

「平反六四」這四字已被高喊了超過20個年頭，今年更多了一個「六四紀念館」。支聯會在深水埗汝洲街租了唐樓二樓單位作展館，展館對面是「黃金網絡城」，聽義工說，不少一心打機的年輕人，誤打誤撞進了這歷史長廊。

紀念館播放《抗戰二十年》，淡黃燈光照着一幅幅陳年相片。這天，貴州的張伯拖着老伴到來，細心看每塊展版、書籍、剪報，足足逛了一個半小時，但不敢買紀念品。張伯談起六四依然激動，「溫家寶說要平反六四，表面上是，事實根本是不可能！給中共下台，他們怎麼敢？他只想騙老百姓！」



不少內地人近日都到訪六四紀念館，盼了解六四事件。惟紀念館內無論是內地人，或土生土長應享有言論自由的香港人，大多都不願上鏡。
(李澤彤攝)

貴州張伯：

我聽說香港每年都搞燭光晚會，我要看看是什麼，亦要去大遊行，因為大家說那裏人人都高呼要平反六四，去到就沒遺憾了

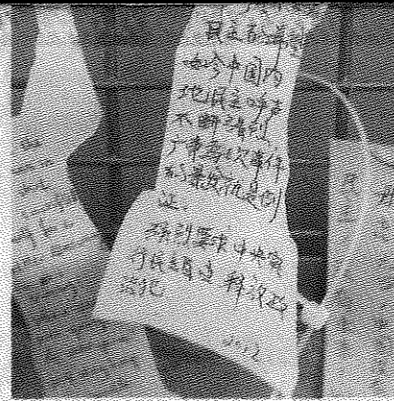
張伯是個熱血老人，在內地學懂「翻牆」，常透過「動態網」瀏覽被官方屏蔽的網站，搜尋六四資料。他過去曾多次探訪長居在港的女兒，女兒不關心政事，反而女婿知他心意，特地提醒

張伯離開後，同樣來自內地的張先生也來到紀念館，同樣熱血沸騰。張先生是記者在紀念館兩日採訪中，首個敢買紀念六四T恤的內地人。張先生10歲時從電視看到清場的畫面，因官方一直將之定性為「反革命暴亂」，他曾一度相信這是真相。

自2008年起，張先生因工作關係每年來港，他定必參與六四遊行，但同時感到香港言論自由日漸縮窄。「白色恐怖肯定是有了，副總理李克強來港，我真想問，為何學生不能和平示威呢？香港是中國最後一片可以有自由、民主的土地，維持不了會很遺憾，真擔心六四集會不能辦下去。香港人，一定要堅持！」

張先生不怕鏡頭、不怕香港傳媒，甚至願與記者交換卡片，不怕被人算帳嗎？「國安常找我談話啦，有什麼好怕？我沒有違法，我問心無愧，我只是來這裏買衣服穿而已。」

有內地人來尋找心底一直知道的真相，但亦有人看罷館內一切，仍然迷失。這天午飯時間過後，獨自進館的還有從觀塘來的陳伯。陳伯在2000年初才移居香港，六四發生時仍在內地。他多次跟記者說：「我真的不知道真相。」「我在電視看到解放軍出來，但看不到



參觀六四紀念館後，市民可以在民主女神像的小紙條上留言，不少人要求內地釋放異見人士。
(李澤彤攝)

清場、學生死的場面，只看到有「壞分子」打死解放軍，吊起他們燒！」陳伯激動的說：「是吊起他們燒呀！你看過嗎？」

今天來了紀念館，他說的確對事件了解多些，但仍未消除內心疑團，「內地對六四的評論較簡單，但知道事實的全面，總較片面好，希望中共將來能有個說法吧。在那個年代，未成熟的中共可能覺得學生錯，再過20年、30年，中共再回看事件就會覺得學生是對的」。

六四紀念館內除了介紹六四前因後果的展板，亦展示不少記錄六四

也從未去過六四的燭光晚會。阿杰好奇為何向來3分鐘熱度的港人「咁有恒心」，在街上接過紀念館的傳單後就相約堂哥。「看那本結集時，發現原來當年很多人都關注六四，連小學、幼稚園也登廣告爭取中國要民主，現在大家卻在淡忘，當年登報的政客也不說了，很諷刺、很沉重。」

堂哥阿駿更關注香港的言論空間。「原來你們記者還可以報六四新聞？我以為這些敏感東西很難出到街，我好驚訝喎。」

來紀念館的人不算多，但每人至少駐足停留45分鐘。不時舉起單鏡反光相機拍下展品的駱先生說，所有關於六四的資料大都已看過，王維林身擋坦克的相片，在他退休前一直安放於其港鐵辦公室的桌子上。「我一直都很留意六四，多年來六四燭光晚會都有去，大風大雨也去，《民主歌聲獻中華》也有去。年年華叔高喊支聯會五大綱領，說到『建設民主中國』，我都會在後自己加一句：『希望下年不用來』。」

本來笑着說話的駱先生突然沉寂：「已經20多年了，為何還未平反？為何還要再來？上邊（中共）好像一點也沒變？」他每年逗留在六四晚會的時間不斷縮短，不

麼回事，應由他作價值判斷，自己選擇去不去」。駱先生說，新一代愈來愈少人關注事件、了解真相，大人應做好傳承，「扭曲歷史比淡忘更大鑊，淡忘可以recall（回想），扭曲（歷史）後果卻很深遠」。

紀念館也是一個學習平台。約20個則仁中心學校的學生，他們大多有學習障礙或情緒問題，較常人活躍、多言多動作，但望着館內輕觸式屏幕展示的北京長安大街時，尚算專心，嘗試了解六四是什麼一回事。

負責講解的義工要求他們臨走時每人說一句話總結感受。學生你眼望我眼，好不容易才開口：「他們很勇敢」、「當時的學生很堅持」、「內地解決現實的食物問題更重要」等，「其實要承認一件事不是太困難」，帶隊的羅老師說。

這班90後離開後，12歲的潘奕愷拖着媽媽進來，他的身高還不到民主女神像的一半。潘太站在奕愷背後，雙手搭在其膊頭

上一起看展板，不時向他解釋。她說，兒子去年出席燭光晚會後，主動要求我帶他來，這年僅12歲的小學生看罷15分鐘講述六四前因後果的短片後，向媽媽說：「一定要平反。」

志願當警察 支聯義工拒上鏡

「六四紀念館」每日除有一兩名支聯會資深義工留駐，其餘導賞員都是年輕人。記者兩日造訪紀念館，都見一男一女的「90後」坐在門兩旁看書，一見訪客進來便主動介紹展館，其中一人是今年讀中六的阿晉。

