat radio.

With the police retired from the business of taking a headcount, is the way clear for organisers to offer crowd estimates that are wildly optimistic?

Not according to Dr John Bacon-Shone, director of the University of Hong Kong's Social Science Research Centre.

"In some cases you could do it with a computer," he said.

For a rally or other stationary protest, imaging systems could be programmed to count people on a photograph in the way they are now used to count cells on a microscope slide.

The problem is even easier for the June 4 vigil as it would be easy for a computer to count the points of candlelight on any of the many photographs taken from nearby tall buildings.

With a knowledge of what proportion of the crowd held a candle it would be possible to draw up fairly exact figures for previous June 4 vigils that would resist even the most revisionist approach to history.

Gren Manuel

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## No action over statue

THE Government would not interfere with the display of *Pillar of Shame*, Secretary for Broadcasting, Culture and Sports Brian Chau Tak-hay said yesterday.

He said the municipal councils' decisions last month to ban the sculpture from display were made by a democratic process.

"If the public is not happy about the decision, then they can vote differently in future municipal council elections, then there will be different decisions," he said.

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## More students put in bids to show Pillar of Shame

By Priscilla Cheung

STUDENTS at the Chinese and City universities want to erect the controversial *Pillar of Shame* at their campuses, but fear college heads will turn them down on political grounds.

The president of the Student Union of Chinese University (CUHK), Yuen Hill-kwan, said the university chiefs' decision would reflect their position on post-handover democracy and freedom of speech.

"The (university) will definitely look at society's political climate when it makes that decision," Ms Yuen said. "It'd be hard for us not to believe it's not political censorship should the sculpture be banned."

CUHK students want to erect the two-tonne sculpture on their Sha Tin campus square outside the library for six months from October after its exhibition

at Hong Kong University (HKU).

City University students want it for six months for display at University Circle near the Hung Hom campus.

Student leaders at other universities are also discussing plans to display the eight-metre work of art inspired by the 1989 Tiananmen incident.

CUHK Students' Union president Chu Siu-sun said the college had already raised safety and technical concerns but "the only reason they've got to turn us down would be political censorship".

A CUHK spokeswoman said the university was waiting for the students' formal application. It would only ban exhibitions of a pornographic or obscene nature, she said, adding there was no precedent for exhibitions being banned on political grounds.

The two municipal councils have banned the sculpture, by Dane Jens Galschiot, from Chater Garden, Sha Tin Central Park and Kowloon Park.

The unassembled sculpture has been lying on the HKU podium since the early hours of Thursday when 500 students scuffled with police as they attempted to carry it onto the campus.

The students eventually prevailed and university authorities allowed the display of the pillar for two weeks. The statue could be erected by this week, once safety worries are resolved.

Student leaders said they would request an extension of its stay until the university reopened in September.

The statue was the centrepiece of last week's rally at Victoria Park on the eighth anniversary of the 1989 crackdown.



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Memories of June 4... onlookers view the Pillar of Shame at its temporary resting place in Victoria Park before it was granted approval for a two-week display at the University of Hong Kong campus. Photo: K.Y. Cheng

# Shame of censorship

Whether the Pillar of Shame has high artistic value is in the eye of the beholder. But it has certainly put some people to shame.

It has shamed members of the urban and regional councils who refused to allow its exhibition because they did not like its purported political message.

The decision was a blatant act of censorship.

The councillors failed to realise that the electorate gave them a mandate to manage public places, but no right to refuse an exhibit because they do not like its politics.

By contrast, the management of the University of Hong Kong has set an admirable example by allowing the statue to be displayed for two weeks, as is the rule for other exhibits.

It might be said the university had no choice, because the statue was already there thanks to a cunning act by students and any attempt to remove it would spark angry protests.

But that is not the point.

The university management knows whether it likes or dislikes the sculpture does not matter, because it is not its job to pass judgment on the political correctness of an exhibit.

Now that the sculpture has found a temporary home, it is important for students to keep their side of the bargain.

They should remove it in two weeks' time, and continue to test the nerve of other bodies with exhibition venues, if that is what they want.

But it would be wrong for them to

The right to freedom of speech and artistic expression has taken a battering recently from the urban and regional councils, says C. K. Lau

force the university to accept the statue as a permanent exhibit, which is an entirely different issue.

Just as no one should force another person to accept a piece of furniture, the students have no right to force the university to accept the Pillar of Shame for good.

Of course, they may find it a rewarding exercise to study the university and the municipal councils' rules governing the acquisition of artistic work for permanent display and find out if they are appropriate.

This business of shuffling the Pillar of Shame around shows while Hong Kong takes great pride in being a free society, rules abound to curtail the scope of free speech and that many people do not really grasp the essence of the freedom of expression.

Some councillors apparently feel that since they are elected, they have a legitimate right to protect the electorate's interests by banning the public display of what they consider to be an undesirable piece of work.

It does not occur to them that the spirit of democracy encompasses a respect for everyone to be heard, including those

whose views the majority may find unpalatable.

With the composition of the councils, it seems rather unlikely that rules governing public exhibitions can be changed.

But if artists value their right to free speech, they may want to call for the setting up of a public art park where anyone is free to display their work regardless of contents, just as Speakers' Corner in London's Hyde Park allows everyone a say on a Sunday morning.

This is a dream, because even this world-renowned symbol of free speech apparently does not allow artists to perform or display work. You can only exercise your vocal strength there.

In Hong Kong, it is not even certain at this point if rallies commemorating June 4 will continue to be held in Victoria Park next year.

Looking at the history of Speakers' Corner in the northeastern corner of Hyde Park and the soccer pitches of Victoria Park, where big rallies are traditionally held, some similarities can be seen.

Speakers' Corner was where London's public hangings used to be carried

out, but remained a popular gathering place after the gallows were removed.

In 1855, shopkeepers gathered there to protest against laws forbidding Sunday trading. Other rallies followed, some of which resulted in riots, prompting the police to place severe restrictions on public gatherings there.

In 1866, a group called the Reform League battled police in the park after they were refused permission to hold a mass rally.

The following year, an embarrassed Home Office found that although the Crown had the right to prosecute trespassers, it had no power to prohibit a meeting in advance.

Another demonstration followed, the Home Secretary resigned and Speakers' Corner was eventually officially designated a place for public meetings in 1872.

Over the years, among the great thinkers who espoused their views there were Karl Marx, George Bernard Shaw, George Orwell and Winston Churchill.

Will there be a similar struggle in Hong Kong to turn Victoria Park into another speakers' corner? Only time will tell.

Hopefully, there will not be. For even though it is soothing to dream about having a speakers' corner, it is better not to have one.

It is a symbol of free speech, and also a symbol of past repression.

A free society should not need to designate a small corner for people to speak their minds because they should be free to do so anywhere.

JUN 8 1997

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ANAT GIVON/AP

A man looks at part of a sculpture, titled 'Pillar of Shame,' at Hong Kong University on Saturday. The 26-foot high statue honors pro-democracy demonstrators slain in China when the army shot its way into Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989. The sculpture, by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, depicts 50 painfully twisted bodies

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### Longer stay for statue

The Pillar of Shame could stand at Hong Kong University until September under agreements reached between the students' union and university.

The sculpture commemorating the June 4 crackdown in Tiananmen Square is expected to be put up on Monday evening.

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## Statue finally gets go-ahead at HKU

By Enoch Wong

WITH safety concerns resolved, the controversial *Pillar of Shame* sculpture will finally be erected at the University of Hong Kong (HKU) tonight.

Vice-president (external) of the Students' Union Linda Wong Shui-hung said it had reached an agreement with the authorities to display the statue on the campus until 30 September.

The statue is also due to be exhibited at the Chinese University on 1 October. It will also be displayed at the City University, Hong Kong Baptist University, Polytechnic University and Lingnan College.

The unassembled two-tonne copper statue depicting the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown has been lying on the Haking Wong podium since 5 June.

Initially, the HKU authorities refused to have

the statue erected on the podium for fear it would not be strong and stable enough to support it.

But Miss Wong said checks by the podium's architects and engineers had dispelled such worries.

"We will erect the pillar at 7.30 pm with the assistance of more than 10 experienced volunteers of Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movements in China," she said.

University spokesman Rupert Chan Kwan-yan said the agreement to display the statue up to the end of September satisfied both parties.

"Although the duration is shorter than the six months requested by the Students' Union, it is longer than the two to three weeks normally allowed by the university for exhibitions," he said.

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Pillar's progress: Hong Kong University students begin to erect the sculpture on their campus.

PICTURE BY WARTON LI

## Students erect sculpture

By Antoine So

UNIVERSITY of Hong Kong (HKU) students struggled last night to erect a sculpture commemorating the dead from the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown, in a move seen as a litmus test of China's tolerance towards political dissent in the future Special Administrative Region.

Twenty-five students with winches, pulleys and scaffolding laboured in driving rain to put up the two-tonne bronze "Pillar of Shame", which depicts 50 tangled bodies.

HKU Students Union vice-president Linda Wong Shui-hung said the union considered the sculpture's setting up a "victory" over political pressure.

"The campus should be a free place and able to allow different voices," she said. "If the Beijing government blacklists us, it will be very wrong," she said.

Students and members of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movements started work on the sculpture at 4 pm.

By midnight, the lower half of the 8-metre artwork was raised by the cheering students.

It will be displayed until 30 September.

# stay on HKU campus podium

By Lucia Palpal-Iatoc and Edward Chan

IN a dramatic change of heart, the University of Hong Kong has allowed the controversial "Pillar of Shame" sculpture to be displayed on campus.

The 8-metre tall art work will be placed on the podium of a university building for at least two weeks provided safety requirements are met.

But last night's decision failed to appease the students, who demanded vice-chancellor Chen Yiu-chung apologise publicly for Thursday's scuffle over whether the sculpture could enter the campus grounds.

"We reiterate the freedom of expression in university by any members including staff and students as long as we do abide by university rules

and regulations, paying due respect to safety and the convenience of other people," Mr Chen said after a one-hour meeting with officials of the HKU Students' Union.

He said a similar sculpture would be allowed to be displayed on campus even after the handover as part of academic freedom.

Mr Chan urged the students to work out with the university's structural engineers how to bring the sculpture to the podium without using heavy trucks.

"The podium is at the top of the building and we have to make sure that there will be no damage to the structural part of the building," Mr Chen said.

He hinted he might extend the two-week maximum period allowed for exhibits for a few days, but he rejected the students' six-month proposal.

Mr Chen declined to apologise to the students for the police action on Thursday.

A scuffle broke out between students and police while the statue was being transported to the campus.

"I was not there that night. We did inform police about the gathering. That is our routine procedure," Mr Chen said.

"Subsequently, whether there were a lot of police, or no police, that is none of my business."

Union president Patrick Wong Chun-sing welcomed Mr Chen's decision and said the union would follow safety guidelines.

"I'm hoping we can erect the sculpture in one week," he said.

Mr Wong said his union would continue to persuade the administration to allow the sculpture to be displayed for six months.



Campus reprieve: The "Pillar of Shame" sculpture.

Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China chairman Szeto Wah welcomed the news.

"This shows that freedom of expression is still protected in the university," he said.

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## Campuses may share memorial

MAY SIN-MI HON

The controversial Pillar of Shame statue may be erected on campus at the Chinese University and City University after its display at the University of Hong Kong if approval is granted.

Student unions from the three universities met yesterday and agreed they would take it in turns to display the sculpture on campus.

Maggie Yung Hiu-kuen, president of the Chinese University student union, said they hoped to place the statue in an open area in the central part of the campus.

She said the university had not indicated whether it agreed with the plan.

Concerns has been voiced over the sculpture's weight and the possibility that it might collapse in windy conditions. But she said these fears were unfounded.

President of the University of Hong Kong student union, Wong Chun-shing, said they had applied to lengthen the period for the sculpture to be displayed on campus from two weeks until the end of September.

## SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER-CHRONICLE

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JUN 8 1997

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# Hong Kong fete puts U.S. in quandary

By Keith B. Richburg WASHINGTON POST

HONG KONG — China has plans to use the all-night June 30 ceremonies in which it takes control of Hong Kong from Britain as a chance to swear in its controversial, handpicked legislature before a large audience of international dignitaries.

The maneuver, intended to bestow an aura of international approval on the contested body, has created a diplomatic dilemma for the hundreds of visiting officials — including Secretary of State Madeleine Albright — who are reluctant to disrupt the historic transfer but oppose China's establishment of the interim lawmaking body.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair has not decided yet whether to attend the ceremonies, because he does not want to be present if ceremonies include the swearing-in of the appointed legislature.

China is planning to disband the current, elected legislature because of its anger over a democratic reform package put in place by the outgoing British governor, Chris Patten.

But British officials are said to be irked that Blair's position has not received backing from other countries, specifically the United States and Canada. Both will still be sending high-level delegations even with the likelihood that the legislature will be sworn in just after the new chief executive, shipping tycoon Tung Chee-hwa, takes



A man views part of a dismantled sculpture, entitled "Pillar of Shame," Saturday at Hong Kong University. The work of art honors pro-democracy demonstrators slain in 1989 at Beijing's Tiananmen Square. AP/ANAT GIVON

his oath of office on July 1.

Critics of the move fear that if the appointed legislature is sworn in with the world's high-powered dignitaries looking on, the body — which is set to be challenged in Hong Kong courts — will carry a new legitimacy.

"It's just to say it was done in the presence of the representatives of 50 countries," said Nihal Jayawickrama, a legal scholar at the University of Hong Kong and a frequent commentator on local affairs. For China, he said, the presence of the world's prime min-

isters and foreign secretaries "is a glorious opportunity not to be missed."

Some here are urging Albright to announce she will boycott the proceedings if the program includes swearing in the appointed legislature.

"It's unthinkable that she would go to that at all," said Mary Stuart Worden, a special assistant to the Hong Kong Democratic Party chairman Martin Lee. "You've got world leaders here and you've got them literally hostage in their seats."

"We've all known for months that the Chinese were going to do this, (to) shove it down their throats if the dignitaries were going to be here," Worden said. "What you don't expect is the State Department and Madeleine Albright to waffle on it."

A statement issued Friday by the U.S. consulate said Albright would attend the ceremony to "demonstrate U.S. support of the maintenance of Hong Kong's high degree of autonomy, way of life and freedoms, as well as U.S. economic, law enforcement and other interests in Hong Kong."

HONG KONG CHANGING OF THE GUARD

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 a disma... titled sculpture Saturday at Hong Kong University. The  
 pro-democracy demonstrators slain in China when the army shot its way into Beijing's  
 June 1989. Students won the battle to erect the sculpture on campus after college authori-  
 ty to block the truck carrying it as it entered the campus.



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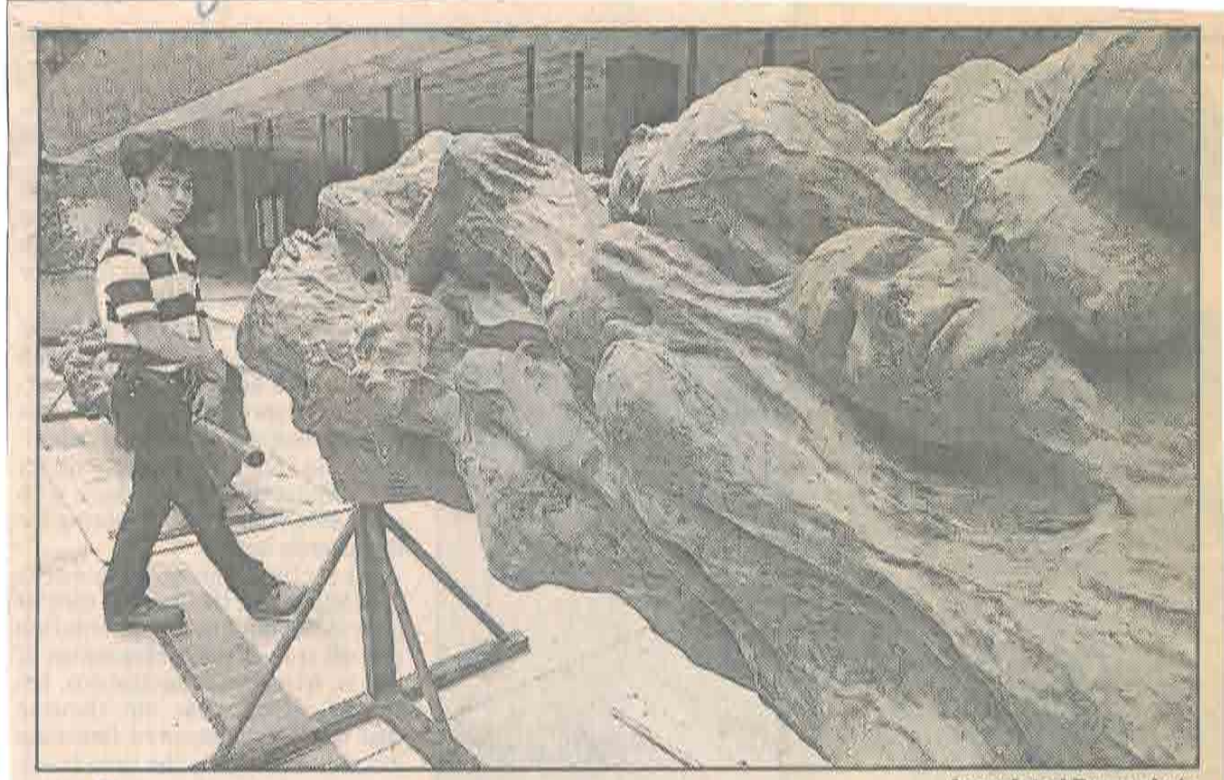
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**JUN 8 1997**

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Associated Press photo

**Pillar of Shame**

A man looks at part of a dismantled sculpture, titled Pillar of Shame, at Hong Kong University on Saturday. The 26-foot-high statue honors pro-democracy students slain in China when the army shot its way into Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989. Students won a battle to erect the statue on campus after college authorities initially tried to block the truck carrying it from entering the campus early Thursday. The Pillar of Shame, by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, depicts 50 painfully twisted bodies.

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**SHAME**



AP photo

A man looks at part of a dismantled sculpture, titled Pillar of Shame, at Hong Kong University, Saturday. The 8-meter (26-foot) high statue honors pro-democracy demonstrators slain in China when the army shot its way into Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989. Students won a battle to erect it on campus after college authorities initially tried to block the truck carrying it entering the campus early Thursday.

# Challenge to pledges of freedom set in stone

SCMP  
By James Kelly

AN eight-metre high statue commemorating the Tiananmen Square massacre was unveiled yesterday as local pro-democracy activists pledged to go on commemorating the event after the handover.

The two-tonne sculpture by Danish artist Jens Galschiot was inspired by the military crackdown on pro-democracy protests in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989.

"We will still hold the gathering even if they ban it," Szeto Wah, veteran campaigner and chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement of China, said.

He said the alliance, labelled by Beijing as "subversive", planned to hold its traditional candlelit vigil every June 4.

It is not clear whether Hong Kong's post-colonial government led by Chief Executive-designate Tung Chee-hwa will seek to ban the annual pro-democracy protest.

But many believe this year's gathering will be the last major demonstration before the handover.

Mr Szeto said the *Pillar of Shame*, which depicts more than 50 painfully twisted human bodies, was in-



Pillar of Shame: Albert Ho Chun-yan with a photograph of the statue. PICTURE BY TARAS KOVALY

tended to test Beijing's tolerance and pledges that Hong Kong will have a high degree of autonomy under Chinese rule.

"The presence of the sculpture will be a serious test of the Chinese government to uphold their promise of implementing 'one country, two systems' and the Basic Law," he said.

Mr Szeto also said the alliance had written to Mr Tung urging him to attend this year's June 4 protest.

"We hope Mr Tung, as a Hong Kong citizen, can participate in the June 4

vigil in order to experience how Hong Kong people commemorate the victims of the June 4 massacre," he said.

The general secretary of the Hong Kong Alliance, Albert Ho Chun-yan, said the statue would become a symbol of human rights for Hong Kong people.

An inscription on the statue says "the old can't kill the young forever" in English and Chinese.

Mr Ho said the statue would be displayed at a candlelight vigil in Victoria Park on June 4.

They will also issue 50,000 envelopes and miniatures of the Goddess of Democracy, the statue that became the symbol of the pro-democracy movement.

He said the statue would remain in the park the next day.

Galschiot approached the alliance earlier this year to see if it was interested in the statue.

Mr Ho vowed: "We will continue with our fight to safeguard Hong Kong's basic freedoms and basic human rights as guaranteed to us."

# Stand-off over Pillar of Shame

GENEVIEVE KU

Hundreds of students and protesters gathered at Hong Kong University early today to demand they be allowed to erect the *Pillar of Shame* on campus.

By 1.30 am, there were about 500 people inside the gates along University Drive, while the truck with the sculpture was parked outside.

Scuffles broke out when students tried to prevent security guards closing the gates after they were opened briefly to allow out a car.

The university has forbidden the students' union from displaying the sculpture on campus.

The union passed a motion during its June 1 meeting agreeing to display the sculpture commemorating the June 4 massacre.

Organisers were forced to remove the statue from Victoria Park after last night's vigil.

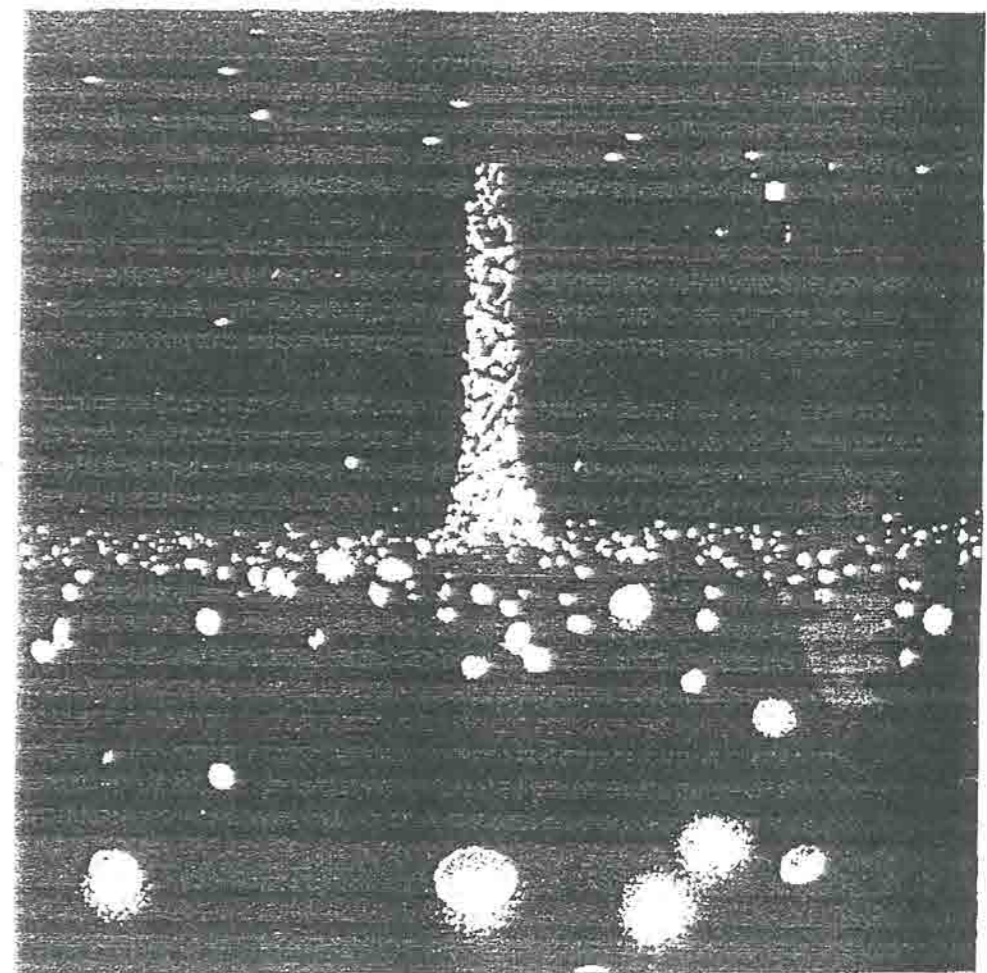
Standing eight metres high and weighing two tonnes, it was to have stood on the Haking Wong podium for a maximum of six months.

But the university said saying the height and weight of the sculpture might pose a danger - the podium is also the roof of the Haking Wong building.

"It is normal for the university to consider requests for the display of large and heavy objects on campus," it said.

The municipal councils have banned the *Pillar of Shame*, by Dane Jens Galschiot, from display at Chater Garden, Kowloon Park and Sha Tin Central Park.

The student union's external



Rallying point

K. Y. Cheng

Candles are held aloft as protesters gather round the pillar last night.

vice-chairman, Mrs. Wong Shui-ling, accused the university of political censorship.

"We always have the problem in Hong Kong of censorship. Why are you censoring it now? We are committed and guaranteed at the municipal level," Mrs. Wong said.

The podium management is

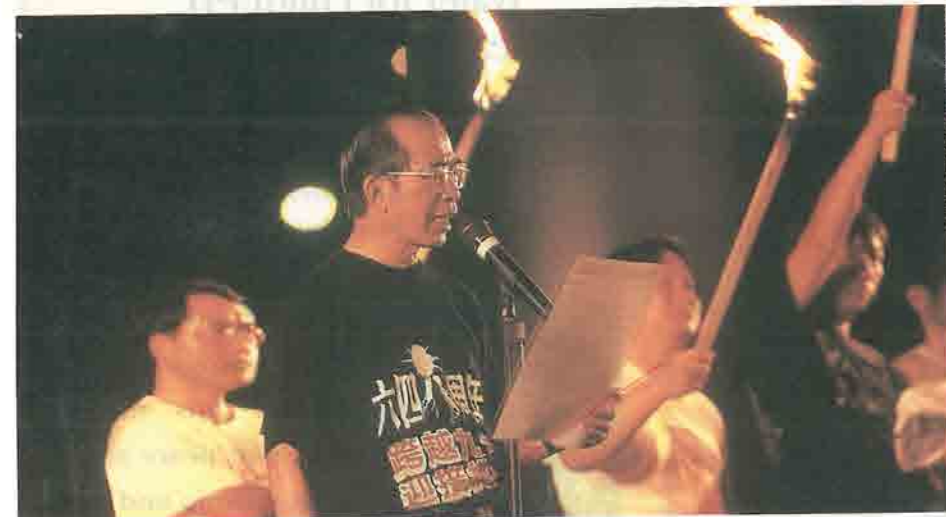
delegated to the union, but the university Estates Office aimed the area was under university control.

Mrs. Wong rejected the university's claims of technical problems because they did not plan to set up the sculpture right away.

"We will only keep the sculpture in the park for the time being, but they will say no," Mrs. Wong said.

South China morning post 5-June 97

A S I A



# SOLIDARITY

In a final, pre-handover gesture of defiance, a huge crowd turns out in Hong Kong to mourn the victims of the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown

By ANTHONY SPAETH

**V**ICTORIA PARK, ON THE NORTHERN side of Hong Kong island, is named after the British monarch who wrested the colony from China in the 1840s. A bronze statue of Victoria, dour and heavily draped, is prominently ensconced.

Once a year, though, the leafy enclave becomes a very Chinese locale. Each June 4, Hong Kong Chinese gather to mourn the students and workers who died in the Tiananmen Square bloodbath on that date in 1989. Last week an estimated 55,000 people showed up, bearing candles or replicas of the "Goddess of Democracy" statue erected by the students at Tiananmen eight years ago. The crowd sang songs, heard speeches and admired a new statue put up for the occasion: the "Pillar of Shame," an 8-m-tall copper tower of bodies writhing in agony. It bears the slogan, "The Old Cannot Kill the Young Forever."

The annual observance in Victoria Park has always been as much about Hong Kong—and how it will fare under Chinese control—as it has been about martyred mainlanders. This year in particular: the event fell a mere 26 days before Britain

formally hands Hong Kong back to China. The crowd was more than double the size of last year's, the mood solemn but at the same time assertive. Two days earlier Tung Chee-hwa, also known as C.H. Tung, Hong Kong's Chief Executive-designate, made a televised appeal for his fellow residents "to put aside the baggage of June 4." That so many of them decided to ignore the advice was evidence that the people of Hong Kong may not be as docile or obedient as Tung or China may wish. Some said they attended the memorial out of concern they wouldn't be allowed such freedom in the future. "I think this may be the last time we will be allowed to do this," forecast Maggie Ng, 27, a shop assistant. "I cannot see China letting us do this again."

Last week's gathering in Victoria Park came off as a kind of handover party for the man-in-the-street, more spontaneous but just as patriotic as the official festivities planned around July 1. "We came to show our spirit," said Henry Leung, 24, a law school graduate. "We came for love of Hong Kong." There were also signs of paranoia. Housewife Julia Tam, 46, worried that Beijing's agents "will take pictures of the people here and find them. It would be awful if some children's futures are hurt because of their parents' zealotry."

**SYMBOLIC SHOW: For democrat Szeto Wah, left, and the 55,000 people who gathered in Victoria Park, the challenge will be standing up for their rights without provoking Beijing**

In stark contrast was the scene last week at Tiananmen Square itself, Beijing's prime public site. Foreign and local tourists trooped placidly across its paving stones on June 4, and Chinese and Italian flags hung from lamp-posts. (Italy's Prime Minister Romano Prodi was on a state visit.) A blue-and-white banner read, "It's everyone's responsibility to follow traffic regulations." There were no memorial events reported anywhere on the mainland, and young Chinese seemed to have forgotten the date's significance altogether. "It's been pretty quiet today," reported an undergraduate at Peking University, one of the centers of student protest in 1989. "Everyone's mind is on other practical matters." Said a government official: "Do you think today's students will risk the chances of getting good jobs or continuing their studies abroad? I tell my son, 'Stay away from street politics and focus on your studies.'" Across China, the pro-democracy move-

ment is dormant, thanks to the government's relentless pursuit of its organizers. "On the first, second and third anniversaries, I still felt a sense of optimism," says Zhai Weimin, 31, one of the movement's leaders, who served three-and-a-half years in prison for his involvement and is now unemployed in his home province of Henan. "This time, I feel as if our efforts did not produce much progress. I've never felt so empty."

The anniversary has revived talk of a possible reassessment by Beijing of the Tiananmen crackdown. The idea is that the leadership, in a gesture of national reconciliation, might cancel the official verdict labeling the students and workers of 1989 as "counter-revolutionaries" and concede they had legitimate gripes. In Hong Kong, that gesture would be taken as proof that China is serious about moving toward a more open society. News last week from the mainland added fuel to the speculation. A high court in Jilin province overturned convictions against four imprisoned auto workers for "carrying out alleged counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement"

at the time of the Tiananmen protests. One will be acquitted, two released permanently on medical parole and the fourth given a sharp reduction in his sentence. According to Hong Kong's Information Center of Human Rights and Democratic Movement in China, this is the first reversal of a Tiananmen-related conviction. In addition, authorities last week freed dissident Bao Ge from a labor camp. Experts aren't sure whether the moves were intended as a public signal—domestic news media did not report the court's ruling—or perhaps as a gesture to influence the debate in the U.S. over China's most-favored-nation trading status.

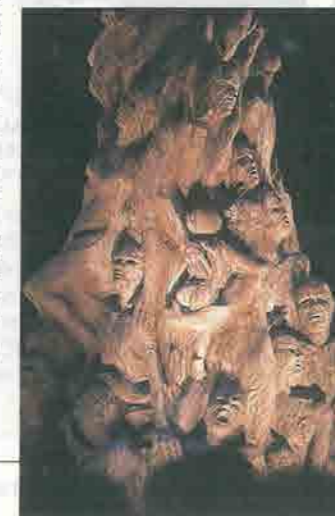
The memory of Tiananmen has a special resonance in Hong Kong, which was galvanized by the massacre. One million

**COPPER STATEMENT: The "Pillar of Shame" was later hauled to a college campus**

people took to the streets spontaneously, marking a turning point in political awareness for the historically apathetic colony. Nevertheless, the crowd at last week's observance was not quite ready for some of the rhetoric on display. When one speaker declared that Hong Kong would become a center for agitation on behalf of democracy for the mainland—one of Beijing's worst fears—some listeners were appalled. "I felt

angry," a woman told the government radio station RTHK. Said Michael DeGolyer, head of the Hong Kong Transition Project, which tracks public opinion: "There is a difference between courageous, provocative and foolhardy. What they are deciding to do sounds foolhardy to me."

The danger lies in alarming China at a time when both Beijing and Tung are showing signs of flexibility on Hong Kong's civil liberties. In March,



CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—BLACK STAR FOR TIME

PRESSE-CLEARING

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# More shameful exhibitionism

As if one *Pillar of Shame* were not enough for our elected authorities, a group of young artists will be gathering on Saturday night to create a second.

*Pillar* mark two will feature human figures, although not the contorted, melting faces of people suffering political oppression that was part of the June 4 *Pillar of Shame* in Victoria Park.

This will be a *Pillar of Shame* for people suffering political censorship in Hong Kong in 1997 and the faces will be of beautiful girls.

The art happening, a reference to independent Regional Councillor Chow Ping-tim's inane comment that he voted against the *Pillar of Shame*'s placing in Sha Tin Park because it was not beautiful ("I would support the application if it featured a beautiful girl" were his words), is the project of Young Hay and friends Kum Chi-keung, Lo Yat-lun and Keith Tsang Tak-ping.

Young already had a little run-in with authorities in Victoria Park two weeks ago, when he created an art work entitled *The Charcoal Wall and Ice Wall*. After unionist legislator Lee Cheuk-yan had symbolically burned piles of signature books in a big fire, Young tried to complete his installation art work by burning his charcoal wall.

He wanted to "see the dark fire of charcoal wall casting a reflection on the ice wall... a primitive rite for commemorating the dead... a memory of the students who tried to melt the ice wall, and a wish for warmth on a cold day".

But his plans for the arty barbecue were stymied by the arrival of 30 armed and plain clothes men, and a fire engine.

This time, at the happening titled *This Is Not The Cake*, the chaps from the Ag and Fish are more likely to turn up than the fire brigade: as well as making their pillar, the artists are also planning to release a thousand birds into the 3,000-square-foot industrial space

## SKETCHBOOK

by  
Victoria Finlay

they have rented in Western that will also house an art exhibition.

The audience will have a while to ponder the sparrow-killing policy which was one of the less-than-brilliant plans of Mao Zedong (毛澤東), before all the windows are opened and a total liberation takes place. To witness the activities, events and incidents go to Room 1A, Cheung Fat Building, 7-9 Hill Road, Shek Tong Tsui. 8pm be prompt.

□ □ □

The Arts Development Council last week announced a simple five-point plan which might be usefully stuck to the fridges at Urban and Regional Council offices, and is good for jogging the memories of any of us who work in the arts.

