

## Cultural Review

### After Tiananmen: Global Media and the Spring of 1989

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*This excerpt from a forthcoming book describes the depiction of Tiananmen in the global media over the past 15 years.<sup>1</sup>*

The global media were not in the People's Republic of China in May 1989 to cover a demonstration, even though the protests had been heating up in Tiananmen since the death of Hu Yaobang a month before. An out-of-favor Party official, Hu became a symbol of reform around which various protesters could rally, and now Deng Xiaoping found himself in the embarrassing position of having the world watch a mass movement occupy Tiananmen Square. Mikhail Gorbachev had achieved an historic rapprochement with Deng, another reform minded Communist head of state, and global interest centered on the Soviet leader's visit to China that May.

Four years before, CNN had inaugurated its global news network, and in 1987 it had set up a news bureau in Beijing.<sup>2</sup> Real-time satellite broadcasts of world events had become commonplace in 1989, and the events leading up to the violent suppression of the protests on June 3–4 received the global immediacy of satellite coverage. With the Internet in its infancy and satellite broadcasts virtually impossible to pick up by television viewers in China, faxes flew across continents to feed information to the demonstrators about world press coverage of the protests. The visual and spatial seat of power in Tiananmen, China's most public square, shifted from the official reforms of the Communist bureaucracy (envisioned by the meeting of Deng and Gorbachev) to the control of the square by students, workers, artists, intellectuals and activists involved in the protests. The world watched, and the demonstrators and the government leaders knew the power China had as the cynosure of global media.

In 1989 Tiananmen Square was the core of the capital of a China that had recently reclaimed Hong Kong through the 1984 British-Chinese Joint Declaration, was welcoming "back" overseas Chinese investors who might be generations

removed from the mainland, and was trying to rope in its wayward province of Taiwan and the government in exile of Tibet; this China could not afford the world to see chaos in the square. American-owned global media saw things differently. Rather than presenting demonstrators with demands specific to their positions within China's rapidly changing economic and political structure, television screens narcissistically reflected the "Americanization" of the Chinese, and thus the world, as the "Goddess of Democracy," a postmodern sculptural citation of New York's Statue of Liberty, made her appearance on Ted Turner's satellite broadcasts. The contradictions between nationalism and processes of globalization, as well as the ways in which global capitalism could reinforce national interests, were placed in high relief.

New technologies transformed the moment, and the visualization of the Tiananmen demonstrations that spring came to mark the way in which China has been seen and screened worldwide ever since. The image of the lone man confronting a line of tanks in the streets of Beijing speaks volumes as a celebration of the individual against the State (a shorthand for Reagan-Bush policies suspicious of "big" government at home and "evil empires" abroad), a symbol of hope on a par with anti-government movements as diverse as People Power in the Philippines, anti-apartheid in South Africa and Solidarity in Eastern Europe, or as an icon of hopelessness for Chinese around the globe who continue to lament a China destined to face impossible odds head on. In comparison with this solitary image, the long history of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the Chinese people's love-hate toward waves of political change associated with the Communist Party, and the legacy of demonstrations and individual protests dating back centuries to figures like Qu Yuan, whose suicide is celebrated annually on Dragon Boat Day, or the demonstrations in Tiananmen on May 4, 1919 that ushered in the modern era of Chinese culture, fade from view.

The image of the man standing alone against the tanks resonates with another prominent image produced in China around the same time. In Zhang Yimou's *JU DOU* (co-directed with Yang Fengliang, 1990), the title character, played by actress Gong Li, catches her in-law, Tianqing (Li Baotian), as

he spies on her bathing. Battered by an impotent husband who blames her for his own sexual inadequacy, Ju Dou is bathing her wounded body as Tianqing looks at her through a peephole. She turns, returns Tianqing's gaze, and displays her wounds to him. As Jenny Lau points out in her analysis of the scene:

One finds that the explicit erotic content of the film—beginning when Judou deliberately turns around to expose her naked body to the peeping Tianqing—is not derived from a simple act of narcissism. Indeed, her tired, dirty, and bruised body, together with the melancholy accompanying music, offers no 'visual pleasure' for Tianqing or the film audience. Judou's turning around represents a decisive move against the gerontocratic and patriarchal rule that operates against her.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of the film, Tianqing's look turns from voyeuristic pleasure to embarrassed compassion, and Ju Dou/Gong Li is transformed from an object of erotic desire to a wounded being confronting Tianqing/the world and silently asking for (or perhaps demanding) justice.

