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Chapter 29

The Tiananmen Square Incident [1976]

The Death of Zhou Enlai

The publication of "The Direction of the Educational Revolution Cannot Be Altered" brought manifest changes in China's political atmosphere. Mao Zedong put criticism of Deng Xiaoping on the agenda.

Zhou Enlai in his capacity as premier strongly supported Deng Xiaoping's work in rectifying the losses of the Cultural Revolution. His physical ability to play a role fell short of his wishes as a result of his undergoing six major and eight minor operations. While Zhou Enlai was hospitalized, Jiang Qing and company often went intentionally to interfere in his treatment. Deng Yingchao often asked them tearfully to let her husband rest. But her request was ignored. The Gang of Four gossiped to Mao Zedong that "the premier only pretended to be ill, and was actually using illness as an excuse to connive with those old fellows." They made trouble for Zhou Enlai even as he lay in his sickbed.

One day they questioned Zhou on his whereabouts on April 12, 1976, when the coup took place. Another day, when Zhou was receiving a blood transfusion and had just fallen asleep, Wang Hongwen called and asked to talk to him. When the nurses explained the situation and asked him to wait half an hour, Wang flew into a rage and insisted Zhou answer the telephone at once. Zhou was awakened by the noise and had to ask the nurse to stop the transfusion in order to talk to Wang. Jiang Qing caused even more troubles for Zhou. One day she called Zhou to say she had to see him on business. The nurses were forced to stop their treatment of Zhou. But when Jiang came, she chattered on every subject but business. She finally left after having consumed two pieces of watermelon.¹ Such instances were numerous.

In September 1975, Zhou's condition deteriorated rapidly, his weight dropping from 65 kilograms to about 40 kilograms. He was so weak that he could hardly walk for more than four minutes. In late October, he could not get out of bed. In December, when Ye Jianying went to see him, he told Ye that they should be cautious and

should not, in any event, let "them" seize power. When Zhou talked to Wang Hongwen, he reminded Wang of Mao's remarks about Jiang's "wild ambitions." Mao had said this to both of them when they met at the end of 1974 in Changsha.

On December 6, Zhou underwent his final operation, after which he weakened perceptibly. In late December, he could no longer take food and survived by intravenous feeding. The severe pains caused by the cancer often made him lose consciousness. On December 20, Zhou had a temperature of 38.7 degrees centigrade. He invited Luo Qingchang to talk about matters regarding Taiwan.² Twice during their conversation, Zhou could hardly utter a word because of the pain. Finally, they had to stop. Zhou said, "I'm really tired; let me take a break for ten minutes before we go on." He then fainted. At the end of 1975, Zhou's condition worsened by the day, and he was often semiconscious. On New Year's Day, he listened to a radio broadcast of two of Mao Zedong's poems, "Return to Jinggang Mountain" and "A Talk between Two Birds."

At about 11:00 P. M. on January 7, 1976, when the doctors were about to treat him, Zhou opened his eyes. Recognizing Wu Jieping, one of the doctors, Zhou said, "Don't worry about me any more; go tend to other patients; they need you more." Those were Zhou's last words.

At 9:57 A. M. on January 8, 1976, Zhou Enlai's heart stopped. At midnight, the [Central People's] Broadcasting Station announced the death of Zhou Enlai to the sound of funeral music. Most learned the news from a radio broadcast in the early morning of January 9. At first, they simply could not believe what they heard. As the news was confirmed by various sources, they felt shocked, aggrieved, and lost. To the accompaniment of the funeral dirge, the people, with endless tears, mourned the death of the premier who had devoted his life to the establishment of a strong and prosperous China.

The Gang of Four did not share the people's sorrow. On January 9 at Qinghua University, Chi Qun and Xie Jingyi said, "Put your energy into your studies and into the criticism of Deng Xiaoping.... You don't have to feel aggrieved; the replacement of the old by the new is an inviolable law of the universe. We should hail the victory of dialectics." The students and faculty members of Qinghua were not allowed to mourn the death of Zhou Enlai, or even mention his name. On the same day, Wang Hongwen telephoned Shanghai to say, "You should turn grief into strength. The criticism of Deng is the first priority." The next day, some of the Shanghai factory leaders criticized Deng Xiaoping by name.

