

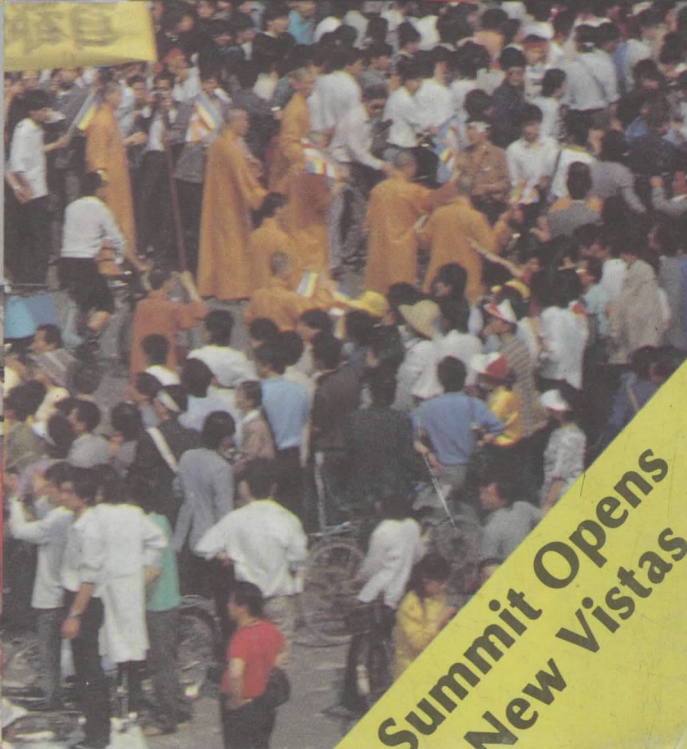
A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

Beijing Review

北京周报

Vol. 22 No. 22 May 27/June 4, 1989

Hunger Strike Shakes the Nation



Summit Opens
New Vistas



Tourists from abroad having a try at the long-stemmed Chinese pipe.

Photo by Lian Haisheng

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COVER: Around 1 million Beijing citizens take to the streets in support of hunger striking students. Top right: hunger striking students. Bottom left: workers add their voice.

**Photos by Xu Xiangjun
and Xue Chao**

Summit Puts Seal on Normalized Relations

□ When President Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Beijing on May 15, he became the first Soviet leader to visit China in 30 years. During his four-day stay, his meetings with Chinese leaders signalled a comprehensive end to the strained relations of the last decades and opened broad prospects for friendship and co-operation (p. 4).

Call for Tough Action to Curb "Turmoil"

□ Excerpts of a speech by Premier Li Peng calling for resolute and powerful measures to curb "turmoil" and restore order in Beijing. Speaking on May 19 to Party, government and army cadres, he said a handful of people had stirred up the current unrest because their political goals were unobtainable through democratic and legal channels (p. 15).

Martial Law Declared But Not Enforced

□ A comprehensive report by *Beijing Review* reporters on the situation in Beijing after martial law was declared for part of the city on May 20 (p. 9). A review of the events leading to the present political crisis (p. 11).

Talk Between Li Peng and Students

□ Excerpts of a talk Premier Li Peng had with representatives of the student hunger strikers on May 18. These excerpts may help illuminate the different approaches to a solution for the deadlock seen by the two sides (p. 16).

What the Students Say

□ The six-day student hunger strike ended on the evening of May 19. An interview by our staff reporter with three students tells what they think and how they feel about the activities in which they were involved (p. 20).

Sex Education: No Longer Taboo

□ For centuries, China has treated sex as a subject best left shrouded in mystery. Even with today's re-evaluation of many traditional beliefs, large numbers of people avoid references to it. But with Chinese children reaching puberty at an ever earlier age, and sexually transmitted diseases on the rise, experts have declared it imperative that universal sex education be introduced countrywide, especially at middle schools (p. 24).

Unless written by Beijing Review staff, the opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily reflect the view of the Beijing Review editorial board.

Director/Editor-in-Chief: Wang Youfen
Tel: 893363
TLX: 222374 FLPDA CN
FAX: 8314318
General Editorial Office Tel: 8314318
English Dept Tel: 8315599 Ext. 546

Published every Monday by
BEIJING REVIEW
24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing 100037
The People's Republic of China
Distributed by **China International Book
Trading Corporation** (GUOJI SHUDIAN)
P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Subscription rates (1 year):
Australia.....A.\$29.00
New Zealand.....NZ.\$39.00
UK.....£14.50
USA.....US\$29.00
Canada.....Can.\$25.00

Sino-Soviet Summit: Normalization at Last

This may be the most special official visit of a generation. All the elements are there for an epic drama. The leader of a great nation travelled to another great nation which hasn't received such a visit for 30 years. There he encountered the biggest demonstration crying for democracy in the host country's 40-year history.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, is the first and perhaps the only foreign head who did not see the heart and symbol of the capital and the country—Tiananmen Square, which has been taken over by thousands of demonstrators since May 13, two days before Gorbachev's four-day visit. Diplomatic or any other ceremony at the square is out of the question.

At least four scheduled programmes, including the welcome ceremony, laying wreathes to the Monument to the People's Heroes, visiting to the Forbidden City and the press conference, were either changed or cancelled because of the demonstration during Gorbachev's three-day stay in Beijing.

The so-called "Gorbachev whirlwind," which was predicted by many people to blow, has been blown over by the demonstrators.

Despite Gorbachev being outshined by those hunger strikers, the Beijing summit is significant and impressive for the visi-

tors and their hosts. Here, Gorbachev and his Chinese comrades not only watched history being made, but also made history.

The moment when Chinese senior leader Deng Xiaoping shook hands with Gorbachev on May 16 marked the normalization between the two largest socialist countries and the world's two biggest Communist parties, which was applauded by the people of the both countries.

"We have expected Gorbachev's visit and the normalization for a long time. We welcome that, it's great. It's one of the greatest events of the last quarter of the 20th century," said a student who was watching the news.

Although the doddering Chinese leader was challenged by some

Chinese protestors for being too old to handle domestic issues, Deng seems to be more capable of dealing with international matters and at last was reaping his diplomatic harvest, that he sowed three years ago when he asked the Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to pass a message to Gorbachev. Deng in his message suggested that the three obstacles (Soviet troops occupying Afghanistan, Soviet troops being stationed on the Sino-Mongolian border and the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea) between the two countries should be removed as soon as possible so that the summit could be realized. Gorbachev said he remembered the message. "You mentioned the three obstacles. They needed three years to be re-

moved, each one took a year," the Soviet leader told Deng half-jokingly.

Deng summed up the summit in eight words—"End the past and open up the future." While the two leaders are mending the 30-year-old rift, their handshake seems to have more profound meaning for Deng than for Gorbachev. Deng used to be one of the main fighters against the Soviet leadership during the 1960s. Gorbachev, to some extent, was just a witness to that falling out between the two former friends. Later in Shanghai, Gorbachev said that the summit was so satisfying that the un-

Deng meets Gorbachev on May 16.

LIU SHAOZHAN



pleasant past 30 years seem to disappear.

Gorbachev admitted that the Soviet Union also made mistakes with regard to the deterioration of the bilateral relations in the past. At the same time Gorbachev made it clear that although Deng's comments on the unpleasant Sino-Soviet ties in the past were not groundless, the Soviet side has some different views.

However, the two leaders agreed to let bygones be bygones. What really mattered was for both sides to look forward and do more practical work to expand bilateral relations.

During a press conference on May 17, Gorbachev said his meeting with Chinese leaders, including Deng, Party leader Zhao Ziyang, Premier Li Peng and President Yang Shangkun, was historically important and fruitful. He also said that he was happy to see that traditional Soviet-Chinese friendship has been deeply rooted into the hearts of the Chinese people, especially in the young. He said the friendship would further develop, he was confident of that.

The Soviet leader has every reason to say this. He did not get a chance to go to Tiananmen Square to see those slogans written by Chinese students, such as "Hello, Comrade Gorbachev!" "Welcome you, Gorbachev!" "We need *glasnost*." "Cheer to Sino-Soviet Friendship!" but he had received many student letters that both offered a welcome and expressed a keen interest in the Soviet reform.

Gorbachev said he would send many Soviet young people to visit China after he returns home, also he wanted more Chinese youngsters to visit his country.

It has long been recognized worldwide that China carried out economic reform before it introduced political reform while in the Soviet Union the order of reform is reverse.

But Gorbachev said at the press conference that this view was wrong. "Actually in our country, it was the economic problems that we managed to resolve at first. But the problems were very hard to eradicate, and we realized that we couldn't resolve the economic problems without political reform," said the Soviet leader.

Now, this is just the case in China. That's one of the reasons

for the passionate welcome to the Soviet leader, said a Beijing University student.

"We two countries share same ideology and goals, and have similar problems. Why don't we get together and learn from each other? We suffered too much from isolation in the past," he said.

On May 18, the two countries issued a joint communique (see it on p.11)

by Li Haibo

Martial Law: Declared But Not Enforced

On the evening of May 19 more than one hundred military vehicles, each packed with over 30 soldiers, were blocked by thousands of Beijing residents at Gongzhufen, a crossroad seven kilometres away from the Tiananmen Square, the centre of the capital, where more than 100,000 students were continuing their one-month-long demonstration.