考畢文憑試的阿晉原與朋友一起到馬會申請暑期工，但面試當天他没空，最後朋友獲聘了，沒有他份兒，其姑媽是支聯會資深義工，介紹他到紀念館幫手，他

便來了。

讀《08憲章》打發時間

六四紀念館雖獲好評，但人流不算多，平日更是「小貓三四隻」，為打發時間，過去少有關注內地人權情況的他，隨手拿起諾貝爾和平獎得獎者劉曉波寫的《08憲章》，以及《王丹獄中回憶錄》等書籍看。「其實他們寫的都很和平，都是想為中國好，不明白為何要得到這待遇。」經

過數星期的閱讀、與訪客溝通，阿晉直言加深了對六四事件的了解，亦明白支聯會的堅持。

「秋後算帳 寧可信其有」

然而，阿晉與內地人一樣，同樣怕鏡頭、怕樣貌被認出。記者問他會否介意上鏡，他說：「唔好啦，我還想當警察。」記者問：「你覺得香港真的會這樣？真的會有秋後算帳？」這年輕人說：「寧可信其有，不可信其無嘛。」



大專生「報哀音」 籲毋忘六四

下周一便是六四事件23周年，藝術團體「沒有製作」今年組織4間大專院校學生組成「哀音團」，到全港不同地點巡迴獻唱，20多名青年昨晚身穿黑衣在灣仔莊士敦道頌唱多首民運歌曲，並擺放北京天安門的黑白圖片，以哀悼六四死者，呼喚市民「毋忘六四」。

(何家達攝)

支聯會「愛國民主大遊行」

主題：毋忘六四傳真相 民主潮流不可擋
時間：今日下午3時 集合
地點：維園足球場至 特區政府總部



七成人憂梁收緊悼六四自由

劉銳紹籲梁上任推寬鬆措施

明報民調

昨日六四燭光晚會期間，本報在維園現場以問卷訪問了300名市民，發現近七成受訪者憂慮未來5年候任特首梁振英當政期間，社會悼念六四的自由將會收緊，同時指曾蔭權治港7年期間，悼念自由被收緊者卻不足四成。時事評論員劉銳紹認為，調查結果與梁最近對六四的回應冷淡有關，若要打破這局面，應在上任後立即推行寬鬆措施，如擱置「網絡23」條立法。

明報記者 林耀華 實習記者 李芷君 李樂嘉 莫凱琳

候任辦：梁表明尊重表達權

候任行政長官辦公室發言人表示，梁振英已公開表明尊重市民自由表達不同意見的權利，港人所享有的權利和自由，包括言論和集會自由，受《基本法》和其他香港法律的保障，是香港核心價值之一，候任特首梁振英和香港市民會共同維護。

本報記者昨日到維園燭光晚會現場，以問卷形式訪問了300名參加者，認為梁振英當政後，悼念六四的自由度會收緊的受訪者有68.7%，另外有13.7%認為不會改變，認為會放寬者只佔3.3%。對於曾蔭權治港7年期間香港社會的悼念六四自由轉變，有38.7%認為收緊了，亦有44.7%指無改變及5.3%認為放寬了。

劉銳紹：梁迴避六四後果

早前梁振英面對記者追問六四看法時，表示「已說了很多，再無補充」，54.3%受訪者認為此

時事評論員劉銳紹表示，調查反映市民擔心新政府上台後，會以或明或暗的方法打壓言論集會自由。劉續稱，梁振英當年登報支持民運，一年後卻已「轉軚」，近年更說前中共領導人鄧小平應拿諾貝爾獎和平獎，令人擔心他當上特首掌握權力後，會打壓異議聲音。

劉銳紹又表示，梁振英近日對六四的問題冷淡而迴避，若要打破目前市民對其不信任的局面，應在上任後立即推出政治寬鬆措施，如擱置「網絡23條」立法。

「何時平反六四」趨樂觀

本報在2010年同樣做過晚會問卷調查，相對兩次調查結果，今年受訪參加者對可見將來中國政府可以平反六四較樂觀。今年調查顯示，合共有20%受訪者表示六四可在10年內平反，較2010年的14.6%多。同時指何時平反六四「無法估計」的受訪者比例，亦由2010年調查的