► Support freedom of artistic expression and diversity in all arts.

► Encourage understanding of culturally diverse work.

► Respect equal opportunity for all.

► Remain vigilant against censorship, monitor the state of artistic freedom and deal with issues of censorship as and when required.

► Advocate other organisations to uphold the principle of freedom of artistic expression.

□ □ □

Macau-Ho artist Cecilia Ho Mequillet is the only artist from Hong Kong and South-east Asia to be included in the Royal Academy's Summer Exhibition which opened this month in London. The work on display is titled *Homeward Bound*, painted "by a Chinese with a Chinese heart, who will object if people say her work is not Chinese".

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PRESSE-CLEARING

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### HKU extends 'Pillar of Shame' exhibit

THE University of Hong Kong will allow the controversial statue *Pillar of Shame* to be exhibited on campus for 14 weeks, rather than the two weeks it originally allowed. The statue will stand on the podium of a university building from 16 June to 30 September, a university spokesman said. The HKU Students' Union had originally proposed that the controversial sculpture be exhibited for six months.

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A large sculpture of painfully twisted human bodies was erected in Hong Kong's Victoria Park earlier this month. Entitled *Pillar of Shame*, it occupied a prominent position during the Tiananmen vigil, and was the subject of heated discussion in the Urban Council. It then got caught up in a confrontation between students and police, when university authorities tried to stop it entering the campus. What started out as a work of art ended up as a symbol of free speech.

The *Pillar of Shame* episode could have been lightly dismissed, had it not taken place in the run-up to the handover of Hong Kong a week tonight. It sharpened the debate about the political dimension of culture under Chinese rule. After June 30, will artists be allowed to express what they please in their work? And will Hong Kong's cultural landscape continue to develop on existing lines?

Until the mid-1970s, Hong Kong was a cultural desert. Even today, its super-rich interpret culture in terms of restaurants, clubs and lifestyle, rather than as a medium for ideas and values. But thanks to the colony's economic boom, a fully-fledged visual and performing arts scene has begun to take shape. Institutions like the Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra, the Fringe Festival and the Chung Ying Theatre have a year-round function. They may mean little to the majority of the colony's 6m population, who are either too poor to enjoy them or too busy making money; but they are seen as a worthy veneer for a cosmopolitan city.

While established companies stick to a non-controversial path, experimental groups have demonstrated that art can be provocative. Zuni Icosahedron, which specialises in political satire, has openly made fun of Chinese leaders. The government-subsidised Edward Lam Dance Company includes nudity and homosexuality in its productions. Will such groups continue to operate freely after June 30?

Under the Basic Law, the post-colonial constitution negotiated by the UK and Chinese governments, China has promised to respect Hong Kong's way of life for the next 50 years. Freedom of expression is guaranteed, *as long as it does not subvert the government*. "Unless that clause is clearly defined, it can be used as a catch-all to limit artistic freedom," says Benny Chia, director of the Fringe. "You can do anything as long as you don't open that box. Some artists see it as a challenge. They're going to want to see how far they can go before having their knuckles rapped."

The structure of arts funding in Hong Kong gives the government enormous patronage and control. In the 1996-7 financial year it spent HK\$1,609.31m (£129m) on the arts - more per



Hong Kong Panorama: this acrylic painting by Ben Johnson was commissioned by Cable & Wireless and its subsidiary Hongkong Telecom to commemorate the handover on July 1. More than 3,000 buildings visible from Hong Kong's highest point, The Peak, are recorded in minute detail in the painting.

## Hong Kong's artists look east

Andrew Clark discusses the cultural implications of the handover to China

capita than anywhere in the world except Germany. Most of the money is dispensed through direct grants, a system that raises the spectre of censorship under Chinese rule. Through the urban and regional councils, the government controls all the main theatres and concert halls. After June 30, decision-making will be in the hands of people who owe their allegiance to Beijing, who have made it their business not to rock the boat.

Inevitably, those with a stake in the arts are speculating whether Hong Kong's cultural infrastructure will be respected. China's handover celebrations offer some reassurance. The new administration has commissioned a symphony from Tan Dun and organised a concert by Chinese musicians working in western orchestras. "That says something about their commitment to western classical tradition", says Richard Pontziou, founder-director of the Asian Youth Orchestra and a former professor at the Shanghai conservatoire. "The idea that there is a great barrier between oriental and western music is false. Western music is as much part of Asian culture as noodles."

For evidence, you need only

look at the number of symphony orchestras in Chinese cities and the popularity of western opera. On that basis, it would seem that institutions like the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts - where western and Chinese traditions are given parallel emphasis - have an untroubled horizon. The companies with most to fear are those which have not localised their outlook or personnel.

The Hong Kong Philharmonic is a prime example. Its senior management is British, and half its musicians are foreign. Its conductor, David Atherton, is seen as remote. Although playing standards have risen considerably since it went full-time in 1975, the orchestra's concerts are poorly attended. By contrast the 15-year old Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra - an ethnic-instrument ensemble which has developed, like its counterparts in mainland China, under the influence of western symphonic tradition - has a strong following.

"The Hong Kong public doesn't feel proud of the Philharmonic in the way it does about the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra, because the Philharmonic doesn't sell itself properly," says Henry Shek, a US-trained Chinese conductor. "The danger is that, after a few

years, you might get an official from Beijing questioning why we need to spend so much money feeding foreign musicians and a conductor who brings in all his friends. Why not make do with foreign orchestras? This is the kind of thing being discussed."

Hong Kong has indeed proved a lucrative market for touring ensembles, especially during the Hong Kong Arts Festival. Orchestras from Europe and North America are a big draw, and in the absence of a resident English-language theatre company, visitors like the Royal Shakespeare Company make a huge impact.

Even if, as seems likely, the British cultural presence suffers a sharp drop after the handover, western ensembles will continue to find a welcome in Hong Kong. In the long term, however, most members of the Hong Kong arts community foresee greater emphasis on contacts with mainland China. There is scope for two-way traffic. Hong Kong is in the process of rediscovering traditional Chinese art, and has yet to embrace leading Chinese companies like the Beijing-based National Orchestra of China. It

would make equal sense for the Hong Kong Philharmonic to repeat programmes in Guangzhou (formerly Canton), Shenzhen and Foshan, the newly-rich cities across the border in Guangdong province. If Shanghai can fund its latest *Carmen* production entirely through commercial sponsorship, why can't Hong Kong arts companies profit from the booming business world of China's special economic zone?

"At present, most Chinese associate Hong Kong culture with Canto-pop [a hybrid of western and Chinese pop music] and gourmet food," says Tseng Sunman, head of Radio Television Hong Kong's classical music channel. "Whenever we have an exchange, they're amazed how lively and well-supported the scene is here. We need to catch up with each other."

In financial terms, the Chinese have the most catching-up to do. Members of the hard-worked Guangzhou Symphony Orchestra are paid the equivalent of HK\$70 a week - one per cent of what their counterparts in the Hong Kong Philharmonic earn for just 20 hours' work. In terms of outlook, however, the balance tips the other way. The Chinese have developed a huge appetite for

western culture: for them, "western" means "modern". People in Hong Kong, by contrast, are reluctant to open up to China, because they are nervous about Beijing's intentions.

That attitude has inhibited Hong Kong artists and collaboration with Chinese companies is rare. One of the few to take the plunge is Willy Tsao, director of the Hong Kong contemporary dance group CCDC. Invited in 1987 to work with the Guangdong Modern Dance Company, he subsequently became its director - on condition that he agreed to avoid stage nudity and any reference to the Tiananmen protests.

Tsao argues that by working in China, Hong Kong artists can help break barriers and contribute to the spread of liberal values. "From July 1, there will be a lot of possibilities to influence the situation - but it depends on how willing Hong Kong artists are to communicate with China. If we adopt a defensive attitude, thinking the Chinese are coming to destroy our way of life, there's not much chance. But if we are open-minded, reason with them, explain our valued system of expression, then I believe China will change faster than we expect."



NATIONAL ISSUE

# END OF HONG KONG'S EXPERIMENT?

## Britain's Out And Beijing's In: Midnight June 30

By Adrienne Fox and Daniel J. Murphy  
*Investor's Business Daily*

July 1, 1997, is a certainty. What comes after that for Hong Kong is not.

The date has been circled on Hong Kong calendars since 1898, when Britain took out a 99-year lease on Hong Kong from China. In little more than a week, Beijing gets the colony back.

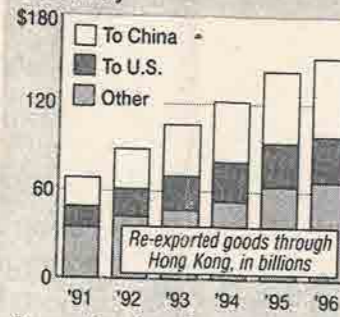
### First of two parts

The question on everyone's mind, both in Hong Kong and around the world, is whether communist China will bring an end to the island's unique free-market experiment. Over the years, the two economies have become increasingly interdependent, suggesting to some that Beijing will leave the prosperous island's economic policies intact. Political freedoms are another matter.

As part of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration treaty, China promised to leave Hong Kong's laws alone for 50 years, except in matters of foreign policy and defense. It is the principle of "one country, two systems" championed by Deng Xiaoping, China's leader until his death earlier this year. Under British control, Hong Kong came a free-market mecca. The small crown colony — only about a fifth of the size of Delaware — routinely tops the list of the most

### Trade Relations

Economic integration between Hong Kong and China is well under way



Source: Hong Kong Census & Statistics Department

economically free countries in the world. Economists say that has contributed to its enormous prosperity over the past decades, despite its lack of natural resources.

Location has also played a key role. Hong Kong is a gateway for trade and business between the East and West.

Hong Kong boasts one of the most competitive business climates in the world. It has no sales tax or capital gains tax. Corporate profits are taxed at a flat rate of 16.5%. And Hong Kong treats foreign companies the same as native ones.

As a result, Hong Kong has enjoyed enormous prosperity. Gross domestic

product has grown at an average annual rate of 5% over the past decade. It is now the world's eighth-largest trading economy.

Hong Kong's 6.3 million people enjoy a high standard of living, with per-capita annual income of \$24,282 — higher than that in the U.K. and rivaling the U.S.

Unemployment in Hong Kong was only 2.6% last year.

Hong Kong's high living standard comes with a price, however. Housing prices are soaring, with rents of some luxury apartments doubling each year. Commercial property rates are the highest in the region, forcing many manufacturers to look elsewhere.

China's adoption of an "open-door" policy at the end of the 1970s — the first stage of its acceptance of foreign investment — made the mainland a promising new market for Hong Kong businesses.

Since then, cross-border trade and investment have boomed.

Hong Kong is by far the largest investor in China. The island's firms have poured more than \$250 billion into the mainland to date, accounting for two-thirds of China's total foreign investment and one-third of its foreign exchange earnings.

The mainland offers cheap land and labor and an abundance of natural resources for barren Hong Kong. The

Continued on Page A30 A

# NATIONAL ISSUE: End Of Hong Kong's Experiment?

Continued from Page A1 A  
colony brings expertise in services, technology, management, marketing and finance to the partnership.

China is Hong Kong's largest trading partner, accounting for more than a third of the colony's total trade. After Japan, Hong Kong is the mainland's largest partner, making up 16% of China's total trade flows.

Hong Kong has also become a conduit for trade to and from China. About 60% of goods that leave China pass through Hong Kong. And 42% of goods enter China via the same route. These re-exports reached \$152 billion last year, a 6.6% increase from 1995.

"Goods get routed through Hong Kong, because it's the line of least resistance," said Michael Englund, chief economist at MMS International in San Francisco. "China is not going to want to lose that advantage."

The U.S. economic interest in a smooth handover is also immense.

American firms have invested \$13 billion in Hong Kong. Of the more than 1,000 U.S. companies in Hong Kong, about 200 have made Hong Kong their Asia-Pacific headquarters, according to the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office in Washington.

And, after China, the U.S. is the largest importer of Hong Kong goods, buying \$8 billion worth last year.

Because of its prominence as a major trading center in Asia, Hong Kong's service sector has led its growth. Services accounted for 84% of GDP in 1995, up from 67% in 1980. Meanwhile, manufacturing dropped from 24% of GDP in 1980 to about 9% in 1995. Much of that production migrated to the Guangdong province in southern China in search of cheaper land and labor.

Economic cooperation between Hong Kong and China, however, has not been matched politically.

The British introduced representative government to Hong Kong in 1985. At that time, limited direct elections were held. But further changes proposed and adopted early this decade by Gov. Chris Patten left the Chinese government steaming. China responded with a promise to dissolve Hong Kong's Legislative Council at the transfer of sovereignty.

In its place, China already has set up a provisional legislature. The body will serve less than a year — when promised elections are held.

That legislature has sparked concerns.

When the Beijing-appointed Selection Committee met to choose lawmakers for the body in December, it picked 51 of its own for the 60-member body. Hong Kong pro-democracy leader Martin Lee denounced the process as illegal.

Less than two weeks ago, the legislature voted to let police bar demonstrations once the handover becomes effective July 1.

Early this month, news dispatches revealed that China plans to swear in the controversial new legislature while dignitaries from around the world look on. The plan is a bid to lend the controversial ceremonies an air of international approval.

But the U.S. contingent, led by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, has refused to attend the swearing-in ceremony.

"The Chinese don't think it's handed at all," Rep. Chris Cox, R-Calif., told *IBD*.

Cox, leader of the U.S. congressional delegation, added that the Chinese congratulate themselves for the self-

restraint they claim to have shown so far.

Not all the political news is disturbing, though.

In late 1996, shipping magnate Tung Chee-hwa was chosen to be the first chief executive of Hong Kong following the Chinese takeover. Hong Kong's new chief justice will be Andrew Li Kwok-nang, a respected lawyer not thought to be pro-Beijing.

The international community praised the choice of Tung. Educated in Britain, with 10 years' experience in the U.S., Tung won plaudits for his plans to keep 21 of 23 ministers on board after the transfer.

Tung, though, may become an issue himself. He recently warned Hong Kong against becoming a base for destabilizing China. While Tung has promised to permit Hong Kong residents to continue commemorating the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, he urged fellow residents to move beyond the bloody event, in which the Chinese army killed thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators. Tung's urging drew an angry response.

Moreover, news of this year's Tiananmen remembrance, which drew an estimated 50,000 people, had local Hong Kong officials ordering a "Pillar of Shame" statue — which depicted a tangle of massacred students — be taken down right after the June 4 vigil.

At this point, it's too early to tell whether the Chinese government can maintain the "one country, two systems" balance with Hong Kong.

"Too many people are treating this as an event," said Nicholas Lardy, China scholar at the Brookings Institution in Washington. "It's a process. I would say (it will take) three to five years before we really know what the long-term prognosis is going to be." 2

# 55,000 candles burn for June 4

By Lily Mak and Baby Sung

**M**ORE than 55,000 people flocked to Victoria Park last night to honour victims of the Tiananmen crackdown, in a pre-handover show of defiance to China.

Amid the sea of candles and the largest turnout to such a vigil since 1992, Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China chairman Szeto Wah delivered a eulogy for those who died at the hands of People's Liberation Army troops in 1989.

"Tonight, we are again using sparks of candlelight, solidified drops of tears, to remember you and to mourn you," Mr Szeto said.

"With this sea of light, wave of tears, we caress the wronged souls of yours that have yet to be righted, we embrace the aspirations of yours that remain to be realised."

He reiterated the alliance's demands that jailed dissidents be released, the 1989 pro-democracy movement be vindicated, those responsible for the crackdown be held accountable and China's dictatorship be replaced by democracy.

Mr Szeto said there would be a day when the alliance could place a wreath before the Monument to People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square to mourn the dead.

"With only 27 days remaining before the handover, there are still over 55,000 people joining us tonight. It is evident that Hong Kong people do not fear," he said.

Alliance standing committee member Cheung Man-kwong said candlelit vigils would be held after the handover until the crackdown was redressed.

"Even if the alliance is outlawed and oppressed after 30 June 1997, we will continue the struggle with our compatriots in Hong Kong every June 4 in Victoria Park and continue to light the candle for Chinese democracy."

He said police had been advised of a pro-democracy march to be held at 3 pm on 1 July. The Chief Execu-

tive's Office has said all demonstrations between 1 and 9 July would be considered illegal if police had not been notified beforehand.

Democratic Party chairman Martin Lee Chu-ming pledged to continue attending June 4 vigils after the handover.

"I will certainly come next year. This is to give a message to the Chinese leaders that Hong Kong people still want the verdict on the 1989 movement to be reversed from counter-revolutionary to patriotic," Mr Lee said.

The eight-metre-high "Pillar of Shame" stood near a replica of the Monument to People's Heroes and the "Goddess of Democracy" in the park.

The pillar's Danish sculptor, Jens Galschiot, said last night's demonstration was particularly special because it told the Chinese government that Hong Kong people wanted to retain their freedom.

Late last night, members of the Hong Kong University Students' Union took the pillar to Hong Kong University, where they want it displayed on the campus podium, but were refused admittance.

Carried on a two-tonne truck, the statue arrived at the university's rear entrance in University Drive at 12.15 am. Security staff said the university estate office had ruled the statue would cause danger because of its size. Early today about 500 students, sometimes singing and chanting, remained massed outside the entrance, while representatives tried to negotiate with the security staff.

After the vigil in Victoria Park, students and members of the April Fifth Action Group marched to Xinhua headquarters in Happy Valley. Chanting slogans, they left peacefully after several minutes.

In Macau, a candlelight vigil drew about 300 mostly young people last night. Pro-Beijing neighbourhood associations held a children's dance show nearby.

■ **More reports: Page 2**  
■ **Editorial: Page 10**



Thousand points of light: With the Pillar of Shame glowing in the background, the crowds in Victoria Parks raise candles in remembrance of those killed eight years ago in Beijing.

PICTURE BY JELLY TSE

## Parents march to let democracy's light shine on their children

By Maureen Pao

THEY came in a seemingly endless stream to Victoria Park, both in remembrance and in defiance, despite the threat of lashing rains that had punished the territory earlier in the day.

Like the torch burning on stage, parents hoped to keep the fire of democracy burning by passing on their beliefs to their children.

"The events of June 4 are like a needle in my heart," Wong Yiu-chuen said, amid a sea of flickering candles held aloft by the 55,000 people at the last vigil before the handover to mourn those killed in Tiananmen Square.

Every year since 1989, Mr Wong, a transport worker, had come to the park with his wife and their children.

"This is a part of Chinese history, and we cannot forget it," Mr Wong said, adding that he had given his son newspaper articles about the June 4 crackdown.

But like many others, Mr Wong was unsure about the future: "I don't really know what will happen (after the handover). This is a place of law. We have to see how (the incoming government) will change the law."

At times, the chanting of slogans such as "Long live democracy, long live human rights, long live freedom" thundered throughout the park, while at others, the crowd sang with one, strong voice.

The Pillar of Shame rose majestically above the crowd, spotlights highlighting its haunting faces.

Mrs Chan, a lawyer, had been to four other vigils but this was the first with her two daughters, aged 2 and 4.

"I want them to see, experience this because it is probably the last time," she said.

"Many people didn't come to commemorate June 4, but to show, with our presence, our feelings about the future of Hong Kong, to show the people in authority that we treasure our freedom."

Jackson Ho, 30, brought his three-year-old daughter, Wing-wing, to the vigil because he wanted her to "know about democracy".

He was disappointed by Chief Executive-designate Tung Chee-hwa's recent call for people to drop their "June 4 baggage". "He cannot suppress opinions (and) ideas of citizens," Mr Ho said.

"My daughter is too young now," he said. "But I will explain it all to her later."

5.6.97 HONG KONG STANDARD

# An annual vigil was held for demonstrators killed in an attack by China's military. The memorial came only 27 days before China recovers Hong Kong from Britain.

By RAYMOND CHOW  
The Associated Press

HONG KONG - Defying their future ruler's appeal to put the past to rest, tens of thousands of people squeezed into a Hong Kong park Wednesday to commemorate - perhaps for the last time - the anniversary of China's attack on pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square.

In Beijing, plainclothes police kept close watch on the square as tourists posed for pictures, but there was no sign of protest at the site where the army gunned down democracy protesters on June 4, 1989. Hundreds, if not thousands, were killed.

Candles lit up the darkness Wednesday night in Hong Kong's annual vigil for the slain demonstrators, a memorial that came only 27 days before China recovers Hong Kong from Britain. China has given no guarantee such rallies can be repeated, and many in the

crowd felt this may be their last chance to honor the dead.

The peaceful protest was a striking act of conscience by a public often accused of just being interested in making money and not annoying China.

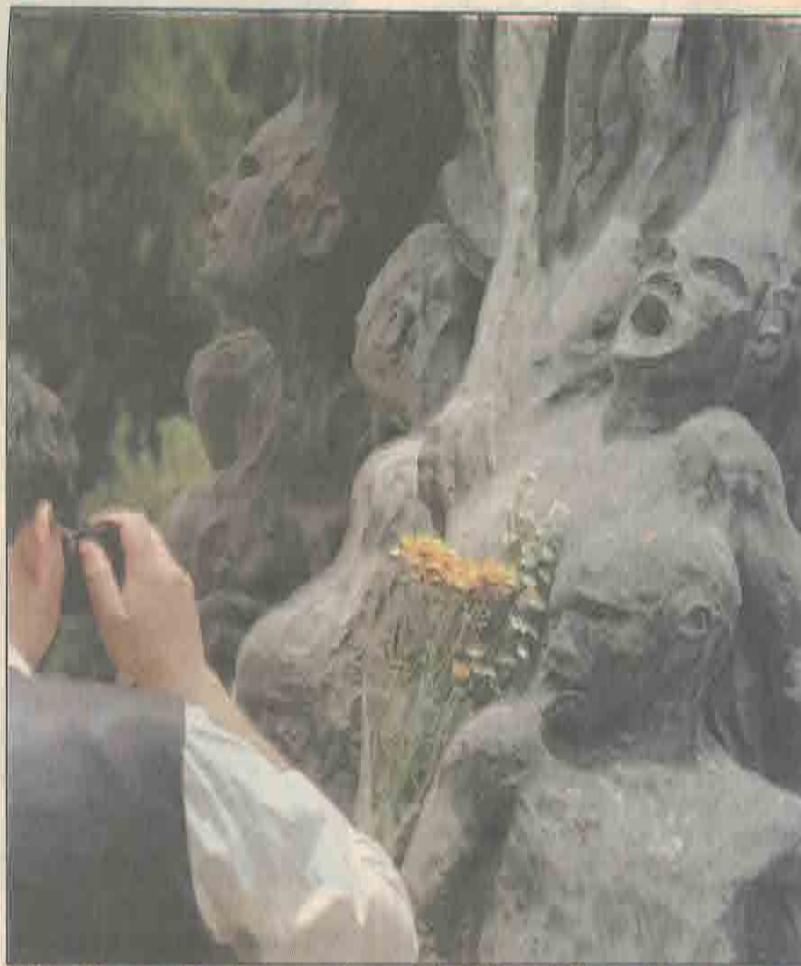
Demonstrators cut across many divisions - youngsters in blue jeans, old women in buttoned-up smocks, prosperous men in ties, blue-collar workers and families with children. All clutched white candles.

Organizers claimed 55,000 people took part, well above past rallies. Police refused to give an estimate.

In one of the few open acts of defiance in China on this anniversary, a Chinese human rights campaigner emerged unrepentant from three years of forced labor Wednesday and vowed to organize an independent political party.

Bao Ge, now 33, was a co-founder of the Shanghai-based Voice of Human Rights. Police

See PROTESTERS, Page C 2



A Hong Kong resident takes a photo of the Pillar of Shame, a bronze statue by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot erected in Victoria Park, where a candlelight vigil was held in remembrance of the military crackdown of pro-democracy students.



Pro-democracy demonstrators jostle with Japanese police officers in front of the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo on Wednesday.

## Protest

Continued from page C 1

arrested Bao, who is Christian, on June 3, 1994, before he could attend a prayer service to mourn the victims of the 1989 attack.

Another dissident, Shen Liangqing, called on Beijing to investigate the crackdown.

In Tokyo, several Chinese protesters led by Wu'er Kaixi, a prominent exiled dissident, scuffled with police outside the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo. Police blocked a driver who tried to ram a row of police vehicles. Two arrests were reported.

Hong Kong democrats say they will organize a rally every year until China reverses its verdict that

the Tiananmen movement was "counterrevolutionary," and declares the crackdown a mistake.

Such demands pose a critical test for China's tolerance and its promises not to tamper with Hong Kong's freedoms.

Tung Chee-hwa, the China-approved leader of Hong Kong's incoming autonomous government, has promised to uphold those freedoms. But he says Hong Kong residents should put Tiananmen behind them and concentrate on making reunification with China work.

He has also ordered a rollback of some civil liberties to show China that Hong Kong will not be a base for subverting the ruling Communist Party. China views the whole Tiananmen Square democracy movement as subversive.

City Hall approved this year's rally at Victoria Park, including a controversial three-story high sculpture called "the Pillar of Shame." The massive sculpture, dramatically lit Wednesday night, depicts twisted bodies with agonized faces.

However, City Hall has refused a request to display the sculpture during the July 1 handover extravaganza of fireworks and banquets.

"Why should we let demonstrators blemish the handover celebrations?" columnist Cai Heping asked Wednesday in Ta Kung Pao, a China-funded Hong Kong daily newspaper.

The stage for Wednesday night's rally was adorned with a banner saying "Struggle to the end," and a famous photo of a protester standing alone in front of a tank in 1989.

## PROGRESS-INDEX

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DAILY & SUNDAY 19,200

THURSDAY  
JUN 5 1997

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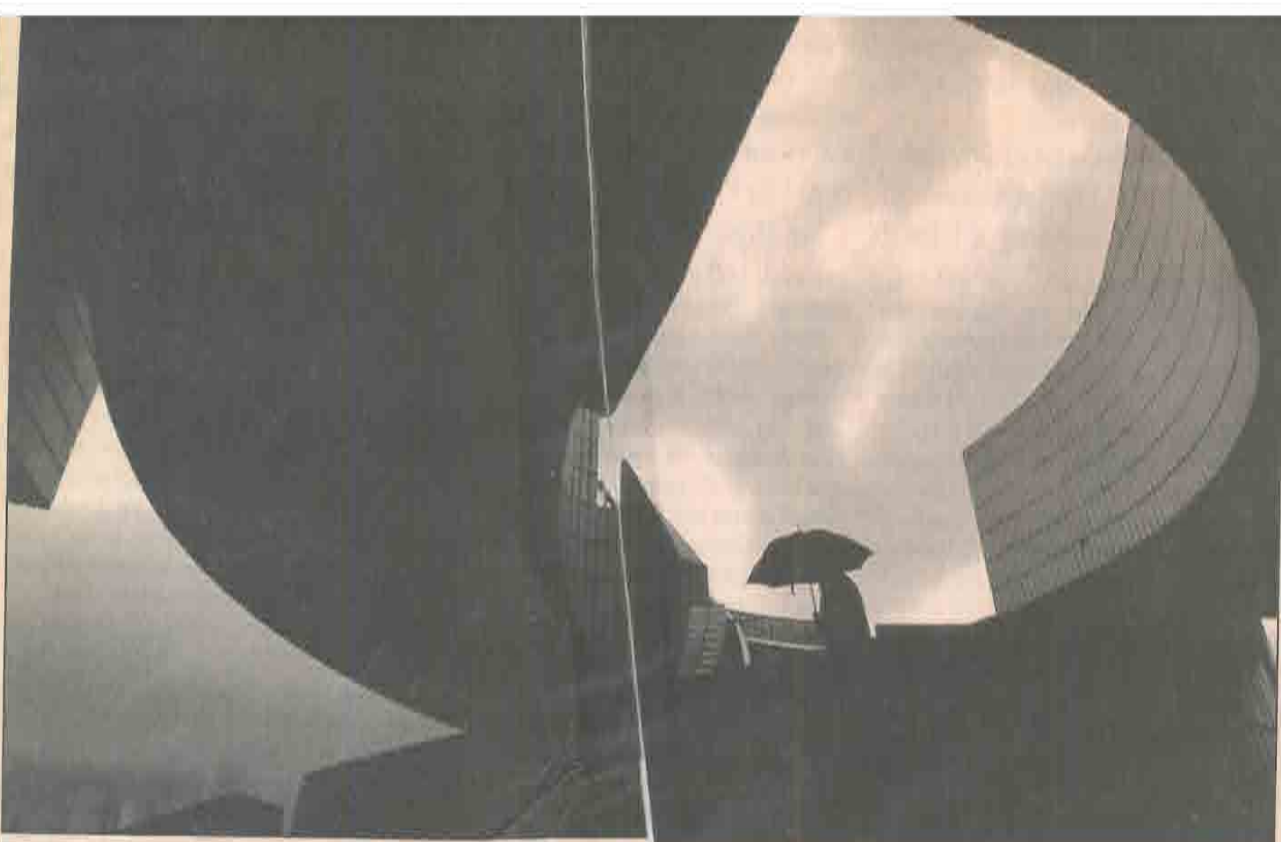
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## Pillar of Shame

Legislator Tsang Kin-shing, left, supervises the erection of the Pillar of Shame, a bronze statue by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, to mark the military crackdown of a pro-democracy student movement in Beijing in June 1989, at Hong Kong's Victoria Park on Tuesday.



Storm clouds hover above the Tsim Sha Tsui promenade in Hong Kong on Wednesday as heavy rain doused the territory on the eighth anniversary of the June 4, 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown. David Paul Morris/Asia Times

# A rallying cry for remembrance

**HONG KONG**  
Associated Press

Crowds poured into a park on Wednesday night for Hong Kong's annual candle-lit memorial to China's slain democracy protesters, amid uncertainty about whether the ritual can survive China's July 1 takeover.

The rally is the last under British rule in commemoration of the June 4, 1989 crackdown on demonstrators at Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Organizers said they expected the turnout to be higher than the usual 30,000 to 40,000.

The organizers said many people believed it was their last chance to honor the hundreds, possibly thousands, killed in the military onslaught eight years ago.

But the pro-democracy camp plans to stage the rally again next year, posing a critical test for China and the semi-autonomous government it has approved for Hong Kong.

The stage was adorned with a banner saying "Struggle to the end", and a famous photo of a protester standing alone in front of a tank in 1989.

"We will be here every year until the Chinese government recognizes it was

wrong," said Wang Degao, a 69-year-old retired seaman who was selling books about the Tiananmen blood bath.

There has been no outright threat to ban future commemorations, but future leader Tung Chee-hwa is urging the public to put Tiananmen Square behind it and focus on making the change of sovereignty a success. City Hall licensed this year's rally and its highlight, a three-floor-high sculpture featuring twisted bodies, *The Pillar of Shame*, sculpted by a Danish artist, was unveiled at Victoria Park on Tuesday.

**THE JAPAN TIMES**  
(Tokyo)  
97. 6. - 8

## Hong Kong students display 'Pillar of Shame'

HONG KONG (AP) A sculpture honoring democracy demonstrators slain in China in June 1989 has found a temporary home at a Hong Kong university, student leaders said Saturday.

The 8-meter-high "Pillar of Shame," by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, depicts 50 painfully twisted bodies. It was shipped to Hong Kong for the British colony's annual commemoration of the June 4 military crackdown in Beijing.

Hundreds, possibly thousands, of people died when the army shot its way into Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

Many Hong Kong people supported the demonstrators. China says the movement was a "counterrevolutionary rebellion," and those who took part were criminals.

The issue is politically sensitive in Hong Kong.

City Hall permitted a democracy group to exhibit the statue in a downtown park at Wednesday's June 4 commemoration vigil, but nixed attempts to exhibit it citywide over the summer.



A FLOWER rests at the base of the controversial "Pillar of Shame" statue during Wednesday's candlelight vigil in Hong Kong's Victoria Park. REUTER PHOTO

# battle to erect Pillar of Shame

By Enoch Wong

**ANGRY** University of Hong Kong students have launched an assault on college heads after the controversial *Pillar of Shame* statue was banned from being erected on campus.

In a showdown with university vice-chancellor Chen Yiu-chung today, student leaders will tell him the statue must go up.

"We are not going to seek approval from him on the subject. We totally have the right to erect the *Pillar of Shame* anywhere inside the campus," HKU Student Union vice-president Linda Wong Shui-hung said.

Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot's creation lies in

sections in the college grounds after it was taken there by students from Wednesday night's candle-lit Tiananmen vigil in Victoria Park.

College heads refused to let students stand the two-tonne copper work of art on the campus' podium because they said it was too heavy for the building to support.

But students will challenge Professor Chen to give them strong enough safety reasons for the ban.

They insist they have the right to put it there as the podium is "owned" by their union.

The eight-metre high sculpture, inspired by the 1989 Beijing crackdown, was the focus of clashes

with police and college guards as students tried to get it on campus.

After three hours police let the lorry carrying it through the college gates.

HKU's Rupert Chan Kwan-yan, director of its external affairs office, denied there were political considerations behind the refusal.

"Our university is politically neutral. We tolerate all strands of opinion.

"But our primary concern is safety as the pillar is 1,800 kilograms and it may be too heavy for the podium," he said.

Regional and Urban Councils have already refused to allow it to be put on public display.

## Statue begins brief stay as thousands prepare for vigil

By Mary Ann Benitez and Baby Sung

A GIANT sculpture rose in Victoria Park yesterday for tonight's commemoration of the 1989 Tiananmen Square bloodshed, as future leader Tung Chee-hwa said he would not allow a similar crackdown in Hong Kong to give demonstrators "the pleasure of becoming martyrs".

The eight-metre "Pillar of Shame" will take centre stage at a candle-light vigil expected to be attended by 40,000 people.

The pillar, a copper sculpture of 50 bodies and anguished faces piled on each other — was unveiled by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot.

The fate of the statue, shipped in a container from Taiwan after a week-long delay, is unknown as the Urban and Regional councils have rejected requests for it to remain on display at a public park until 15 September.

"You cannot kill a symbol. The Urban Council has difficulty understanding this. You make it a stronger symbol by censoring it," Galschiot said.

Organisers have been told to remove the sculpture at 11 pm after the 70-minute vigil.

Hong Kong University officials are considering a students' request for the statue to be displayed there, but say it could not happen immediately.

"It is a shame that there is no place for a statue like this to be displayed," said legislator Cheung Man-kwong, a leader of the

Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, which is organising tonight's rally.

On the eve of the eighth anniversary vigil, Mr Tung said there would be no crackdown on dissidents.

"I am not going to give all the people who demonstrate the pleasure of becoming martyrs," he said in a BBC interview.

On Monday he urged the people to set aside "the baggage" of the crackdown.

The Chief Executive-designate also denied yesterday there would be a slow erosion of civil liberties in Hong Kong due to the proposed changes to the Public Order and Societies ordinances.