Zhou Enlai's body was placed for viewing in his hospital room, which had a single door opening into a courtyard. The parking space of the hospital was no larger than two basketball courts. Those who went to offer their condolences inched forward in a single line. These space restrictions reduced the number of people allowed to pay their last respects from sixty to forty thousand. All day, grieving crowds thronged outside Beijing Hospital. Jiang Qing was heard to say, "Even though Zhou Enlai is dead, I still want to fight him to the end."

The Gang of Four and their followers laid down many prohibitions on expressions of mourning for Zhou Enlai. For instance, no terms like "beloved Premier Zhou" were to appear in the newspapers; *People's Daily* was not to "report, interview, or take pictures" of the death of Zhou Enlai; in areas under their control, no memorial meetings were allowed, no black armbands or white flowers; no mourning halls were to be set up, and people were not allowed to go to Tiananmen Square.... But no prohibition could really stop the people from mourning Zhou Enlai. They indeed wore black armbands, and many institutions and factories held memorial ceremonies. From January 9 on, the residents of Beijing went to Tiananmen Square, placed their self-made wreaths at the Monument to the People's Heroes, and stood in silent tribute with hats off. Several days later, the pedestal of the monument was completely covered with wreaths, and others had to be placed on Tiananmen Square itself. People brought vast numbers of small white flowers to decorate the pine trees around the monument. Many put up portraits of the deceased premier in their homes and set up mourning tablets for him.

The remains of Zhou Enlai were to be cremated on January 11, 1976, in the Revolutionary Cemetery of the Western Suburbs. Early that morning, Beijing residents lined up in the cold wind along the boulevard all the way from Beijing Hospital to the cemetery. The people formed a "ten-kilometer funeral procession," a historical tribute to bid farewell as the hearse of Premier Zhou Enlai passed by.

Jiang Qing and her clique tried to use the mass media to diminish the impetus of the people's mourning. On January 13, Yao Wenyuan ordered *People's Daily* not to devote too much space to reports on the death of Zhou or the people's mourning for him. On the same day, he gave the Xinhua News Agency the same order three times. Still not satisfied, Yao ordered *People's Daily* to reprint an article published by Qinghua University entitled "A Big Debate Brought About a Big Change" and said, "Only by printing this piece will the situation be under control!"³

The article, intended to divert the attention of the people, appeared on the front page of *People's Daily* on January 14, the day before the memorial service for Zhou Enlai. It began, "Recently, people throughout the country are concerned about the big debate on the educational revolution held in Qinghua University." Yao Wenyuan thought it an "important" article published at a "critical moment." Chi Qun and Xie Jingyi commented, "The moment of the publication of this article is even more important than the article itself!"⁴ This brazenly perverse act aroused the people's resentment. Many people tore that issue to shreds and mailed the shreds to the *People's Daily* offices. *People's Daily* also received as many as three hundred telephone calls in protest on that very day.

At 9:57 A. M. on January 15, numerous ships and boats in Shanghai harbor sounded sirens to express condolences. The sirens lasted for thirty-seven minutes; red traffic lights along the Bund stopped all cars; and police and pedestrians stood in silent mourning. At about 1:00 P. M., another group of ships sounded sirens on the Huangpu River. At 3:00 P. M., the moment the memorial service began in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, all ships including many foreign ships berthed or under navigation in Shanghai waters sounded sirens in unison. Such was one of Shanghai's ways of mourning Zhou Enlai.

Deng Xiaoping gave a memorial speech on behalf of the Party Central at the service. When the people saw this on television, they breathed a sigh of relief for Deng Xiaoping, for they hoped that Deng could resume the rectification work and promote the national economy.

Jiang Qing and others created many difficulties in the memorial activities, but they could not stifle the people's reverence for Zhou Enlai. As was stated in the documentary film *The Beloved Premier Zhou Is Immortal*, "From the capital to the border, from the north to the south, from factories and mines to villages and barracks, the tears of the people flow like rivers. The beloved Premier ! The eight hundred million Chinese people will remain with you forever. ... Drops of warm tears sprinkle onto Tiananmen Square, petals of white flowers bedeck the pine trees in front of Tiananmen. This is the way the people will remember, for they have erected a monument to their premier in their hearts."