明報六四晚會現場問卷調查

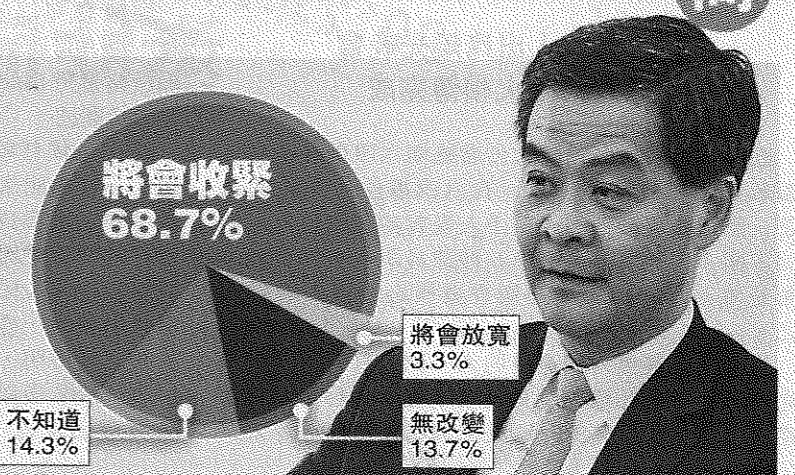
問

你認為在曾蔭權治港期間（2005年至2012年），香港社會悼念六四的自由度有否變化？



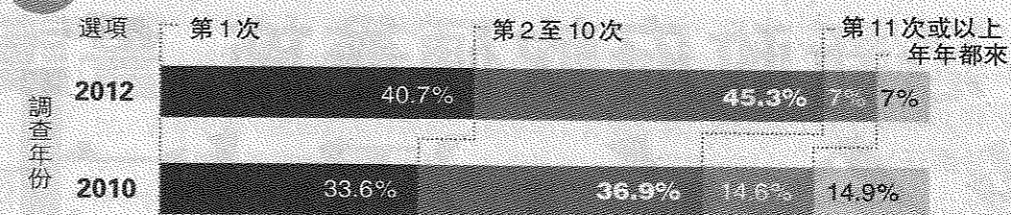
問

你認為未來5年梁振英治港期間，香港社會悼念六四的自由度會否變化？



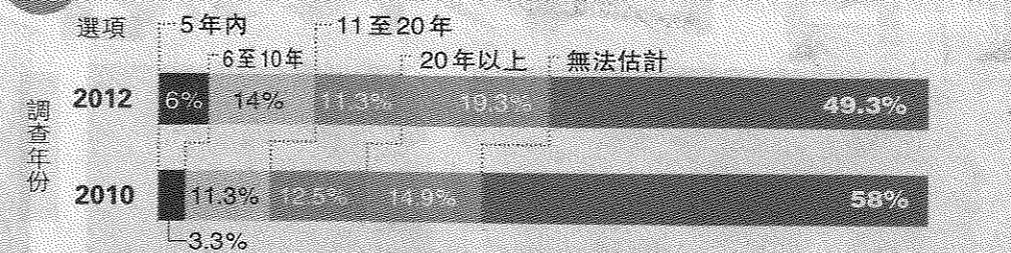
問

你是第幾次出席六四晚會？



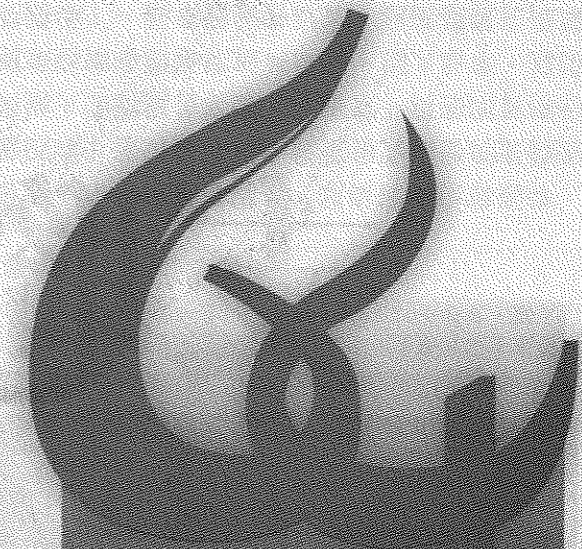
問

你估計中國政府何時才可以「平反六四」？*



問

候任特首梁振英前日被傳媒追問對六四看法時說「已說了很多，再無補充」。就此，你對梁振英的印象：



成功訪問人數：
2010年調查：336
2012年調查：300
訪問地點：維園燭光晚會現場
*小數點四捨五入關係，
總和不等於100%

百論令對梁的印象轉差，35.3% 58%，大幅減少至49.3%，可見表示無改變，300人中沒有一人 受訪者對平反六四的前景感到較稱轉好。

信仰改變想法 柴玲原諒鄧小平李鵬

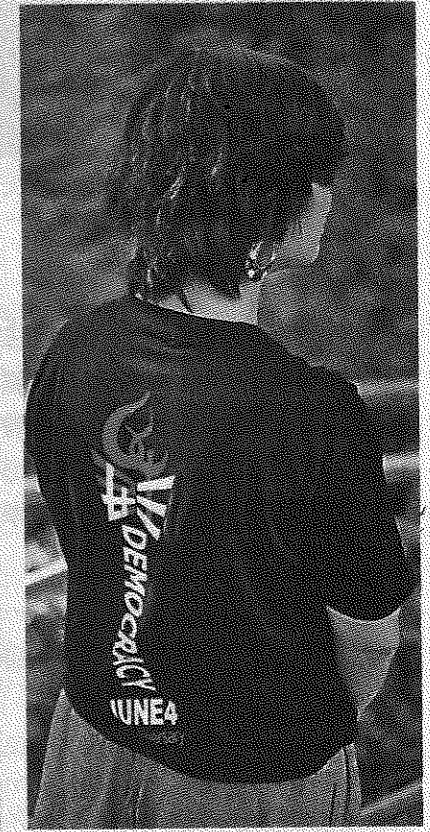
六四23周年，身在美国的前學運領袖柴玲（圖）發表公開信，表示原諒當年衝進天安門廣場的解放軍，以及當時的領導人鄧小平和李鵬。兩年半前有了基督教信仰的柴玲說，這種寬恕反主流文化及感



情，但堅信「只有當我們真正寬恕時，持久的和平才會到來」。

柴玲在公開信中表示，過去每當想到領導人以毀滅方式處理民運，會感到痛苦及憤怒，直到近年有宗教信仰才改變想法。

同機抵港不相識 內地客聚首維園



坐同一班機 望「平反六四」

30多名原本互不相識、乘坐同一班飛機來港的內地自由行旅客，穿上同一款式的「平反六四」上衣，昨日下午到達維園，打算出席六四燭光晚會，但他們都不願上鏡。（林振東攝）

在外資企業工作的Mattie（化名）昨首次來港參加燭光晚會，她不願上鏡，表明擔憂內地政府的反應。（林振東攝）

每日早晨8點鐘
祝禱香港5分鐘

2012年6月5日
求主甦醒人心

他們雖知道
上帝判定行這惡事的人是當死的，
然而他們不但自己去行，
還喜歡別人去行。

博彩及獎券事務委員會主席容永祺說：「市民一旦沉迷賭博，禍害影響更深遠。問題賭博的嚴重程度人人不同，通常最終會導致家庭關係破裂、財政困難、工作或職業上出現問題，甚至失業，以及一連串法律及情緒錯亂問題等。而且，不受規管的非法賭博活動更會帶來其他社會問題，例如欺詐、未成年人士參與賭博及高利貸等，亦可能成為黑社會和犯罪活動的收入來源。」*

洞悉人心的主，賭博真是一個極大的迷惑，當事人不但找藉口容許自己去賭，還會慫恿別人與自己同夥，更會教唆年輕的家人參與其中，以致家中年輕的一群自小便學曉賭博，懂得下注；誰不知這些因賭博帶來的迷惑，就在年輕人的生命中展開轄制的工作，種下了禍根！主啊，求祢打開這些成年人的眼睛，叫他們能夠看得明這些行為，表面上是賭博，但內裏的卻是迷惑，賭博可以戒除，但迷惑未必會離開；求主賜下智慧，叫人看得明，不是在於賭多少錢的問題，而是家中的成年人會親手把「迷惑」栽種在年幼家人的生命中；不但破壞他們的生命，更把他們推向拆毀，甚或走上自殺之途，求主拯救我們年輕的一代；尤其歐洲國家盃決賽將於數天後舉行，除了在收費電視台收看賽事外，不少球迷會在網上、甚至以智能手機即時觀看賽事；然而，在網上觀看有機會接觸到非法賭博網站的龐大宣傳攻勢，稍一不慎，便會墜入非法賭博陷阱。求主保守少年人不要遇見試探，拯救他們脫離一切引誘；叫他們懂得作出正確決定——遠離賭博。感謝主，奉主耶穌基督聖名求，阿們。