A 60-year-old woman sat in front of a military car, asked tearfully to the men in the People's Liberation Army (PLA) uniform not to advance to the square.

"Those kids (students) are very, very weak, how can you have the heart to suppress them?"

"Beijing supports them. If you insist on moving forward, I would rather your cars roll over my body," the woman said.

The military forces that are estimated to come to 150,000 troops, have surrounded the capital. They were ordered to move to Beijing to "restore social order," according to one major interviewed in the suburbs.

The hunger strike had come to an end and had been turned into a sit-in demonstration at 9

pm the same day. The city seemed to have been returning to normality when military rule was declared.

At midnight, from radio or TV news programmes, people realized that the central government was getting tough in attempts to quell, with the backing of the army, a situation that Premier Li Peng termed "turmoil."

Li's heated mid-night speech to Party, government and army cadres claimed the capital was in a critical situation. He said that the "anarchic state" in Beijing was becoming worse, that law and order was threatened, and that a few people were using the hunger strikers as hostages to threaten and force the Party and government to agree to their political conditions. A handful of people, he said, wanted to make use of the "turmoil" to achieve their political goal—to negate Party leadership and to alter the socialist system (see the speech on p.15).

President of the State Yang Shangkun said at the meeting that to maintain the capital's social order authorities had no alternative but to transfer troops into the capital.

The next day, May 20, the State Council declared an order to impose martial law in Beijing's main areas starting from 10 am while Beijing's municipal government issued three orders to put martial law into effect.

Through the mass media, there are successive reports informing the people that telegrams of support for the decision made by the central authorities have been coming in from the Party, government and military authorities of many provinces and municipalities.

Nevertheless, martial law seems to be unpopular and resisted by most of the people of the capital.

Anti-martial law slogans are seen everywhere along the streets, on walls, and telephone posts. Meanwhile Li Peng was attacked and asked to step down from his post by the demonstrators.

For many, the only thing they did during the May 20 weekend was to hold back the troops that were pressing for the city's core. In the usually calm suburbs of the city some were setting road obstacles to block the troop trucks while their neighbours

The blocked PLA soldiers with Beijing residents on the evening of May 20. XUE CHAO



The students persuade the PLA troops to leave Beijing on May 20. YANG LIMING

were explaining to the army men what had happened during the past few weeks in the ancient capital.

According to observations of *Beijing Review* reporters, Beijingers can hardly accept the presence of large numbers of soldiers within the city. Never have they seen so many troops trying to move into their city since the founding of New China 40 years ago. "Even during the mid-40s when a nationwide civil war was going on, not a single shot was fired inside Beijing," an old

worker remarked. He was referring to the fact that Beijing was peacefully liberated when the KMT troops under General Fu Zuoyi came to terms with the Communist-led forces then surrounding the city.

Although the government and the army headquarters repeatedly tried to persuade the residents that the martial law is not aimed at the people and that the troops aren't there to suppress the students, people were still very upset, and some of them frightened.

"After seeing those troops with guns, tear-gas and other weapons, I'm so scared that I can't sleep these nights. Yes, I heard the government's statement, saying this is for the people and 'don't panic.' But, how can I sit calmly when their helicopters are buzzing right overhead? This has never happened before," said a middle-aged woman.

Most people interviewed by *Beijing Review* reporters think the action is neither necessary nor justified. They said that there was no looting, arson or violence committed in the city and that the police and the people can handle things by themselves. It is illogical, they said, to send so many troops to cope with the few minor incidents. It's like "using a cannon to shoot a mos-



quito," one of them added.

As of May 23rd in the morning, Beijing remained very quiet. Public transport, which became virtually non-existent in the first couple of days after martial law was declared, has been partially restored. Although a Beijing vice-major announced on 21st that some daily necessities are falling short owing to transport problems, there are no indications of panic buying.

A retired officer recounted how he had welcomed liberating PLA troops into the city 40 years ago. "Now I am sorry to say, you PLA men are not welcome."

However, in some of the places where the soldiers were blocked by the people, the initial sharp confrontation has disappeared and a friendly or even jovial atmosphere prevailed, with some people bringing water and food for the army men.

"We don't know why we are here," a soldier said. The local people told them that Beijing residents understood military men and they didn't want to blame them. People are expecting a peaceful Beijing rather than a bloody fight among armed and unarmed compatriots, they said.

The municipal government statement said it had hoped that people would cooperate with the troops and not stop their progress. But there is no sign that the people will give the way to the troops. Unless the armies force their way into Beijing—and that would be at a tragic cost—they are unlikely to carry out martial law, said a student.

This is the first time that a martial law has been declared in the capital—a martial law that has failed to come into effect within 96 hours of its declaration because troops cannot enter the city.

Few know what next will happen, and the city is shrouded under the clouds of worry.

By Li Haibo & others

Strikes Spark Political Crisis

In the past few weeks, millions of Chinese striving for democracy have taken to the streets with unprecedented boldness.

It is the college students who took this movement from the point where it was little more than a campus discussion and nurtured it to a point where it has shaken the nation.

The movement was triggered

by the death of Hu Yaobang, the former Party chief, who died on April 15. The mourning activities soon developed into pro-democracy demonstrations, which were disapproved of and obstructed by the Chinese authorities.

Chief Complaints An April 26 editorial in *People's Daily*, the official Party organ, linked their

Students marching to Tiananmen Square on May 4.



demonstrations with certain anti-government activities by a handful of people. It called on the whole Party and all the people to stop the "conspiracy" and "turmoil," which it claimed were aimed at "negating the leadership of the Party and the socialist system."

The editorial enraged the students, who regarded their activities as patriotic. The next day, hundreds of thousands of college students took to the streets in Beijing to voice their protest and present their demands. Police and soldiers in large numbers tried to stop them but without success.

Chanting slogans of support for Party leadership and socialism, they demanded, among other things, the retraction of the editorial and the publication of an accounting of the properties owned by senior Party and government officials.

The first talks took place on April 29 between several government officials and some students from Beijing's universities and colleges. But the results of the talks were deemed unsatisfactory by many students, especially the activists among them.

Again and again, the students complained about inadequate and unfair press coverage of their activities.

Press Freedom Their struggle for fair press coverage meant raising the issue of a free press. What a shame, students said, that Chinese had to hear the news about China from foreign journalists broadcasting from abroad.

On May 4, the day to commemorate a famous democratic student movement 70 years ago, Beijing saw massive demonstrations with participation by students from virtually all the colleges and universities in the capital.

Leaders and the police showed restraint as hundreds of thousands of students marched without a permit down Beijing's main



Zhao Ziyang comes to see fasting students on Tiananmen Square.

streets to blanket Tiananmen Square.

On May 6, a petition carrying the names of students from 24 of Beijing's colleges and universities was handed to the government.

The petitioners asked for talks about state recognition of their movement, and that those talks be broadcast, as well as for political reform, democracy and a full retraction of the April 26 *People's Daily* editorial.

On May 9, China's journalists, taking their cue from the students, handed in a petition signed by 1,031 reporters and editors also demanding talks with Party officials over the creation of a press law and freedom of the press.

Not only was the cause taken up by the students who demonstrated in support of journalists, it also brought a new boldness to news coverage.

Hunger Strike Infuriated by the repeated government delays in holding a direct dialogue, as it appeared to be the case, the students staged a hunger strike on May 13.

"They've tied our non-violent protests with the same kind of social turmoil that prevailed during the 'cultural revolution,'" said a Qinghua University stu-

dent.

"We've just expressed the people's wishes that some corrupt government officials should be dismissed and that reform in politics, including that of the press, be speeded up," he added.

Subsequently, dialogues with several high-ranking Party and government officials took place but the basic demands of the students were still not met.

After reaching its fourth day the hunger strike began to attract massive attention and sympathy. With each day that passed without dialogue with the authorities, the students' message spread further across the country.

The number of fasting students grew to 3,000, along with the headlines that made it a focus of world attention.

The students were joined on May 16 by journalists. About 10,000 reporters and editors in Beijing had their own street rally. One of the banners carried by *People's Daily* staff read "Press reform is a must," while they chanted "People's Daily belongs to the people."

Journalists from most other newspaper offices, including the Xinhua News Agency, CCTV, the Central People's Broadcasting Station, Beijing Review and

China Daily, were warmly applauded by student protesters and tens of thousands of on-lookers as they joined the students.

On May 17, the fifth day of the hunger strike, increasing concern and anger was felt throughout Beijing as more than 1,000 of the students were hospitalized after collapsing.

"We will combat until we have victory in spite of any sacrifice, even death," was one declaration by the Beijing University hunger strikers.

Almost 1.5 million people were believed to have joined the protesters that day, despite Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang's speech saying there would be no reprisals against protestors and his concession that the students' goals were positive.

Increasing Support This time the government was facing more than students and intellectuals. Now there were factory workers, farmers, businessmen, government functionaries and even non-military army officers who identified their interests as being the same as the students'.

Many angry protestors demanded that some of the Party and government leaders resign.