Hua Guofeng, Acting Premier

After Zhou Enlai died, Mao Zedong accelerated the criticism of "the right-deviationist reversal of verdicts." In January 1976, Wang Hongwen learned that the Party Central would hold a "preliminary meeting for criticizing Deng." It was time, he believed, to take charge of the Central's work. In late January, he began drafting a speech in preparation for presiding over the preliminary meeting. The mass media under the control of the Gang of Four took concerted action; various newspapers and journals publicized "Mao Zedong's two poems" to express the Gang's determination to gain supreme power; they also criticized Deng Xiaoping through the discussion of *Water Margin* and the "educational revolution."

On February 1, 1976, in its second issue, *Red Flag* published an article entitled "Counterattacking the Right-deviationist Reversal-of-Verdicts Trend in the World of Science and Technology" by the Great Criticism Group of Beijing University and Qinghua University. This article was acclaimed "the second heavy artillery" ("A Big Debate Brings About a Big Change" being the first). On February 6, *People's Daily* published an article explaining that "the rightist reversal of verdicts" was aimed at "denying the Cultural Revolution," and those who conducted this reversal were "unrepentant capitalist-roaders."⁵ Liu Xiangping, the minister of public health, said openly, "Deng Xiaoping is an unrepentant capitalist-roader.... We should criticize him thoroughly."

After the death of Premier Zhou Enlai, as First Deputy Premier Deng Xiaoping was criticized, it seemed opportune to Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao to gain the premiership. A slogan reading "Resolutely require Zhang Chunqiao to be premier" appeared on the streets of Shanghai. An issue of the information report published by the Shanghai Party Committee similarly commented, "We [would] feel comfortable if Zhang Chunqiao [became] premier, and we will feel even more comfortable if Wang Hongwen does."

But to Mao Zedong, neither Wang Hongwen nor Zhang Chunqiao was qualified for the premiership. Mao suggested twice, on January 21 and 28, 1976, that Deputy Premier Hua Guofeng be "acting premier." Mao Zedong's suggestion was approved by the Politburo, an organ of the Party that was actually a government above the government. On February 2, the Politburo appointed Hua Guofeng acting premier and Chen Xilian a

member of the Politburo and deputy premier of the State Council, to be in charge of the Central Military Commission.

Zhang Chunqiao was irritated by these two decisions. On February 3, one day after the Party Central's document announcing these two decisions, Zhang wrote "The Day of February 3, 1976," to express his discontent:

Another number one document. There was one last year.

The more they achieve their ambition the more unrestrained they become.

But the faster and fiercer they come, the quicker they come to grief.

The erroneous political line will never work. They can feel complacent for a while.

The whole world seems belong to them, and it seems they begin a new age.

They always overestimate their capabilities. The people are a decisive factor.⁶

The Escalation of the Campaign to Criticize Deng

Zhang Chunqiao's hope of becoming premier was shattered. But Jiang Qing, Zhang, and company resumed their scramble for power with criticizing Deng as a new starting point.

Mao Zedong's health at the time could be gleaned from former U. S. President Richard Nixon's recollections of his second visit to China in February 1976:

When I returned to China in 1976, Mao's condition had deteriorated considerably. His speech sounded like a series of monosyllabic grunts and groans. But his mind remained quick and incisive. He understood everything I said, but when he tried to answer, the words just would not come out. If he thought the translator had not understood him, he would impatiently grab a note pad and write out his comments. It was painful to see him in this condition."⁷

Thus one could gather that it was easy for those who were close to Mao, especially Mao Yuanxin, his liaison, to deceive Mao or to relay as "Mao's directives" fabrications of their own. It was under such circumstances that Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and others launched the campaign of criticizing the reversal of verdicts on a large scale.

Before Mao Zedong died, no explicit stipulation could be found in the State constitution about the procedure of the transition of supreme power. As a result, the death of Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong's illness gave rise to an

increasingly fierce scramble for supreme power in China. Jiang Qing and her clique believed that as long as they defeated Deng Xiaoping and the influence he represented, they could gain China's supreme power after Mao's death.

In the second half of February 1976, the Party Central called a meeting of the de facto heads of all provinces, cities, autonomous regions, and large military regions. Hua Guofeng delivered a speech on behalf of the Party Central: "The main task at present is to criticize Comrade Deng Xiaoping's revisionist line," he said. "Cadres and masses should work together on this task.... As for the problem of Deng Xiaoping, he can be criticized by name."⁸ Jiang Qing was active during this meeting.