*資料摘自2012/6/4明報4新聞版

特寫

「連我們都到這邊來了！」這一夜，無數內地人在維園手持燭光，公開悼念六四。其中30多名原本互不相識、乘坐同一班飛機來港的內地自由行旅客，因六四而聚在一起，他們穿上同一款式的「平反六四」T恤，默默坐在台前渴望了解真相，然後回鄉告訴同胞，希望可以一傳十、十傳百。

不願上鏡 恐被算帳

儘管他們已踏出尋找真相的一步，但堅持的底線是——「不上鏡」，有人直言不確定「做這件事會帶來什麼狀況」。

早在燭光晚會開始前4小時，30多名自由行旅客一同穿上在維園購買的支聯會「平反六四」黑色T恤，靜靜坐在台前，低頭仔細看場內派發的有關六四報道。其中，在外資企業工

作的Mattie（化名）昨首次來港，只為參加燭光晚會，逗留一晚就會回去，她不願上鏡，表明擔憂內地政府的反應，「我不清楚我做這件事對我以後有什麼影響」。六四時只是小學六年級的她慨嘆，六四前內地聲音相對開放，「但天安門事件後，在很短時間內，非常快速的，任何聲音都沒有了，只有一個聲音了」。

「六四前內地聲音相對開放」

Mattie表示，雖然內地封鎖六四消息，官方只形容參與學運的學生「被不懷好意的反革命分子利用達到目的」，但民間只要有人「走出去」，就能流傳其他信息，「不是所有人都說話的……只要關心的都知道（真相）」。

驚訝香港鋪滿六四新聞

來自上海的前記者許先生也是首次來港參加六四晚會，他抵埗數天，驚訝香港大街小巷都是六四的新聞，「在內地從無接觸過呢！」26歲的他說，曾耳聞當年坦克駛入天安門、學生

絕食等事，但「耳聽為虛、眼見為實」，決意來港認識歷史真相，再回去和朋友分享，「我的同事不清楚也不了解……這樣當然不好」。

許先生相信六四肯定會平反，只是時間問題，「肯定會有雲開霧散的一天，有些事愈是遮遮掩掩，反而愈引起別人恐懼，不如撥雲見日吧」。他寄語港人要珍惜香港這片中國的唯一自由地，又對記者說，「你應該為生活在香港這樣一個地方驕傲」。

大學生感動：香港非人情淡薄

除了一行自由行旅客，來自深圳的Joha Chu和兩名朋友第二度來港悼念六四。Joha Chu憶述，去年他首次參加六四晚會後在微薄發相，隨即被「河蟹」（刪除），今年他以暗號如「5月35號」等繼續和同學在網上討論。24歲的內地大學生李婕對港人堅持平反六四表示感動，「港人不是人情淡薄的」。

明報記者 梁家欣 陳洛明
實習記者 李樂嘉

FOCUS

Families vow to fight on



A paramilitary policeman wipes helmets and shields outside the police barracks near Tiananmen Gate yesterday on the anniversary of the crackdown; officers march in front of the Forbidden City; and a security guard keeps watch from behind a hedge overlooking Tiananmen Square. Beijing police surrounded several areas where petitioners stay and some activists were forced to return home. Photos: AP, Reuters

Record turnout of 180,000 for June 4 vigil

CONTINUED FROM A1

46, said from his wheelchair. "Your participation shows that you have not forgotten the movement 23 years ago. I have to thank you all on behalf of the victims."

Asked about Leung's refusal to comment, Fang said: "So many Hong Kong people have voiced their wishes. If he, as a leader, does not listen to their calls, he's not doing the right thing."

Guan, a tourist from Guangzhou, said that while he felt pity for Fang, it was justifiable for Beijing to suppress protests, as they could threaten the government's authority.

There was also a message to Hongkongers from dissident lawyer Chen Guangcheng (陳光誠), who fled the mainland for New York last month. In a letter to the alliance, posted on its website, Chen urged Beijing to face up to the June 4 issue and implored Hong Kong not to forget the tragedy.

"I hope our central government will further free up its mind, deal with the issue in a timely and fair manner, and give the public a satisfying reply that will stand the test of history," wrote the lawyer, who was allowed to leave China after a dramatic escape from house arrest in Shandong (山東).

Wang Dan (王丹), a leader of the 1989 student movement, told campaigners in a video message "it is worth persisting", citing the long struggle of Myanmar's democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi, now a lawmaker after years of struggle.

Guo Liying, a member of the Tiananmen Mothers activist group, sent a message saying she was touched by the efforts of Hongkongers to keep memories of the killings alive.

Later more than 100 protesters from the radical League of Social

Despite a heavy security presence in Beijing, the relatives of those killed on June 4, 1989, say they will not be deterred in their democracy campaign

Staff Reporters in Beijing

Security was tightened in Tiananmen Square and other sensitive spots in Beijing yesterday, with the authorities jittery about activities and gatherings to commemorate the 23rd anniversary of the crackdown on the student-led democracy movement.

A dozen family members of four victims of the 1989 crackdown were able to pay tribute to their loved ones at the Wapian Cemetery in the east

"We have just endured what happened during the 20th anniversary," said Zhang Xianling (張先玲), a representative of Tiananmen Mothers whose 19-year-old son is buried in the cemetery.

Zhang read out an oration while paying respects to her son. She called on the central government to vindicate those who died on June 4, 1989.

She accused the authorities of using "tank and machine gun" to crush the public's desire to have the crack-

down ended. "Facing the future, we must be brave to redeem and compensate [for] what they have done wrong," she said. "My son, I will pay my respects to you every year. Mum will work hard for you until everything is clear."

Members of other families vowed to fight for democracy. "You have sacrificed yourself for the democracy of China. We are determined to continue your fight," said one father.

Another mother said: "I have been visiting you each year over the past 23 years. I am determined to continue with that until June 4 is vindicated."

Despite being allowed to enter the cemetery, Zhang said public security officials kept a tight watch over them, forbidding the families from paying

tribute but to redeem and compensate [for] what they have done wrong," she said. "My son, I will pay my respects to you every year. Mum will work hard for you until everything is clear."

Zhang said two other elderly women were forbidden from enter-

ing the cemetery but "were allowed in after a long fight".

She said at least eight security personnel were deployed for each family and that the gate of the cemetery was closed when they were there.

"My sadness over my son was overwhelmed by anger because of the heavy security," she said. "We did not carry bombs."

"We neither chanted any slogans nor took part in protests. We have not violated the laws. On what grounds can the government deploy so many people to watch us and forbid us from getting together?"