"They should not be so insensitive to the lives of young people. The students' demands on the state aren't that hard for the leaders to accept," an unidentified textile worker said.

Demonstrations gradually spread to almost every provincial capitals and many middle-sized cities.

Appeal by Congressmen At the May 17 demonstration, 12 members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress also urged the government to call a meeting and let both sides start talking.

China's four non-Communist party leaders, including Fei Xiaotong, chairman of the China Democratic League, and Sun

Qimeng, chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Party, urged Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang and other top leaders to go straight to Tiananmen Square and open an immediate dialogue with the students to bring a quick end to the hunger strike.

On the same day 10 university presidents from Beijing sent a joint letter to the Party and government leaders calling on them to open a substantial dialogue with the students.

Although Premier Li met student representatives on May 18, he still refused to answer their two basic demands of recognizing the student movement as a patriotic and democratic one and for live broadcasts of dialogues.

Instead he simply demanded that the Beijing Red Cross move all the fasting students to the hospital (see p. 16 for details).

With most fasting students suffering from illnesses, student leaders declared at 9 p.m. on May 19 that the fast would be changed to a sit-in.

Earlier in the day, the hunger strikers, who had been moved to buses because of rain, were visited by both Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng.

Zhao: Sympathetic and Mild It was noted that Zhao Ziyang in his visit to the students used a much milder tone than other officials and said with tears in his eyes, "We are here too late." He apologized and expressed his readiness to accept criticisms from the students.

He tried to persuade the students to stop fasting before it was too late, saying "We are getting old and don't count much. But you young people have a long way to go. You should take good care of yourselves."

"The problems you raised will eventually be solved," he said, stressing that things are "very complicated" and the solution of the problems would be quite a

process.

The drama became even more intense when people watching the midnight TV programmes on May 19 discovered that at the emergency meeting where Li Peng was announcing tough actions to curb "turmoil," General Party Secretary Zhao Ziyang was conspicuously missing.

by Wang Xin and others

Vice-Governor Sacked in Hunan

Yang Huiquan, vice-governor of central China's Hunan Province, was dismissed May 20. Yang was sacked for abusing his position while checking out the legitimacy of companies operating throughout the province.

The decision was made at a session of the Hunan People's Congress that ended May 15. The meeting saw a 506-majority of the deputies at the congress vote to sack Yang.

Yang was elected vice-governor of Hunan in 1983 and was appointed head of a group in charge of screening companies in 1987.

According to the motion raised by 177 deputies, Yang failed to answer inquiries raised by deputies about the progress of screening companies and had refused to cooperate with an investigation into the problems of the International Economic Development Company that operates in the province.

The deputies also pointed out that during last year's spring Guangzhou Fair, Yang, his daughter and son-in-law, were guests of the provincially registered Huaxiang Co. at a dinner that had cost 4,437 yuan.

Yang did not pay his share of the bill which came to 1,000 yuan (\$270) until it was disclosed through a reporter's investigation. □

Weekly Chronicle

(May 14-20)

POLITICAL

May 15

□ Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union arrives in Beijing on a four-day official visit.

□ Yang Huiquan, vice-governor of Hunan Province, has been sacked for abuse of public funds and dereliction of duty related to his responsibility for scrutinizing legitimate companies in his province.

The decision is taken at the Second Session of the Seventh Provincial People's Congress.

May 17

□ In a written message, Zhao Ziyang, the Party's general secretary, on behalf of all members of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee's Political Bureau, appeals to students at Tiananmen Square to end their hunger strike.

Zhao says that the Party Central Committee and the State Council affirm the students' patriotic spirit in calling for democracy and law, opposing corruption and striving to further reform.

May 19

□ Communist Party's General Secretary Zhao Ziyang and Premier Li Peng arrive at the Tiananmen Square early this morning to visit the hunger-striking students there.

□ The Beijing fasting students

temporarily end their week-long hunger strikes at the Tiananmen Square.

Loudspeakers in the square announced at 9 pm that the students will switch from hunger strike to a sit-in at the square at 9:30 pm.

□ Premier Li Peng calls for resolute and powerful measures to "curb turmoil and restore order" in the capital at a meeting of cadres from the Party, government and army organs at the central and Beijing municipal levels held by the Communist Party of China Central Committee and the State Council in Beijing at 10 pm.

□ The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress issues a statement in Beijing, lodging a strong protest with the US House of Representatives for its adoption of a resolution on the so-called Tibet question on May 16.

May 20

□ The State Council of the People's Republic of China in the morning issues an order, signed by Premier Li Peng, to execute martial law in part of Beijing.

□ A spokesman for the Beijing Municipal Government says the purpose for the People's Liberation Army move into Beijing is to carry out marshal law so as to maintain public order in the capital and ensure the security of its citizens. Military control of colleges and universities is ruled out.

ECONOMIC

May 15

□ The first phase of construction on China's biggest hydroelectric project—the Ertan Pow-

er Station—is proceeding according to schedule.

Located on the lower reaches of the Yalong River in Sichuan Province, the station has a designed capacity of 3.3 million kilowatts with a proposed annual electricity production of 17 billion kwh.

May 16

□ China will spend 360 million yuan (about US\$100 million) over the next three years in Hubei Province building bases that will specialize in grain and cotton production.

These bases will provide the state with an additional 1.13 billion kg of grain, 100 million kg of cotton and 90 million kg of edible oil.

CULTURAL

May 15

□ The Soviet Union opens a large book exhibition in Harbin, the capital of the northeast province of Heilongjiang.

On show are more than 2,000 kinds of books dealing with subjects as diverse as the social and political sciences, space navigation and environmental protection.

The books are of great value in understanding Soviet life, Chinese experts of Soviet studies say.

May 16

□ Radio Beijing starts to present a new, four-hour daily English language radio service for the local foreign community and Chinese listeners.

The programme, called Easy FM, runs from 9 am to 1 pm and is the first of its kind in China and will broadcast international news and world famous tunes. □

Sino-Soviet Joint Communiqué

Beijing, 18 May 1989

1. At the invitation of President Yang Shangkun of the People's Republic of China, M. S. Gorbachev, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China (PRC) from 15 to 18 May 1989.

Chairman Deng Xiaoping met with President Gorbachev in Beijing on 16 May. The two leaders exchanged views on Sino-Soviet relations and international issues of mutual interest.

President Yang Shangkun, General Secretary Zhao Ziyang of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier Li Peng of the State Council of the PRC held meetings and talks respectively with President Gorbachev.

2. The leaders of China and the Soviet Union found it useful to exchange views on bilateral relations. The two sides agreed that the Sino-Soviet high level meeting symbolized the normalization of relations between the two countries. This is in conformity with the interests and aspirations of the Chinese and Soviet peoples and contributes to the maintenance of world peace and stability. The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is not directed at any third country, nor does it harm its interests.

3. The two sides stated that the People's Republic of China and the Union of the Soviet So-

cialist Republics would develop their relations on the basis of the universal principles guiding state-to-state relations, namely, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

4. Both sides expressed readiness to resolve all the disputes between the two countries through peaceful negotiations, and neither side would use or threaten to use arms against the other by any means, including the use of territorial land, water or air space of a third country bordering on the other side.

The two sides held the view that strict observance of the above points would help enhance mutual trust and establish good-neighborly and friendly relations between the two countries.

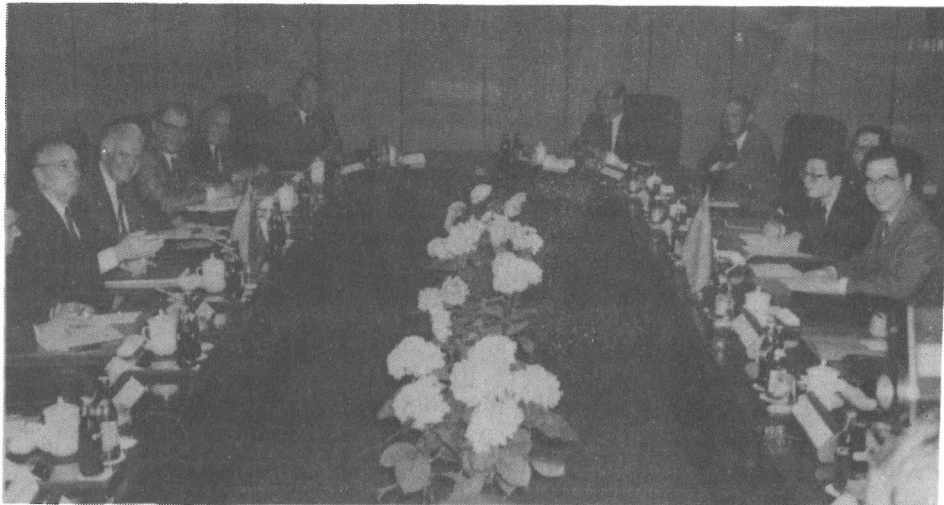
5. The leaders of China and the Soviet Union confirmed the statement on the question of

Kampuchea issued by the foreign ministers of the two countries on 6 February 1989 and, in view of later developments, had an overall and in-depth exchange of views on the settlement of the Kampuchean question.