Given the events of 1989, JU DOU's acerbic treatment of decrepit old men oppressing the younger generation to the point of mutual annihilation seems to allegorize the Party's treatment of the demonstrators. As film scholar Dai Jinhua notes referring to the film:

In a certain way, it relates the heavy and painful emotions associated with the Tiananmen Square crackdown to the China of the nineties.<sup>4</sup>

Given that downtrodden women in the Chinese cinema have often signified the Chinese nation, beaten and in need of liberation, looking at Ju Dou as a bloody but defiant China seems appropriate. Reluctant to put a stop to his older relative's abuse of his young wife, delighted to share in the power the old man has over her by spying on her nude body, Tianqing represents complicity with power, and when Ju Dou turns, she confronts her line of tanks in the form of Tianqing. In fact, *JU DOU* provides a view of the oppressed that the footage of the anonymous man facing the line of tanks in Beijing does not offer. This time the camera, the audience, the world shares Tianqing's point of view, and this moment of

confrontation extends beyond a remote village in China of the 1920s to the present, post-Tiananmen representations of China and the tacit challenge in Ju Dou's gaze as she/an oppressed China confronts global complacency and complicity.<sup>5</sup>

Not surprisingly, the Chinese censors banned *JU DOU*. (The film was finally released in the PRC in 1992). However, even before it began production, *JU DOU* had already by-passed the domestic film industry as a Japanese-Chinese co-production. Nominated for a Golden Palm at Cannes and the first film from the PRC to be nominated for an Academy Award for Best Foreign Film in the United States, *JU DOU* attracted Miramax as its distributor. The fact that the China Film Bureau attempted to withdraw the film from consideration for the Academy Award only helped boost its visibility in the press, and *JU DOU* won considerable international critical acclaim. With perfect timing, Zhang Yimou shifted from domestic funding to transnational financing, from a subject of the power of the Chinese government to a winner in the global market economy. As Ju Dou gazed back at Tianqing and the world, Zhang Yimou took command of global screens with a film that implicitly comments on the Tiananmen demonstrations and the government's repressive response.<sup>6</sup> As Rey Chow notes, Zhang Yimou's films are able to cross borders because of their ability to shift gears as they circulate on different screens globally:

The wish to "liberate" Chinese women, which seems to be the "content," shifts into the liberation of "China," which shifts into the liberation of the "image" of China on film, which shifts into the liberation of "China" on film in the international culture market, and so on.<sup>7</sup>

When the lights went out on the night of June 3-4, and reporters were banished and the tanks moved in, images of China fractured, and the meaning of China became hotly contested throughout the ethnic Chinese world and beyond. As Chris Berry notes: "At and after this moment of shock, it is not possible to be simply one of the Chinese people, and that collective noun is shattered into a series of positions in relation to the massacre."<sup>8</sup> Images of Tiananmen began to circulate on global screens attached to widely varying significations.

Hollywood picked up Tiananmen as a link in a narrative causal chain that could explain the violence at the heart of action-adventure plots in need of rationalization after the end of the Cold War eliminated an important aspect of the formula. Conveniently, China became the new "evil empire" linked with all sorts of other more concrete evils such as drug trafficking, prostitution and illegal immigrant labor, which held greater meaning for global working class audiences more suspicious of the excesses of transnational capitalism than of the remote oppressiveness of the Chinese state.<sup>9</sup>

With a number of Hollywood regulars having strong personal ties to Tibet, Buddhism and specifically to the exiled Dalai Lama, global interest in China as a result of the Tiananmen demonstrations and their suppression led to the production of films such as *RED CORNER* (1997),<sup>10</sup> starring Richard Gere, a prominent Hollywood supporter of the Dalai Lama; *SEVEN YEARS IN TIBET* (1997), in which the Nazis seem preferable to the Chinese Communists; and Martin Scorsese's *KUNDUN* (1997), which chronicles the Dalai Lama's early years and exile. All three films coincided with Hong Kong's reversion of sovereignty to China, reminding the world of America's prerogative to question Chinese legal institutions and claims to sovereignty.

