

**Extracts of Reactionary Big and Small-Character Posters and Leaflets, Zhongguo gong chan dang issuances, 1919-2006, Box No. 9, "Internal Party Reports," Hoover Institution Archives.**

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Translator's Note:

This piece of ephemera is a collection of transcribed big-character-posters from the early period of the 1989 Tiananmen movement. Its provenance is itself interesting; propaganda officials within the People's Liberation Army collected the posters as teaching material, to explain to members of the military how the movement should be understood: a counterrevolutionary riot aimed at overthrowing the Chinese Communist Party. After the introductory material, posters from Beijing universities are compiled. Five of those posters are excerpted in this translation.

中共解放军总政治部宣传部印发供军以上领导  
参考的《反动大小字报和传单摘编》  
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Extracts of Reactionary Big and Small-Character Posters and Leaflets  
Printed and Distributed by the Department of Propaganda,  
General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army  
Provided for the Reference of Leaders at the Corps Level and Above  
June 23, 1989

反动大小字报和传单摘编  
(供部队军以上领导同志批判用)

Extracts of Reactionary Big and Small-Character Posters and Leaflets  
For Use in Criticism by Comrade Leaders at the Corps Level and Above

## 说明

### Introduction

这里摘编的是动乱和暴乱期间出现在首都的部分反动大小字报和传单，它赤裸裸地道出了一小撮反革命分子对党和社会主义制度的刻骨仇恨，把他们平常和学潮初期所标榜的“民主”、“爱国”的假面具剥得精光。从中我们可以清楚地看到，就是这些人在操纵学潮，制造动乱和反革命暴乱，始终把矛头对准党和政府，妄图打倒共产党，推翻社会主义制度，气焰极其嚣张。在反革命暴乱被平息之后，他们仍然不甘心失败，企图与党和人民顽抗下去。我们一定要以邓小平同志在接见戒严部队军以上干部时的重要讲话为指导，认清这场斗争的根源、实质和长期性、复杂性，揭穿一小撮反革命分子的反动本性和种种卑劣伎俩，夺取平息反革命暴乱的彻底胜利。

这个材料供部队军以上领导和宣传部门参考，请不要翻印、外传。

总政治部宣传部  
一九八九年六月二十三日

These extracts are part of the reactionary big and small-character posters and leaflets that appeared in the capital (Beijing) during the period of turmoil and riot. They reveal and speak of [the fact that] a small group of counterrevolutionaries have deep-seated hatred towards the Party and the socialist system. They strip the mask away from their professions of "democracy" and "patriotism" that were flaunted ordinarily and during the initial stages of the student movement. From these we can clearly see how these people manipulated the student movement, fabricated chaos and counterrevolutionary riots, targeted the Party and the government, vainly attempted to overthrow the Communist Party, and schemed to create conflict between the Party and the People. We must take as our guide the important speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping to [the leaders at the corps level and above of] the martial law troops, clarify the origins of this struggle, [a struggle which is] essential, protracted, and complicated.<sup>1</sup> [We must] expose the reactionary quality and various despicable tricks of this small group of counterrevolutionaries and strive to put down the counterrevolutionary riot, for a thorough victory.

These materials are provided for the reference of leaders at the corps level and above as well as the propaganda departments. Please do not reproduce or transmit them externally.

General Political Department  
CCP Department of Propaganda  
June 23, 1989

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<sup>1</sup> At the time, Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) was China's paramount leader, and as chairman of the Central Military Commission, the head of the People's Liberation Army. The introduction refers to a speech he made on June 9, 1989 to the commanders of the martial law troops.

# 我们的主张

## What We Stand For

一、进行大选：普选产生各级人民议员（相当众议员），国政议员（相当参议员），普选产生总统（统管各部委、三军）、省长与市长等地方首脑。

二、实行议会民主制度：修改宪法，确立议会民主，严格执行立法、行政、司法三权分立相互制衡，以根治权力的腐败与无能。

三、建议中共中央调查“耀邦事件”，以促进党内政治民主与公开化，重树党之威信。

四、北大应再举民主与科学的大旗走在这场民主运动的前列。

五、大力宣传民主与自由，“不自由，毋宁死”，以密尔的《代议政府》为蓝本推行中国之民主政治。

立刻行动起来吧！！！！

为民草书

（4月16日贴于北大）

- 1) Carry Out General Elections: General elections that will produce at each level people's legislators (similar to congressmen), government legislators (similar to senators), and a general election that will produce a president (that will administer various ministries as well as an army, navy, and air force), provincial governors and mayors, etc., at the local level.
- 2) Implement a Parliamentary System: Revise the constitution, establish a legislature, and execute a strict system of checks and balances among the legislative, administrative, and judicial branches, to bring corruption and incompetence under permanent control.
- 3) Recommend that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party investigate the "Hu Yaobang Incident," and [in doing so] promote inter-party democracy and openness, establishing the Party's public trust.<sup>2</sup>
- 4) Peking University should once again raise the great flag of democracy and science, and walk at the vanguard of this democratic movement.
- 5) Vigorously propagate democracy and freedom, "Without Freedom, We Would Rather Die," and use our mini-"representative government" to promote China's democratic politics.

Go into action immediately!