The two sides took note of the decision of Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea by the end of September 1989 under effective international supervision.

They shared the concern and considered it essential that no civil war in Kampuchea should follow the complete Vietnamese troop withdrawal and that future Kampuchea should be an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned state. To this end, they expressed support for national reconciliation with the participation of the four parties in Kampuchea. The Chinese side advocated the establishment in Kampuchea of a provisional quadripartite coalition government headed by Prince Sihanouk

Chinese Premier Li Peng held talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on May 16.



during the transitional period after the complete Vietnamese troop withdrawal and prior to the end of a general election. The Soviet side maintained that the internal problems of Kampuchea, including preparations for the general election under international supervision, should be solved by the Kampuchean people themselves. It expressed welcome to intensified efforts for dialogue among the Khmer parties and its readiness to support any agreement reached by the Kampuchean parties on different aspects of the Kampuchean question.

The two sides pledged to respect the results of the general election of the Kampuchean people under international supervision.

They held that with the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, the countries concerned should gradually reduce and eventually stop all their military aid to any of the parties in Kampuchea.

The two sides stood for the convocation of an international conference on Kampuchea as soon as possible.

They reaffirmed their continued efforts to promote an early political settlement of the Kampuchean question in a fair and reasonable way. They agreed to continue their discussions on the Kampuchean question, including the remaining differences in this regard.

6. The two sides agreed to take measures to cut down the military forces in the areas along the Sino-Soviet boundary to a minimum level commensurate with the normal, good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and work for increased trust and continuous tranquility along the border areas.

The Chinese side welcomed the announcement of the Soviet Union to withdraw 75 percent of its forces from the People's Re-

public of Mongolia and hoped to see the complete pullout of its remaining forces from that country within a specified short period of time.

7. The two sides favoured a fair and reasonable settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question left over from the past, on the basis of the treaties concerning the present Sino-Soviet boundary and of the generally recognized principles of international law and in a spirit of consultations on an equal footing and mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

The leaders of the two countries decided, in line with the above-stated principles, to speed up the discussions on those sectors along the Sino-Soviet boundary where agreement was yet to be reached, so as to work out a mutually acceptable way to resolve the eastern and western sectors simultaneously. They entrusted the two foreign ministers to conduct discussions devoted to the boundary question when necessary.

8. The two sides agreed to work for the development of the economic, trade, scientific, technological, cultural and other relations in a planned way on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit and to deepen mutual understanding and promote exchanges between the two peoples.

9. The two sides considered it beneficial for them to share information and experience regarding their socialist development and reforms and exchange views on bilateral relations and international issues of common concern. Their differences on certain matters should not stand in the way of progress of bilateral relations.

10. The two sides agreed that the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would develop their contacts and exchanges in

accordance with the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

11. The Chinese side reiterated that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. China is firmly opposed to any attempt designed to create "two Chinas," "one China, one Taiwan" or "the independence of Taiwan."

The Soviet side expressed support to this position of the Chinese government.

12. The Chinese side reiterated that the People's Republic of China pursues an independent foreign policy of peace and adheres to the principled position of not entering into alliance with any country.

The Soviet side stated that its foreign policy, based on the supreme value of peace, is to work steadfastly for real disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, its underlying principle being that the security of one country should not be ensured at the expense of another. It stood for giving priority to the value of the entire mankind and for peaceful competition between different social and economic systems under the conditions of free choice and balanced interests.

13. The two sides stated that neither side would seek hegemony of any form in the Asian-Pacific region or other parts of the world. Both deemed it essential to denounce the attempt or action of any country to impose its will on others or seek hegemony of any form anywhere in the world.

14. The two sides took the view that peace and development are the two most important questions in the world of today. They expressed welcome to the easing of the long-standing world tensions and made positive appraisal of the efforts of various countries for arms reduction and re-

laxation of military confrontation and the progress achieved in settling regional conflicts. The two sides indicated readiness to continue their respective efforts in these aspects.

They stood for enhanced prestige of the United Nations and hoped to see its greater role in international affairs, disarmament and settlement of global problems and regional conflicts. All the countries, big or small, strong or weak are entitled to participate as equals in international activities.

15. The two sides expressed concern over the world economic situation, and particularly the deteriorating economies in developing countries, the growing gap between North and South and the worsening debt issue. They considered it urgent to establish the new international economic

order while taking into consideration the interests of all peoples and on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

16. The two sides held that solutions to the global economic, social, population, ecological and other problems would be of great significance to the maintenance and development of the world civilization and improvement of the quality of life of mankind. They stated that it was necessary to get more attention to those problems from the international community, the United Nations and other international organizations and seek coordinated measures to alleviate and tackle them.

17. China and the Soviet Union deemed it necessary to promote a fundamentally healthy development of international relations. To this end, the

Chinese side proposed to establish a new international political order on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and the Soviet side proposed to foster new political thinking in international relations. The understanding of the present international relations by each side is manifested in their respective propositions and concepts as stated above.

18. The two sides considered it important to have contacts and dialogues between leaders of the two countries and intended to continue to do so in the future. President Gorbachev, on behalf of the Soviet leadership, invited Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun, Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng to pay official visits to the Soviet Union. The Chinese side expressed thanks for his invitation. □

China's Position on Arms Transfer

Chinese ambassador for disarmament Fan Guoxiang made a 9-point statement on May 11 on the question of international arms transfer at the United Nations disarmament commission during its deliberations on conventional disarmament. The commission, currently meeting in New York, is a deliberative body of the UN General Assembly with the participation of all UN member states. As member states have expressed different views on this issue in recent years, China's statement has attracted much attention from other delegations.

The 9-point position statement by Fan Guoxiang is as follows:

1. The question of international arms transfer should be addressed with a serious, discreet and responsible attitude. The transfer of arms must serve to safeguard the independence, sov-

ereignty and territorial integrity of the states concerned, and to contribute to the maintenance of their necessary and reasonable defence capability. No country should interfere in the internal affairs of others by means of arms transfer.

2. International arms transfer should help the peoples in their just struggles against colonial domination, foreign aggression and occupation and for the realization or restoration of their inalienable rights to national self-determination and independence.

3. International arms transfer should be conducive to preservation and enhancement of peace, security and stability in the regions concerned and the world at large.

4. Strict prohibition of all types of arms transfer should be applied to those states or regimes

which, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the basic norms governing international relations, subject other countries to aggression, expansion and military occupation and practise racism and colonial domination. The countries concerned should take vigorous measures to stop international arms transfer which is related to such illegal acts as drug trafficking and international terrorism and to strengthen international cooperation in this respect.

5. The question of the international arms transfer should be addressed in conjunction with the questions of reducing international tension, removing regional conflicts, checking the arms race and realizing disarmament under effective supervision.

6. On the basis of compliance with the above-mentioned princi-

ples, rational regulation and limitation of international arms transfer could be made so as to promote stability at a low armament level and enhance world peace and security.

7. The biggest arms supplier countries bear a special responsibility in regulating and limiting international arms transfer, and they should be the first to take actions. The United States of America and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics should take the lead in adopting concrete and effective self-restraining measures, including drastic reduction in their arms exports, so as to create favourable conditions for consultations and negotiations among all arms

supplier and recipient countries on the rational regulation and limitation of international arms transfer.

8. The arms supplier and recipient countries, as well as other countries concerned, should be encouraged to carry out consultations and negotiations on an equal footing based on the principle of undiminished security of all the parties and other relevant principles as contained in the Final Document of the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and reach agreement on the rational regulation and limitation of international arms transfer.

9. The United Nations should

play a useful role in rationally regulating and limiting international arms transfer. For instance, it should urge the biggest arms supplier countries to discharge their special responsibility and take the lead in adopting self-restraining measures, it should encourage all states to carry out consultations and reach agreement on the rational regulation and limitation of arms transfer and provide necessary consulting and technical services to them and it should initiate studies and formulate necessary and effective measures against such arms transfer which should be prohibited. □

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Strong Measures Declared to Curb 'Turmoil'

Premier Li Peng called for resolute and powerful measures to curb what he termed "turmoil" and restore order on May 19.

Li, also a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, made the call at a meeting of cadres from the Party, government and army organs at the central and Beijing municipal levels held by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council in Beijing.

He said the meeting, held according to a decision of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, was aimed at mobilizing all to maintain stability and unity in order to ensure the smooth progress of the reform, the open policy and socialist modernization.

The Premier said that the briefing by the Beijing Municipal Party Committee Secretary Li Ximing showed that the capital is in a critical situation. The anarchic state is becoming from bad to worse, and law and discipline are being violated. Before the beginning of May the situation was becoming to cool down as a result of great efforts. But after that the turmoil revived again. More and more students and other people were involved in demonstrations and many colleges and universities had come to a standstill. Traffic was jammed everywhere, Party and government offices were affected and public security was deteriorating. All this has seriously disturbed the normal order of production, work, study and everyday life of the local people. Some activities on the agenda of the

Sino-Soviet summit that attracted worldwide attention had to be cancelled, greatly damaging China's international image and prestige.