Meanwhile, pro-democracy student activists began their own observance of the June 4 anniversary with a torch race yesterday.

At least 100 students from eight tertiary institutions ran with torches for

democracy from their campuses to Chater Garden.

The Chinese government said yesterday it would have no direct say in whether the annual June 4 demonstrations in Hong Kong would be allowed after the handover.

"As to what demonstrations will be held in Hong Kong next year, that is the jurisdiction of the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR)," foreign ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai said.

Chinese dissidents at home and abroad, meanwhile, made a unified call for Beijing to reassess the June 4 verdict.

A Chinese court yesterday jailed labour activists Li Wen-ming and Guo Baosheng for 3½ years for conspiring to subvert the government.

Hong Kong Standard 4.6.97

## Democrat vow 'to go quietly'

ANGELA LI

The Democratic Party has promised to avoid radical action at the Legislative Council building on July 1, sources said yesterday.

The assurance was given to the Chief Executive-designate's office by party leader Martin Lee Chu-ming, they said.

Last night, Mr Lee declined to confirm the claim.

"Even if there were discussions on it, it is not [supposed] to be made open."

He was said to have promised not to disrupt the provisional legislature's first post-handover meeting early on July 1 after being sworn in at the Convention Centre.

Democrat Tsang Kin-shing had earlier threatened to tie himself inside the Legco chamber on July 1 in protest at the sacking of the elected council.

Because of the threat of protests, opinions have been split among members of the interim body as to whether the meeting should be held at the Convention Centre or the Legco building.

Sources said China had indicated it does not object to the interim body meeting at the Legco building, nor was it necessary for the interim body to "confirm" the appointment of judges before they were sworn in.

The "confirmation" pro-

► The Frontier will meet Secretary for Policy Co-ordination Michael Suen Ming-yeung on Tuesday to discuss proposals on the 1998 election.

It is the first time the group, which advocates full democracy, has met officials from the post-handover administration. It is understood the meeting was initiated by Mr Suen.

Legislator Leung Yiu-chung said they would tell Mr Suen they thought a fully elected legislature would be best for Hong Kong.

Mr Suen is meeting the Democratic Party today as part of the two-week consultation on the electoral methods.

cedure is now set to be included in a Reunification Bill, to be tabled to the provisional legislature.

Mr Lee said some people were hoping for radical action, but others were not. He said no formal decision had been taken on July 1 plans.

Police Assistant Commissioner Dick Lee Ming-kwai dismissed suggestions it would be more convenient for security arrangements if the provisional legislature met at the Convention Centre extension on July 1.

"Anywhere in Hong Kong is safe. If they decide to hold their meeting on the Peak, it will be safe as well."

South China morning post. 5.6.97

CHRIS YEUNG, LINDA CHOY  
and NO KWAI-YAN

Ignoring future leader Tung Chee-hwa, at least 55,000 people last night marked the final pre-handover anniversary of China's pro-democracy crackdown.

The Chief Executive-designate had urged Hong Kong to put the "baggage of June 4" behind it. Instead, people from all walks of life flooded Victoria Park vowing never to forget the bloody events of eight years ago.

Amid fears that this might be the last candlelight vigil allowed in the territory, they pledged to maintain the fight for a vindication of the 1989 pro-democracy movement and the release of the jailed dissidents.

In front of them, Chinese characters over a huge stage declared: Struggle to the end.

Szeto Wah, chairman of organisers the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, said: "Eight years - 2,922 days and nights - have passed.

"Tonight we are again using sparks of candlelight, solidified drops of tears to remember you and to mourn you."

The vigil began at 8.30pm with sombre music and the laying of wreath in memory of crackdown victims killed in and around Tiananmen on June 4, 1989.

Next to the replica was a giant sculpture, the Pillar of Shame, symbolising suffering from oppression.

There was no sight, however, of dissident Zhang Taisong, who had earlier threatened to set himself on fire in protest at mainland suppression.

Organisers put the crowd at 55,000, compared with 40,000 who turned out last year. The police had no estimate.

Mr Tung had said it was more important for people to focus on Hong Kong's imminent return to Chinese rule. But his comments

South China Morning  
post  
5.6.97

were attacked by rally organisers and participants.

In an emotive speech, Alliance executive committee member Cheung Man-kwong said: "Some people say this is our last candlelight vigil... the last light for Chinese democracy.

"This is not true. The Alliance will continue to hold a vigil in Victoria Park. If we hold on to our faith, the candlelight will stay lit... there is no turning back."

Democratic Party chairman Martin Lee Chu-ming said the turnout showed people still wanted the mainland verdict on the 1989 movement to be reversed.

He hoped commemorative activities would be allowed to continue after the handover.

"I think it would be very wrong for the future government to try to stop peaceful demonstration of this kind. I hope Mr Tung will not do it," he said.

Instead, Mr Lee urged the handover leader to convince Chinese leaders to change its verdict on the pro-democracy movement if he wanted Hong Kong people to set it aside in their memory.

Exiled mainland unionist Han Dongfang said the turnout was "encouraging", but warned that Hong Kong people should take their fate in their own hands and continue the fight for greater democracy.

Future pro-democracy activities would face increasing pressure, he claimed.

"Even now, the Government is imposing pressures on activities by the Alliance and the pro-democracy camp," he said.

"It is certainly possible that the new government will continue to interfere with activities of this kind after the handover."

## June 4 passion 'will live on'

By Chan Sing

ACTIVITIES commemorating the Tiananmen Square crackdown will continue after 1997 if Hong Kong remains a free society, Governor Chris Patten says.

"You can't stop people thinking as they do in Hong Kong," he said yesterday.

"You can't stop people having the same passions and feelings as they do in Hong Kong."

Mr Patten described the Victoria Park vigil on Wednesday as "an example of Hong Kong's heart".

He said the rally was "dignified and moving".

"I can't believe that these dignified occasions won't happen again in the future."

More than 55,000 people flocked to Victoria Park to honour the victims in the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown, filling all six playgrounds with lighted candles.

Concerning the controversial "Pillar of Shame", which became the prime attraction of this year's commemoration, Mr Patten said he was not responsible for its installation.

But he believed many Hong Kong people felt the sculpture was a way of commemorating a significant historical event.

In a reaction to Chief Executive-designate Tung Chee-hwa's call for Hong Kong people to drop the "baggage of June 4", Mr Patten said: "If you are governing a community it is important that you do everything you can to understand what is in people's hearts."

The Governor said he believed Hong Kong people would like to see the 1989 Tiananmen incident redressed, like the re-assessment of the April 5 Incident in 1976, when authorities clashed with people in Tiananmen Square who were trying to honour the late Zhou Enlai.

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PRETORIA NEWS  
5/6/97

PRETORIA  
SOUTH AFRICA



A lone flower stands in front of the Pillar of Shame statue, which faces an uncertain future after yesterday's vigil in Hong Kong to protest against the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre. Local authorities have refused to let the Hong Kong Alliance put the sculpture on display for three months, a period that would straddle the handover to China. PICTURE: REUTERS

## Tiananmen tragedy remembered

Hong Kong — Thousands of people joined in a candlelight vigil here yesterday to protest against the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, defying the power which will regain rule over Hong Kong in less than four weeks.

Braving stormy black skies that earlier had unleashed pounding rain across the territory, the crowd gathered after sunset in Hong Kong Island's Victoria Park for an annual rally that many suspect will be outlawed by China.

Shortly after the vigil began, tens of thousands had gathered at the park. About 45 000 turned out for the vigil last year.

The organisers had hoped for an impressive turnout to demonstrate support for Hong Kong's beleaguered pro-democracy movement, which faces parliamentary extinction on July 1 and tough restrictions on the right to demonstrate.

Clutching candles protected in jars, the crowd mustered in front of a stage with giant loudspeakers, singing along to rous-

ing protest songs to mark the June 4 crackdown in which hundreds of students are believed to have died.

Democratic Party vice-chairman Szeto Wah told the crowd the souls of those killed in Tiananmen Square remained in torment.

"The sea of lights, wave of tears, we caress the wronged souls of yours that have yet to be righted," he said.

"We embrace the aspirations that have yet to be realised." — Sapa-AFP

### CHARLESTON GAZETTE

CHARLESTON, WV  
DAILY 54,500

THURSDAY  
JUN 5 1997

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# Hong Kong won't forget Tiananmen

*9 Pillar of Shame* FRONT PAGE

## As Chinese takeover looms, anniversary vigil may be last one

By Raymond Chow

HONG KONG (AP) — Defying their future ruler's appeal to put the past to rest, tens of thousands of people squeezed into a Hong Kong park Wednesday to commemorate — perhaps for the last time — the anniversary of China's attack on pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square.

In Beijing, plainclothes police kept close watch on the square as tourists posed for pictures, but there was no sign of protest at the site where the army gunned down democracy protesters on June 4, 1989. Hundreds, if not thousands, were killed.

Candles lit up the darkness Wednesday night in Hong Kong's annual vigil for the slain demonstrators, a memorial that came only 27 days before China recovers Hong Kong from Britain. China has given no guarantee such rallies can be repeated, and many in the crowd felt this may be their last chance to honor the dead.

The peaceful vigil was a striking act of conscience by a public often accused of just being interested in making money and not annoying China.

Demonstrators cut across many divisions — youngsters in blue jeans,



AP photo

**An unidentified woman holds a candle during a vigil Wednesday in Hong Kong marking the anniversary of Tiananmen Square.**

old women in buttoned-up smocks, prosperous men in ties, blue-collar workers and families with children. All clutched white candles.

Organizers claimed 55,000 people took part, well above past rallies. Police refused to give an estimate.

In one of the few open acts of defiance in China on this anniversary, a Chinese human rights campaigner emerged unrepentant from three

Please see HONG KONG, 11A

# Hong Kong remembers Tiananmen Square victims

■ Demonstrators show disregard for incoming Communist regime

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The peaceful protest was a striking act of conscience by a public often accused of just being interested in making money and not annoying China.

The estimated 55,000 demonstrators crossed many divisions — youngsters in blue jeans, old women

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In an act of defiance in China, a Chinese human rights campaigner emerged unrepentant from three years of forced labor yesterday and vowed to organize an independent political party.

Bao Ge, now 33, was a co-founder of the Shanghai-based Voice of Human Rights. Police arrested Bao,

who is Christian, June 3, 1994, before he could attend a prayer service to mourn the victims of the 1989 attack.

Hong Kong democrats said they will organize a rally every year until China reverses its verdict that the Tiananmen movement was counterrevolutionary, and declares the crackdown a mistake.

Such demands pose a critical test for China's tolerance and its promises not to tamper with Hong Kong's

**"What we're doing here is against the Communist Party. They won't allow us to do this ... it's the last time."**

LAM LING-FAT  
Travel agent

## TENNESSEAN

NASHVILLE, TN  
DAILY 148,000

THURSDAY  
JUN 5 1997

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## TRI-CITY HERALD

PASCO, WA  
DAILY 40,566

THURSDAY  
JUN 5 1997

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# Hong Kong remembers Tiananmen Square

By The Associated Press

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Demonstrators cut across many divisions — youngsters in blue jeans, old women in buttoned-up smocks, prosperous men in ties, blue-collar workers and families with children. All clutched white candles.

Organizers claimed 55,000 people took part, much more than in past rallies. Police refused to give an estimate.



Associated Press

A statue of the "Goddess Democracy" is left on the ground at the end of a candlelight vigil in Hong Kong's Victoria Park to mark the anniversary of the military crackdown on students at Tiananmen Square in 1989.

In one of the few open acts of defiance in China on this anniversary, a Chinese human rights campaigner emerged from three years of forced labor Wednesday and vowed to orga-

nize an independent political party. Bao Ge, now 33, was a co-founder of the Shanghai-based Voice of Human Rights. Police arrested Bao, who is Christian, on June 3, 1994, before he

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AP

A statue of the "Goddess of Democracy" cradles one of the candles the estimated 55,000 celebrants carried in Hong Kong on the eight-year anniversary of the Tiananmen Square conflict.





Thousands gathered Wednesday in Hong Kong's Victoria Park to commemorate the anniversary of the Chinese military crackdown

on a pro-democracy demonstration in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989.

ANAT GIVON/Associated Press

# Thousands recall Tiananmen

■ Many in Hong Kong fear China will not allow any more commemorations.

By RAYMOND CHOW  
Associated Press

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# China's attack in '89 marked by Hong Kong

By Raymond Chow

Associated Press Writer

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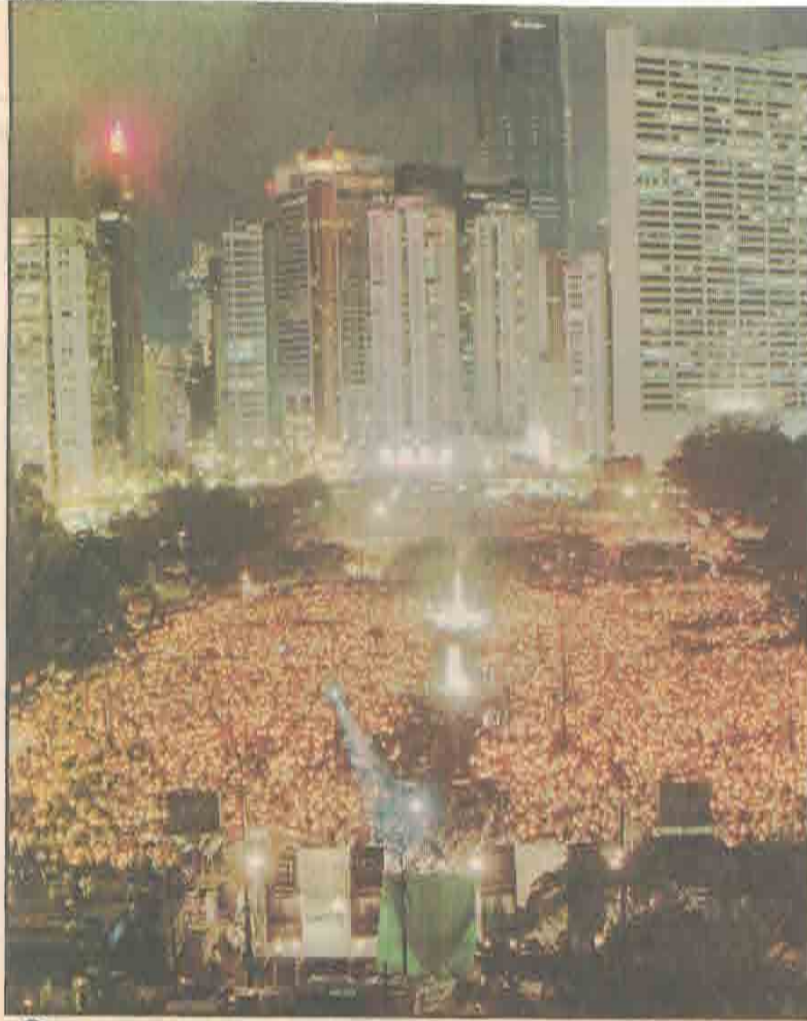
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ASSOCIATED PRESS / Vincent Yu

Thousands of candles light up Hong Kong's Victoria Park during a vigil Wednesday to mark the anniversary of the military crackdown on a pro-democracy student movement in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989. The memorial was held as Hong Kong entered its last month as a British colony, with many participants fearing that such events will be banned under Chinese rule.

## Hong Kong honors victims of massacre

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ASSOCIATED PRESS / Anat Givon

A statue of the "Goddess of Democracy" is left on the ground at the end of a candlelight vigil attended by tens of thousands in Hong Kong's Victoria Park Wednesday to mark the anniversary of the military crackdown on a pro-democracy student movement in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989.

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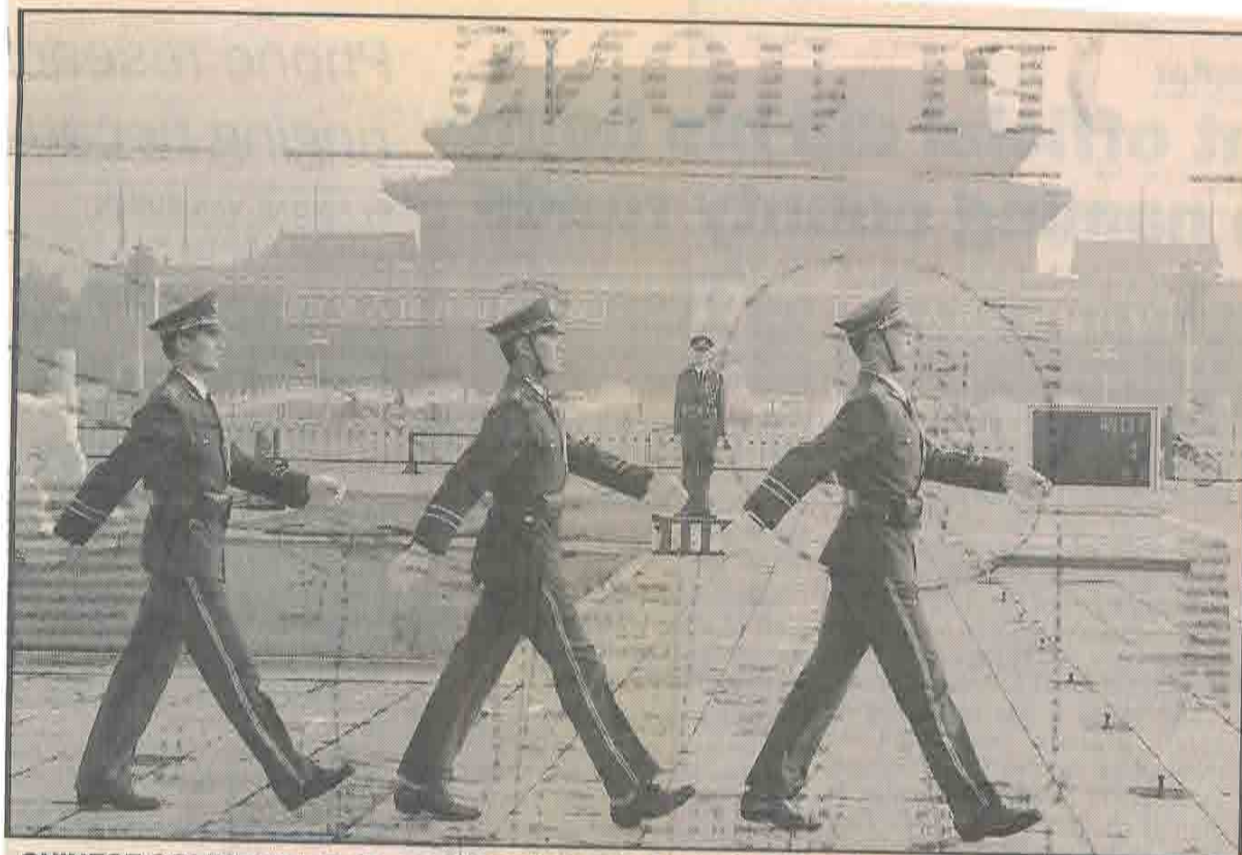
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CHINESE SOLDIERS march on Tiananmen Square in Beijing Wednesday, the 8th anniversary of the military attack on student protesters that left hundreds, perhaps thousands, dead. (AP photo)

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AP Writer

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**JUNE 1989:** A protester blocks a line of tanks heading east on Beijing's Cangan Boulevard June 5, 1989. The man was pulled away by bystanders. AP

# Nervous Hong Kong remembers

## Defying China's words, tens of thousands mark Tiananmen Square attack

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# Hong Kong mourns Tiananmen dead

■ Days before they come under Chinese rule, protesters crowd a park in what might be their final vigil for victims of the bloodshed

By RAYMOND CHOW  
The Associated Press

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ANAT GIVON/Associated Press

Protesters on Wednesday remember the pro-democracy victims killed in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989.

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PRESSE-CLEARING

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## College to exhibit Pillar of Shame

GENEVIEVE KU

Hong Kong University yesterday backed down and allowed the *Pillar of Shame* to be erected on campus. But it wants the sculpture removed in two weeks.

After meeting student leaders, Vice-Chancellor Professor Cheng Yiu-chung said the sculpture, which commemorates victims of the June 4 crackdown, could be displayed provided safety standards were met.

"We reiterate the freedom of expression of the University of Hong Kong by any members, including staff and students. I must deny any allegations against us that there has been an attempt at political censorship," he said.

However, he recommended the sculpture stand for only two weeks, which would mean it would be removed just before the handover. He said that was the usual time given to exhibits.

Student union external vice-chairman Linda Wong Shui-hung welcomed the university's compromise, but said the two-week time limit was unreasonable.

"We strongly protest against the time limit and will fight for continuous display. General procedures for exhibits do not apply to this sculpture because we are not occupying the exhibiting area," Ms Wong said. The union wants the sculpture, which will be erected on the Haking Wong podium, to stay for six months.

Students demanded an apology from the university for preventing the entry of the sculpture early on Thursday.

Professor Cheng said the confusion was caused by misunderstandings.



REMEMBERING - Thousands of people squeezed into a Hong Kong park to remember the anniversary of the military attack on Tiananmen Square.

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## Baggage worth keeping

Jonathan Braude



WEEK ENDING

Tung Chee-hwa wanted us to drop the baggage of June 4, 1989 and look to the future. That was not the sort of thing the 55,000 people at the memorial vigil in Victoria Park this week wanted to hear.

It was the sort of thing that prompted one elderly man we talked to that evening to complain of the new "mini-Cultural Revolution" under way that made it politically incorrect to demonstrate, put up posters or even remember the students, workers and other ordinary Chinese who had died as the tanks rolled towards Tiananmen square.

Nor, frankly, was it terribly sensible advice for our Chief Executive-designate to take upon himself. If you drop the baggage when you look towards the future, it is all too easy to forget the lessons of the past, along with the bad memories and the embarrassing politics. Even Chai Ling (柴玲), the student leader who for millions worldwide became the best-known face of the Tiananmen Square protests, admitted last month that both sides made mistakes during the tense weeks that led to the bloodshed.

The Chinese government has not yet had the courage to do the same. If the mistakes cannot be acknowledged, if the verdict on the student movement as an uprising and counter-revolutionary rebellion is not be reassessed, the danger of history's repeating itself is greater. It may not happen in Beijing, but a smaller-scale confrontation could happen somewhere else. Such as Hong Kong for instance.

But let's get this straight: Wednesday's vigil was not the kind of potential flashpoint we had in mind. It was orderly, disciplined and with none of the raw emotion of those heady days in May and June 1989 when up to a million people are estimated to have marched through the streets of Hong Kong. It was the kind of demonstration even Uncle Tung, if he thought about it, could have been proud to attend.

But the reactions by the Urban Council and Hong Kong University, for instance, to the admittedly provocative *Pillar of Shame* did not inspire the same confidence. The sculpture's message is as hopeless as the medieval visions of Hell it closely resembles. Perhaps that is too negative a message at a time when so many would like to look forward to the new era.

But can anybody really imagine the council or the vice-chancellor of Hong Kong University would have been readier to allow on to the premises a replica of the *Goddess of Democracy* which once adorned Tiananmen Square?

That statue, seen by China's 1989 leadership as a gesture of defiance, was none the less a symbol of hope. Even now, eight years after its destruction, small replicas of the *Goddess* sell like hot cakes.

The sensible lesson to have learned from the past is that such gestures are best accepted and quietly forgotten. Once accepted by both sides as sources of confrontation, it is harder to consign them to oblivion.

# Tiananmen event defies China

**Anniversary:** Tens of thousands of Hong Kong protesters have a vigil in commemoration of the attack in China.

Associated Press  
HONG KONG — Defying their future ruler's appeal to put the past to rest, tens of thousands of people gathered into a Hong Kong park Wednesday to commemorate the anniversary of the last time — the anniversary of China's military attack on Tiananmen Square.

Beijing, plainclothes police kept a close watch on the square as protesters posed for pictures, but there was no sign of protest at the site where the army gunned down democracy protesters on June 4, 1989. Hundreds, if not thousands, were killed. Candles lit up the darkness Wednesday night in Hong Kong's annual vigil for the slain demonstrators. A memorial that came only 27 years before China recovers Hong Kong from Britain. China has given no guarantee such rallies can be held, and many in the crowd felt it may be their last chance to mourn the dead.

The peaceful protest was a strike of conscience by a public accused of just being interested in money and not annoying the future ruler. Protesters cut across many divisions — youngsters in blue jeans, old women in buttoned-up blouses, prosperous men in ties,



The Associated Press / File

**A MEMORABLE SIGHT:** A Chinese protester blocks a line of tanks heading east on Beijing's Cangan Boulevard in a photograph taken June 5, 1989, in front of the Beijing Hotel. The man was later pulled out of the street by bystanders and the tanks continued on their way.

blue-collar workers and families with kids. All clutched white candles.

Organizers said 55,000 people took part, well above past rallies. Police refused to give an estimate.

In one of the few open acts of defiance in China on this anniversary, a Chinese human-rights campaigner emerged unrepentant from three years of forced labor Wednesday and vowed to organize an independent political party.

Bao Ge, now 33, was a co-founder of the Shanghai-based Voice of Human Rights. Police arrested Bao,

who is Christian, on June 3, 1994, before he could attend a prayer service to mourn the victims of the 1989 attack.

Another dissident, Shen Liangqing, called on Beijing to investigate the crackdown.

In Tokyo, several Chinese protesters led by Wu'er Kaixi, a prominent exiled dissident, scuffled with police outside the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo. Police blocked a driver who tried to ram a row of police vehicles. Two arrests were reported.

Hong Kong democrats say they

will organize a rally every year until China reverses its verdict that the Tiananmen movement was "counter-revolutionary," and declares the crackdown a mistake.

Such demands pose a critical test for China's tolerance and its promises not to tamper with Hong Kong's freedoms.

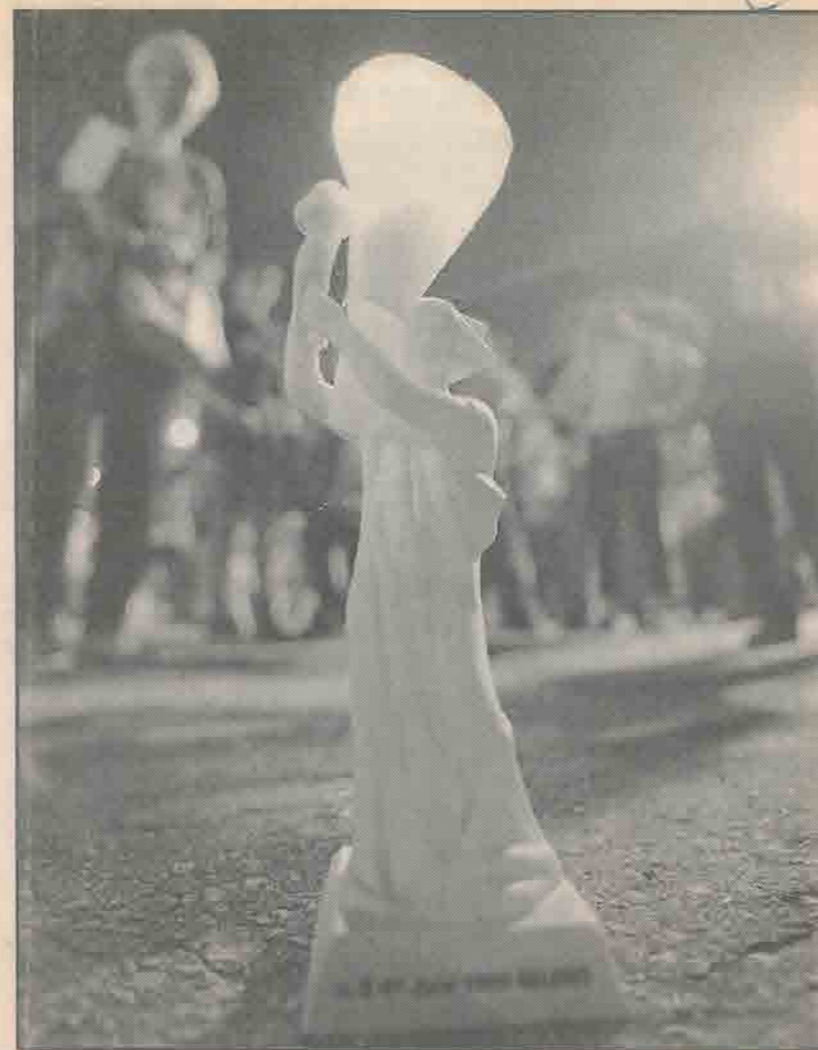
Tung Chee-hwa, the China-approved leader of Hong Kong's incoming autonomous government, has promised to uphold those freedoms. But he says Hong Kong residents should put Tiananmen behind them and concentrate on making reunification with China work.

He has also ordered a rollback of some civil liberties to show China that Hong Kong will not be a base for subverting the ruling Communist Party. China views the whole Tiananmen Square democracy movement as subversive.

City Hall approved this year's rally at Victoria Park, including a three-story high sculpture called "the Pillar of Shame." The massive sculpture, dramatically lit Wednesday night, depicts twisted bodies with agonized faces.

However, City Hall has refused a request to display the sculpture during the July 1 handover extravaganza of fireworks and banquets.

"Why should we let demonstrators blemish the handover celebrations?" columnist Cai Heping asked Wednesday in Ta Kung Pao, a China-funded Hong Kong daily newspaper.



The Associated Press

**LADY LIGHT:** A statue of the 'Goddess of Democracy' is left on the ground at the end of a candlelight vigil attended by tens of thousands in Hong Kong's Victoria Park on Wednesday. The figure is a replica of a statue constructed by students during the 1989 protest.

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## nervous Hong Kong remembers Tiananmen Square

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Beijing, plainclothes police kept a close watch on the square as protesters posed for pictures, but there was no sign of protest at the site where the army gunned down democracy protesters on June 4, 1989. Hundreds, if not thousands, were killed.

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The peaceful protest was a strike of conscience by a public accused of just being interested

in making money and not annoying China.

Demonstrators cut across many divisions — youngsters in blue jeans, old women in buttoned-up blouses, prosperous men in ties, blue-collar workers and families with children. All clutched white candles.

Organizers claimed 55,000 people took part, well above past rallies. Police refused to give an estimate.

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testers led by Wu'er Kaixi, a prominent exiled dissident, scuffled with police outside the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo. Police blocked a driver who tried to ram a row of police vehicles. Two arrests were reported.

Hong Kong democrats say they will organize a rally every year until China reverses its verdict that the Tiananmen movement was "counter-revolutionary," and declares the crackdown a mistake.

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Tung Chee-hwa, the China-approved leader of Hong Kong's incoming autonomous government, has promised to uphold those freedoms. But he says Hong Kong residents should put Tiananmen behind them and concentrate on making reunification with China work.

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"Why should we let demonstrators blemish the handover celebrations?" columnist Cai Heping asked

Wednesday in Ta Kung Pao, a China-funded Hong Kong daily newspaper.

The stage for Wednesday night's rally was adorned with a banner saying "Struggle to the end," and a famous photo of a protester standing alone in front of a tank in 1989.

"What we're doing here is against the Communist Party. They won't allow us to do this. That's why many people are here this time, because it's the last time," said Lam Ling-fat, 55, a travel agent.

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# A FINAL MEMORIAL



AP/VINCENT YU

A Hong Kong resident photographs a three-story high sculpture called the "Pillar of Shame," which, dramatically lit Wednesday night, depicts twisted bodies with agonized faces. Danish sculptor Jens Galschiort made the bronze statue to memorialize those killed by China's People's Army at Beijing's Tiananmen Square, June 4, 1989. Organizers claimed 55,000 people attended a candlelight rally in Hong Kong's Victoria Park to mark the anniversary. It was a larger turnout than in previous years because many believe such marches will no longer be allowed after July 1, when China takes over Hong Kong.

# For the last time? Hong Kong honors victims killed at Tiananmen Square

HONG KONG (AP) — Defying their future ruler's appeal to put the past to rest, tens of thousands of people squeezed into a Hong Kong park Wednesday to commemorate — perhaps for the last time — the anniversary of China's attack on pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square.

In Beijing, plainclothes police kept close watch on the square as tourists posed for pictures, but there was no sign of protest at the site where the army gunned down democracy protesters on June 4, 1989. Hundreds, if not thousands, were killed.

Candles lit up the darkness Wednesday night in Hong Kong's annual vigil for the slain demonstrators, a memorial that came only 27 days before China recovers Hong Kong from Britain. China has given no guarantee such rallies can be repeated, and many in the crowd felt this may be their last chance to honor the dead.

The peaceful protest was a striking act of conscience by a public often accused of just being interested in making money and not annoying China.

Demonstrators cut across many divisions — youngsters in blue jeans, old women in buttoned-up smocks, prosperous men in ties, blue-collar workers and families with children. All clutched white candles.

Organizers claimed 55,000 people took part, well above past rallies. Police refused to give an estimate.

In one of the few open acts of defiance in China on this anniversary, a Chinese human rights campaigner emerged unrepentant from three years of forced labor Wednesday and vowed to organize an independent political party.

Bao Ge, now 33, was a co-founder of the Shanghai-based



AP photo

Chinese soldiers march on Tiananmen Square in Beijing Wednesday, the eighth anniversary of the military attack on student protesters that left hundreds, perhaps thousands, dead.

Voice of Human Rights. Police arrested Bao, who is Christian, on June 3, 1994, before he could attend a prayer service to mourn the victims of the 1989 attack.

Another dissident, Shen Liangqing, called on Beijing to investigate the crackdown.

In Tokyo, several Chinese protesters led by Wu'er Kaixi, a prominent exiled dissident, scuffled with police outside the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo. Police blocked a driver who tried to ram a row of police vehicles. Two arrests were reported.

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Sparks of candlelight and a splash of tears as 55,000 people mark final pre-handover vigil

# Mourners struggle to the end

CHRIS YEUNG, LINDA CHOY  
and NO KWAI-YAN

Ignoring future leader Tung Chee-hwa, at least 55,000 people last night marked the final pre-handover anniversary of China's pro-democracy crackdown.

The Chief Executive-designate had urged Hong Kong to put the "baggage of June 4" behind it. Instead, people from all walks of life flooded Victoria Park vowing never to forget the bloody events of eight years ago.

Amid fears that this might be the last candlelight vigil allowed in the territory, they pledged to maintain the fight for a vindication of the 1989 pro-democracy movement and the release of the jailed dissidents.

In front of them, Chinese characters over a huge stage declared: Struggle to the end.

Szeto Wah, chairman of organisers the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, said: "Eight years - 2,922 days and nights - have passed.

"Tonight we are again using sparks of candlelight, solidified drops of tears to remember you and to mourn you."

The vigil began at 8.30pm with sombre music and the laying of wreath in memory of crackdown victims killed in and around Tiananmen on June 4, 1989.