Signed, "Wei Min"

Posted on April 16 at Peking University

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<sup>2</sup> Hu Yaobang (1915-1989) had served as General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party. His death on April 15, 1989, sparked the Beijing demonstrations that became the Tiananmen Movement.

## 七条要求

### Seven Demands

1. 正确评价胡耀邦功过
2. 全盘否定“反精神污染”和“反资产阶级自由化”为在其中受迫害公民平反。
3. 取消北京市人大通过的关于禁止游行示威的十条。
4. 公布国家领导人财产，其家属子女的工资年薪，要求国家领导人带头维持清廉。
5. 取消报禁，允许民办报纸。
6. 增加教育经费，改善知识分子地位。
7. 正确报道这次运动，不得打击报复迫害任何参加运动者。

(4月18日中午，王丹等在人民大会堂前组织静坐时提出；次日凌晨，北京大学杨涛等在新华门前“请愿”时再次提出；19日当天在北大出现有上述七条内容的大字报，题为《北夫人在人民大会堂前坚持斗争》。)

- 1) Correctly evaluate the achievements and errors of Hu Yaobang.
- 2) Completely repudiate the "Anti-Spiritual Pollution" and "Anti-Bourgeoisie Liberalization" [campaigns], and rehabilitate the citizens who had been persecuted during [the campaigns].<sup>3</sup>
- 3) Abolish the ten regulations forbidding demonstrations passed by the Beijing People's Congress.
- 4) Make public the property of state leaders, as well as the salaries of their children, and demand that state leaders lead the way in upholding transparency.
- 5) Abolish journalistic taboos, and allow newspapers that are run by the people (rather than the state).
- 6) Increase educational expenditures, improve the status of intellectuals.
- 7) Correctly report on this movement, and do not retaliate against or persecute anyone who has participated in the movement.

(At noon on April 18, Wang Dan and others initiated a sit-in in front of the Great Hall of the People and proposed that the next day before dawn, Peking University students Yang Tao and others would [also] present this petition again in front of Xinhua [News Agency]. On the 19th, big-character-posters containing the above-mentioned seven articles appeared at Peking University, with titles like "Peking University Students Persist in Their Struggle Before the Great Hall of the People")

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<sup>3</sup> This refers to two campaigns initiated in the mid and late-1980s, to oppose the introduction of Western political ideas and Western popular culture.

# 告全体同胞书

## A Letter to All Compatriots

1. 取消共产党专制，实行多党制，目的在于取消共产党的特权。
2. 取消各团体、军队、学校、单位的党支部、政工干部等；
3. 取消言禁，报禁，可以民办报；
4. 设立类似众参议院的机构，使青年可以参政、议政；
5. 反对新的权威和个人崇拜；
6. 取消顾问制，实行退休制；
7. 鼓励个人集资修改法律，保护私有财产，减少投资税收；精减部门，权力下放；
8. 保护广大民众利益，慎重国家预算；
9. 提高知识分子待遇

言天目

（4月18日贴于北京航空航天大学）

- 1) Abolish the Communist Party System, implement a multi-party system, with the goal of abolishing the privileges of the Communist Party;
- 2) Abolish the [institution] of Party branches and the [role of] cadres in political and ideological work, in organizations, the military, schools, and work units;
- 3) Abolish forbidden speech and journalist taboos, allow the people to publish their own newspapers;
- 4) Establish a legislative system, and allow youths to participate in and discuss politics;
- 5) Oppose new authority and personality cults;
- 6) Abolish the system of consultants, and implement a retirement system;
- 7) Encourage individuals to accumulate savings, and revise laws to protect private property and reduce investment taxes;
- 8) Streamline departments and transfer power to lower levels;
- 9) Protect the interests of the broad masses, and take care with the state budget;
- 10) Improve the treatment of intellectuals.

“Yan Tianmu”

Posted on April 18 at Beijing Aeronautical University

运动何处去  
--致广大爱国同学

To the Many Patriotic Students: Where Does the Movement Go From Here?

亲爱的同学们：

在今天中国最需要你们的时候，你们又无私无畏地站起来了。事实完全证明，你们的举动得到了来自各阶层的逐步理解和支持。运动何处去？二条路：一是中途夭折，中国依旧；二是向深广发展，直至将中国的民主进程推进一步。人民渴望第二种道路。

怎么办？

目前最迫切需要的是组织宣传、纲领，然后是强有力的行动。

组织，组织才有力量，坚强的组织才能胜利。你们要切记：在大局面前一定不能内部争名夺利，要团结、统一。要公推出在北京乃至全国最有影响的学校为你们的带头人，

Dear Fellow Students:

Today, when China needs you the most, you have selflessly and fearlessly stood up. The facts completely prove that your activities have gained the understanding and support of all levels of society. Where will the movement go next? There are two paths: one is [that the movement] will die on the vine, and China will be as it was before; the second is that it will develop more deeply and widely, taking China towards the next step in its democratization. The people long for the second path.

What is to be done?

Organize--only in organization is there strength, only by strengthening organization will there be victory. You must always remember: in the face of greater interests, you should not strive for fame or gain; you should be united and unified. You should publicly elect the most influential universities in Beijing and around the country to be the leading force.