The Premier said some of the students on a hunger strike at Tiananmen Square were continuing their fast, their health was seriously deteriorating and the lives of some were in imminent danger. Actually, he said, a handful of persons were using the hunger strikers as "hostages" to force the government to yield to their political demands.

The Party and the government have on one hand taken every possible measure to treat and rescue the fasting students. On the other hand, they have held several dialogues with representatives of the fasting students and have earnestly promised to continue to listen to their opinions in the future, in the hope that the students would end their hunger strike immediately. But the dialogues did not yield results as expected. Representatives of the hunger striking students said that they could no longer control the situation on Tiananmen Square packed with extremely excited crowds who kept shouting demagogic slogans.

Li said the situation in Beijing is still worsening, and has already affected many other cities in the country.

This will lead to a nationwide turmoil if action is not taken to stabilize the situation.

The Party and government have pointed out time and again that the students are kind-hearted and do not want to create turmoil. Instead, these patriotic students hope to promote democracy and overcome corruption, and this is in line with

the goals the Party and government have strived to achieve. Questions raised by the students have exerted positive influence on improving the work of the Party and government. But, demonstrations, protests, class boycotts, hunger strikes and other forms of petition have upset social stability, and will not help solve problems.

The Premier said it has become more and more clear that the very few people who attempt to create turmoil want to reach their political goals—negating the leadership of the CPC and the socialist system and violating the Constitution—goals that they could not reach through democratic and legal channels.

They concentrate their attack on Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who has made great contributions to China's reform, opening to the outside world and adherence to the four cardinal principles. Their purpose is to overthrow the people's government elected by the National People's Congress and totally negate the people's democratic dictatorship. They stir up trouble everywhere, establish secret ties, set up illegal organizations and force the Party and government to recognize them. In doing so they attempted to lay a foundation to set up opposition factions and opposition parties in China. If they should succeed, the reform and opening to the outside world, democracy and legality and socialist modernization would all come to nothing.

He said one important purpose for us to take a clear-cut stand in opposing the turmoil and exposing the political conspiracy of a handful of people is to distinguish the masses of young stu-

dents with the handful of people who incited the turmoil.

Our restraint in handling the student unrest earlier, he said, stemmed from a wish not to hurt good people. However, the handful of behind-the-scenes people took the tolerance as weakness.

Under these circumstances we were forced to take decisive measures to put an end to the turmoil, he said.

It must be stressed, he said, that even under such circumstances we should still persist in protecting the patriotism of the students, make a clear distinction between them and the very few people who created the turmoil, and we will not penalize students for their radical words and actions in the student movement. Moreover, dialogue will continue between the Party and the government on one hand and the students and people from other walks of life on the other.

Under extremely complicated conditions in this period, leaders, teachers and students of many colleges and universities have taken pains to try to prevent demonstrations and keep order for teaching and studying. Public security personnel and armed policemen have made great contributions in maintaining traffic, social order and security under extremely difficult conditions. Government offices, factories, shops, enterprises and institutions have persisted in production and work, taking pains to keep social life in order. For all this, the Party and the government are grateful.

Now, to check the turmoil and quickly restore order, Li appealed the students on hunger strike on Tiananmen Square end their fast immediately, leave the square, receive medical treatment and recover their health as soon as possible.

He also called on the entire

Party, army and nation to act immediately to stabilize the situation.

All Communist Party members must strictly abide by the Party's discipline.

Governments at various levels must enforce administrative discipline and law, strengthen leadership and administration over their regions and departments and carry out the work of stabilizing the situation, reform and economic construction.

Public security personnel and armed policemen should make greater efforts to maintain traffic and social order, intensify social security, and resolutely crack down on criminal activities.

All industrial and commercial enterprises and government institutions should abide by work discipline.

And schools on strike should resume classes unconditionally. □

Li Peng Meets With Student Leaders

Chinese Premier Li Peng met representatives of the striking students for an hour at the Great Hall of the People around noon on May 18, the sixth day of the hunger strike.

He was accompanied by Li Tieying, member of the Political Bureau and Minister in charge of the State Education Commission, Yan Mingfu, member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, Chen Xitong, mayor of Beijing Municipality and Li Ximing, secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and member of the Political Bureau. Several college and university chancellors and professors attended the meeting. Excerpts of the talks follow:

LI PENG: I am glad to see you. Today, we will talk only about one thing: how to get the

fasting students out of their present plight.

The Party and government are deeply concerned and worried about the matter and their health. Let's solve this problem first and other matters can be discussed later. We have no other motives; we are mainly concerned.

You are all young, no more than 22 or 23 years of age. My youngest son is older than you.

I have three children. None of them engage in official profiteering. To us, you are like our own children.

WUER KAI XI (a student leader from Beijing Teacher's University): Premier Li, if we go on like this, it seems we won't have enough time. We should enter substantial talks as soon as possible. Just now you said we would discuss only one thing, but

in fact it was not you who invited us to be here and rather it was so many people on the Tiananmen Square who asked you to come out and talk with us. So, as to how many questions we should discuss, it is for us to decide. Fortunately, our point of view is unanimous. Now there are many people in the square, you have probably known how many of them have fainted. I think the most important thing is to find a solution. Yesterday we all listened to and read Comrade Zhao Ziyang's written speech. Why have no students left the square so far? We believe that it is not enough, far from enough. You know our conditions and the situation on the square.

I think I might call you Teacher Li because you are of such an elderly age and I feel I might do so. But the question now is not to

persuade us to leave. We really hope to ask students to leave the square. Over there is not such a thing as majority rules; in fact, it is 99.9 percent of people must obey the will of the 0.1 percent of the people—if only one hunger striker refused to leave, the other hundreds would never leave the square either.

As for our two points, we have proposed an earlier rehabilitation and denunciation of the editorial of *People's Daily* (on April 26). This means that first, we demand the government not only to affirm the movement of students from the positive side, but also to negate from the negative side the April 26 editorial, which labeled the movement as a turmoil. Up to now no one has ever said that the student movement is not a turmoil. Besides, the nature of this movement shall be defined. Then, we may have several ways:

First, we think comrade Zhao Ziyang or comrade Li Peng had better go to the Tiananmen Square and talk directly with the students there. Secondly, the *People's Daily* should put out another editorial to negate its editorial on April 26, and to apologize to people all over the country and acknowledge the great significance of the current student movement. Only by this way, could we try our best to persuade the students to switch from hunger strike to a sit-in. And then under such circumstances we can go on with our effort to solve the problem. We may try our best, but we can't guarantee we can make it. But if this demand cannot be satisfied, it will be hard to predict how things will develop. As for the dialogue, it should be an openly, equal, direct and sincere one with representatives of the masses of students. The State Council has already said it wants to hold dialogue, but why can't we set these conditions? Here, open means a live television

broadcast. This is openness in a real sense. And both Chinese and foreign reporters should be present. As for equal, it means the dialogue should be conducted between leaders who have the decision-making power and genuine student representatives who can influence the student movement and are directly elected by the students. This means direct and equal. During the dialogue, responses such as "I cannot answer this question" or "this is just my personal view" are unacceptable. One might give such a response if some questions we raise haven't been discussed at meetings of the Politburo, but new meetings should be immediately convened to discuss such questions. We think this is the genuine attitude towards solving problems.

WANG DAN (a student leader from Beijing University): We representatives here actually represent the fasting students in the Tiananmen Square and assume the responsibility for the safety of their lives. So we hope every leader can make known his opinion on the two questions we have raised. As initiators and organizers of the hunger strike, we are all worried about our fellow fasting students' lives. I think ev-

Li Peng Meets With student leaders



ery leader shares the same concern. Based on such a thinking, we hope the two questions can be expounded as soon as possible.

XIONG YAN (a Beijing University student): We believe, no matter whether the government or other sectors recognize it is a patriotic and democratic movement or not, history will surely do so. But why do we especially urge the government and other sectors to recognize it? It represents the people's wish: they want to see whether the government is really their own government. It is where the question lies. Second, as communist fighters, we are all people who have a conscience and a sense of humanity. To solve problems like these, face-saving and whatever else should be excluded from any consideration. As long as it is a people's government, the people will still support it after it admits its mistakes. Third, we have complaints about Premier Li Peng, not because we have personal grievances against you. We have complaints about you, because you are the Premier of the People's Republic.

WANG ZHIXIN (a student from China Political Science and Law University): The slogan of democracy and science has been

Hunger Strike Shakes China

The hunger strike that lasted seven days drew world attention. On May 19, the students ended their hunger strike at 9 pm. As part of the struggle for democracy, the students started their movement in mid-April with mourning activities over the death of Hu Yaobang, former CPC general secretary.

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1. On April 21, 1989, the first wreaths were laid at the Monument to the People's Heroes to mourn Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Communist Party of China from 1982 to early 1987.

2. On April 22, more than 100,000 students and other citizens gathered at Tiananmen Square to mourn Hu Yaobang at the same time as the memorial service for Hu was being held inside the Great Hall of the People.

3. On April 27, students held a demonstration demanding further reform and the enhancement of democracy and the legal system. Demonstrators are in front of Zhongnanhai's Xinhua Gate, where the Party and government headquarters are located. The banner reads: "Long Live Democracy."