Tiananmen Square still bustled with tourists yesterday morning, but security checks on visitors were

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Tiananmen Square still bustled with tourists yesterday morning, but security checks on visitors were

they were found carrying recording equipment, with officials saying they needed prior approval to gain access.

All visitors had their bags searched and in some cases security personnel even checked papers carried by visitors.

On Sunday, the US State Department called on China to release those still serving sentences for taking part in the demonstrations and to do more to protect human rights. But Foreign Ministry spokesman Liu Weimin (劉偉民) said yesterday that Beijing was "strongly dissatisfied" with those calls.

Police surrounded several areas where petitioners were gathered, including Beijing South railway station,

We neither chanted any slogans nor took part

tal's western suburbs, but many said security was heavy-handed.

lic to forget the incident". "Those in power have no alterna-

All family members were transported to the cemetery from their

ZHANG XIANLING, TIANANMEN MOTHERS

Three Hong Kong reporters were barred from entering the square after

(無錫), Jiangsu (江蘇), were taken away and forced to return home.

Democrats ignored police warnings and marched to the central government's liaison office in Western.

First-timers from mainland tell of their shock and want to learn more

Ada Lee, Tony Cheung and Joanna Chiu

For 18-year-old Mok Cheuk-ngai, last night's candle-light vigil was his first.

Mok, who moved from Guangdong two years ago, said he knew virtually nothing about what happened in Tiananmen Square 23 years ago until he started researching the incident after arriving in Hong Kong.

"I didn't even know something big happened on June 4," he said. "I was shocked when I realised the Beijing government could conceal such a big event," he said.

Crowds filled Victoria Park's six football pitches by 7.40pm. Soon after, organisers ran out of candles and appealed to people to use their phones as sources of light.

As former University of Hong Kong student union representative Samuel Li Shing-hong spoke on stage, a man ran up and snatched the microphone and threw it to the ground. Li was among a group of HKU students who were pushed into a stairwell at a protest during a visit to the campus by Vice-Premier Li Keqiang (李克強) in August.

A man also threw a bottle at the stage, aiming at Democratic Party

chairman Albert Ho Chun-yan. He missed his target and left the park.

Many attending were from the mainland and said they wanted to know more about the crackdown.

Li Runzhou, 38, from Zhejiang province (浙江省), had visited the city many times before, but was attending the vigil for the first time. "In the past, I didn't realise the country was so bad," he said. "There are so many problems in education, medical services and people's livelihoods."

Li's sister, who took part in the Tiananmen Square movement in 1989, was at home in Anhui (安徽).

"She was lucky. She left on June 3," said Li, who works for a sales company.

"It's very bad on the mainland. Those who were born in the 1990s or later know absolutely nothing about the crackdown." Li said he would tell his children, aged three and six, about it when they grew up.

Another mainlander, a university researcher from Shenzhen, also said he was attending the vigil for the first time. "I want to know more about the crackdown," he said. "Knowing so little now, it's difficult to make a fair judgment on who's right and who's wrong."

He said he felt Hong Kong en-

joyed much more freedom than the mainland.

Coco Chen, 22, a University of Hong Kong student from Jiangxi (江西) province, attended on her own. "This is my first time, although I heard the vigil had been very big in recent years," she said. "I believe June 4 must be vindicated because the government was wrong to kill its own people. They should not hide the truth any more."

Chen said she read about the crackdown on the internet while at high school but did not realise people had died in the protests until she came to Hong Kong.

Yuki Chiu Fat, 17, from Hong Kong, lit a candle with eight classmates.

They had just finished a public exam, and learned of the crackdown from their teacher. "When we were younger, we hardly understood what happened," Chiu said. "Now we can think critically and can research the crackdown."

Local university student Dave Leung Yam, 20, said it was regrettable the student movement 23 years ago was not successful. "Even though I was only born in 1992, I have watched television programmes about June 4 and read magazine articles about it."

Priscilla Jiao
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"Shanghai Stock Exchange" was yesterday added to a list of sensitive phrases blocked on mainland microblog searches after Shanghai's composite index closed down 64.89 points - indicating the date of the Tiananmen Square crackdown, which was being commemorated.

Searches for the Shanghai index on Sina Weibo, a popular mainland microblog, returned a message saying that "according to the relevant regulations and policies, search results cannot be displayed".

The index opened at 2,346.98 points and the figures were widely circulated among internet users, who remarked on the "creepy" coincidence as they sought creative ways to evade tighter online censorship. Mainland censors had attempted to block online discussion of the anniversary of the events of June 4, 1989.

Sina Weibo's censors yesterday blocked searches for terms including "six four", "date of 4", "June", "today", "23", "candle", "tank", "Tiananmen" and "never forget", widening already extensive efforts to silence talk about the most sensitive anniversary on the mainland.

But some internet users managed to beat the censors. A few pictures of the 1989 protests were posted on weibo: most of them used euphemisms or symbolic pictures and phrases.

The "tank man photo", showing a man who stood in front of a column of tanks in Beijing on June 5, was

It's inappropriate for C.Y. to comment, says top aide

Simpson Cheung
simpson.cheung@scmp.com

It would be inappropriate for chief executive-elect Leung Chun-ying to comment on the June 4 issue, his top aide said, after Leung shrugged off media questions about it at least four times yesterday.

Fanny Law Fan Chiu-fun said: "Under the 'one country two systems', it may not be convenient for Leung Chun-ying, as chief executive-elect, to comment on this issue. I think he has his own feelings [on this

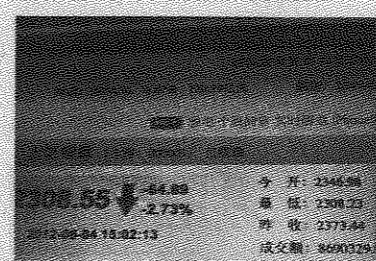
issue]." On Sunday, Leung said he had already talked extensively about the issue and had nothing to add.

His last public comment on the crackdown was on March 28, during a Commercial Radio programme.

He said he could easily remember his feelings about what happened on June 4, 1989, because his wife gave birth to their first child at about the same time.

Leung openly condemned Beijing for the crackdown that year, publishing a statement under his name in a newspaper. He also criticised the Beijing government that year in an

Censors fight Shanghai bourse's loaded message



The Shanghai index closed down 64.89 points. Photo: Simon Song

posted yesterday morning but removed soon afterwards.

But some subtle postings escaped censorship. Movie director Jia Zhangke (賈樟柯) posted four symbolic photos, including one of a burning car and another of a group of students in a huddle. Photos featuring plastic toy tanks were censored after being widely reposted.

Simplified characters that look like tanks also appeared online. You (由) looks like a tank from above, zhan (占) from sideways, and dian (点) looks like a tank crushing people.