Next to the replica was a giant sculpture, the Pillar of Shame, symbolising suffering from oppression.

There was no sight, however, of dissident Zhang Taisong, who had earlier threatened to set himself on fire in protest at mainland suppression.

Organisers put the crowd at 55,000, compared with 40,000 who turned out last year. The police had no estimate.

Mr Tung had said it was more important for people to focus on Hong Kong's imminent return to Chinese rule. But his comments

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were attacked by rally organisers and participants.

In an emotive speech, Alliance executive committee member Cheung Man-kwong said: "Some people say this is our last candlelight vigil... the last light for Chinese democracy.

"This is not true. The Alliance will continue to hold a vigil in Victoria Park. If we hold on to our faith, the candlelight will stay lit... there is no turning back."

Democratic Party chairman Martin Lee Chu-ming said the turnout showed people still wanted the mainland verdict on the 1989 movement to be reversed.

He hoped commemorative activities would be allowed to continue after the handover.

"I think it would be very wrong for the future government to try to stop peaceful demonstration of this kind. I hope Mr Tung will not do it," he said.

Instead, Mr Lee urged the handover leader to convince Chinese leaders to change its verdict on the pro-democracy movement if he wanted Hong Kong people to set it aside in their memory.

Exiled mainland unionist Han Dongfang said the turnout was "encouraging", but warned that Hong Kong people should take their fate in their own hands and continue the fight for greater democracy.

Future pro-democracy activities would face increasing pressure, he claimed.

"Even now, the Government is imposing pressures on activities by the Alliance and the pro-democracy camp," he said.

"It is certainly possible that the new government will continue to interfere with activities of this kind after the handover."



Eternal flames

Victoria Park is a sea of light as an estimated crowd of 55,000 people take part in last night's candlelight vigil in memory of victims of the 1989 pro-democracy crackdown.

Agence France-Presse

# Defiance and humility as Pillar of Shame is erected

Maureen Pao

LOCAL activists joined Danish artist Jens Galschiot to erect his controversial Pillar of Shame statue in Victoria Park yesterday the eve of the mass delight vigil to remember the Tiananmen crackdown that inspired the work.

Members of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Democratic Movements in China, dripping with perspiration and after a torrential downpour, used a crane to erect the three-tonne, eight-metre statue.

It depicts 50 twisted faces whose faces express horror, disbelief, anguish and pain.

At the base of the work is a message in both

Chinese and English: "The Old Cannot Kill the Young Forever, June 4th 1989, Tiananmen Square Massacre".

Sculptor Jens Galschiot said it was important for the piece to be exhibited now: "This may be the only chance to put a statue commemorating the Tiananmen Square massacre on Chinese soil."

Local politicians who opposed the statue were only strengthening its symbolic power, he said. "You cannot kill a symbol. The Urban Council has difficulty understanding this. You make it a stronger symbol by censoring it."

Alliance chairman Szeto Wah, who has borne the brunt of attacks regarding the sculpture, said: "I believe every person has his

own opinion. But you cannot say that your way of looking at things is the only way, you cannot deny other opinions."

Electrical engineer Lam Sum-shing spent yesterday morning helping erect the work of art.

"It is important for us to show our feelings toward Tiananmen Square," the Alliance and Democratic Party member said. "I hope it will have the positive effect of pushing communist China into giving us more human rights and democracy."

He called democracy a "great wheel" spinning forward: "Hong Kong cannot go back to a state of colonialism."

Chinese University student Esther Wong Lam was in Victoria Park to see the

statue. She was unimpressed with it as a work of art but said it was important to "arouse people's interest" in Tiananmen Square.

"I hope the Chinese government will listen to our voice. We should let them know we remember (Tiananmen) because we love China and want Chinese people to be able to express their opinions freely," she said.

Organisers expect tens of thousands of participants at the annual vigil in Victoria Park.

A forum at 5 pm precedes the placing of wreaths, speeches, singing and other activities of the vigil, which begins at 8.20 pm and lasts until 9.30 pm, with another forum at 10 pm.



Admiring looks: Szeto Wah studies a piece by sculptor Jens Galschiot.

PICTURE BY TARAS KOVALIV

## HKU place sought for statue

THE University of Hong Kong will consider the request by its students to place the "Pillar of Shame" on the campus for half a year.

The pillar has to be moved out of Victoria Park after the annual Tiananmen vigil tonight.

The university's Student Union is seeking permission to display the statue on the campus podium. Union chairman Wong Tsun-shing said that otherwise they would place it within the union's area.

Director of the university's external relations office, Rupert Chan, said the principal would not interfere with the students' wishes. But there was "nil" chance of placing it immediately after tonight's vigil because time was needed to find whether the podium could support such a heavy structure.

## Through the Tiger's Eye



## Letters to the Editor

## Disturbing reaction

I AM indeed very disturbed by the annual protest over the June 4 incident. People were merely protesting to gain wide media attention and coverage.

The ceding of Hong Kong to British rule was the result of the Opium War. I wonder why there have not been any protests on 3 November at Imperialist Britain's declaration of war on China in 1839? Wouldn't this be more relevant to Hong Kong?

I am not saying we should totally forget the June 4 incident, which was an unfortunate event. We should, however, be prepared to put it aside and let history give its judgment and interpretation of the unfortunate event, and look forward to a better future.

Now, the euphoria in Hong Kong is over the historic handover on 1 July. The international community is also watching very closely the developments in Hong Kong moments before and after the handover. Hong Kong has never before attracted so much international attention in its entire history.

Why do we want to taint the handover celebrations with the uncalled-for protests that would not only cause disturbances in Hong Kong, but also tarnish its image internationally?

We should instead work together for the continued prosperity of Hong Kong and make this place a better environment for living and doing business.

Why can't we do something more meaningful and constructive over the unfortunate June 4 incident? Wouldn't it be more befitting to hold memorial services for the lives lost in this unfortunate incident instead of protesting?

Write your letter to:

The Hong Kong Standard, 4/F, Sing Tao Building, 1 Wang Kwong Road, Kowloon Bay,

or fax it to 2795 3009. Letters detailing city and country may also be sent via e-mail to the Internet address

editor@hkstandard.com. We reserve the right to edit all letters.

They should contain the writer's full name and address.

This will not cause any disturbance and inconvenience to the general public. We should not confront the central government, which I truly believe is working towards a better livelihood for its 1.2 billion people and the continued prosperity of Hong Kong.

I strongly urge those who claim to be patriotic not to stir up trouble during the handover, but show that they truly love Hong Kong through positive and constructive actions.

All of us are here to stay, to work and to enjoy. Let's make Hong Kong a better place to live, to do business, to celebrate, and prove to the world that Hong Kong can do a lot better after 1 July.

Robert Chua  
Hong Kong

## Steamrolling Dow

SO the Dow Jones Industrial Average made another new high of 7,346, (*Hong Kong Standard*, 23 May). Bravo.

This is the 20th successive high during the year, which I believe has never been seen in the post-war years.

The recent rise in the US stock market has been brought about by a combination of dormant inflation, favourable overall company results and no rise in interest rates made by the Federal Open Market Committee at the meeting held on 20 May.

These are the positives. The negatives are an increase in the US 30-year bond yield to over 7 per

cent since 23 May and the US economy going forward at a fast clip. My projection is that the DJIA will go up and up in the near term, punctuated by profit-taking. From now until the next FOMC meeting to be held in July, the behaviour of the US stock market will much depend on economic issues.

In normal markets, American investors, by and large invest in their own stock market and are chary of investing in foreign stock markets, unless investment returns in those overseas markets are unachievable in the US market. This produces a bandwagon effect, propelling the DJIA ever upwards until the best sets in.

Benjamin Butt  
Sheung Wan

## End the hatred

THE *Hong Kong Standard* letters page, for some weeks, mirrors the rampant hate-mongering that increases day after day and should repulse and disgust every sensible reader.

Everybody has a right to stay where fate put them, as well as the duty to behave in a way that they could expect to have returned in kind.

I therefore welcome the opinions in letters on 27 May as a serious effort to clear the mess and to defuse the xenophobia of some contributors.

History has taught us that hate-mongering is a short-cut to mass graves and extermination.

Rudolf Voll  
Tsim Sha Tsui

## Director omitted

IN reference to the TV program on Cannes Film Festival on BBC1, 20 May, I wonder why Barry Norman made no mention of the winner of the best director award throughout the program.

Does this award-winning Hong Kong film deserve less credit than those out of competition? Like Bruce Willis's *The Fifth Element*, that Mr Norman introduced at the very beginning of the program.

Is this award worth less mention than those of the best script, the best actor and the best actress? Is it a careless overlook or a wilful neglect of the Hong Kong film industry?

Or, may I ask Mr Norman, is it because of "post-colonial jealousy"?

Ken Wong  
London (via e-mail)

## Ideas not used

IN an article (*Hong Kong Standard*, 24 May) featuring an interview of Mr Kenneth Ko, you showed two photographs of our store with the caption: "Shanghai Tang, one of Kenneth Ko's crowning achievements". I cannot understand the claim, still less if it was made by Mr Ko. As Mr Ko well knows, I was the designer of the store and while he was temporarily engaged to consult on the design of the basement, I used hardly any of his design works.

Accordingly, I wish to put on record that Mr Ko's contribution to the design of Shanghai Tang Store was less than minimal and sincerely hope that this, if only for his sake, would not amount to his "crowning achievement".

David Tang  
Central

## CHINESE PRESS

星島日報

## Sing Tao

THE quota of mainland children entering the territory remains unchanged because our education, medical and housing provisions cannot cope with a sudden increase.

Estimates of the number of mainland children wanting to come here vary. But any surge in numbers will encourage more Hong Kong residents to have babies in China, knowing their children will be able to come to the territory even quicker. This is not in line with the population policy in China, therefore the quota should not be relaxed.

Neither should there be any change in the points entry system, except that it should be reviewed after a year. Special arrangements ought to be made for the youngsters — they are our future. Further, children are dependent on their parents, many of whom are entitled to housing and welfare. Schooling costs for these children should be taken into account and their cases treated with flexibility.

When accurate figures for the number of people waiting to come here are known, children should be considered separately, and special considerations, tailored to their needs given them.

## Ming Pao

明報

AS demand for small and medium-sized flats increases we hope the future government puts in place policies sufficient to deal with these problems, like the present administration's increase in supply of luxury residential sites.

Secretary for Planning, Environment and Lands Bowen Leung revealed the land release details and a spokesman for the Secretary of Housing said there would be no further anti-speculation measures before 1 July. But the news benefits only the developers, not the people who need medium and small-scale housing — and that has fostered mistrust.

The government hopes in the next five years that 260 hectares of land will be assigned for the development of housing. But as over the first two years 70 hectares will be assigned for low-density residential use, can the leftovers really be suitable for other kinds of residential use? The public's mistrust will only be dispelled when the five-year proposal of land sales is announced as soon as possible.

## Ta Kung Pao

大公報

A SENSE of nationalism does not run counter to the hopes of a high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong.

One country, two systems is our country's national policy and is written in the constitution — the Basic Law. These are the rights given by our country. Therefore, the stronger the sense of nationalism among Hong Kong people, the more confidence there will be in Hong Kong. That will guarantee autonomy for the territory.

The Chief Executive-designate's emphasis on a sense of nationalism and the protection of "one country" does not curb our freedom. In fact it safeguards the "two systems" and the implementation of the Basic Law in Hong Kong, as well as securing the rights and freedom of Hong Kong people.

## Apple Daily

蘋果日報

IN her *Newsweek* interview, Anson Chan Fang On-sang said she was worried some people might invite the interference of Beijing either unintentionally or deliberately. Some of these people are risking the general welfare of Hong Kong society for the sake of their own interests, thus increasing concerns among Chinese leaders.

Hong Kong people also share the anxiety that Mrs Chan expressed in the interview. As a matter of fact, at a press conference, Tung Chee-hwa said he also feared there could be a small group of people who might do harm to the territory's interests. But Mr Tung stressed that he would not let these people get the upper hand and promised to try his best to guarantee the highest degree of autonomy in Hong Kong. So what should be done about Mrs Chan's anxiety and Mr Tung's confidence? Some people might think Mrs Chan, as Mr Tung's assistant, should raise her anxiety with him, in turn, Mr Tung, as the Chief Executive, should have the confidence to resolve Mrs Chan's worries.

Whatever the outcome, we hope there will be no risk of the future SAR falling into the hands of the impotent.

COUNTDOWN TO HANDOVER: 27 days

Quote of the day

*Applause and a flood of memories*  
**Tears and relief greet guilty verdict**

**OKLAHOMA CITY**

**T**O start to understand the importance of yesterday's verdicts in the Oklahoma bombing trial, walk along Fourth St, directly behind the scarred wall of concrete that is all that remains of the Alfred P Murrah Federal Building.

Among the many mementos and emotional tributes attached to the chain-link fence that surrounds the site, there is a handwritten note addressed to Jaci Rae, a little girl who was born on 9 February, 1994. It was written by her mother, dated 31 March this year.

"Today is a very important day, the first day of the trial of the people accused of murdering you," the note said.

When the first of the 11 guilty verdicts against Timothy McVeigh was relayed from Denver, cheers and applause erupted from the hundreds of people who were standing along the fence in the midday heat, waiting for that moment.

"Yes," John Garcia, 32, a police officer from Puerto Rico, said. "Yes, guilty all the way. Yes, finally."

With the applause came tears and a flood of memories.

Don Edwards, 50, recalled rushing to the Murrah building on the day of the explosion and seeing people "bleeding and crying", especially Edye Smith, whose two sons were killed in the blast. He did the same yesterday, joining the crowds clustered around two television sets set up outside along the fence.

"I felt I had to be here for her and for the country," he said. "We can't let something like this happen."

Asked what punishment — the death penalty or life in prison — McVeigh should receive, Mr Edwards did not hesitate: "No question, death, no question at all, as quickly as possible."

Aren Almon-kok, 25, also came to the bomb site for the verdicts. She wore a button with a picture of her daughter, Baylee, who died in the bombing a day after her first birthday. It was a photograph of the little

girl's bloodied, lifeless body being cradled by an Oklahoma City firefighter that became the most searing image of the worst terrorist attack in United States history.

"It was great," Ms Almon-kok said of the verdicts. "It was the best feeling in the world."

She also said she wanted the death penalty for McVeigh, a widely held sentiment in Oklahoma City. "You don't take innocent people's lives and expect your own to be spared. I want the same justice for him."

In many ways, the verdicts in Denver ended only one phase of the bombing case. Oklahoma County District Attorney Bob Macy yesterday reiterated his intention to bring state murder charges against McVeigh for the deaths of the 160 people not named in the federal indictment.

— The Washington Post

**It's over: Peggy Broxterman, whose son Paul Broxterman was killed in the Oklahoma blast, leaves the US Courthouse in Denver victorious yesterday.**

PICTURE BY AP



**Gun groups still demand answers**

**THE MILITIAS**

**EDELSTON TOWNSHIP:** Behind the United States flag and the Michigan flag flying on separate poles, behind the two outside dogs and the two inside dogs straining at their leashes, the proprietor of L.J. Guns, who is also the state commander of the Michigan Militia, leaned back to puff on a tapered Swisher Sweet.

Lynn Jon Van Huizen was not surprised by the verdict in the Oklahoma City bombing case. Cigar notwithstanding, he was also far from serene.

Mr Van Huizen believes the seven men and five women who spent nearly 24 hours weighing the case against Timothy McVeigh concluded correctly that he probably bombed the Alfred P Murrah Federal Building more than two years ago.

"I think he was definitely involved."

But he believes the people have not been told the entire story behind the worst terrorist act on US soil. And he is not certain they ever will be.

"We need something new and different," Mr Van Huizen said. "We need the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

As the leader of the militia group blamed early on — falsely, he insists — of fomenting the bombing plot, he knows something about the danger of rumours.

He remembers how even President Bill Clinton talked about his group in the days just after the bombing, as federal agents raided the farm on the other side of the state where McVeigh spent a summer with friends.

And he remembers how Norm Olsen, his predecessor, was deposed for telling everyone the Japanese government was behind the bombing — in retaliation for the US poisoning the Tokyo subway.

So, he tries to be cautious in passing information along about the

bombing. "We get little tidbits here and there," he said. "But a lot of stuff you can't confirm."

What he had hoped was that the Denver hearing would explain lingering questions.

So, why did Judge Richard Matsch prevent McVeigh's defence from putting on the stand a Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms informant who was prepared to testify that she had heard others scheming to blow up federal buildings? What about claims that there was more than one explosion at the building?

"That judge ruled 75 per cent of the evidence inadmissible," Mr Van Huizen said. "That threw me. How are we going to find out the rest of the story?"

Internet traffic in militia chat groups, a favourite method of communication, mirrored his concern during the trial's waning days and the jury's deliberations.

Mistrust and suspicion of the federal government is so great that a common thread ran through the voices of moderation and the most lathered rants. Everyone wanted to know: What is the scam? What is the secret we will never be told?

No one was satisfied with the story that Tim McVeigh and Terry Nichols simply grew angry with the system, especially after the fiery Branch Davidian deaths near Waco, Texas, and together built a bomb in a truck that would take 168 lives and injure 500 more.

"There are other possibilities that are not being explored because of the rules of this trial," read an Internet message to the group, where 13 per cent of the messages include the word "militia".

"McVeigh might have driven the truck thinking it contained furniture. He might have been on the BATF payroll, not knowing that he was the selected patsy. I would love to hear his version but I'll probably sooner hear from Oswald's assassin Ruby," one said.

— Los Angeles Times

**Trial restores legal system's reputation**

**JUSTICE**

**WASHINGTON:** The last time the American people witnessed an emotional and highly publicised murder case, O.J. Simpson was on trial and the case became an indictment of the criminal justice system. Regardless of whether people agreed with the verdict, many believed that trial — with its circus atmosphere, bickering lawyers and vacillating judge — showed the system at its worst.

On Monday, however, legal experts were widely praising of American justice as it unfolded during the Oklahoma City bombing trial. The prosecution was taut, the defence straightforward (though, in the end, unconvincing) and the judge firm and steady.

"We should be able to look at jury verdicts and say, 'these people speak for the community,'" said University of Chicago law professor Albert Alschuler. "We've had a harder time doing that in recent years. A lot of people had lost faith in the American justice system, not just with the Simpson verdict, but others (including) the first Rodney King verdict," in which police officers who beat the fleeing Los Angeles motorist were acquitted.

What apparently worked for the federal government in its case against Timothy McVeigh was the successful combination of three key factors:

■ Prosecutors deftly mixed the emotional appeals of victims with more technical forensic evidence, presenting a compelling case for jurors.

■ US District Judge Richard Matsch exerted a controlled, iron hand during the five-week trial, making decisive rulings on evidence and short-circuiting efforts to sidetrack the trial.

■ McVeigh's lawyers put up what many legal watchers characterised as a fairly weak defence, one that failed to undermine the testimony of witnesses who said McVeigh plotted the blast, rented the truck used in the bombing and then tried to run from authorities.

And unlike in the Simpson case, there were no complicating factors such as race, Hollywood or, for better or worse, cameras in the courtroom.

The jurors will now face another closely watched task: deciding whether McVeigh should be put to death by lethal injection for his crime.

The last execution under federal death penalty law was in 1963.

— The Washington Post



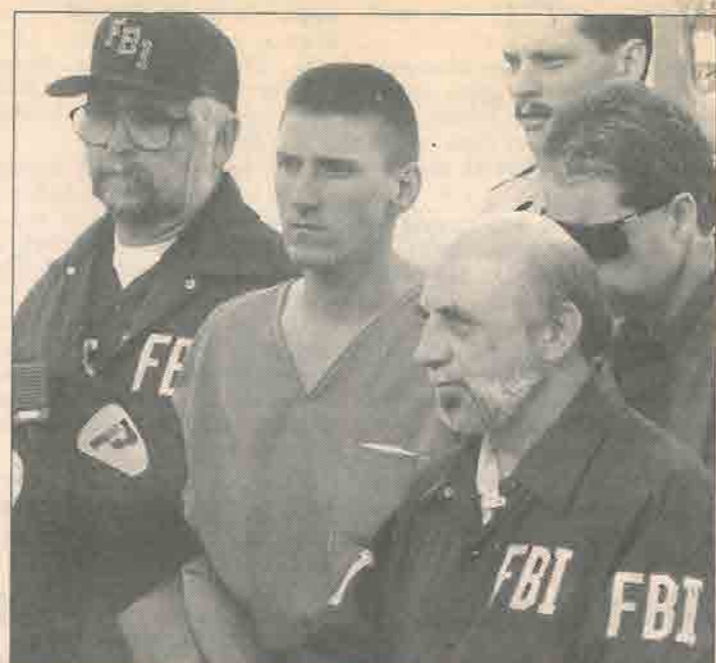
**Relief: A couple hug at the site of the Alfred P Murrah building after the verdict was announced.** PICTURE BY AP/DALLAS MORNING NEWS

TOP LEFT: AP

# lo hard evidence ut a lot of motive

EN after the most exhaust-  
criminal investigation in  
history, prosecutors pro-  
ed no eyewitness placing  
othy McVeigh at the scene  
he Oklahoma City bomb-  
they presented no evidence  
wing that McVeigh and his  
ged co-conspirator Terry  
hols, who will be tried  
rately at a later date,  
ally built the bomb.  
hey had no fingerprints on  
truck rental agreement or  
truck key found in an  
lahoma City alley, and no  
liser residue in the storage  
ers the conspirators alleg-  
used to store their bomb-  
ing materials.  
hat they had in spades,  
igh, was an apparent mo-  
a compelling story of how  
emingly normal youngster  
upstate New York evolved  
an anti-government zealot  
ed — as McVeigh himself  
e a friend — “from the  
llectual to the animal” by  
federal government’s 19  
1 1993 raid on the Branch  
dian compound near  
o, Texas.  
hey also had a defendant  
had recklessly left a paper  
broadcasting his loathing  
the federal government,  
confiding his criminal  
ntions to friends and rela-

His sister Jennifer and his  
former friends Michael and  
Lori Fortier provided the most  
damaging testimony of the  
trial: that McVeigh had  
meticulously planned the  
bombing over six months and  
had warned Jennifer that  
“something big was going to  
happen” that spring of 1995.  
The bulk of the pros-  
ecution’s case was circumstan-  
tial but overwhelming in its  
detail.  
The Ryder rental truck,  
identified through a vehicle  
identification number found  
on an axle at the scene, was  
traced to a rental outlet in  
Junction City, Kansas.  
McVeigh was identified as  
the man using the name  
Robert Kling who rented that  
truck two days before the  
bombing.  
Telephone records showed  
McVeigh shopping for bomb  
materials.  
He was stopped 75 minutes  
after the blast 78 miles from  
the scene, his car loaded with  
anti-government propaganda.  
His pockets, his jeans and  
his earplugs were sprinkled  
with traces of PETN, a com-  
pound used in detonator  
cords.  
The son of an auto worker,  
McVeigh had an all-American  
boyhood in Pendleton, New  
York, but by some accounts



Loose lips: Timothy McVeigh, seen with FBI escorts, confided his criminal intentions to friends and relatives. PICTURE BY AFP

was profoundly affected when,  
at age 10, his parents divorced  
and his mother moved to  
Florida.  
In his early teens, he began a  
love affair with firearms and  
described himself as a  
survivalist, stockpiling food  
and other supplies in case of a  
nuclear attack.  
McVeigh seemed most at  
home in the Army, thriving  
under the service’s strict regi-  
men and demand for neatness  
and discipline.  
He excelled as a Bradley  
fighting vehicle gunner, win-  
ning a Bronze Star during the  
Persian Gulf War.

But on his return, he washed  
out of Special Forces training,  
left the army and began a  
personal downward spiral that  
saw him drifting back and  
forth across the country, at-  
tending gun shows, and be-  
coming more and more disil-  
lusioned with his government.  
His political bible was *The  
Turner Diaries*, a seemingly  
racist and anti-semitic novel  
that recounts a popular upris-  
ing and features a truck bomb  
attack on FBI headquarters in  
Washington.  
But it was the Waco raid that  
set McVeigh on a path toward  
the Oklahoma building.  
— The Washington Post

# nd result reflects US hatred of terrorism

the 221 years since the 13 colonies declared their  
pendence, Americans have fought on their own soil to  
be a king and to shatter and restore the union. There has  
vigilante violence, violence against Indians, agrarian  
sings, criminal violence, racial and ethnic violence, family  
s, lynchings, urban riots, serial killings and assassinations.  
olence, black activist H Rap Brown once said, is “as  
rican as cherry pie”.  
t pure terrorism is not. The act of driving a van laden with  
sives to the front of a government building and setting the  
— indiscriminately murdering dozens of innocent people  
n ostensibly political purpose — is such a unique and awful  
t that at first Americans could not believe it was home  
n. But the Oklahoma City bombing was an American act.  
r relatives of the victims and for many others as well, the  
cts on the case were an act of healing and redemption; an  
pt not only to restore a tarnished legal system but also to  
rm that violence in the name of politics is wrong.

The Oklahoma bombing revealed a dark undercurrent of  
angry, alienated people who deeply resent and fear their  
government. “Reminds me a little bit of Yellowstone Park,”  
defence lawyer Gerry Spence said. “There’s all these waters  
boiling and eventually some of them pop up.”  
Wearing a T-shirt that said *Sic Semper Tyrannis* (Thus Always to  
Tyrants), Timothy McVeigh set out that day in April, 1995, not  
just to damage a building but to destroy a political system.  
According to the testimony of his friend Michael Fortier,  
McVeigh planned to spill as much blood as possible, setting the  
fuse when it was certain many federal workers would be killed.  
McVeigh’s point was simple: that the federal government was  
evil and the death of 84 people during the 1993 siege near Waco,  
Texas, was a government declaration of war against Americans.  
He saw the bombing as both the spark for a national uprising  
and a logical and necessary response to the government’s own  
violence.  
— The Washington Post

# Pager firm censorship blasted

By Enoch Wong  
PAGING company China-Hong  
Kong Telelink, is refusing to take  
messages referring to Tiananmen  
protest activities.  
Operators of the paging company  
yesterday said they could not deliver  
“political messages” without their  
supervisor’s permission.  
Those messages include infor-  
mation on activities such as today’s  
events and those encouraging Tai-  
wanese independence.  
But legislators criticised the pol-  
itical censorship.  
The Federation of Students  
(HKFS) yesterday said it had not  
received a reply in the past few  
weeks from City University external  
secretary Au Yeung Wai-kay — even  
though they had paged him “many  
many times” and left messages  
about today’s activities.

The HKFS said this had resulted  
in the university not joining its  
commemorative activities.  
The *Hong Kong Standard* paged  
Mr Au yesterday, but was asked not  
to leave messages concerning to-  
day’s activities.  
“We can’t take the June Fourth  
message,” one operator said. “We  
need to seek permission from our  
supervisor otherwise no political  
messages can be taken.”  
Another operator said she had  
been given identical orders.  
Mr Au said he was stunned. “How  
can the paging company have the  
right to censor my callers’ mes-  
sage?” he asked.  
Frontier legislator Emily Lau Wai-  
hing blasted the company’s political  
censorship. “What’s the big deal  
about taking messages concerning  
June 4?” she asked.  
China-Hong Kong Telelink did  
not comment yesterday.

# Gradual resolution predicted

By Pamela Pun  
THE Tiananmen crackdown could  
serve as a deterrent to a power  
struggle in Beijing, but the  
authorities will probably gradually  
introduce moves to solve the thorny  
issue, a former top aide to the  
disgraced party boss Zhao Ziyang  
says.  
“The June 4 event will have a  
deterrent effect on a power  
struggle,” Wu Guoguang, associate  
professor at the Chinese University  
of Hong Kong, said yesterday.  
He said it would “cost too much”  
for the authorities to play the  
Tiananmen card at this time when  
they had not yet consolidated their  
power base.  
But the Chinese leaders could not  
get rid of the “shadow” of  
Tiananmen, with the event affect-  
ing their future policies and politi-  
cal alliances.

Prof Wu, regarded as a knowl-  
edgeable China-watcher because of  
his previous role in mainland af-  
fairs, did not rule out the possibility  
that the Tiananmen crackdown  
could be used to rein in but not  
topple Premier Li Peng.  
Mainlanders had become more  
pragmatic since 1989, when they  
expected radical changes to sweep  
the country.  
In comparison, Tiananmen had  
turned into a sore point for the  
political elite in the government as  
well as former student leaders living  
in exile overseas.  
Prof Wu said the authorities  
might adopt what he called “mild  
moves” to gradually “reduce the  
pressure” of Tiananmen on the  
body politic over the years.  
But he did not see the possibility  
of China’s present leaders resolving  
the thorny issues involved during  
their stay in office.

HONGKONG STANDARD 4 JUNI 1997

# Prison terms evoke mixed reactions

By Fong Tak-ho

**H**UMAN rights groups are at odds over the sentencing of two men jailed for promoting collective bargaining rights, with one saying the move offers hope for a reversal of the Tiananmen verdict and the other saying it is a scandalous abuse of human rights.

Shenzhen People's Court last Friday found Li Wenming and Guo Baosheng guilty of "conspiring to subvert the government". Both were arrested over of their engagement in labour rights education.

But since they have been in custody since 1994, their three-and-a-half-year jail terms will be over in less than six months.

The Information Centre of Human Rights and Democratic Movement in China said the verdict was "relatively lenient" compared with past cases and "a signal for reconciliation".

Group spokesman Lu Siqing said subversion usually carried a 10-year jail term, and Friday's ruling suggested the court was relaxing its position.

Mr Lu cited the case of prominent dissident Wang Dan, jailed for 11 years in 1996 for campaigning for democracy. He said Wang stopped short of demanding the Communist Party be overthrown.

In contrast, Li had shouted "down with the Communist Party" after his arrest but authorities had still shown restraint in his sentence.

The verdict symbolised a softened tone in Beijing,

*"In Chinese bureaucracy, the court will not let dissidents go that easily without the central leadership's tacit approval."*

especially since another court in China had recently quashed "counter-revolutionary" verdicts against four participants in the 1989 movement.

"In Chinese bureaucracy, the court will not let dissidents go that easily without the central leadership's tacit approval," Mr Lu said.

In contrast, another human rights group, Human Rights Watch, said Li and Guo "should never have been detained for a single day".

"Li and Guo were guilty of nothing more than trying to educate Chinese migrant workers about their rights to organise and engage in collective bargaining in the workplace," the group said.

Although the pair were sentenced near the anniversary of the June 4 crackdown, as US Congress debated most-favoured-nation trading status for China and China tried to recover its worker-delegate seat at the International Labour Organisation, it was unclear whether there was a causal connection.

Human Rights Watch said Li, 29, was in severe pain, caused by acute kidney damage, for which he had been denied proper medical care.



Democracy torches: Hong Kong University students light their torches for the run to Chater Garden.

PICTURE BY JELLY TSE

## Students defy campus ban on slogans

By Enoch Wong

**THIRD-LEVEL** students united to defy a ban on painting June 4 slogans after a series of commemorative activities yesterday, and vowed to hold events marking the crackdown after the handover.

Hong Kong Federation of Students standing committee member Lit Ming-wai said June 4 should not be commemorated on one day only.

Most activities were held yesterday to let students join the candlelight vigil organised by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement of China to-night.

Ms Lit, who is also president of the Polytechnic University Student Union, said an outline of the Goddess of Democracy had been painted on a pillar at the union's entrance yesterday despite the university's rejection of an application to paint the image on campus last week.

Ms Lit said: "Every inch of the university belongs to students and teachers and our university estate office have no right to reject us."

"We want to show that our spirit of fighting for democracy will never die and we won't forget the June 4 crackdown," she said.

Student Union vice-president (external) of Hong Kong University, Linda Wong Shui-hung said the union would also re-paint June 4 slogans on Swire Bridge, on the campus, today.

The union first painted the slogans on the pavement at Swire Bridge after the 1989 crackdown.

But they were ordered removed by Cheng Yiu-chung, a member of the Preparatory Committee, within weeks of his becoming the university's vice-chancellor last August.

But Ms Wong said they would repaint slogans to mark the crackdown as they had done in the past seven years.

Student activities started yesterday at about 4.15 pm and more than 100 students from eight tertiary institutions held a race to Chater Garden with torches for democracy.

Images of the Goddess of Democracy were also painted on walls or banners at the other seven third-level institutions: the University of Hong Kong, Chinese University, the University of Science and Technology, Baptist University, Lingnan College, Shue Yan College and the Hong Kong Institute of Education.

An outdoor film show and gathering were held at Chater Garden at 7pm.

## Old wound unlikely to be reopened

COMMENT

By Wu Zhong

**WITH** the death of China's paramount leader Deng Xiaoping in February, there came hope that today's commemoration of the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown on China's pro-democracy protests could provide a chance to reverse the official verdict on that tragic event.

Deng has been described as the man who called the demonstration a "counter-revolutionary rebellion" and who summoned armed troops and tanks to suppress it.

Chinese history is replete with examples of verdicts handed down by a supreme leader being reversed after his death.

But this seems very unlikely in the case of the Tiananmen crackdown — at least in the foreseeable future.

A reversal would lead to a fundamental change in the existing political order at a time when stability is most needed by the Chinese leadership to cement its legitimacy and authority to rule the country.

Apart from former Communist Party general secretary Zhao Ziyang and Politburo standing member Hu Qili, very few senior officials were purged over the Tiananmen protests.

All seven current members of the Politburo Standing Committee, the very centre of power, including President Jiang Zemin but with the single exception of Premier Li Peng, were promoted to their present positions by Deng in the aftermath of the bloody crackdown.

So their legitimacy to rule in a sense relies on Deng's verdict on the incident, or "on the party's decision", in China's official language.

Unless they successfully establish their own legitimacy and authority to rule, the chances of their attempting to reverse the verdict are slim. Any such attempt at this stage would only be political suicide.

Since Deng's demise, there have been signs that the top leaders are trying to establish their own legitimacy.

Despite progress in tackling some of the enormous problems facing the nation, China's leaders must still carve out their own achievements in order to gain the people's support.

To achieve their goals, they desperately need political and social stability in China. So they might not want to divert public attention by reopening the Tiananmen files, even if they want to re-evaluate the tragic event.

Nevertheless, it must be hoped that in striving towards their goals, the current leadership will be able to learn from the massive student-led demonstrations held in the spring and summer of 1989.

Many of the demands made in the early days of the Tiananmen demonstrations are reasonable by today's standards. Protesters wanted a crackdown on official corruption, restrictions on rising inflation and quicker political reform.

These are still problems for the current leaders to tackle, whether or not they are prepared for a re-evaluation of Tiananmen's day of infamy.

# JUNE 4 ANNIVERSARY

## 'Mistakes committed eight years ago will not become right'

LINDA CHOY

Tung Chee-hwa's call for the "baggage of June 4" to be set aside put the future leader in the firing line.