4. On May 4, students and other youth gathered in Tiananmen Square to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, a patriotic movement in modern Chinese history. The celebration was incorporated into the present student movement.

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5. One of the hunger strikers. The characters written on his shirt read: "Correct the judgment on the student movement and convene an equal dialogue."

6. Doctors give emergency treatment to a fasting student.

7. Hunger-striking college girl from the Central Drama Institute.

8. The hunger strike—Day Four.

9. Student strikers count the contributions donated to them by Beijing citizens to help them buy specially prepared medicine for the fasting students.

10. The fasting students' oath: "I swear to promote my country's democratic process, my country's prosperity and I have voluntarily taken up this hunger strike. I will resolutely obey the fasting group's discipline. I will never give up until we reach our goal."

11. A hunger striker making a speech to clarify to his fellow students the purpose and requirements of the hunger strike.

12. General Secretary Zhao Ziyang and Qiao Shi, another CPC leader, stand by the sickbed of two fasting students who were hospitalized.

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13. One million people marched in Beijing on May 17 in support of the students.

14. A group of workers show their support.

15. Members of democratic parties taking part in a march to lend support.

16. A group of Chinese intellectuals on the march.

Photos by Xu Xiangjun, Xue Chao (reporters for *Beijing Review*), and Ru Suichu.









chanted for 70 years, but it has never been materialized. Today we are chanting the slogan again. I would like to offer another word to the government. When we began our petition on April 22, you didn't come out. We have staged a hunger strike from May 13 till now. There is an international practice that any government should respond when a hunger strike has lasted for seven days. Even such a country like South Africa can comply. One more question. How does the government feel now people from all walks of life, including kindergarten teachers, have joined the demonstration?

WANG CHAOHUA (a post-graduate from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences): I believe that the students are staging a democratic movement of their own accord to gain the rights stipulated by the Constitution. This is the point that I wish to make clear. If it were only patriotic enthusiasm, anything might have happened with such enthusiasm. Otherwise, no one can explain the sober-mindedness, reason, restraint and good order in this very movement.

SHAO JIANG (a Beijing University student): The student movement may have become a people's movement. The students are relatively reasonable. But we cannot ensure that a people's movement can be reasonable. I would like to hear your opinion on how to cope with the situation.

LI PENG: Now let me make some points. Since you all wish to talk about the substantial question, I first come to a concrete one. I suggest that the national and Beijing Red Cross societies should send all the fasting students safely to the hospitals. I hope that all the other students on the square will support and co-operate with them. This is my concrete suggestion. At the same time, I order that the medical

workers in all hospitals in Beijing, belonging to the municipality or central government departments, should go all out to take care of hunger strikers and assure the absolute safety of their lives. Whatever common points and differences we have, the most important thing is to rescue their lives. In this regard, the government is duty-bound. Every student on the square should also co-operate for the sake of caring about your fellow students. What I want is not that the fasting students be brought to hospital only after they are critically ill. We must do it now. I have issued directives that all hospitals must try their best to prepare beds and necessary medical equipment for treating the students. The doctors and nurses have been toiling day and night taking care of the students. This morning, Ziyang, Qiao Shi, Qili and I went to visit some students in the hospitals.

Second, neither the Government nor the Party Central Committee, has ever said that the students are arousing turmoil. We have been affirming the students' patriotic enthusiasm, and many things you've done are right. Many questions you have raised are just the ones that the Government hopes to deal with. Frankly speaking, you have actually helped the government to a certain degree in its efforts towards solving these problems. There are some problems which we have long been trying to solve but could not be timely solved because of many obstructions. Students have sharply raised questions about such problems, which will help the government remove the obstacles on its way ahead. I think this is positive. But, the development of the situation does not depend on your best intention, desirable expectation, and patriotic enthusiasm. In fact, disorder has already appeared in Beijing and it is spreading across the whole coun-

try. I didn't mean at all to let the students to bear the blame. But the actual situation is there. I can tell you that the transportation on the Jing-Guang Railway artery was blocked at Wuhan for three hours yesterday. Now many people who have no fixed duty from some cities have come to Beijing in the name of students. Beijing these days is basically in a state of anarchy. I say it again. I have no intention of letting the students be blamed. I hope that you can think about it. What will come out of it if things go on like this?

The Government of the People's Republic of China is a one that is responsible to the whole nation. We can not ignore the current situation. We will protect the students' lives, factories, the achievements of socialism as well as our capital. No matter whether you like this or not, I am glad to have such an opportunity to tell you. Turmoils have happened many times in the Chinese history. At the beginning, many people did not intend to arouse turmoil but finally it happened.

Third, some government functionaries, city residents, workers, even some personnel from some of the State Council Departments have taken to the street to show their support to the hunger strikers. I hope you won't misunderstand them. They did so out of their concern about you, hoping that your health will not be harmed. But I don't totally approve some of their practices. If they try to persuade you to eat and drink, take care of your health and then persuade you to leave the square as soon as possible and later discuss your problems with the government. It will be completely correct. But quite a number of them are actually encouraging you to keep on striking. I cannot say what is their motivation, but I don't approve of such acts. As premier, I have to explicitly express my attitude.

We understand that you have raised two questions. As the premier of the government and a Party member, I do not intend to hide my points of view, but I am not going to talk about them today and I will discuss it at an appropriate time. Moreover, I have almost stated my views. If you insist on quibbling over this issue today, I don't think it is appropriate. If you don't think you students present here can influence your companions on the square, I would like to have you pass on my urgings to the hunger strikers. I hope that they end the hunger strike as soon as possible and receive treatment in hospital earlier. On behalf of the Party and the Government, I again express cordial solicitude for them and sincerely hope that they will

accept this simple, but urgent request from the Government.

WUER KAI XI: Very sorry. Just now I passed on a note to you. I want to remind you now that we students wish to resolve the problem from a humanitarian position.

The other point is that the key to solving the problem lies not in persuading us present here to leave, but in persuading those out in the square to leave. I have made clear the conditions for their leaving. There is only one choice and this is an objective reality. If one student refuses to leave and continues the hunger strike, it will be extremely difficult for us to guarantee that the others will go. I also want Premier Li Peng and other leaders present here to consider the feasibility of leaving the problem to the Red Cross to handle.

I want to repeat again what I have said. Let us stop squabbling and give a quick answer to our demands, because the students are still suffering from hunger in the square. Otherwise, we will say that the government has no sincerity at all and it is unnecessary for us representatives to sit here any longer.

WANG DAN: If Premier Li thinks that the students' protests will lead to social upheavals, I say, in the name of all the students, that the government should shoulder the blame.

As they ended the meeting, the officials and student representatives agreed that the talks were only a meeting rather than a dialogue. □

'We're Not Wrong, Mum!' — Report from the Hospital

The student hunger strikers have drawn the spotlight of the world's media. To help our readers obtain a more accurate picture of the students who participated in the movement, we provide here a profile of three students: one hunger striker, one picket and one medical graduate who worked as an emergency doctor, based on interviews done by our correspondent at the Peking Union Medical College Hospital.—Ed.

by Our Staff Reporter Shang Rongguang

Lying in a temporary ward at Peking Union Hospital, Hou Kang, one of the hunger strikers from Tiananmen Square, said he had written down his thoughts a couple of days before.

"I knew my mother would be heartbroken if I died, but it was not my fault," said the 23-year-old man. "So I must tell her: we are not wrong!"

Hou, who swore he would either live with democracy or die for it, said he believed that if he died, his death would awaken his parents and others.

Hou is a senior in the mechanical engineering department of Beijing Theoretical and Engi-

neering University. He has a younger brother and both his parents work in a county hospital near Xian, capital of Shaanxi Province. Hou joined the hunger strike on May 13 and was sent to the hospital in the early morning hours of May 19.

The hospital ward was in fact part of a corridor, separated from the hallway by curtains, and Hou's bed was just a mattress on the floor. But the patients were receiving first-rate medical care there, at one of China's best hospitals.

Hou was one of the first 15 students from his university to join the hunger strike. The group

included two women. The second day, the number of hunger strikers from the school had increased to 180, according to Hou.

"We went to Tiananmen Square without letting the school leaders know," said Hou, "because they didn't support us. The next day, when the water we had brought with us was finished, we felt gloomy. We didn't have a single drop of water between May 14 and the morning of May 15."

Hou recounted that the most stirring and tragic moment for the group was when they heard that the government would forcibly clear the square at 3 a.m. on



Hou Kang, a hunger striker, gives a victory sign from his bed at Peking Union Medical College Hospital.

May 15, because of Gorbachev's impending visit.

"They said they would not take any responsibility if anything happened. I wrote my last letter to my mother because I didn't expect to leave there alive," Hou said.

"But the next afternoon, our teachers came. When we saw the flag of our school and the huge poster our teachers were carrying to express their support for us, we all cried. We saw hope. In the next two days, millions of Beijing people and students from all over the country expressed their support for us. We knew we would not die and it seemed to be the dawn of victory."

Hou stopped speaking suddenly and his eyes dimmed. "But up until now," he said, "we have not yet found a door to victory. Our delegation for dialogue with the government has been waiting, first in front of the Great Hall of the People, and then at Xinhua Gate (the front gate of the office

of the State Council), but nobody cared and the door for dialogue is still closed. That's why we're still having the hunger strike."