Posts such as, "It's a special day, a legal anniversary that everybody should remember" and "Flowers and candles are in our hearts" were not removed because they contained no sensitive words.

Since the weekend, internet users have posted the lyrics of *Bloodstained Glory*, a popular song commemorating those who died during the June 4 crackdown which has been sung during annual memorial events in Hong Kong. The article "In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen" by famed writer Lu Xun

(魯迅), was also posted. Liu was one of the students killed in a protest on March 18, 1926, in front of warlord Duan Qirui's headquarters in Beijing.

Yao Jianfu (姚監復), a retired official, said the anniversary was like a heavy stone on people's hearts. "They have to try all kinds of means to vent their grievances at this moment," said Yao, who recently wrote a book containing interviews with Beijing's mayor at the time of the crackdown, Chen Xitong (陳希同).

Wu Qiang (吳強), a Beijing-based internet analyst, said of yesterday's online outpouring that "internet users have launched an unprecedented collective remembrance of this sensitive event on Sina Weibo ... It looks like a way to protest".

Sina Weibo was being heavily monitored, with some users complaining that the posting function was suspended due to "internet problems".

The microblogging service quietly removed the candle icon from its collection of "frequently used emoticons", replacing it with an animated London Olympic torch icon. It also prevented users from changing their display photos in an apparent attempt to stop them from posting any photos commemorating the anniversary.

Dai Qing (戴晴), a writer and veteran journalist, said technology would allow people to push back against censorship. "People, especially those born in the '80s and '90s, speaking out [now] suggests that the common aspiration of the people cannot be blocked," Dai said.

Ivan Choy Chi-keung, a political scientist at Chinese University, attributed the high turnout to public fears over Leung's leadership style. "They fear Leung will be high-handed and that Hong Kong's freedom of assembly and of speech will be tightened. They are also worried that Western district [the liaison office] will interfere in local affairs."

Lee slammed mainland authorities as "more corrupt than they were in 1989" and accused them of backsliding on human rights while making no progress towards democracy.

He praised protesters in Wukan (烏坎), the Guangdong village where protests against land seizures by the local government eventually led to democratic village elections.

But he also expressed his concern for the prospects for freedom in Hong Kong. "Over the past year, the government has been tightening control on local protests and public rallies," Lee said. "Leung Chun-ying is a chameleon who changed from placing an advertisement [in 1989] reprimanding the massacre to advocating [in recent years] giving the Nobel Peace Prize to Deng Xiaoping (鄧小平)," the man thought to have ordered the killings.

Fanny Law Fan Chiu-fun, Leung's top aide, said it might not be appropriate for Leung, as the chief executive-elect, to comment on the incident under the principle of "one country, two systems".

The Chief Executive's Office had no comment on the vigil. In Beijing, Tiananmen Square and other sensitive spots saw tightened security while bereaved families paid tribute to loved ones in Wanan Cemetery.

The Foreign Ministry, meanwhile, expressed "strong dissatisfaction" at a US call to free all those still jailed for the 1989 protests. Washington's call came after a diplomatic row between China and the US over Chen. See footage from the vigil at vimeo.com/scmp



Tens of thousands of people take part in the candle-light vigil in Victoria Park last night. Photo: Sam Tsang

廣場四君子：京氣氛似六四前

周舵倡平反六四放過鄧小平



周舵（右）與妻子趙燕英現居於北京。周舵（左一）是當年在天安門廣場絕食的「四君子」之一，「四君子」為周舵（左起）、劉曉波、侯德健和高新。（資料圖片）

周舵簡歷

出生：1947年3月 原籍：湖南
簡歷：1985至1987年任教於中國青年政治學院，1987年在北京大學社會研究所做教授，六四時任北京四通集團公司綜合計劃部部長。1989年6月2日響應劉曉波號召開始絕食，6月3日當晚與戒嚴部隊談判，軍隊承諾允許學生撤離天安門廣場。六四後被關押近1年

專訪

六四「天安門廣場四君子」之一的周舵接受本報書面專訪，認為在今年初的王立軍、薄熙來事件之後，北京的氣氛像是1989年「六四」前，山雨欲來風滿樓，他相信未來中共高層權力鬥爭中，六四會被當為一張爭取民心的「好牌」，建議採用與糾正反右運動相同的平反模式，即撫恤受害人，但為鄧小平和解放軍「留點面子」。

明報記者

周舵書面回應本報說，今年3月「薄王事件」後，北京城像1988年下半年、1989年上半年一樣，瀰漫着一股「政局不穩、人心惶惶，『山雨欲來風滿樓』的味道。政治敏感的人們都預感將有大事發生，但會是什麼事，沒有人知道。比較謹慎的人，也都認定至少未來5至10年，巨變不可避免。」

傳溫總提平反 周：合情合理

尾巴，給當年的決策者留點面子，下個台階。」根據歷史資料，1957年中央發起「反右運動」，被劃為「右派」的55萬人，除了少數人在文革前獲得「摘帽」（即平反），一直到毛澤東逝世後，1977年時中央黨校副校長胡耀邦開始平反冤假錯案，大部分右派才「摘帽」，直至1980年代，除官方定性的極少數「右派」外，97%「右派」獲得平反。

提反右平反模式 為決策者留面子

周舵認為，當時的國務院總理李鵬需要對六四負主要責任（見另稿），他認為應該「實事求是」地歸咎於他，「把鄧小平和解放軍解脫出來，不加深究，大家一起往前看，努力實現民族和解」。他坦言，沒有別的好辦法，只能如此，「成熟的政治是妥協的藝術，想要徹底解決的結果就是不能解決」。

對於今秋的「十八大」，他認為很難預測，「新人們上來，局面一定會有變化。然而，變成什麼樣，變好還是變壞，沒有人知道」。他認為中共廢除職務終身制，是建立了一種執政黨自我更新的機制，「雖然很不完善，但終究還是有用，比毛澤東時代強得太多了」，這也令中共政權能持續至今。社會各界能做的，只是盡一切努力推動國家和執政黨朝好的方向，即「先法治、後民主」，以及自由

聲稱鎮壓後坦克照 油麻地展出



每年香港人都會高呼「毋忘六四」，油麻地活化廳昨日起至6月17日展出的兩張聲稱是1989年6月4日拍攝的照片，其中一幅展示大批解放軍坦克在天安門廣場密集排列的情景，為解放軍進城鎮壓這段歷史補下一些空白環節。由於照片效果震撼，故吸引大批市民到場參觀，市民指照片相當震撼，觀看時恍如置身事件中。