Leading a prayer to commemorate the 1989 pro-democracy movement, the Reverend Chu Yiu-ming said: "We have heard calls for us to forget. That shows that those who have killed their own people have failed to repent for what they did."

"They even dared ask us to forget all this. Lord, you pardon our crimes. But you never tolerate those who refuse to admit their crimes."

Reverend Chu, a member of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, also urged people to continue the struggle for democracy.

"As long as we have justice in our heart, the mistakes committed eight years ago will not become right, nor will it be forgotten simply because there are fewer supporters."

Reverend Chu predicted the pro-democracy movement would come under greater pressure.

He admitted he had taken part in the rescue of mainland dissidents over the past eight years.

"No matter how big the pressure is, we feel no qualms about what we did. The Chinese Government is the one which should be ashamed about suppressing its own people," he said.

During the two-hour vigil, Mr Tung's remarks were cited repeatedly by speakers on the stage who asked whether the tens of thousands of people attending would forget.

"No," they shouted.

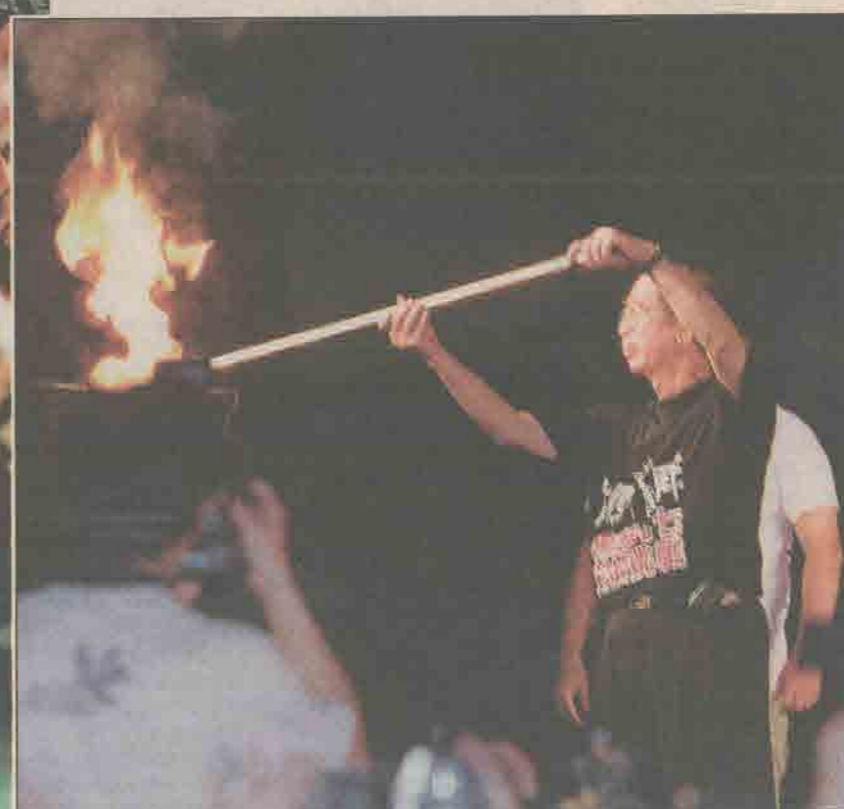
Exiled unionist Han Dongfang said Mr Tung was using double standards by asking people to forget June 4.

"If the Chinese cannot forget the shame of losing Hong Kong during the Opium War 150 years ago, how can they ask its people to forget a movement which took place only in 1989," he said.



Shining bright

More than 55,000 people defied Tung Chee-hwa to gather in Victoria Park last night. "We are again using sparks of candlelight to mourn you," alliance leader Szeto Wah (above) told the crowd.



Pictures by K. Y. Cheng and Dustin Shum

### WHAT THEY SAID

**Mr Mak, insurance broker:**  
I've come because I cannot forget June 4, and this is probably the last one. Tung has already tightened laws on civil liberties. It'll get worse. The possibility of me coming again next year is 90 per cent. The 10 per cent is that I won't join because of pressure in the SAR.

**Yuen Chi-ying, Baptist University student:**  
I came just because I wanted to commemorate the event. Regardless of who was right and who was wrong, many lives were lost. I just wanted to pay respects to the dead. I think I'll come again next year. I think Tung Chee-hwa meant it when he said rallies and protests will be allowed if they are lawful and peaceful.

**A middle-age unemployed man, accompanied by his two children:**  
I want to express my sadness towards the people and the country. I hope my children will learn about the incident in future... I have no confidence towards Tung Chee-hwa. He's a smiling tiger.

**Liu Chi-fai, businessman:**  
I travelled all the way from my Tin Shui Wai home because I was afraid not many would show up. It's hard for me to agree with Tung Chee-hwa when he says we should put aside the "baggage" of the killings.

**Chan Chap-tak, a businessman accompanied by his young daughter:**  
The fact this is the last vigil before the handover does give the evening special implications. We'll drop the baggage once the Chinese Government faces its own misdeeds and stops harassing the dissidents.

**Chung Chi-wan, unemployed. He was weeping in front of the replica of the Monument to the People's Heroes:**  
The Communist Party must reflect on its response to the pro-democracy movement... the victims were all children of the country. How can the state crush its own children to death? We here in Hong Kong have to carry on fighting for a just verdict for the 1989 movement.



# Stand-off over Pillar of Shame

GENEVIEVE KU

Hundreds of students and protesters gathered at Hong Kong University early today to demand they be allowed to erect the *Pillar of Shame* on campus.

By 1.30 am, there were about 500 people inside the gates along University Drive, while the truck with the sculpture was parked outside.

Scuffles broke out when students tried to prevent security guards closing the gates after they were opened briefly to allow out a car.

The university has forbidden the students' union from displaying the sculpture on campus.

The union passed a motion during its June 1 meeting agreeing to display the sculpture commemorating the June 4 massacre.

Organisers were forced to remove the statue from Victoria Park after last night's vigil.

Standing eight metres high and weighing two tonnes, it was to have stood on the Haking Wong podium for a maximum of six months.

But the university said saying the height and weight of the sculpture might pose a danger - the podium is also the roof of the Haking Wong building.

"It is normal for the university to consider requests for the display of large and heavy objects on campus," it said.

The municipal councils have banned the *Pillar of Shame*, by Dane Jens Galschiot, from display at Chater Garden, Kowloon Park and Sha Tin Central Park.

The student union's external



Rallying point

K. Y. Cheng

Candles are held aloft as protesters gather around the pillar last night.

vice-chairman, Linda Wong Shui-hung, accused the university of political censorship.

"We always have no problem in bringing in union objects. Why are they interfering this time? We are surprised and disappointed at the university's decision," Ms Wong said.

The podium's management is

delegated to the union, but the university Estates Office claimed the area was under university control.

Ms Wong rejected the university's claims of technical problems because they did not plan to set up the sculpture right away.

"We will only keep the sculpture in two parts for the time being, but they still say no," Ms Wong said.

## World watches uncertain future

CHRIS YEUNG

Commemorative envelopes bearing the frank "June 4th, 1997" were sold at \$50 each. A replica of the Goddess of Democracy cost \$100.

"Probably the last time you can buy them," said a hawker.

Next to the alliance activists were members of pro-democracy groups, labour unions and students' organisations handing out pamphlets, selling copies of their publications - or seeking donations to keep their campaign going.

Nobody seemed to know whether they would be allowed to gather

again next year to mark the ninth anniversary of Tiananmen.

As a result, many were putting the vigil on permanent record. Some were taking pictures or videos with one hand, while holding memorial candles in the other.

The feeling of uncertainty aside, the mood of the crowd and the scene at the park was little different to the previous seven memorials.

The only visible change was the *Pillar of Shame* erected in the centre of the football pitches, next to a replica of the Memorial Monument of the People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square.

The sculpture was such a centre of attraction that organisers had to repeatedly ask participants not to linger around it.

Similarly, Hong Kong has emerged as a magnet for the international media as the handover approaches - weaving through the crowd last night were several teams of cameramen from overseas news networks.

Another change saw alliance activists preparing English translations of their manifesto and memorial speeches.

For the first time, the world could watch and listen.

# Net tightens on freedoms: dissident

By Philip Ho

A DISSIDENT who claimed she was tortured by the Chinese authorities has warned Hong Kong people not to have high hopes about human rights after the handover.

Zhang Jing told the *Hong Kong Standard* before she left for the West there were signs Beijing had begun to tighten its political control here.

"We can see the preparation of new laws to curb people's political freedom here. They will serve as the basis for restricting civil liberties."

Ms Zhang was worried Beijing would arrest dissidents staying in Hong Kong after it took over.

"Chief Executive-designate Tung Chee-hwa always gives assurance to Hong Kong people. But I think he does not really understand what is meant by 'proletariat dictatorship'," she said.

Ms Zhang said mainland laws provided ground for



Arrest worry: Democratic Wall dissident Zhang Jing is worried dissidents would be arrested after handover. PICTURE BY FELIX WONG

the Chinese government to send back dissidents to their original homes.

"I don't think Mr Tung can resist Beijing's demand when it comes."

Ms Zhang was jailed for six years for participating in the 1979 Beijing Democratic Wall movement, during which she said she was

tortured with an electric prod and that some of her spinal fluid had been removed.

Describing the incident, she said: "I am lucky as my medical training as a nurse taught me to lie down after I lost my spinal fluid."

"Otherwise I would have died."

"I'm really afraid to be put in jail again."

Ms Zhang was placed under close watch after her release in 1991.

She said the authorities even interfered with her marriage.

"They kept pressuring me and my family into giving up the marriage. They said it was totally out of the question for a political prisoner like me to marry a Hong Kong man."

"When I bore my baby in 1992, I decided to leave China as I would only bring trouble to everyone."

Ms Zhang said she had already adapted herself to life in Hong Kong, characterised by the rule of law and freedom.

She found a job as editor of the "Beijing Spring" and her daughter studied in a Hong Kong school.

"I haven't told my daughter the whole story," she said, adding that whether her husband "will go with me is his choice".

# Activists united in call for new verdict

By Fong Tak-ho and Reuter

CHINESE dissidents at home and abroad are commemorating the bloody June 4 crackdown in their own ways, but all are demanding Beijing change its verdict on the event.

In Changchun City, northern Jilin province, dissident Leng Wanbao said he would light a white candle to pay tribute to those killed on this day eight years ago.

The People's Court has summoned Leng to appear this morning without specifying why.

Leng has written to National People's Congress Chairman Qiao Shi asking for the verdict on June 4 to be repealed and for disgraced party leader Zhao Ziyang to be returned to power.

In Heilongjiang province, dissident Liu Nianchun will have a hard time today since he is in the second week of a hunger strike in prison.

He says his demands for better treatment have gone unheeded.

His 81-year-old mother, Wu Huifan, has ended her own fast, begun in sympathy for her son, because she is too weak.

Prison authorities have refused to let Liu's family visit him and he has reportedly been tortured with electric shocks for protesting.

Liu's wife, Chu Hailan, will meet authorities today to discuss visits.

Overseas, exiled dissidents are planning various protests. In New York and Paris, protesters plan to hold rallies near the Chinese consulate.

In Manhattan Town Hall, activists plan a candlelight ceremony to mirror Hong Kong's vigil. A concert will also be held to mourn the June 4 victims.

Ding Zilin, whose son Jiang Zhelien was killed in the crackdown, has sent a recorded speech to the United States.

*In New York and Paris, protesters plan to hold rallies near the Chinese consulates today.*

A dissident and the families of two jailed activists have petitioned Beijing to end human rights abuses.

Dissident Shen Liangqing yesterday said from Anhui province he had written to the National People's Congress demanding a reassessment of the June 4 event.

The 35-year-old activist also demanded the release of dissidents, including Wei Jingsheng, widely regarded as the father of China's modern democracy movement, and permission for political exiles to return.

In Beijing, the wives of two jailed Shanghai dissidents sent China's parliament a petition calling for their husbands' release.

The wives of Yao Zhenxian, 43, and Yao Zhenxiang, 37, also accused police of brutality.

# Final battle with Beijing soon: exile

EXILED Chinese student leader Wu'er Kaixi has vowed to resume fighting the Beijing government, predicting the "final battle" is only several years away.

"The situation in China has changed," he told a news conference in Tokyo. "It is really time for us to blow the whistle."

Speaking yesterday, Mr Wu'er said Chinese "exiles and liberal forces" were now entering a "period of returning to our homeland" after eight years of preparation.

"We will restart the battle," he said.

He also denounced the Hong Kong media and the Japanese government for allegedly practising self-censorship and failing to stand up to China.

"The lack of confidence, the lack of courage to stand up against the Chinese regime in Hong Kong, is a very sad thing..." he said.

— Agencies

# Tougher police stance on protests predicted

By Carmen Cheung and Baby Sung

THE Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement of China predicts the police will further curb activities marking the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown after the handover.

A source said the alliance believed the police would stop marches and other activities despite assurances from Chief Executive-designate Tung Chee-hwa that he would allow such activities after the handover.

"In my experience, such restrictions can be imposed easily by changing the route of a march," the source said.

He recalled a march shortly after the crackdown when police forced a protest to change its route from Hennessy Road to Gloucester Road.

The source said the police might prohibit protesters from going too close to the Xinhua News Agency office in Happy Valley.

Alliance chairman Szeto Wah has said if the future commemoration of the Tiananmen crackdown is banned, they will wage a "civil disobedience" drive designed to embarrass the government.

But Preparatory Committee member Lau Siu-kai believed neither Mr Tung nor the police would curb the alliance's activities.

"There is no need for them to do so as it is unnecessary and on the contrary may also face challenges from the public," Prof Lau said.

Year	No. of participants
90	150,000
91	100,000
92	80,000
93	40,000
94	40,000
95	about 30,000
96	45,000
97	?

\*FIGURES ARE PROVIDED BY THE ALLIANCE

HONG KONG STANDARD 4 JUN 1991

Prof Lau, who is also associate director of the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of the Chinese University, said it would be very difficult for the police to impose restrictions. "I believe the Alliance's activities will be banned only when protesters do something in violation of laws."

Meanwhile, the University of Democracy, a private group set up after the June 4 incident and dedicated to promoting civil education on freedom, human rights and democracy, has pledged to keep up its activities.

The chairman of the group, Mak Lok-sun, said it would continue its work after the handover.

But Mr Mak said he was not worried about possible repercussions from the post-handover government.

"If I was afraid, I would not have done it," he said.

By Joshua Fellman  
and Dona Loo

**T**HE last government land auction under British sovereignty gave out mixed signals yesterday, with a luxury site in Stanley selling below expectations and a residential plot in Hung Hom fetching far more than expected.

A consortium led by Paliburg Holdings paid \$5.5 billion for the low-density Stanley site, a price that drove the stock market down, while Cheung Kong (Holdings) and Hutchison teamed up to pay \$6.06 billion for the Hung Hom site, a high price that came too

late to buoy the flagging bourse.

Bidding got off to a slow start on the Stanley site, opening at only \$5.2 billion after a nearly 15-minute wait and moments before the government auctioneer, Richard Baram, withdrew the site from sale.

The stock market took fright at the sluggishness, with the Hang Seng property sub-index falling as much as 3.5 per cent.

Mr Baram attributed the slow start to possible concern over the government's announcement that the supply of luxury development land would leap to 70 hectares over the next two years.

Even after Paliburg broke the ice with its last-minute opening bid, the going was slow, with only two other bids being made before Paliburg won with its second offer — \$5.5 billion.

"The opening bid is close to the market price (for luxury flats). We had expected a higher winning bid than the final bid we made," Paliburg Group chairman Lo Yuk-shui said.

"There is not much supply of good residential sites (in Hong Kong). I think the opening bid was perhaps set higher (than the developers expected), so fewer people competed for the site."

The winning consortium, which also includes Paliburg subsidiary Regal Hotels and mainland-backed China Overseas Land and Investment, will spend about \$7 billion building about 100 luxury houses.

The consortium will be able to make a profit even at today's prices.

Bidding got off to an equally slow start for the Hung Hom site, with Sino Land finally breaking the ice with a \$3.8 billion bid.

Bids also came in from Swire Properties, USI Holdings and a consortium of Lai Sun Development and Hongkong Parkview.

A faster-paced duel developed between Hongkong Parkview and Sino Land, becoming a three-way struggle when Cheung Kong (Holdings) leapt in at \$5.54 billion.

Cheung Kong finally landed the site with a winning bid of \$6.06 billion, equal to \$8,451 per square foot.

The audience applauded when the hammer fell.

Li Ka-shing's son Victor, who is deputy chairman and deputy managing director of Cheung Kong, said the price was "reasonable", and that there was a good market for luxury residential properties.

"We want to develop a luxury residential sector close to the city which at the same time has a sea view," Mr Li said.

Cheung Kong and associate Hutchison Whampoa have a 50/50 joint venture which will spend about \$10 billion developing a 717,000-sq ft residential/retail development on the site.

Analysts said residential prices would have to rise 8 per cent a year for the next four years for Cheung Kong to make a standard profit.

■ **Editorial:** Page 12  
■ **Developers optimistic:** Business Page 1.

## Statue begins brief stay as thousands prepare for vigil

By Mary Ann Benitez  
and Baby Sung

A GIANT sculpture rose in Victoria Park yesterday for tonight's commemoration of the 1989 Tiananmen Square bloodshed, as future leader Tung Chee-hwa said he would not allow a similar crackdown in Hong Kong to give demonstrators "the pleasure of becoming martyrs".

The eight-metre "Pillar of Shame" will take centre stage at a candle-light vigil expected to be attended by 40,000 people.

The pillar, a copper sculpture of 50 bodies and anguished faces piled on each other — was unveiled by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot.

The fate of the statue, shipped in a container from Taiwan after a week-long delay, is unknown as the Urban and Regional Councils have rejected requests for it to remain on display at a public park until 15 September.

"You cannot kill a symbol. The Urban Council has difficulty understanding this. You make it a stronger symbol by censoring it," Galschiot said.

Organisers have been told to remove the sculpture at 11 pm after the 70-minute vigil.

Hong Kong University officials are considering a students' request for the statue to be displayed there, but say it could not happen immediately.

"It is a shame that there is no place for a statue like this to be displayed," said legislator Cheung Man-kwong, a leader of the

Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, which is organising tonight's rally.

On the eve of the eighth anniversary vigil, Mr Tung said there would be no crackdown on dissidents.

"I am not going to give all the people who demonstrate the pleasure of becoming martyrs," he said in a BBC interview.

On Monday he urged the people to set aside "the baggage" of the crackdown.

The Chief Executive-designate also denied yesterday there would be a slow erosion of civil liberties in Hong Kong due to the proposed changes to the Public Order and Societies ordinances.

Meanwhile, pro-democracy student activists began their own observance of the June 4 anniversary with a torch race yesterday.

At least 100 students from eight tertiary institutions ran with torches for

democracy from their campuses to Chater Garden.

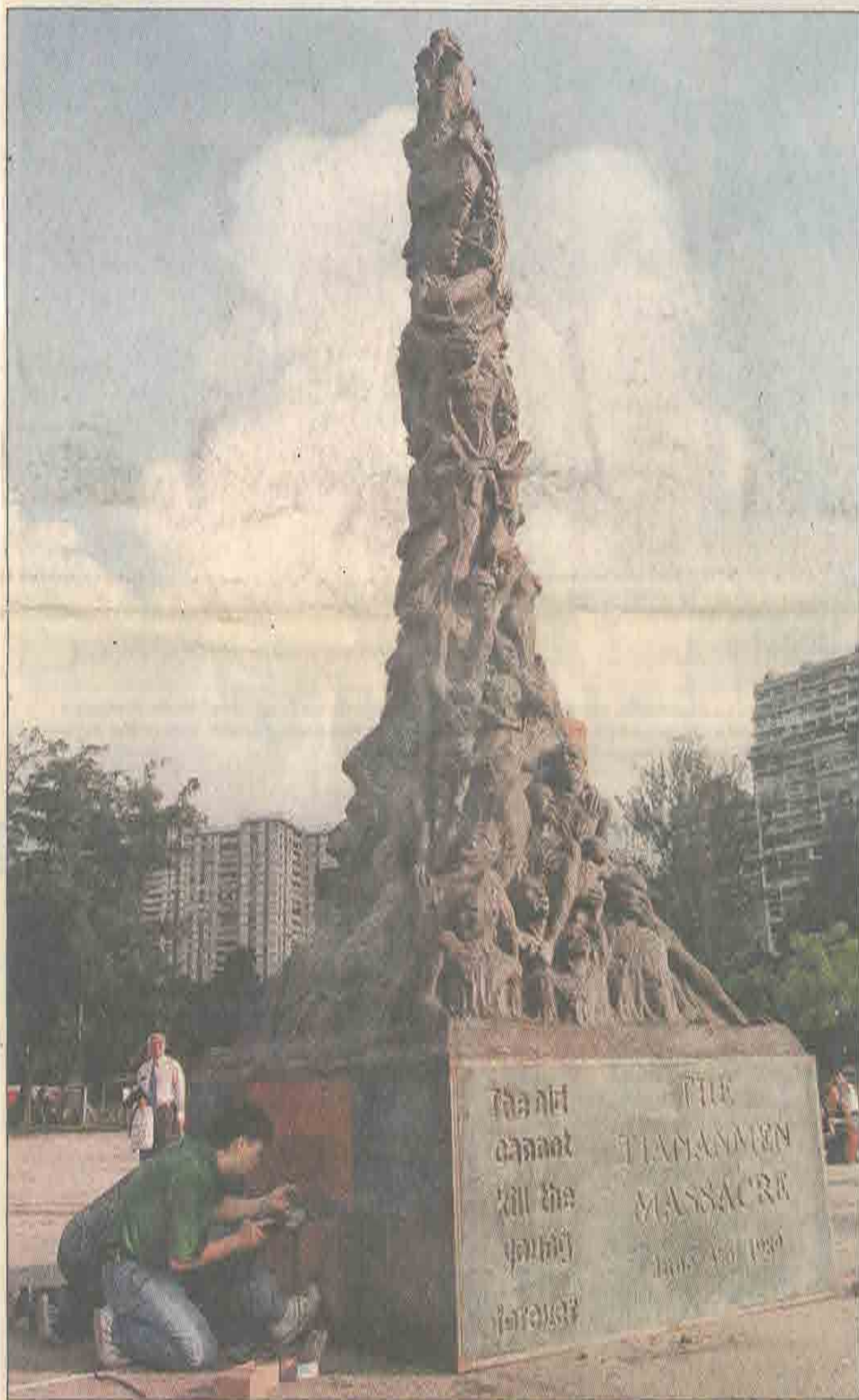
The Chinese government said yesterday it would have no direct say in whether the annual June 4 demonstrations in Hong Kong would be allowed after the handover.

"As to what demonstrations will be held in Hong Kong next year, that is the jurisdiction of the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR)," foreign ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai said.

Chinese dissidents at home and abroad, meanwhile, made a unified call for Beijing to reassess the June 4 verdict.

A Chinese court yesterday jailed labour activists Li Wen-ming and Guo Baosheng for 3½ years for conspiring to subvert the government.

■ **June 4 anniversary:** Pages 4-5  
■ **Tiger's Eye:** Page 12



Symbol of censorship: Workmen put the finishing touches to the "Pillar of Shame" before tonight's vigil in Victoria Park.

PICTURE BY JOHN WESTHROP

## Oklahoma bomber's life in hands of jury

JURORS will begin hearing evidence today on whether Timothy McVeigh should be executed after he was found guilty of killing 168 people in a bomb attack on the Oklahoma City federal building.

McVeigh, 29, who fought for the US in the Gulf War, was convicted early yesterday of using a huge truck bomb to destroy the Alfred P Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City, on 19 April 1995.

Another phase of the trial will begin today at which the same jury will hear testimony on whether McVeigh deserves death by lethal injection or life imprisonment as punishment for a crime that outraged and horrified Americans.

Relatives of bombing victims wept in the crowded Denver courtroom as federal judge Richard Matsch read the verdict reached by the seven men and five women jurors, who deliberated for 23 hours over four days.

In Denver and Oklahoma City, the verdict was greeted with joy, relief and tears by survivors and victims' relatives, most of whom were convinced of McVeigh's guilt.

In Oklahoma City, hundreds of people who had gathered at the bombing site applauded.

"I am sure there are 168 people who are smiling down on us from above," said Dan McKinney, whose wife, Linda, died in the bombing.

"This is a very important and long overdue day for the survivors and families of those who died in Oklahoma City," said President Bill Clinton, who would have sole authority to grant McVeigh clemency if he is sentenced to die.

As for McVeigh, there was no emotion as he shook hands solemnly with chief defence attorney Stephen Jones.

— Reuter

■ **Tears and relief:** Page 10

# Hong Kong prepares for Tiananmen Square rally

ONG — Eight years after the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown, local demonstrators were expected to attend a Tiananmen anniversary rally likely to be Hong Kong's largest before July 1.

At the annual ceremony has fallen for the 1989 bloodshed in Tiananmen Square, triggering mass protests of outrage, disapproval for the territory's return to Chinese rule.

"Confidence has improved," says Joseph of City University Hong Kong. "People here are in the determination of leaders to maintain prosperity and stability."

Mayor, future chief executive Chee Hwa stated that "it's time for us to put aside the baggage of Tiananmen."

He considers organizers of the annual vigil to be "subversives." And Tung has vowed to limit public demonstrations after Hong Kong's return to a British colony.

Tung has vowed to repeat the annual vigil in Hong Kong — within the new territory — to continue marking the anniversary.

It doesn't matter whether it rains or not. We'll do it every year," said Sze To, a democratic activist and leader.

Chinese, in announcing the possibility of public gestures of protest or for criticizing the government's use of force to suppress the 1989 pro-democracy demonstrations.

Protesters and others who gathered in Tiananmen Square last year counted heavily on Hong Kong for support.

The residents raised tents for food, tents and



By Vincent Yu, AP

Shameful memory: Hong Kong workers finish assembling the *Pillar of Shame* statue commemorating the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations in Beijing.

medical supplies during two months of demonstrations in Beijing.

After the crackdown, one in six Hong Kong residents marched in protest, many wearing white or black, the colors of mourning in East and West.

Later, callers from Hong Kong tied up telephone hot lines set up by mainland authorities to assist in their manhunt for Tiananmen activists. Hong Kong businessmen and local smugglers joined up to aid the escape of dozens of wanted students, who were picked up along the Chinese coast and brought to Hong Kong in speedboats.

This year's vigil in Hong Kong will feature a controversial 26-foot bronze sculpture donated by a Danish artist.

The *Pillar of Shame*, a writhing heap

of twisted bodies and limbs, depicts the hundreds of students, workers and onlookers who were gunned down by Chinese troops sent to crush the democracy movement. The sculpture bears inscriptions on both sides, which read in English and Chinese: "The old cannot kill the young forever."

It's unclear how long Chinese officials will allow the statue to remain.

May Fung, a teacher who marched in Hong Kong in 1989, said she will not attend Wednesday night's ceremony at a local park.

"I'm certainly not uncaring, but the bottom line is, what real use is it? It won't make the Chinese government change the way they treat their people, will it?" he said.

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## Tiananmen wound refuses to heal

The anniversary today of the Chinese crackdown in 1989 on student demonstrators in Beijing's central Tiananmen Square seems certain to pass without official comment, but the event casts a shadow over preparation for China's resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong on July 1.

The stain left by the events of eight years ago is also disconcerting for China's leaders as they seek to consolidate their authority after the death in February of Deng Xiaoping, the country's patriarchal leader.

"There are many people now who don't agree with the student-led movement. They say the movement was wrong — it affected social stability — but people were killed and that was a tragedy," says Mr Wang Shan, a neo-conservative author with close Communist party ties. But the regime is constrained in dealing with the legacy of Tiananmen because of the presence in the leadership of Mr Li Peng, the prime minister, who gave orders for the crackdown on the authority of Mr Deng himself.

"It seems impossible there will be a vindication of the movement in the next two



'Pillar of shame' sculpture is erected in Hong Kong for mass rally today commemorating Tiananmen massacre. Reuters

years," says Professor Xu Liangying of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. "The central government just dare not touch the issue. President Jiang Zemin cannot refute what his predecessor [Deng] has done."

Nevertheless, pressures continue to build behind the scenes for a reversal of the verdict on Tiananmen which was judged a counter-revolutionary crime for which many of those involved received long jail sentences.

Hopes flickered last week that the leadership might be edging towards a review when, in northern Jilin Province, four workers convicted in 1989 of organising a counter-revolutionary clique had their sentences quashed. However, a lesser conviction of counter-revolutionary incitement was upheld, suggesting too much should not be read into the verdict.

For Hong Kong, contemplating the imminent end of British rule and closer proximity to mainland control under the "one country, two systems" formula, the legacy of Tiananmen lingers. An opinion poll by Hong Kong University published this week indicated 63 per cent of people believed Beijing had erred in suppressing the 1989 movement, and 75 per cent said Hong Kong people should push for democracy on the mainland.

Hong Kong will be the scene this week of demonstrations marking the massacre. These are an annual event drawing thousands to a candle-lit vigil. Many will no doubt wonder whether the new administration will permit such protests.

Chinese leaders, meanwhile, seek occasionally to address concerns about lack

of political freedoms, and implicit is the promise of political reform, although no timetable is laid down.

"According to the constitution, power in the country belongs to the people, and the people exercise state power through the National People's Congress (parliament) and local congresses at various levels," said Mr Qiao Shi, chairman of the NPC, in a recent newspaper interview.

"To ensure the people are the real masters of the country, that state power is really in their hands, we must strengthen these institutions and give them full play. At the same time, it is necessary to improve grassroots self-government so people can manage their affairs."

In spite of Mr Qiao's remarks, however, Beijing will continue to be prickly about criticism of lack of political freedoms, especially around the June 4 anniversary. The official China Daily yesterday warned the west, in a long article repudiating criticism of China's human rights record, not to focus on "single events or persons", a reference to the Tiananmen anniversary.

Tony Walker

# China leaves nothing to chance on June 4

## BEIJING AND HONG KONG

Francesco Lao Xi Sisci and  
Wong Kwok Wah, Asia Times

China, anxious to avoid adverse publicity 26 days before the Hong Kong handover, has taken sweeping steps to forestall any protests on Wednesday's eighth anniversary of the Tiananmen Square incident.

Chinese sources said students had been invited to return to their homes for the summer vacation as had everyone without a Beijing residence permit. Potential troublemakers were being "invited" to spend a few days in the south.

Foreign residents of apartment blocks were told Japan's NHK and Cable News Network would not be available from midday Tuesday until 6pm on Thursday.

Extra police are on patrol and residents reported high tension in the capital. They said precautions were more extensive than last year, when students were not sent home early.

The sources said Chinese leaders were clearly anxious no protests should rock the smooth return of Hong Kong on July 1. "If anti-communist protests are unchecked they could gain momentum but if protesters are arrested it could cause international outrage," said a Chinese scholar.

To avoid the dilemma Chinese authorities will try to nip protests in the bud, but it's still unclear if they will manage it and to what extent.

Any reappraisal of the official verdict

on the events of June 3-4 would help heal wounds both in China and Hong Kong, where a million protesters took to the streets in 1989. Hopes for such a re-evaluation rose with the death in February of Deng Xiaoping, who gave final approval for the army attack on student-led protesters that killed hundreds of people.

Sources have previously told *Asia Times* that Deng's chosen successor, party chief Jiang Zemin, may move slowly and cautiously toward a reappraisal. At Deng's memorial service, Jiang discarded the standard condemnation of "counter-revolutionary turmoil" and described the events as a "political upheaval".

A provincial court in Jilin last Thursday overturned the convictions of four carworkers who had protested in support of the Beijing students. A Hong Kong human rights group hailed the decision as the first time a court had faulted the prosecution of pro-democracy demonstrators.

"There are many people now who don't agree with the [student-led] movement," Wang Shan, a writer with close party ties, told Associated Press. But he said he remembered the body of a female student brought to Beijing Normal University. "Those who saw the two bullet holes in her back will never forget it."

Suggesting ways the leadership might proceed, Wang added: "They will say that the movement was wrong - it affected social stability - but people were killed and that was a tragedy."

Continued on Page 2 Column 3



As part of the eighth anniversary commemorations for the June 4, 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown, *Pillar of Shame*, by Danish sculptor Jans Galschiot, is erected in Hong Kong's Victoria Park on Tuesday.

David Paul Morris/Asia Times

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# China leaves nothing to chance on June 4 anniversary

Continued from Page 1

The time is not yet considered ripe for a Tiananmen Square re-evaluation, with a key party congress due this autumn. And in an indication of continuing intolerance of dissent, it was reported on Tuesday that two dissidents had been sentenced to three-and-a-half years' jail.

Li Wenming and Guo Baosheng were sentenced on Friday in Shenzhen for attempted sedition, Guo's lawyer said. The two labor activists, who have already served three years in prison, are due to be released by the end of the year. They were arrested in May 1994 for trying to form an independent trade union.

But the approach suggested by Wang could be one way to change the official judgment on Tiananmen. Students such as Ding Jielian, who was 17 when he was killed, could be considered "patriotic".

All blame for the misjudgment that led to the incident could be put on disgraced Beijing party chief Chen Xitong, who briefed Deng Xiaoping and Prime Minis-

ter Li Peng before the decision was made.

"Chen [in 1989 Beijing's mayor] was corrupt and was afraid he would become the first target of the student movement chanting slogans against corruption," said a Chinese scholar.

In 1995 Jiang removed Chen from all his positions on charges of corruption. He has not yet been brought to trial.

Ding Jielian's mother has petitioned China's parliament every year to conduct an investigation into Tiananmen, compensate the victims and punish the guilty. This year 41 others who lost family members signed the petition, the most ever.

Shen Liangqing, a prosecutor-turned-dissident in the eastern province of Anhui, told Reuters on Tuesday he also wrote to the National People's Congress this week demanding a reassessment of the incident.

Shen also demanded the release of dissidents, including Wei Jingsheng, and permission for the return of political exiles. "It could bring some trouble ... but I don't care," Shen said of his petition.

In Beijing, the wives of two jailed Shanghai dissidents sent parliament a petition calling for the release of the two men, one of the wives said.

In contrast to the few in China who dared to voice public protests, tens of thousands in Hong Kong are expected to attend a candlelight vigil on Wednesday evening to remember the bloodbath - the last big protest before the handover.

Pleas by Hong Kong's future leader Tung Chee-hwa to "put aside the baggage of June 4" are expected only to swell attendance in Victoria Park, named for the queen on the throne when Britain seized Hong Kong in 1841.

On Sunday several thousand people marched through the city center to demand a reversal of the "counter-revolutionary" verdict on Tiananmen, and the release of all political prisoners.