On May 16, according to Hou, when there was still no sign of hope for dialogue, a group of people decided to separate themselves from the hunger strikers and to start a thirst strike, refusing to take either food or water. The following day, more than a dozen people registered as volunteers to burn themselves. It was only because of strong opposition by the union of the universities that they changed their minds. Hou said he is afraid that those who want to burn themselves will decide once again to do it if the government maintains its cold attitude toward the students.

Hou said he understands the effects that fasting might have on his body. "I had never missed a meal before, and I knew the result might be dangerous," he

said. "But there was no other way, because the government had turned a cold shoulder toward our other activities, including the demonstrations, the sit-ins and the student strike. I just wanted to show that we are not wrong."

He said that he received a letter about May first from his mother, which said only that "society is in disorder; you should not be involved." Nevertheless, he said, he still worried that people outside Beijing didn't know what was really happening. "They may think we're really doing something wrong, such as beating people, looting or smashing ... because the media have all been under government control and there have been no objective reports about the matter."

Hou said he has received medical care in the hospital, but he refused to eat because the goal had not yet been reached. "Only if our two conditions are met will we stop our hunger strike. First, a Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) editorial declaring that the students' activities are a patriotic and democratic movement, and second, that the government agree to hold a dialogue with the student representatives."

He said he still remembers what happened to the 1986 student demonstrators. Because of unfair reports by the media, he said, the students were criticized and wronged by the whole society. "That's why we put freedom of the press as the third of our seven demands," he said.

"We know there will be a long process before democratization can be realized in China, but as long as there is freedom of the press, democracy will be pushed forward."

Hou said that because of the opaque nature of Chinese politics, he did not know what was happening in the central government. But, he said, he believed there must be some good-hearted

people in the government. "We don't want our movement to be used by anybody," he said. "What we oppose is a one-man dictatorship, and we don't want a new dictator of the same kind to take his place when the old falls."

Protect the Students

Another patient in the same hospital ward was He Xunshe, a student majoring in engineering physics at Qinghua University, who is also a native of Shaanxi Province. He was not a hunger striker, but rather was a picket. So, while being checked by the doctor, he was eating steamed bread for his breakfast.

He said he joined the picket line as a volunteer on the second day of the hunger strike. "We were answering a call from the union of university students in Beijing to protect the hunger strikers," he said. "When I saw the students were lying there suffering and the doctors were treating them, I made up my mind to do my best."

According to He, besides protecting the hunger strikers and keeping order at the square, the pickets also helped check the slogans of the demonstrators. "We don't want anyone to lead the movement astray," he said. "When we see people demonstrating with an improper slogan, we suggest they change it." He said the slogans the students use are all agreed on by the union of the universities.

With some pride, He said that in maintaining public order, the pickets were sometimes even more effective than the Public Security personnel. The police, especially students from the public security school who were assigned temporary duties, were somewhat scared.

He said that on Thursday, the day before he was sent to the hospital because of a fever, a bicycle rider was stopped by a

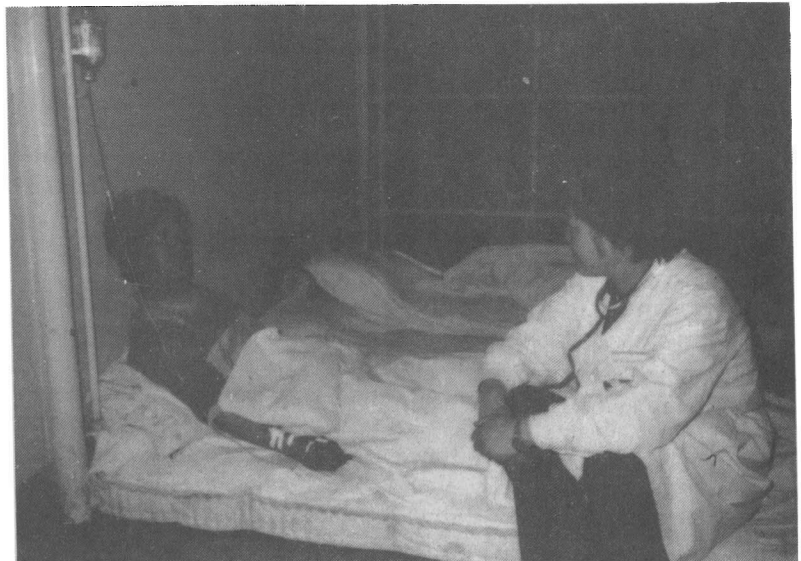
Public Security University student who was on traffic duty. The bike rider was reluctant to obey and the two wrangled, even though an ambulance carrying a student to the hospital was approaching.

"All because you're wearing that big cap?" the bicycle rider asked the police student. "At that moment," He said, "the student pickets came over and he had to obey."

Although he was not a hunger striker, He said, he had not slept for four days and nights and had had very little to eat. He said he was so exhausted that when he was accompanying a hunger striker to the bathroom, he fell asleep while waiting outside and did not know when his companion left.

Like many of his schoolmates, He is ambitious for his future. "The development of atomic science in our country is still at an early stage," he said. "I'm eager to make my contribution in this area." He said that progress in studying science and engineering parallels the amount of time spent and therefore the days of missed classes and study were a big loss for him.

He Xunshe, a student picket from Qinghua University, receives treatment at the Union Hospital.



"But I can endure this personal loss," he said. "I'll be much happier to live in a society with freedom for public opinion and human rights. In the future, I'll work harder to obtain new technical achievements and help the country prosper. Maybe one of my achievements will power two automobile factories."

Standing at Tiananmen Square for several days, He said he had seen all kinds of people. One thing he really dislikes, he said, is roaring motorcycles, which have passed by frequently carrying banners of support for the students. "It's no good for the hunger strikers," he said.

He also said that some of the demonstrators don't quite understand what the students are doing or even why they themselves are there. He gave as an example the fact that one night, when it rained, when the students were suffering from hunger, cold and the rain, thousands of observers were standing around with umbrellas in hand. "They came out of curiosity," he said.

Since the beginning of the student movement, some conflicts have arisen between the police

and the students. Many of the students, as well as other citizens, have gotten a bad impression of the police. But He said it is not the fault of the police. "I understand it's the natural duty of a soldier to obey an order. If the Chinese police and army don't obey orders, I won't say it's a good thing. However, some of the police are too poorly trained and have too little education. They don't even know that they should not beat a peaceful person."

Cure the Sick

Yang Mo, a postgraduate student at Peking Union Hospital College, looked refreshed after taking a shower. If it weren't for his red eyes and hoarse voice, no one would guess he had not rested over the previous week's time.

Dr. Yang had been working as a relief doctor for the hunger strikers. "To save the dying and help the injured is our professional duty," he said. "The students are doing this out of patriotism. They are the future of our country, and we must help them."

Peking Union Medical College, he said, "was never sensitive in politics, and we never had a student strike. But this time, we were the first to set up a relief center at the square."

Dr. Yang, the president of the postgraduate union, led a group of volunteers to the strike site on Sunday morning. The banner they carried was donated by the students at Beijing Medical University, and the characters were written by students at the Central Academy of Fine Arts.

Now in his third year of graduate school, Dr. Yang graduated from Sun Yat-sen Medical School in Guangzhou and worked at Peking Union Medical College Hospital for four years, including one year as an intern. He has now completed his re-

Student Tells Leaders Communist Party is Needed

On May 20, top Chinese leaders went to the hospital to see students suffering from the effects of fasting. During their conversations, one student said: "The Chinese Communist Party needs to rebuild its prestige and China must revive its national spirit."

Saying he was a representative of the students, the young man told visiting members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Hu Qili and Qiao Shi that China is facing four problems: its enormous population, its shortage of raw materials, its poor economic foundation and the educational level of its people. "No matter who is in power, these four problems are difficult to solve at once and only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party can we solve them," the student said.

He went on to say: "It's certainly a minority, not the majority of the party members, who have resulted in the party's corruption. It is very important for the party to rebuild its prestige among the people. What prestige? The prestige that the party should have if it is to be still full of hope. As long as the party has hope, China has hope."

The student told the leaders that recently people generally see no hope at all, which has resulted in four divisions among the students in colleges and universities: those who indulge themselves in playing mahjong, those who are busy preparing for the English test to permit them to study abroad, those who spend most of their time at dancing parties and those who embark on merry-making trips. "I think China should rebuild its national spirit and bring back people's confidence," he said.

When asked if they agreed with what the student said, Hu and Qiao responded by nodding.

(Based on a televised report by CCTV)

search on nerve changes that occur when the brain receives an insufficient blood supply.

Admitting that he was not without worry about donating his time to the student demonstration, Yang, as a promising young doctor specializing in cerebral diseases, said he hopes to further his studies abroad. "I'm a little afraid that this activity will affect my job assignment after graduation and cause some passport problems," he said. "But I cannot forget my responsibility as a doctor. When I found there were no medical workers at the square except for some freshman and sophomore medical students,

I realized I must be there."