The impact of Tiananmen on global screen culture outside of Hollywood has been far more complicated and contradictory. The status of Hong Kong became a particularly perplexing issue. As Esther Yau notes: "For many who followed the worldwide reportage on China in June 1989, Hong Kong became a question and an unfinished story . . . the interest in Hong Kong as a last colonial site/sight was a secret longing for disaster – a dramatic news sequel to the Tiananmen Square episodes."<sup>11</sup>

For many in Hong Kong, 1989 hit harder than the signing of the Joint Declaration, and several filmmakers mentioned that they rethought their films in light of the June crackdown. Born in Vietnam, Tsui Hark, for example, uses that country as a backdrop for a story of characters desperate to escape in *A BETTER TOMORROW III: LOVE AND DEATH IN SAIGON* (1989), which includes a chilling confrontation with a tank. In addition, John Woo's *BULLET IN*

*THE HEAD* (1990), set in pre-1975 Saigon on the verge of its own Communist future as Ho Chi Minh City, visualizes the graphic violence Woo imagined happening in Tiananmen that only partially emerged from the news blackout. In fact, Woo cites the bloody suppression of the demonstrations as key to changes he made during the film's production:

For the second half of the film I was influenced more by the massacre at Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989. I was very sad and very upset and felt very ashamed of our country. It was so inhuman to kill all those students. And so I put that pain into the movie, I change the whole second half of the script—the scenes when they first arrive in Vietnam and they see the students demonstrating. When I shot the movie I almost went crazy because I shot the film with pain. I kept thinking about the tragedy. The original idea for the story didn't have the Vietnam part. I just used it as the future of Hong Kong.<sup>12</sup>

Clara Law, in production with *FAREWELL CHINA* (1990) around the same time, also changed her original conception in the wake of the events in Tiananmen. One of the concluding images of the film features a replica of the Goddess of Democracy made by supporters of the demonstrators residing in New York City. By bringing the political and emotional issues associated with Tiananmen to New York, Law makes Chinese events global concerns by reinforcing the importance of key images on transnational screens.

Not surprisingly, Woo and Law both relocated to other countries (the United States and Australia, respectively) before 1997. Transnational filmmakers such as Evans Chan, dividing his energies and resources between the United States and Hong Kong, dealt more directly with the impact of Tiananmen on Hong Kong and its people in *TO LIV(E)* (1991) and *CROSSINGS* (1994).<sup>13</sup> Hong Kong-born experimental filmmaker Yau Ching made *IS THERE ANYTHING SPECIFIC YOU WANT ME TO TELL YOU ABOUT?* (1991), an epistolary film about exile, and *FLOW* (1993), a portrait of a Chinese artist exiled in the United States. Yau Ching made these short films while living in New York (although she subsequently returned to Hong Kong). Trinh T. Minh-ha reworked

SHOOT FOR THE CONTENTS (1991) to take the Tiananmen demonstrations and their media depiction into account during the production of the film. As a counterpoint, she puts contemporary Chinese cinema in the mix by including a highly stylized interview with former Xi'an studio head Wu Tianming, a strong supporter of the Fifth Generation who spoke out during the 1989 demonstrations, and who subsequently immigrated to the United States.<sup>14</sup> Shu Lea Cheang, unable to enter the People's Republic to record the spring 1989 events, focused instead on an analysis of Taiwan's reportage of the Tiananmen demonstrations in HOW WAS HISTORY WOUNDED (1990).

Hong Kong filmmakers Shu Kei and Ann Hui also explored the effects of the Tiananmen demonstrations in documentaries that included strong ties to Taiwan. Ann Hui produced a documentary for Hong Kong television on Taiwanese singer Hou Dejian, who played an active role in the spring demonstrations in Beijing, and who was later arrested and deported back to Taiwan. Made in collaboration with Taiwanese screenwriter Wu Nien-Jen, Shu Kei's documentary SUNLESS DAYS (1990) looks at the impact of the previous spring's events on a variety of people living around the world, including Taiwan's Hou Hsiao-Hsien, several members of the Hong Kong film community involved with the demonstrations, and members of his own family. Narrated in English and financed by Japanese television NHK, SUNLESS DAYS insistently makes Tiananmen a global issue, with implications beyond its significance for Hong Kong and Taiwan and their prospects for reunification with the People's Republic.

Hou Hsiao-hsien's controversial CITY OF SADNESS was released in 1989. As many artists and intellectuals in Taiwan attempted to distance themselves from the mainland, from the reality of the KMT and the threat of the Chinese Communist Party/CCP, Hou's depiction of the "white terror" profoundly resonated with recent images of the violence in Tiananmen that spring.<sup>15</sup> Just as Shu Kei's "casting" of Hou in SUNLESS DAYS draws Taiwan into the orbit of concern in the aftermath of Tiananmen, Hou's casting of Hong Kong actor Tony Leung as the mute protagonist in CITY OF SADNESS<sup>16</sup> draws Hong Kong and the rest of the Chinese world into the drama of the

"white terror." As a photographer, Leung's character both witnesses and documents the era, but he remains silent.