Tung also promised in a Monday television appearance that there would be no crackdown on dissidents after the handover but activists discounted the pledge.

"I don't think he enjoys causing us trouble, but he has to consider the demand of Beijing," said Szeto Wah, a veteran pro-democracy legislator.

Even before the handover Szeto has encountered problems. Hong Kong's local councils rejected his application to display for four months a sculpture entitled *Pillar of Shame* by Danish artist Jans Galschiot. The sculpture, symbolizing oppression, was finally erected on Tuesday in the park.

Property rather than protest was on many people's minds on Tuesday. More than 20,000 people queued for application forms to buy cheap government-built flats. Tycoons were meanwhile attending the last land auction before the handover.

"Hong Kong people are pragmatic," admitted Szeto. "But Hong Kong people are rational as well. They are not easy to bend with the wind like the crowds in mainland China."

"They are those one can rely on when it comes to big issues, such as Tiananmen eight years ago."



**Protest art**

K. Y. Cheng

The *Pillar of Shame*, by Jans Galschiot, has been erected in Victoria Park ahead of tonight's rallies marking the Tiananmen massacre.

# Mainland dissidents 'should leave by July'

SHARON CHEUNG

Hong Kong should not be a haven for Chinese dissidents after the handover, provisional legislature member Wong Siu-ye said yesterday.

He also said mainland dissidents in Hong Kong should leave before July 1.

Mr Wong, a member of the Hong Kong Progressive Alli-

ance, said he would study the possibility of introducing an amendment to tighten the Director of Immigration's discretionary powers, to prevent Hong Kong from being turned into a port of asylum for dissidents when the 1997 Immigration (Amendment) Bill is tabled to the interim body this Saturday.

"It is ridiculous that under

the current system, the immigration chief can allow some people to stay in the territory without valid documents.

"The Immigration Department should report to Beijing if there are Chinese dissidents who want to flee to Hong Kong," he said.

Independent member Kennedy Wong Ying-ho suggested that the provisional

legislature should discuss the treatment of mainland dissidents who fled to the territory after handover, instead of making any irrational proposals.

Mr Wong, who wants to join the committee scrutinising the bill, said he would raise the issue this Sunday after the committee's foundation.

PRESSE-CLEARING

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## Sculptor should not meddle

Hong Kong is an international city and Danish sculptors are welcome to visit. But as a visitor and a foreigner [Danish *Pillar of Shame* sculptor Jens Galschiot] should not get involved in local controversial political issues.

Both the Urban Council and Regional Council have refused an application by the anti-China group to display the sculptor in a public park. Hong Kong must not be allowed to be or to become an anti-China or subversion base under the dis-

guise of art or democracy. Subversion is a very delicate and sensitive issue. It would be prudent for the Danish diplomats here to remind their citizens that they must refrain from getting involved or meddling in local controversial issues.

The Government has an equal responsibility and it has to be seen that relevant departments discharge their duties and responsibilities swiftly and properly.

MAURUS SEET  
Kowloon Tong

PRESSE-CLEARING

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## Pillar of Shame arrives in territory

THE controversial *Pillar of Shame* statue arrived in Hong Kong yesterday but will remain in storage until Tuesday. The Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China said it would be moved to Victoria Park in preparation for the June 4 candlelight vigil.

# Tiananmen remembered in Hong Kong

HONG KONG (AP) — Waving in the dark, tens of thousands of people joined Hong Kong's first memorial to China's slain democracy protesters today, a rite that may end with China's takeover.

A peaceful rally at Victoria Park was the last under British rule to commemorate the June 4, 1989, crackdown at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, when the Chinese army opened fire, killing hundreds, possibly thousands, of democracy advocates.

Protesters demanded that China reverse its verdict that the Tiananmen Square movement was "counter-revolutionary," release political dissidents and "end one-party rule."

"The burden is heavy and the struggle is long. We have to bite our teeth and struggle to the very end," said Cheung Man-kwong told the crowd.

The stage was adorned with a banner saying "Struggle to the end and a famous photo of a protesting alone in front of a tank in 1989."

Organizers said 55,000 people gathered today — well above past rallies. Police refused to give an estimate.

"I will be here every year unless the Chinese government recognizes that it was wrong," said Wang De-wei, a 69-year-old selling books about the Tiananmen crackdown.

There has been no outright threat to ban future commemorations, but future leader Tung Chee-hwa is urging the public to put Tiananmen Square behind it and focus on making the change of sovereignty a success.

Still, the pro-democracy camp plans to stage the rally again next year, posing a critical test for China and the semi-autonomous government it has approved for Hong Kong.

"I can only guess that we have a 50-50 chance of organizing the event next year," said legislator Lee Wing-tat of the Democratic Party.

China has promised Hong Kong a high degree of autonomy after July 1, but has warned it must not become a base for the subversion of the Communist Party. It has labeled as subversives some of the organizers of Tiananmen memorials.

In Beijing, tourists posed for snapshots as plainclothes police kept close watch on Tiananmen Square today amid tight security in the Chinese capital.

Plainclothes police were stationed inside the gate at People's University. Some bars in the university district shut down for the week to avoid trouble.

One little-known dissident, Shen Liangqing, sent an open letter to the national legislature appealing for a reassessment of the army's attack on unarmed demonstrators.

There was no other sign of overt



Associated Press

A tourist takes a picture of the 'Pillar of Shame.'

protest. With most of China's active dissidents in prison or exile, those who chose to commemorate the tragedy did so privately.

"I came here to remember what happened eight years ago," said a student from Qinghua University who paced the square.

Hong Kong City Hall licensed this year's rally and its highlight, a three-story-high sculpture titled "Pillar of Shame" that depicted twisted human bodies. But City Hall

has refused to allow the monumental sculpture to be displayed in its parks during the handover celebrations.

Hong Kong's legislature passed a motion May 21 urging China to reverse its verdict on the democracy movement.

Today, an ad signed by 451 people and 56 groups appeared in the independent Ming Pao Daily News, urging China to release political dissidents and to build democracy.



AP

**Remembering:** Thousands hold candles in Hong Kong's Victoria Park to mark the anniversary of the military crackdown on a pro-democracy student movement in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

## As China rule nears, thousands remember Tiananmen Square

HONG KONG (AP) — Defying their future ruler's appeal to put the past to rest, tens of thousands of people squeezed into a Hong Kong park Wednesday to commemorate — perhaps for the last time — the anniversary of China's attack on pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square.

In Beijing, plainclothes police kept close watch on the square as tourists posed for pictures, but there was no sign of protest at the site where the army gunned down democracy protesters on June 4, 1989. Hundreds, if not thousands, were killed.

Candles lit up the darkness Wednesday night in Hong Kong's annual vigil for the slain demonstrators, a memorial that came only 27 days before China recovers Hong Kong from Britain. China has given no guarantee such rallies can be repeated, and many in the crowd felt this may be their last chance to honor the dead.

The peaceful protest was a striking act of conscience by a public often accused of just being interested in making money and not annoying China.

Demonstrators cut across many divisions — youngsters in blue jeans, old women in buttoned-up smocks, prosperous men in ties, blue-collar workers and families with children. All clutched white candles.

Organizers claimed 55,000 people took part, well above past rallies. Police refused to give an estimate.

In one of the few open acts of defiance in China on this anniversary, a Chinese human rights campaigner emerged unrepentant from three years of forced labor Wednesday and vowed to organize an independent political party.

Bao Ge, now 33, was a co-founder of the Shanghai-based Voice of Human Rights. Police

arrested Bao, who is Christian, on June 3, 1994, before he could attend a prayer service to mourn the victims of the 1989 attack.

Another dissident, Shen Liangqing, called on Beijing to investigate the crackdown.

In Tokyo, several Chinese protesters led by Wu'er Kaixi, a prominent exiled dissident, scuffled with police outside the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo. Police blocked a driver who tried to ram a row of police vehicles. Two arrests were reported.

Hong Kong democrats say they will organize a rally every year until China reverses its verdict that the Tiananmen movement was "counter-revolutionary," and declares the crackdown a mistake.

Such demands pose a critical test for China's tolerance and its promises not to tamper with Hong Kong's freedoms.

Tung Chee-hwa, the China-approved leader of Hong Kong's incoming autonomous government, has promised to uphold those freedoms. But he says Hong Kong residents should put Tiananmen behind them and concentrate on making reunification with China work.

He has also ordered a rollback of some civil liberties to show China that Hong Kong will not be a base for subverting the ruling Communist Party. China views the whole Tiananmen Square democracy movement as subversive.

City Hall approved this year's rally at Victoria Park, including a controversial three-story high sculpture called "the Pillar of Shame." The massive sculpture, dramatically lit Wednesday night, depicts twisted bodies with agonized faces.

However, City Hall has refused a request to display the sculpture during the July 1 handover extravaganza of fireworks and banquets.

# Hong Kong has control over protests, says China

BEIJING (AP) — China said today that it will be up to Hong Kong's post-colonial government to decide whether to allow commemorations of the Chinese military's crushing of democracy demonstrations in 1989.

Hong Kong residents have held observances of the crackdown to register fears about China and the British colony's return to Chinese rule on July 1.

Thousands of Hong Kong residents marched Sunday and other demonstrations are planned for Wednesday, the eighth anniversary of the June 1989, military assault on protesters occupying Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

Next year at this time, what kind of demonstrations can be held in Hong Kong ... will be an issue of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region," said Foreign Ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai, using the formal name for the post-colonial territory.

The incoming government introduced laws tightening restrictions on protests. After July 1, demonstrators will need to obtain permits from authorities, not just notify them.

Hong Kong's future leader, Peking magnate Tung Chee-cha, has promised not to curb demonstrations as long as they are peaceful and legal.

Inside China, the anniversary of the crackdown remains a sensitive time for Chinese leaders, who fear any protests could spark widespread unrest. Relentless persecution has effectively silenced the handful of known dissidents.

The 1989 Tiananmen protests were the largest sustained popular challenge to communist rule. The government's assault to evict the demonstrators from the square killed hundreds, perhaps thousands.

A few dissidents and some families of the victims have urged the government to investigate the army's actions during the crackdown and change its official verdict on the protests, known as a "counter-revolutionary rebellion."

When asked whether there would be a re-evaluation, Cui refused to use the politically charged terms "reassessment" or "6-4," the common name for the June 4 crackdown.

The thing that you men-



A little girl plays amidst Chinese soldiers doing their early morning drill outside the Great Hall of the People near Tiananmen Square in Beijing Wednesday, the eighth anniversary of the bloody crackdown of pro-democracy movement around square.

tioned that happened that year already had its conclusion fixed early on," Cui said.

In anticipation of an annual candlelight vigil Wednesday commemorating the crackdown, pro-democracy activists have erected a sculpture, called Pillar of Shame, in Hong Kong's Victoria Park.

The 26-foot-high copper sculpture, depicting 50 contorted human bodies piled atop each other, is dedicated to Chinese who died at Tiananmen for democracy. An inscription on its base reads: "The old cannot kill the young forever."

The pillar, by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, has been controversial, with City Hall turning down an application to display it in Hong Kong's parks between June 5 and Sept. 21.

Lawmakers opposed to the sculpture said it was political and did not mesh with the atmosphere of celebration they said was appropriate for Hong Kong's return to Chinese rule.

Meanwhile, Hong Kong's chief graft-buster said Tuesday in Hong Kong that a much-feared rise in China-inspired corruption had not yet materi-

alized in the territory.

Although the number of reported corruption cases rose 13 percent in the first four months of this year compared to January-April last year,

"there has not been any significant increase in corruption overall," said Lily Yam, head of the Independent Commission Against Corruption.

Yam said her evaluation was

based on intelligence reports, but she declined to elaborate.

returning," Yam said at a news conference.

"We have no evidence to show that what happened 10 to 20 years ago, when there was syndicated corruption, is

The commission was set up in 1974 to combat massive government corruption, mostly in the police force.

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LEGISLATOR TSANG KIN-SHING supervises the erection of the Pillar of Shame, a bronze statue by Danish sculpor Jens Galschiot, to mark the military crackdown of a pro-democracy student movement in Beijing in June, 1989, at Hong Kong's Victoria Park on Tuesday. — Associated Press

DAILY STATESMAN

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# Tiananmen Square martyrs remembered in Hong Kong

By Didi Kirsten Tatlow  
Associated Press Writer

HONG KONG (AP) - Waving candles in the dark, tens of thousands of people joined Hong Kong's annual memorial to China's slain democracy protesters today, a ritual many fear will end with China's July 1 takeover.

The peaceful rally at Victoria Park was the last under British rule to commemorate the June 4, 1989, crackdown at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, when the Chinese army opened fire, killing hundreds, possibly thousands, of democracy advocates.

Speakers demanded that China reverse its verdict that the Tiananmen Square movement was "counter-revolutionary," release jailed dissidents and "end one-party dictatorship."

"The burden is heavy and the road is long. We have to bite our lips and struggle to the very end," legislator Cheung Man-kwong told the crowd.

The stage was adorned with a banner saying "Struggle to the end," and a famous photo of a protester standing alone in front of a tank in 1989.

Organizers said 55,000 people took part today. Police refused to give an estimate.

"We will be here every year until the Chinese government recognizes it was wrong," said Wang Degao, a 69-year-old selling books about the

## Tiananmen crackdown.

There has been no outright threat to ban future commemorations, but future leader Tung Chee-hwa is urging the public to put Tiananmen Square behind it and focus on making the change of sovereignty a success.

The pro-democracy camp plans to stage the rally again next year, posing a critical test for China and the semi-autonomous government it has approved for Hong Kong.

"I can only guess that we have a 50-50 chance of organizing the event next year," said legislator Lee Wing-tat of the Democratic Party.

China has promised Hong Kong a high degree of autonomy after July 1, but has warned it must not become a base for the subversion of the Communist Party. It has labeled as subversives some of the organizers of Tiananmen memorials.

In Beijing, tourists posed for snapshots as plainclothes police kept close watch on Tiananmen Square today amid tight security in the Chinese capital.

Plainclothes police were stationed inside the gate at People's University. Some bars in the university district shut down for the week to avoid trouble.

One little-known dissident, Shen Liangqing, sent an open letter to the national legislature appealing for a reassessment of the army's attack on unarmed demonstrators.

There was no other sign of overt

protest. With most of China's active dissidents in prison or exile, those who chose to commemorate the tragedy did so privately.

"I came here to remember what happened eight years ago," said a student from Qinghua University who paced the square.

Hong Kong City Hall licensed this year's rally and its highlight, a three-story-high sculpture titled "Pillar of Shame" that depicted twisted human bodies. City Hall has refused to allow the monumental sculpture to be displayed in its parks during the handover celebrations.

Hong Kong's legislature passed a motion May 21 urging China to reverse its verdict on the democracy movement.

Today, an ad signed by 451 people and 56 groups appeared in the independent Ming Pao Daily News, urging China to release political dissidents and to build democracy.

In Tokyo, dissident leader Wu'er Kaixi and several other Chinese protesters scuffled with police outside the Chinese Embassy during a Tiananmen Square anniversary demonstration today. Two were arrested.

The protest grew violent when one protester tried to slam his car into a row of police security vehicles parked outside the embassy, the police said.

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JUN 4 1997

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crushing of pro-democracy demonstrations in 1989.

Hong Kong residents have used observances of the crackdown to register fears about China and the British colony's return to Chinese rule on July 1.

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"Next year at this time, what kind of demonstrations can be held in Hong Kong ... will be an affair of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region," said Foreign Ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai, using the formal name for the post-colonial territory.

The incoming government has introduced laws tightening restrictions on protests. After July 1, demonstrators will

curb demonstrations as long as they are peaceful and legal.

Inside China, the anniversary of the crackdown remains a sensitive time for Chinese leaders, who fear any protests could spark widespread unrest. Relentless persecution has effectively silenced the handful of known dissidents.

The 1989 Tiananmen protests were the largest sustained popular challenge to communist rule. The government's assault to evict the demonstrators from the square killed hundreds, perhaps thousands.

A few dissidents and some families of the victims have asked the government to investigate the army's actions during the crackdown and change the official verdict on the protests, known as a "counterrevolutionary rebellion."

When asked whether there would be a re-evaluation, Cui refused to use the politically

charged that year already had its conclusion fixed early on," Cui said.

In anticipation of an annual candlelight vigil Wednesday commemorating the crackdown, pro-democracy activists have erected a sculpture, called *Pillar of Shame*, in Hong Kong's Victoria Park.

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Lawmakers opposed to the sculpture said it was political and did not mesh with the atmosphere of celebration they said was appropriate for Hong Kong's return to Chinese rule.

# Hong Kong vigil planned despite July 1 takeover

From wire reports

**HONG KONG** — Eight years ago, this colony shook with rage as a million people flooded its streets to condemn the "Chinese butchers" behind the bloody 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown.

Tonight, 40,000 people are expected at an anniversary vigil, likely to be Hong Kong's last large rally before China regains control on July 1.

The Hong Kong vigil will feature a 26-foot bronze sculpture donated by a Danish artist.

The *Pillar of Shame*, a heap of twisted bodies and limbs, depicts some of the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of students and onlookers who were gunned down by troops in the 1989 crackdown.

Inscriptions in English and Chinese read, "The old cannot kill the young forever." It's unclear how long Chinese officials will allow the statue to remain.

In 1989, the bloodshed in Beijing tipped Hong Kong into near hysteria, triggering mass expressions of outrage, disbelief and fear

for the territory's future under Chinese rule. Turnout at the annual candlelight ceremony has fallen sharply since.

"People's confidence has certainly improved," said Joseph Cheng of City University of Hong Kong.

China considers organizers of Hong Kong's annual vigil to be "subversives." Future Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa said "it's time for everyone to put aside the baggage" of Tiananmen.

Mr. Tung has moved to limit public demonstrations after Hong Kong ceases to be a British colony. But he also has vowed Hong Kong residents will be free, within the new limits.

"It doesn't matter whether I believe him or not," said Szeto Wah, an activist and vigil organizer. "We'll do it again next year."

Chinese outside Hong Kong, in contrast, still face possible arrest for public gestures of mourning or for criticizing the government's use of force to crush Beijing's 1989 pro-democracy protests.

In Beijing today, tourists posed



The Associated Press

**MEMORIAL:** A Hong Kong resident snaps a photo of a new sculpture, the *Pillar of Shame*. It marks the anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown in China.

for snapshots as plainclothes police kept close watch on Tiananmen Square. No protests on the anniversary were reported.

Wary any trouble could foul Hong Kong's July 1 transition to Beijing's rule, Chinese authorities maintained tight security in the capital.

The students who occupied Tiananmen Square eight years ago counted heavily on Hong Kong for support. The territory's residents raised \$3 million for food, tents and medical supplies during two months of demonstrations in Beijing.

**TIMES HERALD**

PORT HURON, MI  
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JUN 4 1997

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JUN 4 1997

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# China says Hong Kong has authority over protests

**BEIJING (AP)** — China said Tuesday that it will be up to Hong Kong's post-colonial government to decide whether to allow commemorations of the Chinese military's crushing of pro-democracy demonstrations in 1989.

Hong Kong residents have used observances of the crackdown to register fears about China and the British colony's return to Chinese rule on July 1.

Thousands of Hong Kong residents marched Sunday and another demonstration is planned for today, the eighth anniversary of the June 4, 1989, military assault on protesters occupying Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

"Next year at this time, what kind of demonstrations can be held in Hong Kong ... will be an affair of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region," said Foreign Ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai,

using the formal name for the post-colonial territory.

The incoming government has introduced laws tightening restrictions on protests. After July 1, demonstrators will need to obtain permits from authorities, not just notify them.

Hong Kong's future leader, shipping magnate Tung Chee-hwa, has promised not to curb demonstrations as long as they are peaceful and legal.

Inside China, the anniversary of the crackdown remains a sensitive time for Chinese leaders, who fear any protests could spark widespread unrest. Relentless persecution has effectively silenced the handful of known dissidents.

The 1989 Tiananmen protests were the largest sustained popular challenge to communist rule. The government's assault to evict the demonstrators from the square

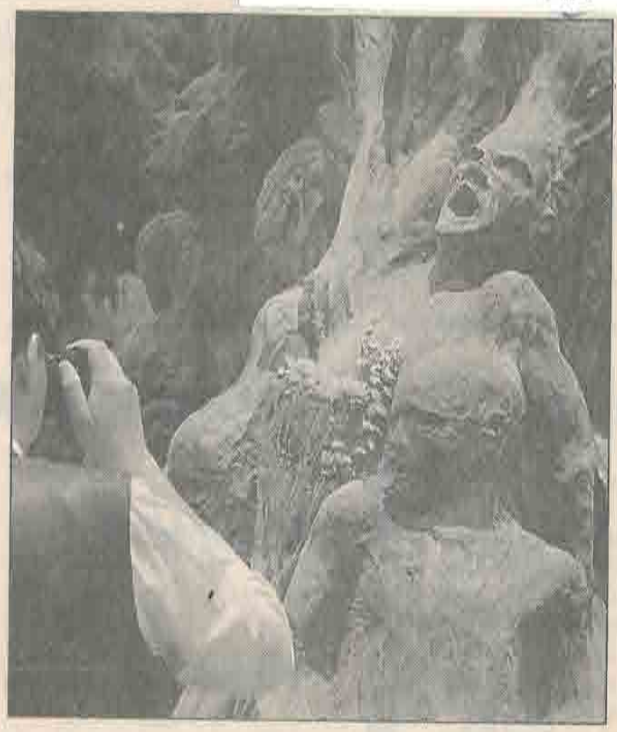
killed hundreds, perhaps thousands.

A few dissidents and some families of the victims have asked the government to investigate the army's actions during the crackdown and change the official verdict on the protests, known as a "counterrevolutionary rebellion."

When asked whether there would be a re-evaluation, Cui refused to use the politically charged terms "reassessment" or "6-4," the common name for the June 4th crackdown.

"The thing that you mentioned that happened that year already had its conclusion fixed early on," Cui said.

In anticipation of an annual candlelight vigil today commemorating the crackdown, pro-democracy activists have erected a sculpture, called *Pillar of Shame*, in Hong Kong's Victoria Park.



AP photo

A Hong Kong resident takes a photo of the *Pillar of Shame*.



VINCENT YU/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

A Hong Kong resident takes a photo of a sculpture commemorating the Tiananmen Square massacre called the pillar of shame.

## A matter of citizen protest

*Hong Kong's new government has new rules for demonstrations.*

■ THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

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Hong Kong's future leader, shipping magnate Tung Chee-hwa, has promised not to curb demonstrations as long as they are peaceful and legal.

The 1989 Tiananmen protests were the largest sustained popular challenge to communist rule. The assault to evict the demonstrators killed hundreds. ■



BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

## 'Pillar of Shame'

Activists placed Danish sculptor Jans Galschiot's 'Pillar of Shame,' a statue of twisted bodies symbolizing oppression, in Hong Kong's Victoria Park yesterday. The student pro-democracy movement prepared for mass rallies today, 28 days before China retakes control of the British colony, to condemn Beijing's bloody June 4, 1989, Tiananmen Square crackdown.

THE PILLAR  
Client: OF SHAME

Publication: SOUTH CHINA  
MORNING POST (HK)  
Date: 3 JUN 1997

Circulation: 105,458

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TEL.: (852) 2566 1311

## Public softens stance over pro-democracy crackdown

FUNG WAI-KONG

More than 60 per cent of people say China's crackdown on the 1989 pro-democracy movement was wrong, but that is less than last year, according to a poll by the Hong Kong University Social Science Research centre.

The survey showed 63.1 per cent of respondents said China's way of handling the June 4 "incident" was wrong. Only 10 per cent said Beijing had done the right thing.

A similar poll last year recorded a disapproval rate of 72.1 per cent.

It was also found that half of those polled thought the official verdict on the pro-democracy movement should be reversed, while 19 per cent said it was not necessary. The other 31 per cent declined to give their views.

Public sympathy for the students also slid. Only 35.8 per cent said the students

were right while the figure last year was 53 per cent.

On whether the June 4 crackdown could be commemorated after the hand-over, 50 per cent said such activities would continue while 34 per cent were pessimistic.

The latest poll also found the public remained supportive to the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China.

More people than last year said the alliance should not be disbanded. The figure this year is 53.4 per cent compared to last year's 48.4 per cent.

On the row over whether the Urban Council should allow the *Pillar of Shame* to be displayed at its venue, 41 per cent said Urbc should not ban the showing of the sculpture while 32 per cent support the body's decision.

The poll, conducted last Friday, interviewed 531 people aged 18 or above.

PRESSE-CLEARING

THE PILLAR

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## Tung accused of alienating public over June 4 appeals

STAFF REPORTERS

Tung Chee-hwa's calls for the "baggage of June 4" to be dropped were alienating the public, pro-democracy leaders said yesterday.

Legislator Cheung Man-kwong, a member of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, said it was worried the Chief Executive-designate had started giving directions on such issues.

"We are not used to this kind of policy on social movements. The Government does not give a verdict on the June 4 killings. We are allowed to hold commemorative activities as long as they are lawful," he said.

Fellow legislator and alliance member Lee Cheuk-yan said: "I

think Tung is alienating himself from the whole population.

"He is putting himself in the place of the Chinese leadership and lecturing the people of Hong Kong, instead of siding with the rest of the population in their aspirations for a free China."

Mr Tung said on Monday that people should look for ways to achieve a smooth transition and put aside memories of June 4.

Alliance members yesterday erected the *Pillar of Shame* sculpture in Victoria Park. It will be part of tonight's candlelight vigil to mark the eighth anniversary of the killings.

As doubts lingered over whether the future government would tolerate the annual June 4 protests, Mr Tung told the BBC he would not make martyrs of the

dissidents. Any demonstrations would be allowed if they were lawful, he said.

Dissidents who had entered lawfully and with unlimited stay had the right to continue to live here. Others would have to go.

In Beijing, Foreign Ministry spokesman Cui Tiankai (崔天凯) dismissed today's protests as irrelevant to Chinese patriotism.

"The thing that Hong Kong's six million residents are most concerned about is the act of reunification with China," he said.

He said the Special Administrative Region government would decide on any future June 4 activities.



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turn with the vagaries of the winds.

A comment on political allegiances, and also a nod to the allegorical novel *Don Quixote*.

"The artist is Don Quixote tilting at windmills," Wong said.

Artist and shop designer To Wun also brought his sketch to the meeting. His commemoration will be a tall square column made of packing-case wood, topped with eagle wings.

He was inspired by a stone column in Tiananmen Square which has stylised stone wings on top. "A symbol of absolute power," he said.

Yet in his Victoria Park version the wings will be more feathery, symbols of the freedom the students were demanding.

Below the column the wooden structure will break up into wooden ancestral graves, inscribed with meaningless characters.

"It is all just representation: the signs too can be read to have any names or messages on them."

Their friend, Yuen Kwok-cheung - the other artist to appear at Thursday's meeting - was still at the pre-planning stage.

Yuen, a dentist who like many of the others is a "part-time artist", wants to create a display of the "other news".

"There were ordinary things that happened on June 4 in Hong Kong, not just the reactions to the massacre," Yuen explained.

"For many years now we have been obsessed with the grief of that day, but I want to show that life goes on too."

"My idea is to use a wooden board with transferred images from newspapers. And make that my gravestone tribute."

In its June 5 editions the *South China Morning Post*, for example, after 10 pages of Tiananmen Square stories, included pieces about a burst water main disrupting work on the Bank of China construction, a protest about screening policies for Vietnamese, and the soaring number (68) of convictions for selling contaminated ice-cream.

"I remember that day so clearly: there was heavy rain and it was so windy it was painful against your skin."

"But it is important for us to look at [June 4] in different ways now, because it has become something so symbolic."

Yuen has been making public installations in Hong Kong since 1993.

"I asked if he had made money from it and he laughed loudly.

"No, there is no money."

Lau - who is also preparing for a handover show in Sai Ying Pun, cheekily titled, *Nine Nine Seven Seven*, a combination that with a tiny twist to the tones, sounds rude in Cantonese - explained that what drives him in this patently unprofitable work is a quest to find ways of being a critic.

"The most important thing to me about art is that it should be critical: artists should be critical about politics, about the law, about art. They should use the art form to criticise everything they think is wrong," he said passionately.

And will there be an opportunity to criticise in the park in June 1998?

"This is not the last time," said Wong emphatically.

"Next year we will be there, with fire in our hearts... I do not want to hear 'no'."

FORTSETTELSE 120



Associated Press

## MONUMENT OF SHAME

Legislator Tsang Kin-shing (left) supervises the erection of the Pillar of Shame, a bronze statue by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, at Hong Kong's Victoria Park today. The monument marks the military crackdown of a pro-democracy student movement in Beijing in June 1989.



Associated Press

## Going up

Legislator Tsang Kin-shing, left, supervises the erection of a bronze statue. The statue, Pillar of Shame, by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, will mark the military crackdown of pro-democracy student movement in Beijing in June 1989. The statue will be in Hong Kong's Victoria Park.

## Hong Kong faction sets rallies recalling Tiananmen Square

Hong Kong's defiant democracy movement Tuesday prepared for a series of mass rallies to condemn Beijing's bloody 1989 Tiananmen crackdown, just 28 days before China moves in to retake control of the British colony.

On the eve of the June 4 anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre, activists were busy in Hong Kong island's biggest park putting the final touches to the "Pillar of Shame," a sculpture of twisted bodies symbolizing oppression.

Leung Kwok-Hung, one of the organizers of the demonstrations, told Reuters he was expecting 40,000 people to flood into the park today for a candlelight vigil to remember those who perished.

## EVENING NEWS

SAULT SAINTE MARIE, MI  
DAILY 8,500

WEDNESDAY  
JUN 4 1997

**BURRELLE'S**

## China says Hong Kong has authority over Tiananmen protests

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# Pillar of Shame



AP PHOTO

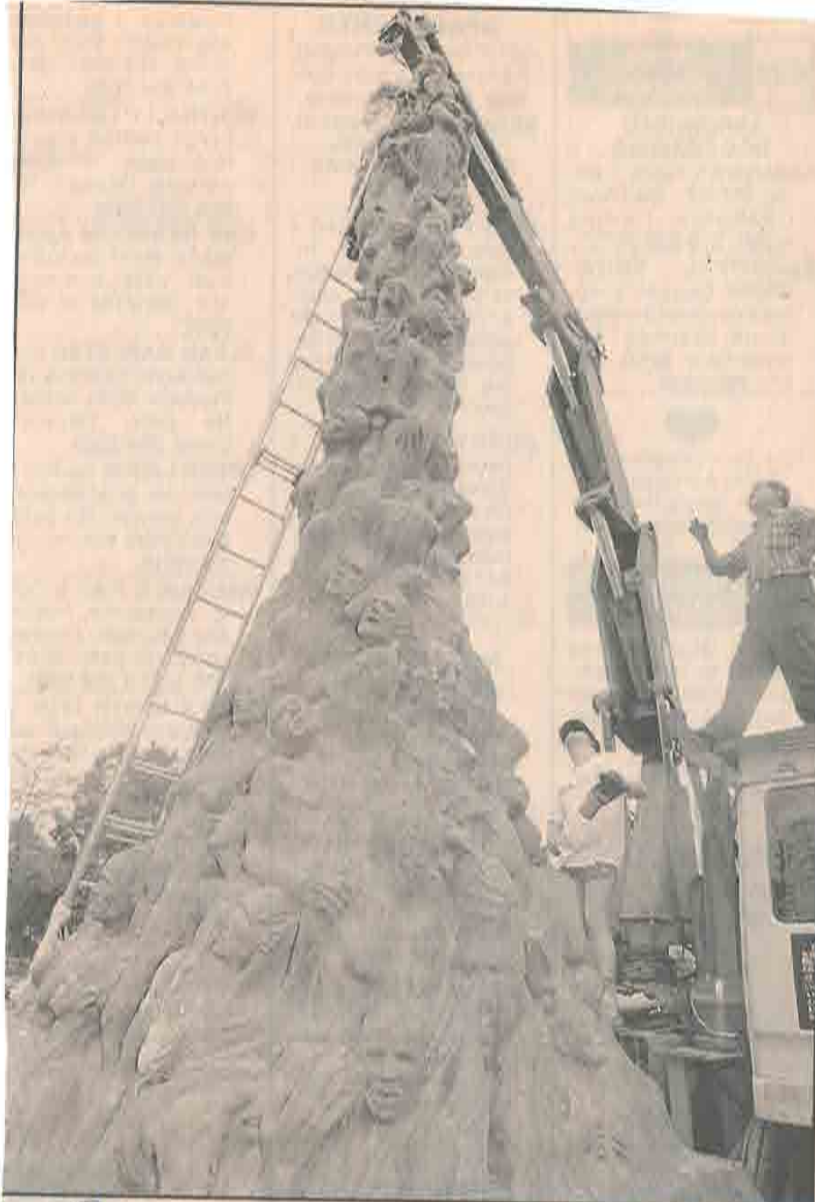
Legislator Tsang Kin-shing, left, supervises the erection of the Pillar of Shame in Hong Kong's Victoria Park. The pillar is a bronze statue by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, visualizing the military crackdown of a pro-democracy student movement in Beijing, China, in June 1989. China is in the process of taking over the government of Hong Kong.

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

STATUE OF SHAME — Legislator Tsang Kin-shing, left, supervises the erection of the Pillar of Shame, a bronze statue by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, to mark the military crackdown of a pro-democracy student movement in Beijing in June 3, 1989, at Hong Kong's Victoria Park today.



AP PHOTO

## 'Pillar of Shame'

A legislator, Tsang Kin-shing, (left) supervises the erection today in Hong Kong's Victoria Park of the 'Pillar of Shame,' a bronze statue by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot. The statue marks China's military crackdown of a pro-democracy student movement in Beijing in June 1989.

## Metro Airport looking into heated runways

■ **Detroit** — Air travelers could find warmth on Metro Airport runways if officials get their way. The benefits are obvious: A runway that conducts electricity would need little or no plowing or chemicals to remove snow. And an airport with no snow problems would be safer and more flights would be on time. But officials don't yet know the cost of building with such concrete, or if it would be cheaper than plowing. "It's one of many options, but we need some more information," said Ali Dib, project engineer. "We would wait until it had been installed somewhere else and see what the experience had been," airport spokesman Mike Conway added.

## Four people are killed in Oakland County wreck

■ **Troy** — Four people died after a broadside collision in Oakland County early today. A car carrying a pair of 19-year-old Troy men and an 18-year-old Auburn Hills woman was hit by a second car about 12:15 a.m., said police Lt. Gerry Scherlinck. The 33-year-old woman driving the second car died in surgery. "We have some witnesses who indicate the female was driving at an unusually high rate of speed and she drove through a solid red light," Scherlinck said. The names of the victims were not released.