活化廳負責人李俊峰說，該照片由前解放軍、內地藝術家陳光提供，陳當年入廣場前按指示拿着上級給予的相機和菲林，在天安門四處拍照，估計這兩張照片是陳光當日保留下來的部分照片。李俊峰稱他在韓國一個展覽中認識陳光，得到了一批八九民運相片，當中以活化廳展出的兩張最震撼及珍貴，「照片是以

親歷現場的角度指攝，記者是無辦法拍攝得到的。照片令整件事立體化，整個人猶如置身六四」。李說陳光曾想盡辦法在內地展出六四照片或把照片放上網，但一一被當局刪掉，香港能夠展示這兩張照片，實屬難得。

1989年以電視記者身分直擊屠城的港台節目主持人謝志峰，對所展出照片中天安門廣場有大量坦克車，表示屬意料之內。他說據當年目擊觀察及其後見過不少現場照片，鎮壓時城樓外有大量坦克「並不出奇」；由於當日他在廣場時天色較暗，未能看清坦克型號，故未能核對相中坦克是否與他所見的為同一款式。

（李澤彤攝）

王軍濤：平反最快兩年後



王軍濤簡歷

1958年7月11日出生的王軍濤，1976年以高中生身分參加四五運動被捕，入獄半年，1978年考進北京大學，畢業後擔任《經濟學週報》副總編。參與八九民運後遭通緝，同年11月，當局發出7人通緝令

中，王居首位。1990年「黃雀行動」拯救失敗後王被捕，被判刑13年，至94年獲准赴美國保外就醫。2006年獲美國哥倫比亞大學政治學博士。現為中國民主黨全國委員會主席



▲王軍濤1990年被捕，入獄4年後獲准保外就醫。中國政府1991年向外國傳媒發放王軍濤在獄中的錄影帶片段。
(黑白資料圖片)

◀流亡美國18年、現任中國民主黨全國委員會主席的王軍濤認為，中共遲早會解決六四問題，他更預料最快在兩年後當中共新領導層站穩陣腳，便會提出平反六四。
(屈俊樂攝)

專訪

1976年，當年只是高中生的王軍濤，在北京天安門廣場參與四五運動，換來半年牢獄之災；13年後的1989年，任職報章副總編的王軍濤再次投身民主運動，結果連「黃雀行動」都拯救不了他，再成4年多的階下囚。轉眼23年，王軍濤由衷感謝香港人堅持年年紀念六四。王軍濤又認為，最快在今年秋天十八大舉行後的兩年，中共便有可能平反六四。他解釋：「最少要等兩年，是因為新任領導層必須站穩陣腳，才能提出平反六四。」

待十八大後新領導站穩陣腳

早前在美國紐約接受本報訪問的王軍濤認為，現時中共的確有壓力要平反六四，因為最近內地多處地方有民眾公開紀念六四，中共必須回應。他解釋，即使平反六四，對中共來說沒有太大壞處，反而更可收買人心。至於內地部分地區紀念六四活動沒遭地方政府即時阻止，王軍濤認為或與管政法的政治局常委周永康屢被海外網站傳言指失勢有關，「以往都是周永康下令打壓，現在沒有人下指令，而且近日傳聞六四快將平反，地方政府不敢貿然打壓」。

2009年6月，試圖來港出席六四論壇但被拒的王軍濤，由衷多謝香港人堅持年年紀念六四，他寄語香港人應繼續爭取，此舉會對內地產生很深遠影響，因為

中共政治權威正走下坡，香港大有條件影響內地。經歷兩次天安門運動，飽受六四冤獄，王軍濤卻說能否平反六四對他來說沒太大意義：「我參加八九民運，目的是要建立憲政民主。我被抓坐牢，我覺得這是我該付的代價。如果可以結束一黨專政，我覺得我個人不平反也值得。」

自稱敗將「共產黨還專政就不及格」

1994年流亡美國後在紐約哥倫比亞大學取得政治學博士銜的王軍濤，形容自己只是「敗軍之將」：「真正的英雄應該打勝仗，但現在我們這些維權的、反對的，永遠都打敗。打敗仗的人，有什麼好說？」王軍濤前年籌組中國民主黨全國委員會，堅持打倒專制政權，他說：「別人問我怎評自己，我說只要共產黨還專政，我就不及格。在我做到（結束一黨專政）之前，我決心不講自己的故事。」

有人批評民運人士流亡海外後影響力便大減，王軍濤不同意，「就算我在國內又可以做什麼？我也是會被看得死死的，什麼也做不成。我上街，被打了一頓，頭破了，拍張照片給媒體，又能怎樣？」王軍濤說外界對流亡海外民運人士期望很高，「你在國內做什麼都是對的，但你出來之後，只要你無法直接推動中國民主，你就会被批評。」

明報記者 屈俊樂

黨朝好的方向，即「先法治、後民主」，以及自由憲政的方向發展。

小資料 反右冤案21年後平反

中共在1957年發起反右運動，全國黨內外共有55萬人被劃為右派，遭到勞教、撤職等處分。21年後即1978年，共產黨才開始為反右運動的冤案平反。直至1980年，幾乎所有當年被劃成右派的人均獲平反。

由1966年開始、歷時10年的文化大革命，隨着毛澤東1976年逝世及「四人幫」被捕受審，亦被重新評價，15年後的1981年，中共十一屆六中全會通過決議，承認毛澤東錯誤發動文革，並形容文革是一場給黨、國家和人民帶來嚴重災難的內亂。

至於海外傳言稱國務院總理溫家寶提出平反六四，周舵認為消息真假無從查證，但感覺「合情合理」，「中共現在是綱紀大壞，『一人一把號，各吹各的調』，什麼意見捅出來都不足為奇」。他認為，溫家寶應該有這樣的見識和膽略，而他不可能是孤身一人、背後沒有其他大佬的支持。

周舵說，在未來的高層權力爭奪中，「平反六四」無疑是一張大得人心、借以建立權力合法性的好牌，「沒有人用它才奇怪呢」。但他指出，關鍵問題在於打出這張牌之後會有什麼後果，「搞得不好，就是從上亂到下、從裏亂到外，從『一統就死』變成『一放就亂』，從漸進變成激進、有序變成無序、可控變成不可控」。

「我猜想，主政者如果腦子還好使的話，就會採取『反右模式』：基本平反，撫恤、賠償，但留個

反駁陳希同 指鄧當年或被誤導

在1989年任北京市長的陳希同最近出版新書《陳希同親述：眾口鑠金難鑠真》，否認有向鄧小平「謊報軍情」，指鄧小平在北京「耳目甚多」，不可能被他騙過。但周舵認為，「耳目甚多不等於信息通暢」，而當時野心勃勃的國務院總理李鵬利用北京市委書記李錫銘和陳希同，處處與時任總書記趙紫陽作對，一心想取而代之。