The impact of Tiananmen, like the horrors of the "white terror," left many unable to articulate their thoughts and feelings. While many remained mute, Tiananmen united and polarized the Chinese-speaking world in profound and sometimes unexpected ways. Even without direct mention of 1989, images of Tiananmen evoke different associations as a consequence of the crackdown. When Sixth Generation filmmaker Zhang Yuan looks at daily life in Tiananmen in THE SQUARE (co-directed with Duan Jinchuan, 1994) or interrupts the loose narrative of BEIJING BASTARDS (1993) to allow the camera to move through the square in the rain, 1989 haunts the images.<sup>17</sup>

Balancing the personal and the political, Kwoi's DARK SUN; BRIGHT SHADE (1993) depicts a gay love affair between a Chinese dissident involved with the 1989 demonstrations and his Chinese Canadian lover. Although Stanley Kwan's LAN YU (2001) also deals with the juxtaposition of a gay relationship with the Tiananmen protests, it is Zhang Yuan's EAST PALACE, WEST PALACE (1997) that perhaps more than any other film uses its story about gay life in Beijing to work through feelings surrounding the crackdown in June 1989. In this case, a young gay man, A Lan (Si Han), is hassled by a policeman while cruising the "palaces," the public washrooms frequented by gay men for surreptitious sex near Tiananmen Square. Seemingly on impulse, A Lan kisses the officer. Actually, the young man has a masochistic attraction to this figure of authority, and during the course of a night's interrogation, a relationship develops that has more to do with power than sex. As the images of the man confronting the tanks in Beijing and Ju Dou confronting Tianqing force a recognition of oppression, A Lan's direct address to this figure of Chinese governmental power speaks to contradictory sentiments that had been percolating since 1989, involving complicity with forces of tyranny, a masochistic love of victimization and the insistent urge to struggle against authority at any cost.<sup>18</sup>

For A Lan, the public lavatory is also a stage, and Tiananmen Square again becomes a platform for the officially "invisi-

ble" to be seen and for the silenced to be heard. Like the demonstrators in Tiananmen, A Lan steps out of the shadows to stand up and be publicly counted. As a Sixth Generation filmmaker, Zhang Yuan has an intimate association with the generation most visibly connected to the Tiananmen demonstrations. Although a coalition of various groups and committed individual activists occupied the Square, students took center stage as the principal representatives of the Tiananmen demonstrations. In fact, Zhang Yuan and other Sixth Generation filmmakers became intimately associated with the "Tiananmen generation" as it suffered through the repercussions of the 1989 events.<sup>19</sup> For example, Zhang's BEIJING BASTARDS (1993) features Cui Jian, a rock musician known around the world for his appearance in Tiananmen in support of the demonstrations; Cui also co-wrote and produced the film.

However, the most direct cinematic indictments of the 1989 crackdown have come from filmmakers working with people living within the transnational Chinese cultural sphere. Michael Apter's MOVING THE MOUNTAIN (based on Li Lu's memoir of the same title, 1994) and Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon's THE GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE (1995) stand out as attempts to reframe the demonstrations and their impact.<sup>20</sup> THE GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE, in addition, brings the continuing implications of Tiananmen from the cinema theater to the video screen and to the Internet, considerably expanding access to information about the demonstrations and their suppression.

Through the Web site that accompanies the documentary, Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon expand access to information provided in the film to viewers unable to screen the documentary. Reconfiguring global space for a critical voice on Tiananmen, the Web site provides a place for reflection on the events of spring 1989 unbounded by the usual channels of broadcast television and video distribution, which as in the case of THE GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE itself, have often been hindered by censorship. Beyond efforts to block it with firewalls or force its ouster from film festivals, THE GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE (in its film, video and digital incarnations) provides a mediated Tiananmen Square for ongoing debate and political critique.