One evening she went to Jingsi Guesthouse especially to talk to Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian, and a few others as well as to Ding Sheng, commander of the Nanjing Military Region, who had already retired for the night. Jiang told them, "You're the 'Shanghai gang.' Do you know they say I belong to the 'Shanghai gang' too! ... We should concentrate fire on Deng Xiaoping. Last year, he criticized me, and the criticism lasted for several months. I could not defend myself at that time. Now I can, and I'll denounce him!" She also said, "Freedom of speech, indeed! Only one person has a say—that's what it is! He established an independent kingdom and practiced fascism!" On February 23, 1976, Jiang called the de facto heads of seventeen provinces, cities, and autonomous regions for a meeting, at which she stated,

Deng Xiaoping attacked the insurgent masses in Sichuan and Yunnan provinces and all those who follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. I'm the first to be attacked only because I tried hard to carry out Chairman Mao's line. Many rumors circulated throughout the country last July, August, and September. It's said that all those rumors came out of Beijing. In fact, Deng Xiaoping is the president of the "rumormongering company." Young comrades should know this.

In March [1976], Jiang held another meeting of the de facto heads of twelve provinces and autonomous regions to repeat what she had expressed at the previous meeting. Aiming at attacking Deng Xiaoping with concentrated fire and reciting past films and incidents for denunciation, Jiang also gave away her secret: to obtain supreme power. She said,

Deng Xiaoping was actually aiming at Chairman Mao when he attacked me. Some people compared me to Wu Zetian. I think I'm superior to her as far as class consciousness is concerned, but I'm not as capable as she was. Those people are ignorant of China's history; they simply wanted to use traditional mentality to measure these two famous stateswomen [Wu Zetian and Empress Lü]. These two women were more capable than men, and they were both Legalists.... Some people wrote to Lin Biao and told him I was Wu Zetian, and some said I was Empress Lü. I feel greatly honored by such comparisons. Empress Lü was an emperor without a crown; she

actually controlled the power, and she carried out the Legalist line.... It was not easy for Wu Zetian to be a female emperor in the feudal society. Her husband was capable, too, but he was not in good health. Wu helped her husband attend to affairs of state and gained experience. They maligned Wu Zetian, Empress Lü, and me; by so doing, they actually wanted to slander Chairman Mao."⁹

Toward the end of February 1976, following the preliminary meeting of "criticizing Deng," a nationwide campaign of counterattacking the rightist reversal of verdicts began.

At the beginning of March, the Party Central issued *Chairman Mao's Important Directives* and began criticizing Deng Xiaoping by name inside the Party.¹⁰ Deng once promised Mao Zedong that he would never reverse verdicts. On March 10, 1976, *People's Daily* published an editorial entitled "It Is against the People's Will to Reverse Verdicts." This editorial released Mao's criticism of Deng. Mao had said,

Some Party members have become the target of the socialist revolution. Some opposed the socialist revolution as early as the period of the cooperative movement. They dislike the criticism of bourgeois rights and privileges. We are now engaging in a socialist revolution, but some comrades do not realize the capitalist class is right inside the Party, that it is the capitalist-roaders who are wielding power. The capitalist-roaders are still active.

In this editorial, Deng was labeled as "the one who initiated the trend of reversal of verdicts."

On October 7, 1975, "The General Program for All Work of the Party and the State" written in accordance with Deng Xiaoping's ideas proposed to make the Three Instructions the General Program.¹¹ The General Program also included Deng's arguments about "overall rectification." *Red Flag*, no. 4 (1976), published a critical article describing the General Program as a "general principle for restoring capitalism."¹² Mao's remark against Deng was quoted in this article: "What is 'taking the Three Instructions as the General Principle'? Improving stability and unity does not mean abolishing class struggle. Class struggle is the general principle, and all others are subordinate to it."

Jiang and her clique thought they could eliminate Zhou Enlai's influence on the people while "criticizing Deng." Believing that Zhou Enlai had been the behind-the-scenes supporter of Deng, they ordered several newspapers and journals to criticize Zhou without mentioning him by name.