## U.S. Rep. Hoekstra loses beard on bet

■ **Grand Haven** — The secret is out: U.S. Rep. Peter Hoekstra is really a much younger man. At least that is how he looks without his signature beard, which he lost Monday night on a bet with the victorious Grand Haven High School Science Olympiad team. Hoekstra promised to shave the graying whiskers he has sported for 22 years if the team took first place at the national competition in Raleigh, N.C., last month. Each student on the 27-member team, most of the coaches, a few local dignitaries and even Hoekstra's wife and children had a shot at his beard with an electric trimmer. Hoekstra finished the shave-by-committee in a nearby bathroom, even though he was a little rusty with a razor. "It feels kind of good," the 43-year-old congressman said later, rubbing his chin.

Compiled from Journal wire reports.

## HONG KONG

Continued from 1A

years of forced labor Wednesday and vowed to organize an independent political party.

Bao Ge, now 33, was a co-founder of the Shanghai-based Voice of Human Rights. Police arrested Bao, who is Christian, on June 3, 1994, before he could attend a prayer service to mourn the victims of the 1989 attack.

Another dissident, Shen Liangqing, called on Beijing to investigate the crackdown.

In Tokyo, several Chinese protesters led by Wu'er Kaixi, a prominent exiled dissident, scuffled with police outside the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo. Police blocked a driver who tried to ram a row of police vehicles. Two arrests were reported.

Hong Kong democrats say they will organize a rally every year until China reverses its verdict that the Tiananmen movement was "counter-revolutionary" and declares the crackdown a mistake.

Such demands pose a critical test

for China's tolerance and its promises not to tamper with Hong Kong's freedoms.

Tung Chee-hwa, the China-approved leader of Hong Kong's incoming autonomous government, has promised to uphold those freedoms. But he says Hong Kong residents should put Tiananmen behind them and concentrate on making reunification with China work.

He has also ordered a rollback of some civil liberties to show China that Hong Kong will not be a base for subverting the ruling Communist Party. China views the whole Tiananmen Square democracy movement as subversive.

City Hall approved this year's rally at Victoria Park, including a controversial three-story high sculpture called "the Pillar of Shame." The massive sculpture, dramatically lit Wednesday night, depicts twisted bodies with agonized faces.

However, City Hall has refused a request to display the sculpture during the July 1 handover extravaganza of fireworks and banquets.

"Why should we let demonstrators blemish the handover celebrations?" columnist Cai Heping asked Wednesday in Ta Kung Pao, a Chi-

na-funded Hong Kong daily newspaper.

The stage for Wednesday night's rally was adorned with a banner saying "Struggle to the end," and a famous photo of a protester standing alone in front of a tank in 1989.

"What we're doing here is against the Communist Party. They won't allow us to do this. That's why many people are here this time, because it's the last time," said Lam Ling-fat, 55, a travel agent.

As he spoke to a reporter, his cellular phone rang. It was his wife, begging him not to let his face be seen on TV so he won't be arrested. Her argument did not deter him.

"I'll be here every year. Every parade, I will come," he said. "Whenever I read or think of Tiananmen Square, I cry. Even now."

Prudence Wong, a 25-year-old computer programmer heading to a dinner party, did not attend the rally because she felt it was futile. But she wasn't pessimistic.

"We have been suppressed under colonial rule for so many years, and still we managed to succeed," she said. "So why should I worry about the future?"

# pro-democracy crackdown

FUNG WAI-KONG

More than 60 per cent of people say China's crackdown on the 1989 pro-democracy movement was wrong, but that is less than last year, according to a poll by the Hong Kong University Social Science Research centre.

The survey showed 63.1 per cent of respondents said China's way of handling the June 4 "incident" was wrong. Only 10 per cent said Beijing had done the right thing.

A similar poll last year recorded a disapproval rate of 72.1 per cent.

It was also found that half of those polled thought the official verdict on the pro-democracy movement should be reversed, while 19 per cent said it was not necessary. The other 31 per cent declined to give their views.

Public sympathy for the students also slid. Only 35.8 per cent said the students

were right while the figure last year was 53 per cent.

On whether the June 4 crackdown could be commemorated after the hand-over, 50 per cent said such activities would continue while 34 per cent were pessimistic.

The latest poll also found the public remained supportive to the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China.

More people than last year said the alliance should not be disbanded. The figure this year is 53.4 per cent compared to last year's 48.4 per cent.

On the row over whether the Urban Council should allow the *Pillar of Shame* to be displayed at its venue, 41 per cent said Urcco should not ban the showing of the sculpture while 32 per cent support the body's decision.

The poll, conducted last Friday, interviewed 531 people aged 18 or above.

3 JUNI 1997 - SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

# Banned Pillar of Shame arrives in HK

By SHIRLEY KWOK

THE *Pillar of Shame* sculpture - banned from two public parks by municipal councils - arrived in Hong Kong yesterday.

The controversial two-metre artwork, which depicts a mass of 50 bodies writhing in pain, will be shown briefly at Victoria Park and likenesses could spring up at some universities.

Students of the eight tertiary institutes are painting on-campus pictures of the Goddess of Democracy - the statue destroyed by the People's Liberation Army in Tiananmen Square during the 1989 massacre - and some hope to set up copies of the *Pillar of Shame*.

The Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, organisers of the June 4 candlelight vigil, will move the two-tonne sculpture from Kwai Chung container port to a basketball court in Victoria Park on Tuesday, before unveiling it at dusk.

The Alliance had applied to the Regional and Urban councils to show the sculpture in Sha Tin Park and Kowloon Park, but both applications were rejected.

Polytechnic University students' union president Lit Ming-wai said students would ask permission from university head Professor Poon Chung-kwong this week to display likenesses of the sculpture.

"We aim to set up such a sculpture on campus permanently. We may not be able to

get the permission from the university before June 4, and we are not sure how much chance we will have to get the approval," Ms Lit said.

"But we will definitely go ahead with our plan to paint the Goddess of Democracy before June 4. This is to remind students not to forget the incident."

The university originally opposed applications to paint a picture of the statue on campus but backed down after students' protests.

Kelvin Yip San-wa of the University of Science and Technology said the union was waiting for an answer to its request to paint a picture of the statue.

But students at Chinese University, Hong Kong University and the Baptist University said they would submit no applications.

Patrick Wong Chun-sing of the Hong Kong University said: "We will paint the Goddess of Democracy outside the students' union office."

"We are university students. We are mature enough to decide what we can do and what we can't. We need not report to the university everything we do."

Today there will be a march from Chater Garden at 3 pm to the Xinhua (New China News Agency) offices in Happy Valley. The students will join the candlelight vigil in Victoria Park on June 4.

1 JUNI 1997 - SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

# Bid to exhibit sculpture in Sha Tin park voted down

ANGELA LI

The pro-Beijing camp in the Regional Council yesterday voted down an application to display the *Pillar of Shame* sculpture commemorating the Tiananmen killings, in Sha Tin Central Park.

An attempt by the Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China to put the sculpture and 50 display boards on show at the park between June 5 and September 5 was rejected by 18 votes to 15.

This was in spite of support from 11 Democratic Party members and four others, including Yim Tin-sang of the Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood.

The sculpture by Dane Jens Galschiot, portraying more than 50 painfully twisted human bodies, will be set up in Victoria Park to commemorate the eighth anniversary of the June 4 massacre.

The motion, sponsored by Lee Wing-tat of the alliance, met strong opposition from the pro-Beijing camp, including the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong.

Independent Chow Ping-tim said: "Looking at a rather blurred picture carried by a local newspaper, I found the big sculpture terrible."

He thought it might cause unease among park users, including children. "I would support the application if it featured a beautiful girl."

Some queried the artistic value of the sculpture. Chan Shu-ying of the Democratic Party asked why Ngan Kam-chuen of the

Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong opposed the application.

She noted that Mr Ngan had sponsored a motion to place a replica of the Goddess of Democracy statue on display at a Regional Council venue in 1989.

"Why the change of heart?" she asked.

Independent Tony Kan Chung-min sought to move a separate motion to allow the

alliance to put 50 display boards on show.

Albert Ho Chun-yan of the Democratic Party and his colleagues then walked out.

"This is a hypocritical motion to conceal his own shameful decision just now," Mr Ho said.

Although the council's chairman, Daniel Lam Wai-keung, allowed Mr Kan to table the motion, it was defeated by nine votes to six.

SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

3/5-97

# behind sculpture ban, says artist

JOICE PANG

The sculptor of the *Pillar of Shame* commemorating June 4 accused municipal councillors of self-censorship for opposing the statue's public display.

Jens Galschiot, who arrived from Denmark yesterday, said: "They may be afraid of the Beijing reaction."

The 43-year-old sculptor considered opposition to his work a normal reaction.

Praise and damnations were "a part of art", he said.

Whether the sculpture, which features 50 painfully twisted human bodies, was horrible depended "on how you look at it", he said.

The clay-made work was a "symbol" to mark "our kind of freedom of expression" and the hope of not losing rights, he said.

Galschiot plans to put up 10 to 20 sculptures in various parts of the world, "just to make sure people are clear on what happened".

He admitted his works had set some governments against him, and the Chinese Government had been among them, he believed.

The sponsors of the sculpture, the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, has yet to find a permanent place for the sculpture, which is due to arrive today and will be put up in Victoria Park on Wednesday.

Albert Ho Chun-yan of the alliance said: "We hope university authorities and student unions will give us the approval."

"If a free place like a university cannot accept such a small sculpture, then it would be a very sad day for every one of us."

Chairman of the alliance Szeto Wah vowed to keep the *Pillar of Shame* in Hong Kong to "indicate the authorities' degree of tolerance in human rights and freedom".

A group of about 150 Christians yesterday held a gathering at Chater Garden to mark the anniversary of the June 4 killings.

They lit candles and prayed for the detained, exiled and the families of those killed during the 1989 military crackdown.

31 MAY 1997 - SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

After a shaky start, several artists in the territory are preparing to unveil their own installations to commemorate the June 4 crackdown, writes Victoria Finlay

JENNIE LAU

# Show of support for those who died

As pro-democracy politicians puzzle how they will set up the controversial eight-metre concrete *Pillar Of Shame* monolith on June 4, a group of local artists is planning their own show for Victoria Park's candlelight vigil.

Members of the Young Artists' Association and friends will set up an installation sculpture park to remember the Tiananmen Square massacre in their own way.

While Jens Galschiot Christopherson's Danish *Pillar Of Shame* cost about \$386,500, according to the artist's calculations, to build and transport from Odense to the territory, the 10 Hong Kong artists have a total of \$40,000 to spend on their own installation endeavours.

They are keen to participate, even if it means subsidising themselves: after all, what the Urban Council allows grudgingly in 1997 might not be even thinkable in 1998, even if there is a Victoria Park (scheduled to be dug up and renamed Central Park) available.

Curator of the show, Lau Kin-wai, called a meeting in the Fringe Club on Thursday night. One hour after the scheduled start, Lau was beginning to look at his watch - so far journalists outnumbered artists by three to two, all drinking red wine in the bar.

"Artists," he said, shaking his head and sipping his cabernet sauvignon thoughtfully, "they're always late."

A quarter of an hour later, Wong Shun-kit, who founded the Young Artists Association in 1993, turned up apologising that he had got caught up. But no signs of Victor Leung, Ban Cheong, Rupert Wong, Bore Wong, Louisiana Chan or So Sau-yin.

Everyone got out their mobile phones, and after some energetic button-tapping established no one else was coming - Bore Wong was supposed to have called everyone but his mother was very ill and he was too pre-occupied.

Still, having to make do with half-meetings is nothing new to alternative arts curators whatever country they live in, and with three artists plus Lau there was a good enough basis for talking temporary structures.

Lau's role is to choose his collab-

orators, decide how the works should be arranged on the ground, and to distribute the Arts Development Council (ADC) grant.

As a member of the ADC's visual arts committee, Lau had to step down from meetings during which his application was discussed.

What Lau does not intend to do is vet the other contributions. "I let people do what they feel is appropriate."

Last year Lau worked on his own, applying for a \$12,000 grant to put up a June 4 scaffolding with flags in memory of the ones who died.

It was partly as a test that the ADC was using artistic rather than political criteria for its decision-making (unlike the Urban Council, whose recent decision to ban the *Pillar* from Statue Square, was undoubtedly a political one) and partly "because it's important the massacre is remembered in different ways".

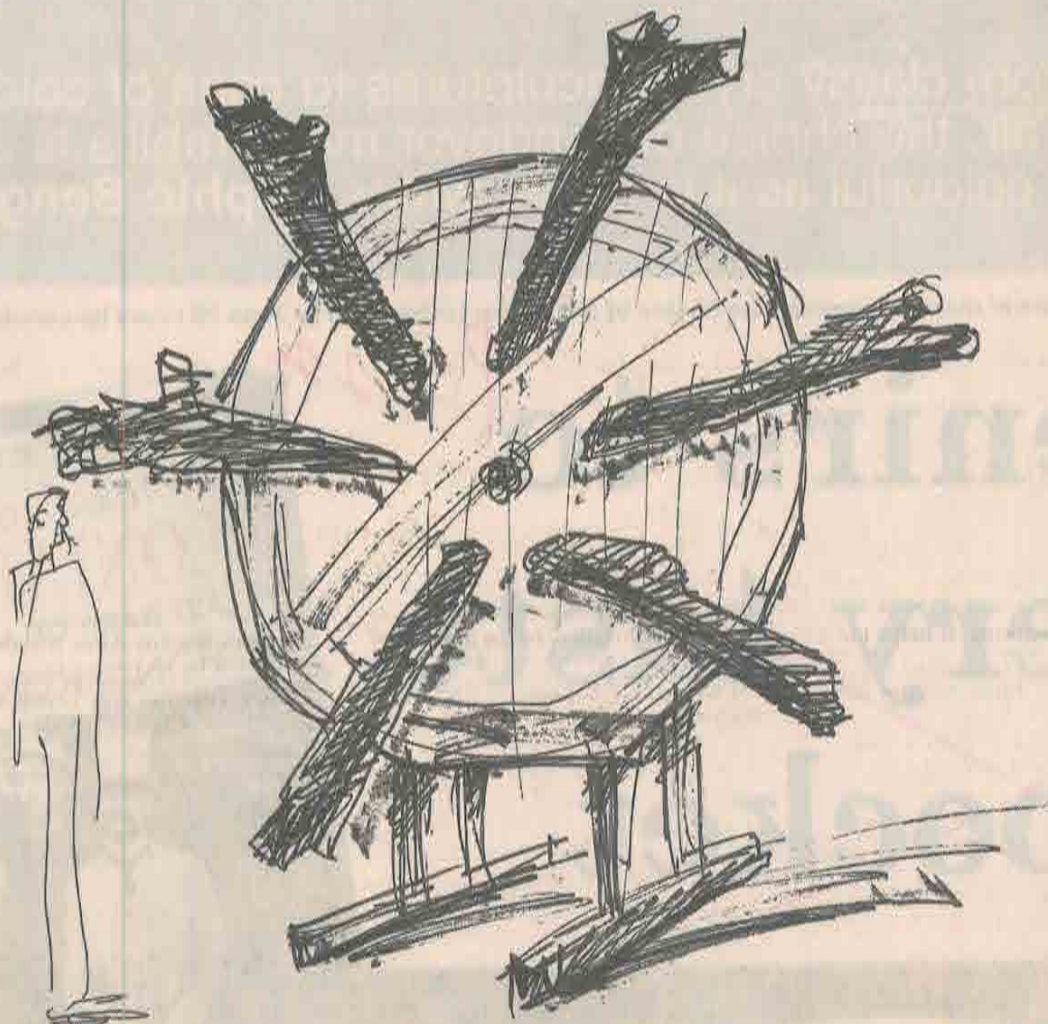
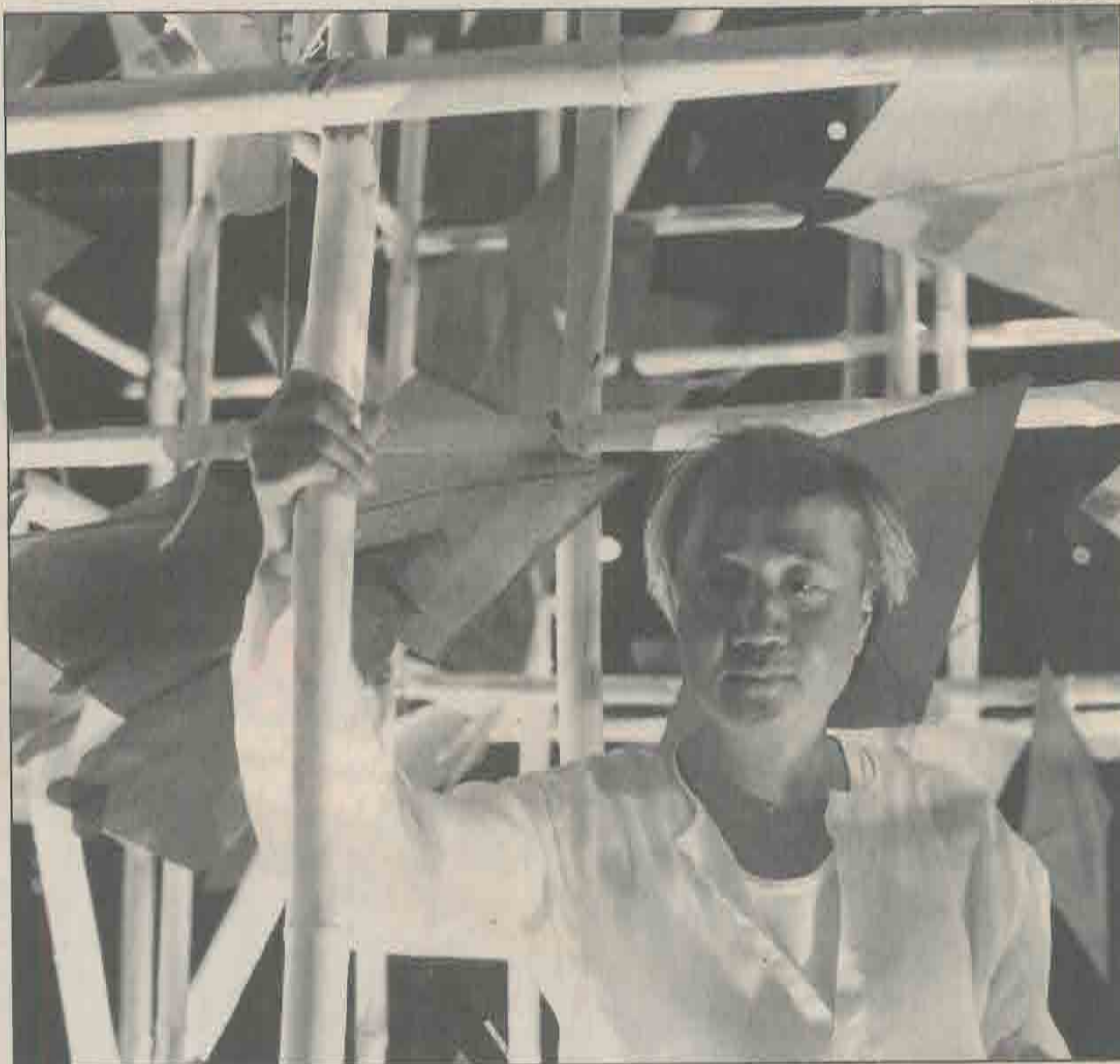
This year the park will be open to the group from around 5pm on Tuesday afternoon, so one of the main criteria for an effective installation work is that it can actually be installed within 24 hours.

"The artists will arrive in the early evening, and then we plan to work through the night to have everything ready for June 4.

"We'll bring sleeping bags," said Lau, who will be praying for no rain.

Rain would not only make the sculpture material soggy it would also reduce the power of the sight of so many thousand people holding candles in the park, praying for the past, and hoping for their future.

While Galschiot, in his *Pillar Of Shame*, has dwelt graphically on the agony of the past, the Hong



**REACH OUT AND TOUCH:** Lau Kin-wai with his piece for last year; To Wun's tall column topped with feathery wings to symbolise freedom, above; and Wong Shun-kit's no-entry sign highlighting authority's negative stance, with its windmill arms made from branches, left

Kong artists seem to be looking as much forwards as backwards in their work.

This is perhaps inevitable in a month when tomorrow seems all-important, and countdowns to zero hour are everywhere.

Wong Shun-kit plans to set up a four-metre high no-entry sign, studded with great windmill arms made of tree branches.

"It's a response to everyone in authority who says 'no, no, no,'" said Wong.

It is not, he adds, that anyone in Hong Kong has said "no" to him in such unambiguous terms.

"It is just the general atmosphere, here and in Beijing seven years ago, that I am commenting on."

Wong, who was born in Shang-

hai ("like Tung Chee-hwa") came to Hong Kong in 1983, a time when China was full of people who said "no" to artists.

"I haven't found that here," he said. "Hong Kong is very free for people to do almost anything they like. I really hope we keep this, because it is the most important thing I know."

The no-entry sign will be built to



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## 'If you want freedom, you've got to take a stand'

ALEX LO

A street cleaner donated a large chunk of her daily income to the organisers, a stockbroker brought his family from Ma On Shan to Central and an artist flew in from Denmark to lend support.

"I am just a humble and half-literate street cleaner, but I am also a Chinese. I know \$20 is not much, but for

me the donation is my support for the people here today," said Wu Hing, who makes about \$200 a day and was on duty cleaning up Statue Square yesterday.

As loudspeakers blasted patriotic songs, a dozen protesters unfurled the five-by-eight metre poster of the Goddess of Democracy in front of stockbroker Patrick Lee Wai-shing and his three-

year-old daughter, Helen. "This is part of her education. I don't consider myself a die-hard Chinese nationalist but I want my child to understand June 4 and its historical significance," he said.

"For Hong Kong people like us to have a chance after July 1, we have to understand what kind of government we are dealing with in China.

"The June 4 killings

taught us the level of violence the Chinese Government was capable of perpetrating against its own people."

Mrs Lee cheered as marchers hoisted the huge poster blocking the front entry of the Xinhua building. "This is very moving. I hope we will march again next year," she said.

Jens Galschiot, Danish sculptor of the *Pillar of*

*Shame*, and 18-year-old son Lasse, took part in the protest after arriving on Friday.

"Some people think we should not do anything to upset the Chinese Government. I think that's wrong. If you want freedom, you have got to take a stand," he said.

The sculpture will be on display in Victoria Park on Wednesday for the June 4 candlelight vigil.

## China 'sabotaged' shame statue deal

by Mak

HONG KONG has pressured a Swiss shipping company into pulling out of a deal to deliver the "Pillar of Shame" statue to Hong Kong, according to Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot.

Galschiot arrived in Hong Kong yesterday to oversee the mounting of his controversial sculpture for the territory's commemoration of the bloody June 4 massacre.

It will be the last such deal before the handover.

Galschiot said he signed a contract with Swiss shipping company M & R six weeks ago but was told on Monday the company was pulling out.

They think they have been sabotaged by someone in the Chinese government. I said, 'if you do that, the market will be closed to you,' he said.

It is (would be) a catastrophe for them because they have a lot of business in the whole of



Flashback: Albert Ho holds a picture of the statue earlier this month.

Mr Galschiot said by refusing to transport the sculpture, the Swiss company had become part of the political decision to ban the statue in Hong Kong.

The Swiss company told yesterday the M & R director was attending an all-day meeting.

Both the Urban Council and the Municipal Council have refused applications by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China to display the statue in public parks.

"I think it is self-censorship," Mr Galschiot said.



Welcome gift: Pro-democracy legislator Szeto Wah gives Jens Galschiot a symbol of democracy at Kai Tak. PICTURE BY DANTE PERALTA

"They may be afraid of Beijing's reaction."

Mr Galschiot said he held a dim view of the post-handover human rights situation in Hong Kong.

He said if he were living in Hong Kong, he would be glad to have a foreign passport.

As for comments by pro-China councillors that the "Pillar of Shame" did not match the joyful atmosphere of celebrating Hong Kong's handover, the Danish sculptor thought it was more important for Hong Kong people to have freedom of choice.

Some people have described the 8-metre-tall statue as "horrible" because it depicts 50 fully twisted human bodies, but Mr Galschiot said this depended on people's point of view.

The statue will be shipped to Hong Kong to-

day and mounted in Victoria Park on the evening of 3 June.

Alliance secretary-general Albert Ho Chun-yan said he hoped the statue could be displayed on one of the university campuses after the June 4 commemoration.

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By SHIRLEY KWOK

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Head Professor Poon Kwok-kwong said this week to dislikeliness of the sculpture.

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get the permission from the university before June 4, and we are not sure how much chance we will have to get the approval," Ms Lit said.

"But we will definitely go ahead with our plan to paint the Goddess of Democracy before June 4. This is to remind students not to forget the incident."

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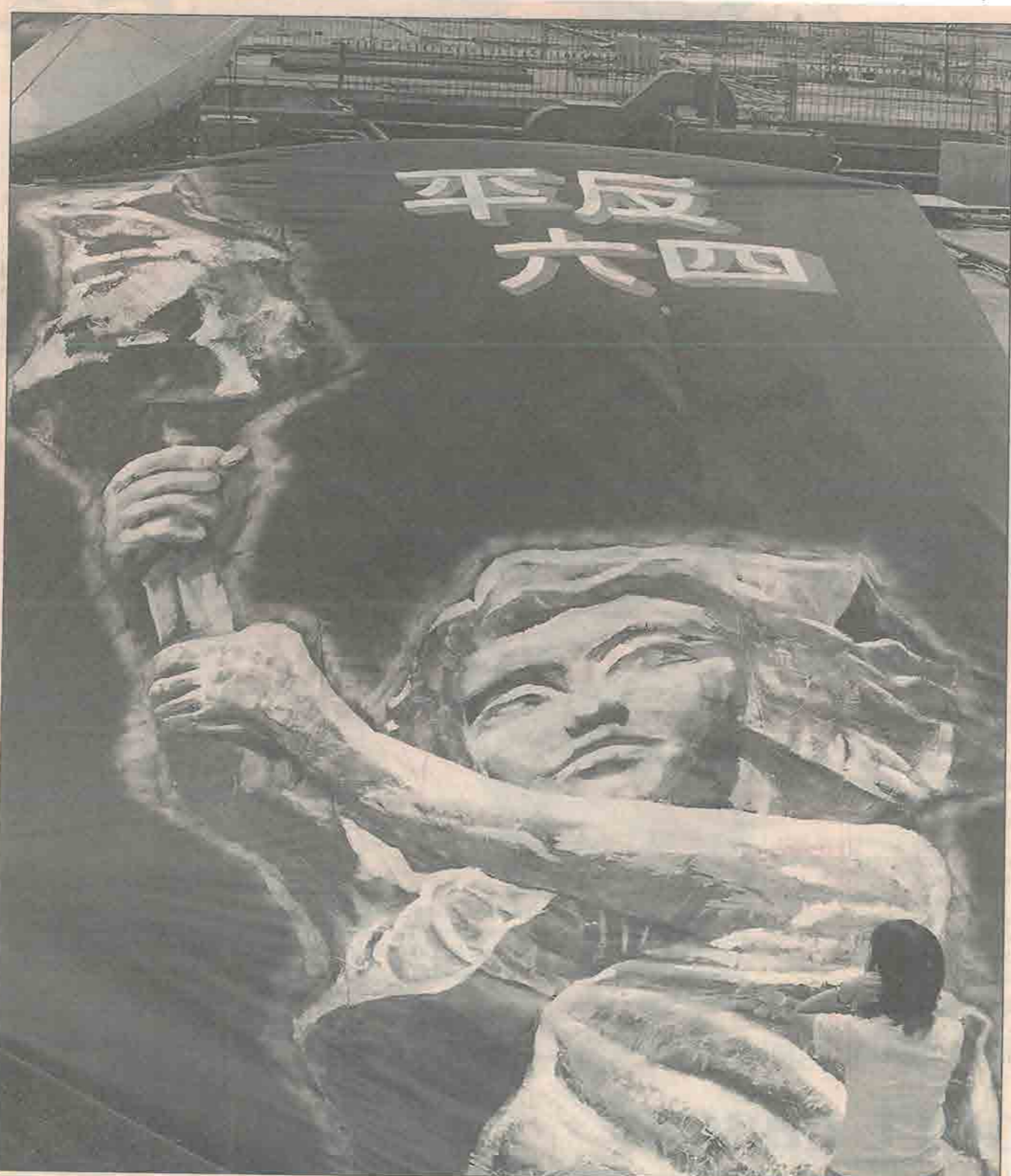
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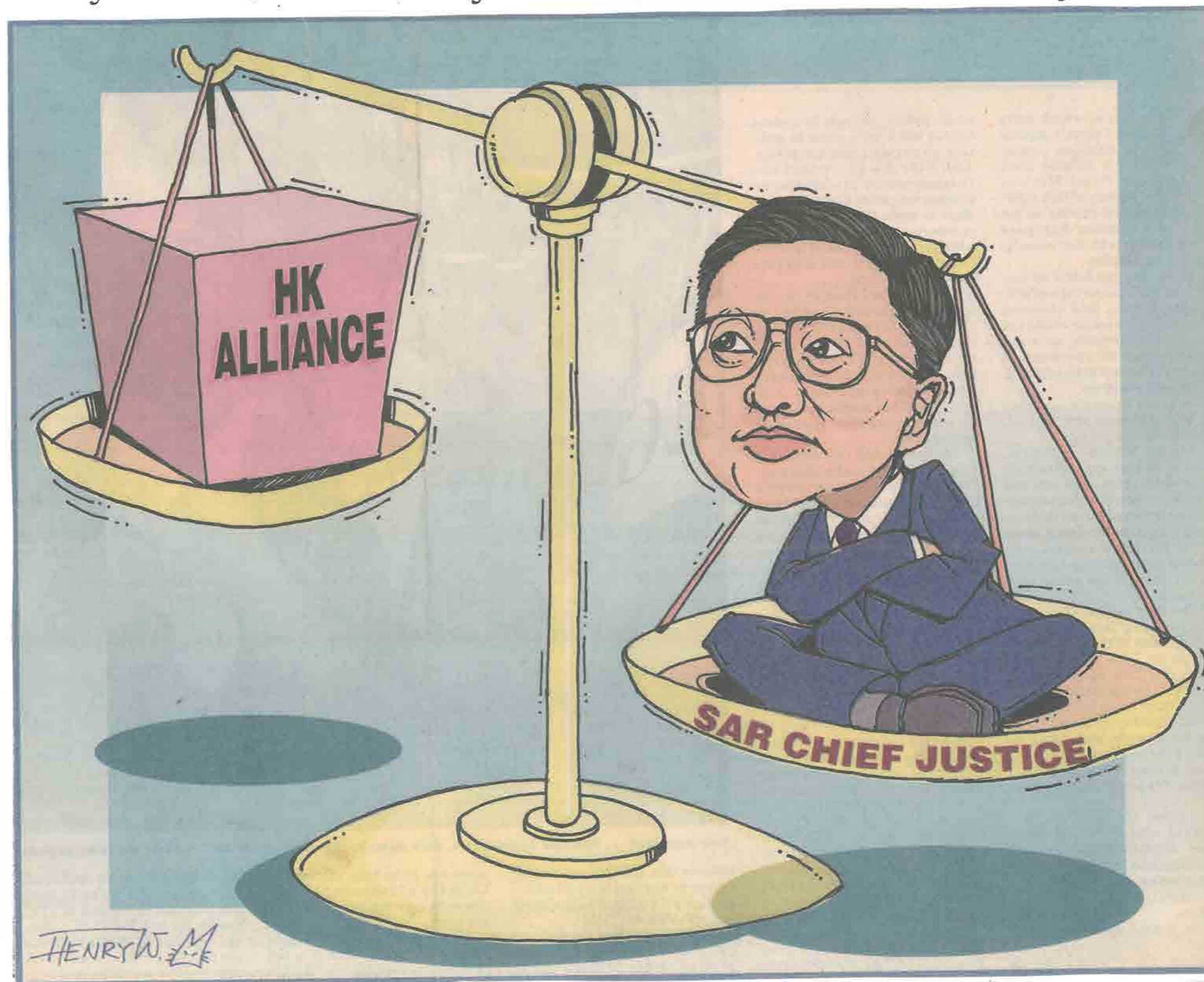


● Flame still burns: a painting of the Goddess of Democracy is prepared in the run-up to events marking June 4. Ricky Chung

When the June 4 anniversary is over, the territory's future leaders will face a key test

## Justice in balance over the Alliance

What happens to the controversial body after the handover will be a pointer to the judicial independence of the SAR, argues Political Editor Chris Yeung



**B**eginning tomorrow, there will be a series of marches, candle-lit vigils and exhibitions to commemorate the last Tiananmen anniversary before Hong Kong becomes a Special Administrative Region (SAR).

A few thousand people are expected to assemble tomorrow at Chater Gardens before demonstrating outside Xinhua (the New China News Agency) in the afternoon.

As dusk falls on Wednesday evening, many more thousands are to pay tribute to the victims of the June 4 suppression at a candle-lit rally at Victoria Park in Causeway Bay.

Although this has now turned into an annual ritual, this year's commemorative activities carry special significance.

Less than one month before July 1, the public response towards the June 4-related rallies will be seen as a barometer of the degree of support from the community over activities which the communist leaders are uneasy with.

The presence of participants at the marches and rallies may not be a vote of unreserved support for the cause of the controversial Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China.

But there should be no mistake that it will be a clear expression of common aspirations and calls on the Communist-led government to improve its democracy and human rights record.

If enthusiasm is re-ignited for commemorative activities over the next few days, it will be because of the feeling of doom and gloom about the post-handover future of the alliance and, more fundamentally, the room for tolerance of unwelcome expression of opinions in the community on mainland affairs.

The "now or never" sentiment is likely to drive more people to join the rallies and demonstrations this year for the simple reason the future of freedom of expression in the territory remains in doubt.

The less-likely scenario is that there will be a lower turnout at this year's June 4 rallies. Should that happen, it will be a severe blow to the alliance and other pro-democracy activists.

This would either be because members of the public are no longer interested in June 4 and politics in general, are scared away by China's fierce criticism, or chose not to irritate the communist regime.

Branded by Beijing as subversive, the alliance has been embroiled in controversy within the community since its formation in the heyday of the 1989 pro-democracy movement.

Calls have been made by prominent community leaders, publicly and privately, for alliance leaders to disband the body to help remove tension between the territory and China in the aftermath of the crackdown.

Clearly a thorn in the flesh of the communist leadership, the alliance has survived simply because it has operated within the law under British rule in the past eight years.

Underlying persistent fears about the future of the alliance are worries that the next government

might adopt new laws to outlaw the body.

Even though new curbs have been introduced on civil liberties laws by the government-in-waiting, the mere existence of the alliance does not seem to contravene any of the existing ordinances.

Some post-handover officials have also said publicly they did not think the alliance would become unlawful after July 1 because of the new legislative amendments.