In fact, the presence of transnational China and the Chinese diaspora has exploded on the Internet since 1989. As the Web site for THE GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE indicates, this presence has considerable potential for the creation of a digital body politic. For instance, Ian Buruma characterizes the potential of "Chinese Cyberspace" as follows:

There, for the first time, Taiwanese, mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, and overseas Chinese can talk about politics everyday. The Internet has become a forum of worldwide Chinese opinion, posted on websites, transmitted by e-mail, debated in chat rooms. Geographical borders no longer count in the same way they did. Even minor barriers to smooth communication, such as the different ways of writing Chinese characters in mainland China and other parts of the Chinese-speaking world can be overcome with a simple change of font.<sup>21</sup>

However, a digital space open for any type of political discourse involving China and the Chinese diaspora remains limited by a number of critical factors. Class, education and location radically diminish the number of people who have access to "Chinese Cyberspace." Also, as Buruma notes, those with access do not necessarily use the Internet as a site for public debate. Fifteen years after the demonstrations, whether a virtual Tiananmen will emerge on the Internet has yet to be seen.

1. Excerpted from *From Tiananmen to Times Square: Transnational China and the Chinese Diaspora on Global Screens, 1989–1997* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, forthcoming).
2. See Mike Chinoy, *China Live: Two Decades in the Heart of the Dragon* (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, Inc., 1997).
3. Jenny Kwok Wah Lau, "JU DOU—A Hermeneutical Reading of Cross-Cultural Cinema," *Film Quarterly* 45:2 (Winter 1991–2), p. 3. (2–10) Also quoted in Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 166. Jenny Lau also looks at the same scene in "JUDOU: An Experiment in Color and Portraiture in Chinese Cinema," Linda C. Erlich and David Desser, eds. *Cinematic Landscapes: Observations on the Visual Arts and Cinema of China and Japan* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), p. 137. This particular moment has been analyzed in a number of different contexts, see: Shuqin Cui, "Gendered Perspective: The Construction and Representation of Subjectivity and Sexuality in JU DOU," Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, ed. *Transnational Chinese Cinemas: Identity, Nationhood, Gender* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 303-330. Jerome Silbergeld, *China into Film: Frames of Reference in Contemporary Chinese Cinema*. (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), chapter 6. Sheila Cornelius (with Ian Haydn Smith), *New Chinese Cinema: Challenging Representations* (London: Wallflower Press, 2002), chapter 4. Claire Huot, *China's New Cultural Scene: A Handbook of Changes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), chapter 4. Yingjin Zhang, *Screening China: Critical Interventions, Cinematic Reconfigurations, and the Transnational Imaginary in Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), chapter 6. Zhang Yimou discusses JU DOU in several of the interviews collected in Frances Gateward, ed., *Zhang Yimou Interviews* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001).
4. Dai Jinhua, *Cinema and Desire: Feminist Marxism and Cultural Politics in the Work of Dai Jinhua*, eds. Jing Wang and Tani E. Barlow (London: Verso, 2002), p. 56.
5. Looking at JU DOU as an allegory of June 4th is critiqued by W.A. Callahan, "Gender, Ideology, Nation: JU DOU in the Cultural Politics of China," *East-West Film Journal* 7:1 (January 1993), pp. 52–80.
6. For more on this point, see Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, "National Cinema, Cultural Critique, Transnational Capital: The Films of Zhang Yimou," Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, ed. *Transnational Chinese Cinemas: Identity, Nationhood, Gender* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 105–136. See also Chen Xiaoming, "The Mysterious Other: Postpolitics in Chinese Film," trans. Liu Kang and Anbin Shi *boundary 2* 24:3 (Fall 1997), pp. 123–141.
7. Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 149. For more on the "Zhang Yimou model," see Tonglin Lu, *Confronting Modernity in the Cinemas of Taiwan and Mainland China* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002), chapter 5.
8. Chris Berry, "A Nation T(w/o): Chinese Cinema(s) and Nationhood(s)," *East-West Film Journal* 7:1 (January 1993), p. 25 (24–51).
9. For more on American political rhetoric surrounding Chinese politics and its implications, see Richard Madsen, "China in the American Imagination," *Dissent* (Winter 1998), pp. 54–59.
10. For a study of the critical reception of this film, see Faye Zhengxing, "Has the Movie RED CORNER Driven China into Its Corner?" *Asian Cinema* 12:1 (Spring-Summer 2001), pp. 117-128.
11. Esther C.M. Yau, "Introduction: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World," in Esther C.M. Yau, ed. *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. 16–17. (1–28).
12. Woo quoted in Christopher Heard, *Ten Thousand Bullets: The Cinematic Journey of John Woo* (LA: Lone Eagle, 2000), pp. 88–89. For a discussion of the impact of June 1989 on Woo's oeuvre as well as other Hong Kong action films, see Julian Stringer, "'Your Tender Smiles Give Me Strength': Paradigms of Masculinity in John Woo's A BETTER TOMORROW and THE KILLER," *Screen* 38:1 (Spring 1997), pp. 25–41. Also mentioned in Robert Hauke, "John Woo's Cinema of Hyperkinetic Violence: From A BETTER TOMORROW to FACE/OFF," *Film Criticism* 24:1 (Fall 1999), pp.39–59.
13. For more on these films, see Gina Marchetti, "Transnational Cinema, Hybrid Identity and the Films of Evans Chan," *Postmodern Culture*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (January 1998), <http://jeferson.village.virginia.edu/pmc/>
14. Paula Kalina interview with Trinh T. Minh-ha, "Flowers Repression," *Trinh T. Minh-ha, Cinema Interval* (NY: Routledge, 1999), p. 206 (201–207).
15. For more on this point, see Bérénice Reynaud, *A CITY OF SADNESS* (London: BFI, 2002).
16. For the definitive study of CITY OF SADNESS, see Abé Mark Nornes and Yeh Yueh-yu, *Narrating National Sadness: Cinematic Mapping and Hypertextual Dispersion*, <http://cinemaspace.berkeley.edu/Papers/CityOfSadness/index.html>. For a discussion of CITY OF SADNESS within the context of developments in contemporary Taiwanese cinema, see Douglas Kellner, "New Taiwan Cinema in the 80s," *JUMP CUT* No. 42 (December 1998), pp. 101–115; June Yip, "Constructing a Nation: Taiwanese History and the films of Hou Hsiao-hsien," Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, ed. *Transnational Chinese Cinemas: Identity, Nationhood, Gender* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 139–168.
17. For a detailed examination of this scene from BEIJING BASTARDS in the context of the relationship between Chinese film and the creation of the public sphere, see Stephanie Hemelryk Donald, *Public Secrets, Public Spaces: Cinema and Civility in China* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000). For more on the notion of a "public sphere" after 1989, see Xudong Zhang,