On February 6, 1976, the Reference Materials Office of the Xinhua News Agency released a document to try to implicate Zhou Enlai for his behavior in the April 12, 1927, massacre. As a follow-up, *Study and Criticism* carried an article to introduce the April 12 massacre, in which the author attacked Zhou by innuendo. Big-character posters and cartoons on the same subject appeared in the streets of Shanghai. *Study and Criticism*, no. 3 (1976), published two articles indicating that Zhou Enlai had supported Deng Xiaoping in implementing his rectification program and in conducting all other activities. The Gang of Four made full use of the mass media to smear Zhou Enlai and all those who upheld justice.

Protest Activities

Sentiment is an inexpressible thing. Emotions reveal themselves one way or another.¹³ From factories to machine shops, pharmacies to printing plants, broadcasting companies to export firms, slogans and posters appeared through February and March 1976 expressing the people's rage at the Gang of Four and its despoilment of Chinese politics as shaped by Zhou Enlai. The sentiments were expressed in slogans, posters, poems, and pamphlets throughout China. A typical expression was seen in a poem in a letter to Mao Zedong by a worker in Xi'an; the poem contained the following refrain: "Gazing at a giant star perishing in heaven, we shed our tears by the river. Looking at the present reign with men thieving and women prostituting, we feel an unrequited hatred throughout mankind."

The traditional annual Qingming grave-sweeping festival was drawing near. Jiang Qing and her clique, sensing the advent of something unexpected on that day, closed the Revolutionary Cemetery of the Western Suburbs as early as mid-March. In Beijing, the government department in charge of such matters ordered stationery shops not to sell paper to any organization. The people, however, could not be stopped from expressing their feelings and from counterattacking Jiang and her clique on this day.

The Nanjing Incident

Spontaneous and large-scale protest activities first took place in Nanjing.¹⁴ On March 24, 1976, the Nanjing Medical Institute laid the first wreath to honor Zhou Enlai in the Yuhuatai Cemetery of Revolutionary Martyrs [in Meiyuan near Nanjing]. The wreath was made with twigs of the pine tree and white magnolias. The elegiac couplet on it read, "Our beloved Premier Zhou and all the revolutionary martyrs are immortal!" A photographer, with no vicious intent, removed the elegiac couplet. Instantly, this wreath without couplet became a major topic of conversation among Nanjing residents. People considered the person who removed the couplet to be one of the "Shanghai gang." On the next day, in protest, students of the Nanjing Medical Institute put up a slogan reading "Defend Zhou Enlai with our lives!" in the downtown area.

On March 25, 1976, *Wenhui bao*, ignoring the people's emotions, published an article entitled "The Capitalist-Roader Is on His Way, We Must Stop Him," which claimed, "The capitalist-roader inside the Party wanted to help the unrepentant capitalist-roader regain his power." Deng Xiaoping was known as "the unrepentant capitalist-roader" at that time; "the capitalist-roader inside the Party" obviously meant Zhou Enlai. *Wenhui bao* was bombarded with protest letters from throughout the country; it received an even greater number of telegrams and telephone calls protesting this article. The people all understood that Zhang Chunqiao was the behind-the-scenes supporter of *Wenhui bao*.

The people of Nanjing were irritated by this article. Just at this moment, they were told they would be forbidden to go to Meiyuan and the Yuhuatai Cemetery to express their condolences. Li Xining, an instructor in the mathematics department of Nanjing University and department branch secretary of the Youth League, called an emergency meeting of the Youth League branch. The members decided to go to Meiyuan before this ban became effective and posted a notice calling on the entire student body of the university to join them in this

activity. After all-night preparations, at 8:00 A. M. on March 28, Li Xining and Qin Feng, a computer science major, led more than four hundred students to Meiyuan. They held high a giant portrait of the deceased Zhou Enlai, carried a wreath with a scroll reading "Your glory will forever inspire the ensuing generations," and marched forward in several lines. The traffic police gave them green lights all the way to Meiyuan; all vehicles made way for them; and huge numbers of pedestrians stood silently along the streets. This troop greatly inspired the people to fight against evil forces. A large number of big-character posters and slogans aimed at the Gang of Four appeared in the streets.

On the morning of March 29, the students of the mathematics department of Nanjing University posted the March 25 issue of *Wenhui bao* at the campus and highlighted the sentence "The capitalist-roader inside the Party wanted to help the unrepentant capitalist-roader regain his power." They wrote next to it: "Read this sentence and think it over." They then posted slogans reading "Be on the alert for careerists and conspirators." The entire university was inspired by these just and upright activities, and big-character posters protesting the Gang of Four were seen everywhere on the campus. Before long, the protest spirit of the faculty and students of Nanjing University affected the city of Nanjing.