「耳目多不等於信息通暢」

「共產黨一黨專制一大痼疾，就是其意識形態斷定領袖們具有神一般的智慧，掌握最高真理，所以其所有的『耳目』匯報情況時都要揣摩上意，唯恐捅破這個領袖即神的神話，犯了『立場錯誤』，馬上大禍臨頭。」周舵指出，說真話、聽真話從來不是專制政體的長項，所以即使鄧小平「耳目甚

多」，也未必會向他匯報真相。

周舵相信，李鵬在1989年4月25日帶上以李錫銘、陳希同名義作的「情況匯報」去鄧小平家，添油加醋、煽風點火，立即激怒了鄧小平，才有了「四二六社論」。「令事態雪上加霜的是，李鵬野心勃勃，一心想取趙而代之，處處和趙作對，處處掣肘、火上澆油，使得趙苦心焦慮採取的所有力圖平息事態的措施一一失效。」

周舵批評，現時中國的權力集中在共產黨手中，「大小官員手中的政治權力統統不受有效監督約束，一個小小科長就可以肆意橫行，這樣的體制怎麼能不出大亂子？還胡吹什麼『能辦大事』，不錯，確實是能辦大躍進、人民公社、文化大革命和六四這樣的『大事』，足以把好官們辛辛苦苦辦的其他大事一水沖，徹底抵消而有餘！」

吳康民：六四已悄悄地平反

前港區全國人大代表吳康民今天在本報撰文表示，近年中央領導人和官方傳媒提及六四時，都形容六四是「一場政治風波」，已很少提及「反革命暴亂」和「動亂」，顯示「六四早已悄悄地平反」，但指現時要維穩，故應耐心等待（全文刊A25觀點版）。律師會前會長王桂壠則發表公開信，要求中央將六四定義為愛國運動，還當年北京學生一個公道。

王桂壠籲六四定義愛國運動

吳康民在題為〈「六四」未能忘懷 澄清仍需等待〉的文章形容，六四的「政治風波」，內情複雜，至今不少真相尚未解密。他認為，中央領導人和官方傳媒提及六四時，以「一場政治風波」代替「反革命暴亂」和「動亂」，有關的轉變更是在鄧小平生前發生，顯示中央有意淡化六四，「我認為，六四早已悄悄地平反」。

吳康民認為中央忌談六四是「有苦衷的」：「因為肯定和否定（六四）都會引起一大串的問題，涉及許多人和事，因此中央的態度是把事件攔起來，不肯定也不否定，等到適當時候，才再來總結這樁事情。」他說，理解香港人對六四未能忘懷，但「了解到中國國情的複雜性，當年政局的詭譎，今天社會矛盾的增加，北京高層不得不強調『維穩』的苦心」，他奉勸港人「還是要有點耐心才好」。

王桂壠則於昨日發表公開信，要求過去將六四事件定義為「動亂」的中央政府，盡快重新評估事件，將之定性為愛國運動，還當年北京學生一個公道。他指出，雖然中共在1989年後大幅提高了國民在經濟及個人的自由度，但政制改革停滯不前，若中國要朝法治發展，有必要讓全國青年了解六四真相。而工聯會王國興昨被問及候任特首梁振英應否就六四事件表態時，表示不作評論。

李旺陽之死七大疑點



曾在1989年民運中擔任湖南邵陽工自聯主席的李旺陽(右)，昨晨在醫院離奇上吊身亡，妹妹李旺玲(左)抱着他的遺體大哭。(受訪者提供)

- 1 雙腳着地(圖)、手搭在窗上，如何吊死？
- 2 繩圈打結的位置靠近右耳，繩圈大小不足以把頭部套入，何以自縊？
- 3 他雙眼幾近失明、雙耳聽力受損、雙腿不能行走，如何自殺？
- 4 前一晚有9名國保看守，如何自殺？
- 5 牀單和被子完好無損，布條從何而來？
- 6 醫院發現李旺陽上吊，為何不先把他解下搶救，而是先通知家屬，是否有意讓家屬看「死狀」？
- 7 警方為何要搶走李的遺體？

11月
2012
6/7

內疚訪問 林建誠：不滿可殺我

專訪

上月最後訪問、也是李旺陽出獄後唯一當面訪問過他的香港有線電視記者林建誠，昨日接受本報電話專訪說，覺得可能是自己的訪問間接令李旺陽受到更重的打壓而死，自己心裏很內疚，但慶幸的是讓外人知道這個幾乎被外間遺忘的人的事跡。林建誠在電話中一度情緒激動，哭着說，「這根本是暗殺，如果不滿意採訪，可以殺我，不要殺他！」

情緒激動 讚英雄中的英雄

林建誠說，原本對李旺陽了解不多，偶然在網上得悉相關資料，又巧合認識了李的朋友，於是聯絡採訪。由於李旺陽長期被監控，除了有線電視的同事，只有李旺陽幾個身邊摯友在採訪前一晚才得知事件。林建誠提前一日到達湖南，先訪問其他相關者，翌日，李旺陽的朋友在清晨看守上班前，將他從醫院接出，前往

約定採訪地點。在採訪的兩個多小時內，看守開始周圍尋找李旺陽，在場所有人關閉電話，避開監控，才完成訪問。

「他是真正英雄中的英雄。」林建誠形容，李旺陽知道記者來訪，很開心。李旺陽思維清



六四事件必須平反

李旺陽上月接受有線電視訪問時說，六四事件必須平反，他為此「就是砍頭也不回頭」。

(有線電視畫面)

晰，雖然雙目失明，但一握好友的手，馬上可以分辨是誰，一提起「天安門母親」，他即說「丁子霖」，也很堅決表達了要平反「六四」和實現民主社會的理念。「雖然相處時間很短，但我很同情、也很欣賞這個硬漢，看到他被摧殘，我也不禁落淚。」

林建誠說，李旺陽雖然走路要人攙扶，但可自行站立，意味如果他雙腳觸地，絕無可能是上吊自殺。林建誠說到此處情緒激動，哭着說「這根本是暗殺，如果不滿意採訪可以殺我，不要殺他，不要殺沒有還手之力的人！」

與李妹通話雙雙痛哭

他昨日曾與李旺陽的妹妹李旺玲通電話，雙雙在電話中痛哭，他的上司馮德雄、司徒元都致電安慰，「我無法控制情緒。我不覺得自己能採訪到他而很「巴閉」，間接導致他過身，我很內疚。」

明報記者 林迎