The only probable way to trap the alliance into the legal net is to create a new one, which can be done when the post-handover government legislates on article 23 of the Basic Law.

The article, among other things, bans subversive activities against the central government.

However, that might be easier said than done.

Chief Executive-designate Tung Chee-hwa and his top advisers should have learned a lesson from their earlier attempt to curb civil liberties in the amendments to the Public Order Ordinance and the Societies Ordinance.

Any legislation that is vaguely defined and can be arbitrarily interpreted will be pounced upon by the local and international communities.

6  
*The alliance has in the past few years barely managed to finance the commemorative activities around every June 4. It has hardly posed a real threat to the communist regime in the mainland*  
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It is also doubtful whether a new law can be so devised as to specifically target the alliance without any infringement of the rights and liberties promised under the Basic Law.

And even if there were such a law, it cannot be taken for granted that the first legislature will give it its stamp of approval.

The beauty of an election in its real sense is that the candidates and political parties have to take into account the aspirations and anxieties of the community.

Any support for harsh laws that are aimed at outlawing the pro-democracy alliance is likely to cost many votes for the political hopefuls.

There is also the question of whether such a law would survive a legal challenge in courts given the assurances on civil rights and liberties in the Basic Law.

The all-party support from the community for the appointment of leading barrister Andrew Li Kwok-nang as the chief justice-designate has shown the level of public confidence in the preservation of an independent judicial system after the handover.

There is a belief that the future courts under the leadership of Mr Li will continue to dispense justice and uphold the rule of law in the SAR.

An independent judiciary is the strongest guarantee that any of the alliance's activities will be allowed as long as they are within the law.

Beijing and the future government should understand well how much damage would be done to Hong Kong if the independent judicial system was impaired by political pressure from the executive authorities.

Any threat to an independent judiciary will cast grave doubts on the territory's legal system and rule of law.

At issue is no longer the lawful rights and freedoms of a section of the community, but the fundamentals - a free society, the rule of law and an independent judiciary.

The anxiety over the fate of the alliance does not lie with the question of whether it will become unlawful in future.

Should there be a new piece of legislation, the alliance will have to abide by that law if it does not want to go underground.

That can easily be done by re-adjusting its strategy and avoiding activities that might go against the law.

The imminent threat comes more from a perception within some portions of the community that it is politically unwise and undesirable for the alliance to continue to pursue its cause and organise activities such as the June 4 commemoration.

The recent controversy over the display of the *Pillar of Shame* sculpture at parks and open areas has shown a tendency for some people to "self censor" activities that might be seen as provoking China.

The Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot explained earlier that the *Pillar of Shame* - depicting more than 50 painfully twisted human bodies - was to be put in place to test how far the authorities could tolerate human rights and freedom. However, it was rejected from Sha Tin Park after being opposed by the Region Council's pro-Beijing lobby.

Funded largely by donations, the alliance has in the past few years barely managed to finance the key commemorative activities around every June 4. It has hardly posed a real threat to the communist regime in the mainland.

Its role is now more a symbolic one. But like it or not, the existence of the alliance is in itself a test of how far the central and SAR leadership can tolerate dissent.

The irony now, however, is that some people in the community itself seem no longer able to tolerate it.

► Sunday Agenda - Han Dongfang's rallying call

SCMP 31-5-97



**Hand of fate**

Sculptor Jens Galschiot is presented with the Goddess of Democracy statuette by Szeto Wah, who vowed to keep the Pillar of Shame in Hong Kong to indicate the authorities' degree of tolerance.

Ricky Chung

# Fear of Beijing behind sculpture ban, says artist

JOICE PANG

The sculptor of the Pillar of Shame commemorating June 4 accused municipal councillors of self-censorship for opposing the statue's public display.

Jens Galschiot, who arrived from Denmark yesterday, said: "They may be afraid of the Beijing reaction."

The 43-year-old sculptor considered opposition to his work a normal reaction.

Praise and damnations were "a part of art", he said.

Whether the sculpture, which features 50 painfully twisted human bodies, was horrible depended "on how you look at it", he said.

The clay-made work was a "symbol" to mark "our kind of freedom of expression" and the hope of not losing rights, he said.

Galschiot plans to put up 10 to 20 sculptures in various parts of the world, "just to make sure people are clear on what happened".

He admitted his works had set some governments against him, and the Chinese Government had been among them, he believed.

The sponsors of the sculpture, the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, has yet to find a permanent place for the sculpture, which is due to arrive today and will be put up in Victoria Park on Wednesday.

Albert Ho Chun-yan of the alliance said: "We hope university authorities and student unions will give us the approval."

"If a free place like a university cannot accept such a small sculpture, then it would be a very sad day for every one of us."

Chairman of the alliance Szeto Wah vowed to keep the Pillar of Shame in Hong Kong to "indicate the authorities' degree of tolerance in human rights and freedom".

A group of about 150 Christians yesterday held a gathering at Chater Garden to mark the anniversary of the June 4 killings.

They lit candles and prayed for the detained, exiled and the families of those killed during the 1989 military crackdown.

In the balance - Page 19

BRIEFLY

Tiananmen Square memorial going up

HONG KONG (AP) — In a challenge to upcoming Chinese rule, Hong Kong activists said today they will erect a 26-foot statue to commemorate victims of China's 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators.

The Pillar of Shame will be unveiled at a candlelight vigil on June 4, the anniversary of China's crushing of demonstrations at Beijing's Tiananmen Square and in other Chinese cities, the activists said.

They called the monument a last gesture of defiance toward China before Hong Kong's handover, 27 days later.

The three-story-high bronze statue by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot depicts 50 painfully twisted human bodies, said the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China.

China has promised Hong Kong can keep its freedoms after the July 1 handover but also has suggested some will be limited.

Gingrich unveils his new objectives

WASHINGTON (AP) — House Speaker Newt Gingrich announced new political objectives today, saying the focus on drugs, education and teen pregnancy will be even more important than balancing the budget.

Gingrich said his goal was to achieve a drug-free America by Jan. 1, 2001, following a "national crusade fully as intensive as the effort to balance the budget." Gingrich was addressing the National Religious Broadcasters about where he and the Republican Party are going after reaching agreement with the White House on the GOP's long-time goal of balancing the budget by 2002.

Activists to build memorial

HONG KONG (AP) — In a challenge to upcoming Chinese rule, Hong Kong activists said Thursday they will erect a 26-foot statue to commemorate victims of China's 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators.

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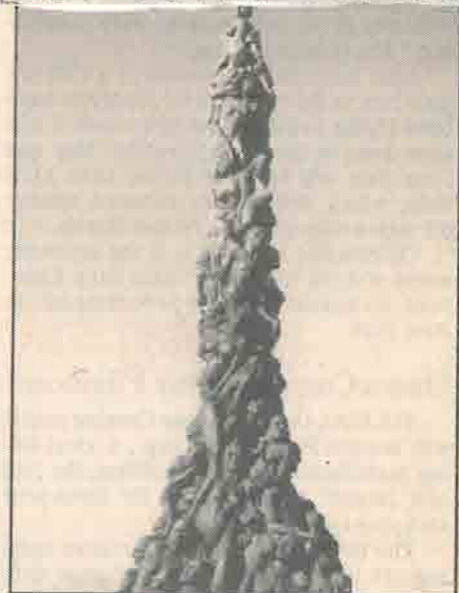
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Activists build Tiananmen memorial

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The "Pillar of Shame" sculpture commemorating the Tiananmen massacre

tic society poses considerable political risk for China's authoritarian leadership. The 1989 student movement, after all, gave birth to the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China — a group that China brands as "counterrevolutionary" and which tops its black list of

Please Turn to Page 12, Column 5

# Tiananmen's Ghosts Haunt Hong Kong and China Ties

By PETER STEIN  
Staff Reporter

HONG KONG — In 34 days, China and Hong Kong will celebrate togetherness as 156 years of colonial rule come to an end. Next week, however, the two places will have a chance to ponder the one issue that divides them more than any other: the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989.

Some 20,000 or more people are expected to flock to Hong Kong's Victoria Park next Wednesday, where they will light candles and pray for the souls of the June 4 dead. The gathering will mark the eight years since soldiers of the People's Liberation Army crushed pro-democracy protests on the streets of China's capital.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands of people died that night in 1989. And the horror of their deaths still reverberates through the complicated relationship between this city and its motherland.

"That time, it's difficult to forget," admits Paul Yip, a senior adviser to Hong Kong's incoming chief executive, Tung Chee Hwa. In one sense, the democracy movement inspired patriotism as Hong Kong people empathized with student ac-

tivists in China. "It was critical for making Hong Kong what it is now," says Mr. Yip.

But the events of June 4 devastated Hong Kong. In the aftermath, many of the city's best and brightest moved overseas to safe havens like Canada and Australia. Many of those who stayed behind continue to commemorate June 4 each year in Victoria Park.

In China, though, Tiananmen is taboo. Each June 4, Chinese police patrol the square, whisking away the few protesters who attempt to lay wreaths. In Hong Kong, China's officials warn locals that theirs is an "economic city," and they should avoid turning it into a "political" one.

No event illustrates more concisely the grave fear Hong Kong harbors toward China — and the fear China, too, harbors toward Hong Kong. For Hong Kong, tanks rolling through downtown Beijing streets symbolized the potential for disaster under the Chinese rule that commences July 1. A popular saying at the time summed up the sentiment aptly: "Today's Beijing is tomorrow's Hong Kong."

For Beijing, though, the events of 1989 were a reminder that Hong Kong's pluralis-

## Hong Kong Recalls Tiananmen

Continued From First Page  
... organizations in the territory. Risk still tinges Hong Kong's June commemorations, too, says Ip Kwok, member of Hong Kong's largest pro-democracy party. If Hong Kong is obsessed with Tiananmen, he asks, "how will it look at the situation?" China has vowed to let Hong Kong preserve its freedoms — free speech and all — in the name of promoting economic prosperity. "What economic benefit that Hong Kong brings be worth the price?" wonders

many Hong Kong people just won't let go about Tiananmen. One group has campaigned to display "the Pillar of Shame," a six-meter tall bronze sculpture of the piled-up dead of Tiananmen, in Hong Kong's public parks. (So far, the government won't let them.) Then last year Hong Kong's Democratic Party launched an in-your-face motion in the Legislative Council calling on China to reverse its stance condemning the 1989 student movement as a counterrevolutionary rebel-

lion. Wah, the Democratic Party elder who sponsored the motion, dismisses criticism that he and his colleagues deliberately provoked China's wrath. "We are expressing our opinion," says Mr. Szeto. "As a legislator, how can I not care about the people of China?"

CLEARING

THE PILLAR OF SHAME  
ASIAN WALL JOURNAL (HK)

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Request for permission to display June 4 Pillar of Shame statue denied

# 11 councillors

## walk out over sculpture ban

ANGELA LI

Eleven Urban Councillors walked out of the chamber yesterday after being told they could not display a sculpture commemorating the June 4 massacre at council venues.

The group, dressed in black with "political censorship" written on their foreheads, walked out of the chamber at 10:30 am. The pro-democracy councillors wanted to exhibit the Pillar of Shame sculpture in Chater Garden or Kowloon Park between June and September.

This is purely political censorship. They strongly oppose the message carried by this sculpture," said Szeto Wah, chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China.

Councillors voted down by 18 to 13 the Democratic Party's attempt to overturn last week's decision to reject the application for the sculpture's display.

Among those who voted against were the Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (ADPL).

Later Mr Szeto said: "I condemn the ADPL. Although the ADPL are members of the alliance, they voted against the motion."

Cheung Man-kwong, a leading member of the alliance, said: "This is an insult to art. They should be ashamed of themselves."

Despite the rejection of the application, Mr Szeto said the Pillar of Shame

The Democratic Party and the Frontier were given permission to hold forums and exhibitions in Statue Square next month.

Urban councillors quashed last week's rejection of applications by a vote of 18 to 13, with four abstentions.

The Frontier plans a public forum on feelings and aspirations on the handover in the square on June 27, as well as from 9 am on June 30 to midnight on July 1. The Democratic Party can use the same venue from the evening of June 25 to the morning of June 27, as well as from 8 am on June 28 to 7 am on June 30.

The events will include a photo exhibition and a film show on human rights.

would be exhibited in Victoria Park during the candlelight vigil on June 4 marking the eighth anniversary of the 1989 massacre.

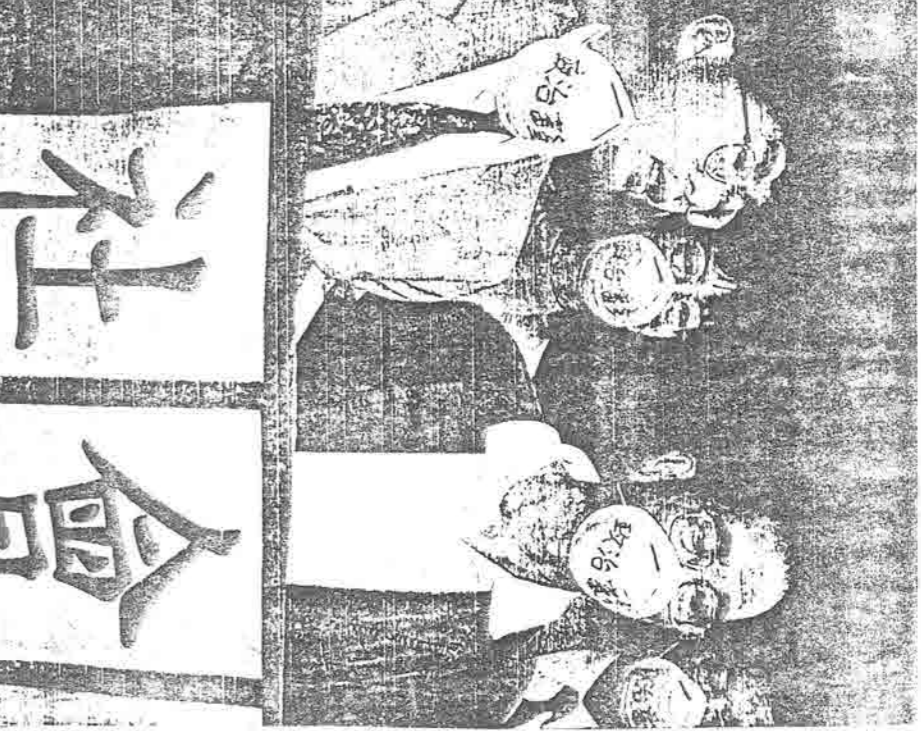
Last night, the alliance, the Social Democratic Front, the Frontier and the Democratic Party demanded the Director of Urban Services explain why double standards were applied to book-keeping applications.

They were referring to a committee paper issued by the Urban Council chambers which said displaying the sculpture and display boards for such a long time might inconvenience regular park users. It conformed with the primary use of the park, the paper said.

21 MAY 1997 - SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST



SCMP 21/5



No show  
Pro-democracy councillors protest outside the Urban Council after failing to overturn a decision preventing the Pillar of Shame statue from being displayed at Chater Garden or Kowloon Park from June to September. The statue (above), marking June 4, will be exhibited in Victoria Park.

21 MAY 1997 - SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

23 MAY 1997 - SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

## Anger at sculpture rejection

ANGELA LI SCMP 23/5

Legislators are to complain to the Chief Secretary over the Urban Council's refusal to allow the Pillar of Shame sculpture commemorating the Tiananmen Square massacre to be displayed at its venues.

Urban councillors refused this week to overturn a decision by the Recreation Select Committee rejecting the booking application by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China.

At the Legco panel on Broadcasting, Culture and Sports, Andrew Cheng Kar-foo, of the Democratic Party, described the decision as political censorship and asked whether officials and urban councillors had colluded to reject the application.

But the administration denied there was any political censorship on its part.

Members passed a resolution to write to Anson Chan Fang On-sang, urging her to investigate whether officials had failed to maintain political neutrality in handling the alliance application.

Panel members will also write to Urban Council chairman Dr Ronald Leung Ding-hong, condemning the decision to turn down the booking application.

They accused the department of mistanding councillors by saying a display of the sculpture for a prolonged period might cause inconvenience to users of Kowloon Park or Chater Garden.

Oscar Ho, exhibition director of the Hong Kong Arts Centre, described the move as "openly using a political reason" to reject the public display of a work of art.

"If this work of art was a statue of a beautiful woman I would vote for the application."

would be reached soon on whether to ignore the rejection or to display the Pillar at a private venue. The alliance's bid to display the statue at Chater Garden and Kowloon Park was similarly rejected by the Urban Council last week.

met strong opposition from the pro-Beijing camp, including the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong. Independent Chow Ping-

## Szeto to battle on for 'Pillar of Shame'

LI  
MEMBER Szeto Wah, chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement of China, said yesterday he was not ready to accept the rejection of the alliance's plan to display the "Pillar of Shame" in a public park.

The alliance's application to display the statue at Sha Tin Centre Park for three months starting from 5 June to commemorate the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown was rejected at yesterday's Regional Council meeting.

cause it is a matter of freedom of expression". The council voted 18-15 to reject the display. Opponents said the display would not be in line with public park activities.

But urban councillor and Democratic Party member Chan Shu-ying retorted that beauty should not be the benchmark, "otherwise it is no difference from political censorship". She and party members quit the chamber to express their anger after the vote.

The refusal amounted to "political censorship," Mr Szeto said. Neither the Urban Council nor the Regional Council had ever censored the content of an application, he said, "because it is a matter of freedom of expression".

Independent member Chow Ping-tim said visitors would find the Pillar "too horrible" to view. "If this work of art was a sculpture of a beautiful woman I would vote for the application," he added.

Councillor Lee Wing-tat, who is also a member of the alliance and the Democratic Party, said a decision

21 MAY 1997 - THE HONG KONG STANDARD

23 MAY 1997 - SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

## Failed to exhibit sculpture in Sha Tin park voted down

LI  
The Urban Council yesterday rejected an application to display the Pillar of Shame sculpture commemorating the 1989 Tiananmen killings, in Sha Tin Central Park.

show at the park between June 5 and September 5 was rejected by 18 votes to 15. This was in spite of support from 11 Democratic Party members and four others, including Yim Tin-sang of the Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood.

The arrival of the Pillar of Shame has been delayed. The Swiss forwarding agent, Metzger & Richner, has refused to store the sculpture or set it up in Victoria Park, according to its Danish designer Jens Galschiot. The shipper was unavailable for comment last night. The sculpture, which was due on Monday, will arrive tomorrow.

"Looking at a rather picture carried by a paper, I found the pictures were terrible. I thought it might cause long park users, in children. I would not support the application if it was a beautiful girl." Mr Shu-ying of the Democratic Party asked why the Urban Council rejected the application.

She noted that Mr Ngan had sponsored a motion to place a replica of the Goddess of Democracy statue on display at a Regional Council venue in 1989. "Why the change of heart?" she asked. Independent Tony Kan Chung-nin sought to move a separate motion to allow the

alliance to put 50 display boards on show. Albert Ho Chun-yan of the Democratic Party and his colleagues then walked out. "This is a hypocritical motion to conceal his own shameful decision just now," Mr Ho said. Although the council's chairman, Daniel Lam Wai-keung, allowed Mr Kan to table the motion, it was defeated by nine votes to six.



Pillar protest: Pro-democracy activists demonstrate against the decision to ban the statue.

PICTURE BY AGNES CHEN

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The group donned masks with "political censorship" written on them before leaving. The pro-democracy councillors wanted to exhibit the Pillar of Shame sculpture in Chater Garden or Kowloon Park between June and September.

"This is purely political censorship. They simply don't like the message carried by this sculpture," said Szeto Wah, chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China.

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They were referring to a committee paper issued by the Urban Council chambers which said displaying the sculpture and display boards for such a long time might inconvenience regular park users. It conformed with the primary use of the park, the paper said.

The four groups want to



know why the Urban Services Department has expressed no similar worries over the application by a pro-Beijing group to hold a carnival in Chater Garden with decorative lighting.

Legislator Emily Lau Wai-hing of The Frontier said the Legco's panel on broadcasting, culture and sports would tomorrow discuss the policy on venues for the display of arts in public places.

In a statement last night, the ADPL said: "Chater Garden and Kowloon Park are two popular venues for public activities. To facilitate other users of the garden, the ADPL proposes the alliance display the Pillar of Shame in UC art [exhibition] premises."



No show

SCMP pictures

Pro-democracy councillors protest outside the Urban Council after failing to overturn a decision preventing the Pillar of Shame statue from being displayed at Chater Garden or Kowloon Park from June to September. The statue (inset), marking June 4, will be exhibited in Victoria Park.

# Yellow Birders take flight

Activists who helped mainland dissidents into exile are set to emulate them. Joice Pang reports

For many of the assistants behind Operation Yellow Bird — the dissident escape route from China — a crucial question is not whether they will leave Hong Kong for safes, but when.

Aided by people they had never met before, the escapees were whisked to safety in specially hired vehicles. It was not until they found themselves on planes heading for the West that they realised how well organised the operation was. Among those who used the "expressway" to flee were prominent dissidents Liu Gang, Wuer Kaixi (吾尔开希), Li Lu (李錄), Yan Jiaqi (嚴家其), Su Shaozhi and Chen Yizi.

Yellow Bird also played a part in the famous escape of Chai Ling (柴玲) in 1990 and veteran Wang Xizhe (王希哲) last October.

The operation's activities have cost more than \$16 million, most of which has gone to triad agents who played an integral role.

Members of the rescue team — some of whom travelled to Beijing in May 1989 to provide humanitarian aid to protesters at Tiananmen Square — never thought their actions would have repercussions.

But for the eight years since the crackdown, they have had to lead double lives, working behind the scenes to help smuggle dissidents out of China.

Another member, Sam (also not his real name), said: "I was saddened by the way a man's pride could be ruined when I witnessed

how a reputable Chinese scholar shivered as he first stepped on to Hong Kong soil."

At the height of the rescue in 1989 and 1990, there were more than 100 rescue operations.

Police have advised Sam, a veteran activist, to stay away from dock and container-unloading areas, fearing he will be forcibly taken to the mainland for trial.

Yellow Bird members have been particularly vigilant about reducing the risk of being caught. They have limited their use of phones, for instance, and have kept a constant check for bugging devices.

Despite their caution, a few years ago friends of Dan and Sam were detained briefly and interrogated in China about the operation. In addition, one of Dan's friends was shown a picture of him and asked to identify him.

"Obviously they [the Chinese authorities] are warning us to stop our activities and letting us know we have already been identified."

Yellow Bird suffered a severe blow in late 1989 when it failed to rescue leading dissidents Chen

Ziming (陳子明) and Wang Juntao (王軍濤), who were sentenced to 13 years in jail. Three people who assisted in the botched operation were also arrested and jailed.

Two core organisers fled in 1989 in the face of mounting pressure.

"Sometimes I am bewildered by what I have been doing," said Sam. "Though I am an ordinary Hong Kong citizen, I seem to be on the wrong side of the track."

A few colleagues did not understand why he was alienating a strong and thriving China — a question he asked himself.

The group suffered another major setback when a key agent decided to make amends with China by fronting up at the State Security Bureau in Beijing, China's secret-police unit.

Despite the setbacks, Dan says he seldom thinks of quitting. "Once work has started, it is pointless to hand it over to someone else because that means another person will be put on the [subversion] blacklist," he said. "That's the reason [Beijing] deep-

ly hates us. We have not shown any sign of repentance over the years."

Sam added: "Someone has to do the job. How can we ignore the cries for help?"

With Yellow Bird now an open secret, Beijing officials have moved to put pressure on the administration through diplomatic channels.

"In China's point of view, these dissidents are plainly wanted criminals," said Professor Lau Siu-kai, a Preparatory Committee member. He added that to avoid trouble, members of the Operation should leave the territory before the handover.

Cheung Man-kwong, a leader of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, said: "Compared with the tremendous work they have done and the risk they have taken, my help amounts to nothing." It is the members of the operation who are the most vulnerable, he said. "Surely it is not Szeto Wah, Martin Lee Chu-ming, Lau Chin-shek or Cheung Man-kwong whose safety is at stake."

"People in the overseas dissident community can criticise Szeto Wah or Cheung Man-kwong, but dare not say a word against them [members of the Operation]."

*[Rescuers] ... never thought their actions would have repercussions*

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## Hong Kong to build Tiananmen statue

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China has promised Hong Kong can keep its freedoms after the July 1 handover but also has suggested some will be limited.

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has said Hong Kong activists should not hold their annual rally commemorating the 1989 crackdown after the colony reverts to Chinese rule.

# Sculpture 'to be test on rights'

By Lily Mak

DANISH sculptor Jens Galschiot says any action against the Pillar of Shame sculpture after the handover will confirm the future government's contempt for human rights and freedom of expression.

Mr Galschiot said the sculpture, which will be mounted in Victoria Park for the June 4 Tiananmen Square crackdown candlelight vigil, would test the validity of the new authorities' guarantees for civil liberties in Hong Kong.

But he said he would not lose any sleep over the prospects of the sculpture being destroyed.

"Any assault on the sculpture would just display the contempt of the authorities for human rights and freedom of expression in Hong Kong," he said.

"Even the destruction of the sculpture cannot rub out the symbolic value of the Pillar of Shame."

Mr Galschiot said the Pillar was "a sculptural outcry from an artist with the right to say what he likes".

He said he supported the "basic humanistic ideals of liberty, equality and brotherhood".

"Without the liberty to criticise, equality before the law and brotherhood to care for each other,

society will slide into a sink of corruption, abuse of power and cruel oppression of the individual," he said.

"This is why I'm setting up the Pillar of Shame in Hong Kong, as a gift to the Chinese people, with the aim of perpetuating the remembrance of the Beijing massacre."

The Pillar of Shame, an eight-metre tall sculpture depicting 50 painfully twisted human bodies, was the centre of controversy among Urban Council members last week when the council's recreation committee decided not to allow its erection in Chater Garden and Kowloon Park during the handover.

## 19 MAY 1997 - SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST Urbco's rejection of events planned for during and after handover infuriates liberals Court action threat over protest ban

SHARON CHEUNG

Pro-democracy groups yesterday threatened to go to court if an Urban Council ban on their protests during and after the handover was not dropped.

The council last week rejected an application to display a "Pillar of Shame" sculpture commemorating the June 4 Tiananmen Square killings in Chater Garden and Kowloon Park from June to September,

claiming the period was too long.

It also rejected applications by the Democratic Party and The Frontier for rallies in Statue Square between June 25 and July 1.

The groups said applications would be resubmitted to the council's Standing Committee tomorrow.

If they were again refused, they would have to go to court, said Albert Ho Chun-yan, a Democratic Party legislator and member of the

Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China.

"Of course, we don't want to appeal to court, so we hope members of the Urban Council would not do something which is shameful or would harm the reputation of the council," he said.

Urban Councillor Wong Chung-ki of the Social Democratic Front said that all 41 councillors should attend the vote and should cast votes honestly.

"I am very disappointed that some DAB councillors used their power in the council to put political pressure on others. As an elected councillor, I hope they can vote honestly this time," he said.

Democratic Party Urban Councillor Stanley Ng Wing-faj said the council should make its decision on whether the venues were available, not on the content and function of the activities.

He was referring to comments from council vice-

chairman Ip Kwok-chung, of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong, who said the activities of the democrats did not match the spirit of the handover.

"It is not a reason to reject our application," said Mr Ng.

The Urban Services Department said the party could not be allowed to rally in Statue Square or Chater Garden because it would cause inconvenience to visitors to a lighting show there.

### Challenge to pledges of freedom set in stone

By James Kelly

AN eight-metre high statue commemorating the Tiananmen Square massacre was unveiled yesterday as local pro-democracy activists pledged to go on commemorating the event after the handover.

The two-tonne sculpture by Danish artist Jens Galschiot was inspired by the military crackdown on pro-democracy protests in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989.

"We will still hold the gathering even if they ban it," Szeto Wah, veteran campaigner and chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement of China, said.

He said the alliance, labelled by Beijing as "subversive", planned to hold its traditional candlelit vigil every June 4.

It is not clear whether Hong Kong's post-colonial government led by Chief Executive-designate Tung Chee-hwa will seek to ban the annual pro-democracy protest.

But many believe this year's gathering will be the last major demonstration before the handover.

Mr Szeto said the Pillar of Shame, which depicts more than 50 painfully twisted human bodies, was in-



Pillar of Shame: Albert Ho Chun-yan with a photograph of the statue.

PICTURE BY TARAS KOVALIV

tended to test Beijing's tolerance and pledges that Hong Kong will have a high degree of autonomy under Chinese rule.

"The presence of the sculpture will be a serious test of the Chinese government to uphold their promise of implementing 'one country, two systems' and the Basic Law," he said.

Mr Szeto also said the alliance had written to Mr Tung urging him to attend this year's June 4 protest.

"We hope Mr Tung, as a Hong Kong citizen, can participate in the June 4

vigil in order to experience how Hong Kong people commemorate the victims of the June 4 massacre," he said.

The general secretary of the Hong Kong Alliance, Albert Ho Chun-yan, said the statue would become a symbol of human rights for Hong Kong people.

An inscription on the statue says "the old can't kill the young forever" in English and Chinese.

Mr Ho said the statue would be displayed at a candlelight vigil in Victoria Park on June 4.

They will also issue 50,000 envelopes and miniatures of the Goddess of Democracy, the statue that became the symbol of the pro-democracy movement.

He said the statue would remain in the park the next day.

Galschiot approached the alliance earlier this year to see if it was interested in the statue.

Mr Ho vowed: "We will continue with our fight to safeguard Hong Kong's basic freedoms and basic human rights as guaranteed to us."



Tony Aw

### Memorial flight

Legislator Szeto Wah (left) helps at the Democratic Party launch of a kite in Nai Chung, Sai Kung, in memory of the June 4 victims. The 1989 students flew kites to obstruct army helicopters.

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# Move to overturn ban on 'Pillar of Shame' protest

By Lily Mak

THE Democratic Party will move a motion in the Standing Committee meeting of the Urban Council tomorrow to overturn a decision by the recreation committee to ban the erection of the Pillar of Shame sculpture at Chater Garden and Kowloon Park during the handover.

The move was announced at a joint press

conference held by the Democrats, the Social Democratic Front, the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China and the Frontier.

They condemned the Urbco recreation committee decision on Wednesday as "political screening". The Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong and Liberal Party Urbco members also voted down the applications.

Alliance secretary general and Regional Council member Albert Ho Chun-yan said he hoped Urbco would not vote down the motion and "bring shame to Hong Kong".

Mr Ho said the parties would consider undertaking a judicial review should the motion, to be moved by Democratic Party Urban Councillor Kam Nai-wai, be voted down again tomorrow morning.

"Any kind of pre-screening of content by the Urbco will be conducive to 'content regulation', which will violate (the) international human rights treaty and can be challenged by the Bill of Rights Ordinance in Hong Kong," he said.

Mr Ho said if Urbco upheld the recreation committee ruling it would in effect force people to protest in places even less desirable, like outside the

Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Centre in Wan Chai.

He also expressed concern that Urbco would use the same method to ban commemorative activities for the June 4, 1989, crackdown.

Social Democratic Front Urbco member Wong Chung-ki criticised the Urban Services Department for not making the decision on the venue booking and referring it to Urbco's recreation committee for a decision.

Democratic Party Urbco member Stanley Ng Wing-fai said the pro-China Urbco members had never been able to challenge the artistic value of the Pillar and it was an obvious action to curb freedom of expression.

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# Absence of opponents to help Tiananmen motion

By Carmen Cheung

THE passage of today's Democrat-sponsored motion on the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown is expected to be eased by the absence of opposition in the Legislative Council.

Sponsored by Democrat Szeto Wah, the motion is set to pass because some of its likely opponents will be attending today's Preparatory Committee meeting in Beijing.

Five independent legislators who are also Preparatory Committee members have informed the Legco Secretariat they will be absent from today's sitting.

They are David Li Kwok-po, Lee Kai-ming, Paul Cheng Ming-fun, Eric Li Ka-leung and Philip Wong Yu-

hong. Liberal Party legislator Selina Chow Liang Shuk-ye is out of town and will not return until next week.

Eric Li said he believed the motion would be passed after he learnt some legislators would neither speak nor cast their votes.

dependent legislator Margaret Ng and Citizens Party chairwoman Christine Loh Kung-wai.

Ms Szeto's motion, which says that the June 4, 1989, Tiananmen crackdown "should be redressed", is also expected to be backed by three members of the

erick Fung Kin-kee. But he is also a Preparatory Committee member and will not be casting a vote.

It was confirmed yesterday that no government official would respond to Mr Szeto's motion.

"Under the general practice, the government sends officials to answer questions or motions sponsored by legislators only if the issue is related to government business," a spokesman said.

But Mr Szeto said he would not care whether his motion debate was endorsed or not and said he had not lobbied for the support of other legislators.

"What's more, I won't care whether or not government officials will give a response," he said.

*"The ADPL will support Mr Szeto's motion as it is also the stance of the ADPL to redress the June 4 crackdown."*

Mr Szeto, the Democrat chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, is believed to be counting on about 27 votes in support of his motion, not only from his Democratic Party but also from the Frontier, in-

Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (ADPL).

"The ADPL will support Mr Szeto's motion as it is also the stance of the ADPL to redress the June 4 crackdown," association chairman and Preparatory Committee member Fred-



Pillar protest: Pro-democracy activists demonstrate against the decision to ban the statue.

PICTURE BY AGNES CHEN

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SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST 19 MAY 1997

Urbco's rejection of events planned for during and after handover infuriates liberals

## Court action threat over protest ban

SHARON CHEUNG

Pro-democracy groups yesterday threatened to go to court if an Urban Council ban on their protests during and after the handover was not dropped.

The council last week rejected an application to display a "Pillar of Shame" sculpture commemorating the June 4 Tiananmen Square killings in Chater Garden and Kowloon Park from June to September, claiming the period was too long.

It also rejected applications by the Democratic Party and The Frontier for rallies in Statue Square between June 25 and July 1.

The groups said applications would be resubmitted to the council's Standing Committee tomorrow.

If they were again refused, they would have to go to court, said Albert Ho Chun-yan, a Democratic Party legislator and member of the

Urban Councilor Wong Chung-ki of the Social Democratic Front said that all 41 councillors should attend the vote and should cast votes honestly.

He was referring to comments from council vice-chairman Ip Kwok-chung, of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong, who said the activities of the democrats did not match the spirit of the handover.

"It is not a reason to reject our application," said Mr Ng. The Urban Services Department said the party could not be allowed to rally in Statue Square or Chater Garden because it would cause inconvenience to visitors to a lighting show there.

Democratic Party Urban Councilor Stanley Ng Wing-fai said the council should make its decision on whether the venues were available, not on the content and function of the activities.

He was referring to comments from council vice-