On March 29, 1976, about four hundred students of Nanjing University put up slogans in favor of Zhou Enlai and against the Gang of Four in the streets of Nanjing and on the long-distance buses headed for the north of Jiangsu, Anhui, and Zhejiang provinces and for other destinations. Many other universities, colleges, and factories joined them in this activity. In the evening of the same day, slogans were found all over the city. Meanwhile, people made speeches in downtown Nanjing to advertise this action. Qin Feng of Nanjing University led some students to the Nanjing Railway Station. With the help of the rail workers, they wrote slogans on trains to Chengdu, Shanghai, and all other cities. Many people made speeches at the railway station and paraded in an endless stream. Some people even shouted "Down with Jiang Qing!"

In downtown Nanjing, a slogan read, "They are doing what Lin Biao did not finish.... Ferret out the careerist, conspirator, and two-faced Zhang Chunqiao!" This slogan reflected the people's common hatred toward Zhang. Another slogan read, "Remember Yang Kaihui, the martyr, with great affection!"¹⁵

Wang Hongwen learned about the Nanjing slogans against Zhang Chunqiao, and on March 30, he called and told *People's Daily*, "The [Jiangsu] Provincial Party Committee is responsible for the Nanjing Incident.... The Nanjing Incident aims at the Party Central. They tried to divert attention from the criticism of Deng. Those who put up big-character posters want to create public opinion favoring the counterrevolutionaries."

On March 31, Lu Ying, editor in chief of *People's Daily*, relayed to Wang Hongwen a report written by one of his reporters in Nanjing. Wang passed it on to Jiang Qing immediately. At 7:00 P. M., Wang called *People's Daily* for information on Nanjing. At 9:00 P. M., Yao Wenyuan also called *People's Daily*, asking them to report expeditiously to Zhang Chunqiao any new information. Zhang was also anxious and called *People's Daily* at 10:00 P. M. to inquire about the situation in Nanjing.

Late in the evening of April 1, 1976, Zhang instructed the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee over the telephone,

Recently, some big-character posters and slogans attacking the Central leaders have appeared in Nanjing. This is a political incident aiming to split the Party Central led by Chairman Mao. You must tear down or cover all these posters and slogans immediately. You must talk to the masses patiently and be careful that those with ulterior motives don't stir up troubles.... You must find out the behind-the-scenes plotter.

At 3:00 P. M. on the next day, the Jiangsu Party Committee relayed the April 1 notice to Nanjing city and Jiangsu Province. The government organizations sent troops of people to wash off posters and slogans in Nanjing and then put up new posters branding the activities of the masses as "forming public opinion favoring counterrevolutionary restoration and coup" and demanding the municipal and provincial leaders who supported the mass activities be responsible for all consequences.

The April 1 notice enraged the people of Nanjing. On the day this notice was transmitted, a poem was found on a desk in a classroom of Nanjing University. This poem, rich in double meanings of Chinese homophones, called Jiang Qing a witch who beguiled and harmed the country with her cohorts. Also on that day, the students of Nanjing Post and Telecommunications Institute posted about twenty slogans in the streets and on the buses; the slogans included "It's not wrong to defend Premier Zhou! It's justified to criticize the *Wenhui bao!*" "Don't be afraid of imprisonment or death. Swear to fight to the end with those who oppose Premier Zhou!" "Investigate thoroughly incidents of opposing Premier Zhou!" "No savior at all, we must depend on ourselves!" "Persist and carry out the struggle to the end!" Some two thousand faculty members and students of Nanjing Industry College held a demonstration.

Most people laid wreaths rather than parading, making speeches, and posting slogans. As many as 140,000 people went on April 3 to Yuhuatai Cemetery to present wreaths, twice the figure for the previous two days. April 4, a Sunday, was Qingming. But although the Nanjing government had abolished it as a holiday, 80,000 or more people went to Yuhuatai Cemetery.

From the end of March to the beginning of April 1976, some sixteen hundred organizations with 667,000 people involved visited Yuhuatai Cemetery to express their condolences at the grave of Premier Zhou Enlai and laid more than six thousand wreaths.