- "Nationalism, Mass Culture, and Intellectual Strategies in Post-Tiananmen China," Xudong Zhang, ed. *Whither China? Intellectual Politics in Contemporary China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 315–348.
18. For a detailed analysis of the film, see Chris Berry, "Staging Gay Life in China: EAST PALACE, WEST PALACE," *JUMP CUT* No. 42 (December 1998), pp. 84–89.
19. For more on films from China's Sixth Generation, see Shuqin Cui, "Working from the Margins: Urban Cinema and Independent Directors in Contemporary China," *Post Script* 20:2-3 (Winter/Spring and Summer 2001), pp. 77–93; Jenny Kwok Wah Lau, "Globalization and Youthful Subculture: The Chinese Sixth-Generation Films at the Dawn of the New Century," Jenny Kwok Wah Lau, ed., *Multiple Modernities: Cinemas and Popular Media in Transcultural East Asia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), pp. 13–27; Bérénice Reynaud, *Nouvelles Chineses/ Nouveaux cinémas*, chapter 5.
20. For a review of these and other documentaries on Tiananmen, see Pauline Chen, "Screening History: New Documentaries on the Tiananmen Events in China," *Cineaste* 22:1 (Winter 1996), p. 18ff. <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/Tianamen.html>.
21. Ian Buruma, *Bad Elements: Chinese Rebels from Los Angeles to Beijing* (NY: Random House, Vintage, 2001), p. 112.

## Toronto Exhibition Commemorates Tiananmen

Twenty-four artists from Canada, mainland China, Hong Kong and the United States have contributed works to an exhibition entitled "Echoes after the Storm," paying tribute to the martyrs of Tiananmen Square.

A portion of the works were displayed in Toronto in April and May in an exhibition organized by the Toronto Association for Democracy in China (TADC). The Mayor of Toronto, David Miller, presided at the opening of the exhibition, which was dedicated to "the children of China." The exhibition also included photos documenting the tragic events of 1989, as well as the activities of the TADC.

In its introduction to the exhibition, the TADC noted that after 15 years, "while television images may have faded, the experience and memories that burned deep within people's hearts have not." As a result of the passage of time, "These are works no longer reactive in nature; there has been time for reflection, for stillness, and from out of that maturing stillness have come these echoes which may surely resonate within us all." (Materials contributed by Dick Chan and Cheuk Kwan in Toronto)



Toronto Mayor at the exhibition opening



Cheung-sang Ma, "Declaration at the Point of the Bayonet"



The Big Hunger Strike



Anonymous, "Crushed"