Following their example, more and more medical centers were set up to help the students. According to Dr. Yang, the doctors are not only treating emergency cases. They also are giving the hunger strikers basic medical information, such as what physical problems may result from extensive fasting, such as hypoglycemia, dehydration, mental disorders and metabolic acid poisoning.

Yang said that one day he noticed a student had fresh blood in his stool. He asked the student about his medical history and the student said he had previously had black stools. Yang diagnosed

gastric perforation and the student was hospitalized immediately.

The doctor and his colleagues have received support from their hospital from the beginning, he said. At a meeting between the postgraduate students and the school's leaders, he said, the leaders resolutely declared they would stand with the majority no matter what might happen.

Union Hospital is one of the major hospitals working to relieve the hunger strikers. Up to the morning of May 19, 723 students had received treatment from the hospital, and nine had been hospitalized with serious illnesses, according to Jiang Wangyuan of the hospital director's office. Jiang said that due to the timely and careful treatment, no students had died at the hospital.

Jiang said Union Hospital had

set up three relief centers at Tiananmen Square, with senior doctors on duty. Some nationally famous experts, including Dr. Shi Yifan, an endocrinologist, went to see the students on May 15 and worked until midnight. After that, other professors from the hospital followed his example, offering their help, too.

The hospital, already overloaded, has been trying to serve the students well. To solve the bed shortage problem, Jiang said, a classroom was turned into a physical treatment room and the family planning ward was temporarily turned into a ward for the students. In addition, the corridors were transformed into wards for patients who were not expected to be hospitalized long.

At the hospital, three shifts work 24-hours-a-day, with about 100 people on each shift, includ-

ing doctors, nurses, cooks and other workers.

"We try our best not to impair our treatment of other patients," Jiang said, "except for some who suffer from either minor or chronic diseases who can go to other hospitals."

"I don't think there is any risk for us," said Zong Shujie, a doctor at the hospital who is also party secretary. "The students need protection. As to the methods they have taken, we don't agree with them and we hope the situation won't deteriorate."

"I care about my patients' bodies, not their political ideas," said Dr. Yang. "I try to persuade them to stop their hunger strike, but when they go back to continue it after they receive treatment here, I won't stop them. That's their right." □

Sex Education: No Longer Taboo

by Our Staff Reporter Lou Xinyue

The one and only way to eliminate evil thoughts is to eliminate mystery," wrote Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the 18th century. And in China today, perhaps no subject is more shrouded in mystery than sex.

Perhaps this has always been true. But changes in Chinese society have made knowledge of sex and related issues ever more pressing. Consider, for example, the following facts:

- Improvements in living standards and nutrition have caused Chinese youth to reach puberty earlier than ever before: girls usually start to menstruate at around 11 or 12, with boys experiencing their first seminal emissions just a little later.

- Earlier physical maturity has led not only to bewilderment, but also to increasing numbers of

sex-related problems. When a local newspaper in Shanghai conducted a survey of 445 male students, 274 said they had problems of one sort or another with their genitals. Experts believe many of these probably occurred because the students had an inadequate knowledge of personal hygiene during adolescence.

- Accompanying the earlier onset of maturity have been various psychological changes. One of the most prominent has been the ever younger age at which children are showing interest in the opposite sex—known in China as the "early love phenomenon." Experts recommend that instead of trying to repress such feelings, children should be guided through education and appropriate reading materials to

correct attitudes.

- *Ban Yue Tan* (Fortnightly Forum) has pointed out that while the number of crimes committed by middle school students has declined in recent years, sex-related crimes have been on the rise.

- Sexually transmitted diseases (STD) were virtually eradicated in China during the 1960s. According to the Beijing Public Health Bureau, not only have they now reappeared, but the number of reported cases is multiplying fast. Although no Chinese citizens have yet caught AIDS, 19 people have been discovered to be HIV positive in China: 15 of them foreigners—who have since been repatriated—and four haemophilia patients in Zhejiang Province who were treated with infected im-



"Sex education transforms social traditions," says Professor Wu Jieping, chairman of the All-China Medical Association.

ported blood products. One of these four has already died.

These problems call for one thing above all—universal sex education. The Ministry of Public Health, for example, now believes that the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS, calls for a full programme of sex education for the entire population.

Most experts agree. They believe lessons should cover both the physical and psychological aspects of sex and love and the moral values that necessarily accompany such knowledge.

But before this goal can be realized, there are many barriers that must be overcome. For nearly a century, some individuals have been calling for knowledge of sex to be widely disseminated among the general population. But because for many centuries discussion of sex was tabooed in China, all efforts at changing the prevailing habits and mores of traditional thought proved futile until very recently.

Rocks of Tradition

Even relatively recent attempts to propagate a scientific

knowledge of sex have foundered on the rocks of traditional values. During the early 1960s, the late Premier Zhou Enlai declared, "Efforts must be made to give young people proper sex education." Professor Ye Gongsha from the Beijing Medical Science University remembers the occasion. Following Zhou's call, she wrote a newspaper article on sex education. During the following year, dozens of letters poured in daily. Most of them were straightforward inquiries about sexual matters—but many of them were direct pleas for help. But instead of marking a turning point in sex education, Zhou's call and Ye's work came to nothing.

When family planning was introduced in the 1970s, little attention was paid to sexual physiology and psychology, and even less was told to teenagers. At the time, most Chinese educationalists argued that learning should concentrate principally on fostering revolutionary ideals and scientific knowledge. Sex education was deliberately excluded as the very discussion of sex was considered uncivilized. If a child raised such questions as how he

came into being, very few parents were able to supply a true answer.

Wu Jieping, chairman of the All-China Medical Science Association and adviser to the Ministry of Public Health, suggests there is one major reason why it has been hard to get sex education off the ground in China: "Sex education transforms social traditions. It can be regarded as a revolutionary event."

Wu in fact advocated the introduction of sex education in China shortly after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. In an exclusive interview with *Beijing Review*, he said it was impossible for someone to receive no sex education, as hiding sex behind a curtain of mystery was in fact a peculiar and distorted form of sex education. In feudal times, he continued, people were told that the male and the female should not directly touch each other—a form of sex education which has resulted in millions of Chinese people not facing sexual problems squarely right up to the current day.

Wu's thoughts were echoed recently by Li Tiejing, a state councillor and minister at the State Education Commission. At a talk he pointed out that sex education was a form of cultural consciousness. "The Chinese people ought not to be ignorant on sexual matters," he said. "The schools should conduct classes on this subject so that it does not become a secret affair."

Inhibitions

Today, following the re-evaluation of many traditional values, things are a bit more open. But still many Chinese people avoid all references to sex. Consider the following examples:

■ In 1988, a four-month exhibition on sex education in Shanghai—the first of its kind to be

held in China—attracted just 6,000 among the city's 550,000 middle school students.

■ According to one report, a Chinese school was showing a scientific film about human physiology. When it reached the part on the male reproductive organ, the female students all hurriedly left their seats.

■ Last summer, after five years of preparation, the Beijing Museum of Natural History was ready to mount an exhibition called *The Origin of Man*. But opposition over parts of the show, including photographs of naked men and women supplied by overseas museums, led to its opening being postponed for several months.

Nonetheless, attitudes have been changing. Many hospitals have opened special sex information consultancies, and several cities including Guangzhou, Nanjing, Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin have mounted exhibitions on sex and related subjects.

To mark last year's World AIDS Day, the Beijing Family Planning Commission held a special exhibition on AIDS and STD in the city's Zhongshan Park. According to Hao Guanyin, an official at the commission, it attracted around 2,000 people daily.

Sexual studies have greatly expanded during the last few years, particularly in the fields of medicine, psychology, sociology and physiology, with numerous monographs and translations finding their way into print. Newspapers and magazines have also begun to publish popular science pieces on sex and related subjects such as the use of contraceptives and sexual behaviour in marriage.

In universities and colleges, lectures on sex are now becoming widespread, and in Beijing and several other places there are even special schools for newlyweds.

Systematic Programme

Experts maintain, however, that China's major need is a systematic programme of sex education. As both the old and the young can experience sex-related problems, age should be no barrier to attendance at classes. But it is schools that have been the focus of attention.

In 1980, Shanghai became the first city to organize sex education classes on a regular basis. They were fully incorporated into the city's middle school education plan in 1985. Now 240 of the city's 900 middle schools have formal sex education lessons.

In the whole country, there are more than 6,000 middle schools which now run classes on sex education. Wang Mingda, vice-minister at the State Education Commission, said recently, "We will try to get support from the whole of society so that step by step, we can popularize sex education in a strict, careful and systematic way."

Because of Shanghai's role in the promotion of sex education, in June 1988 it was selected as the host venue for a national conference on puberty education jointly organized by the State Family Planning Commission

and the State Education Commission.

After the conference, the State Education Commission issued a circular to China's local government education departments recommending they acquire *100 Questions and Answers on Middle School Sex Education*. The book was compiled under the guidance of the commission's Physical Health Department.

Its appearance last December sparked off a nationwide discussion, with the press, educationalists and medical experts all joining in the call to implement full programmes of sex education in Chinese schools.

According to the State Education Commission, discussions between school students and their parents sponsored by the commission indicate that sex education is well-supported. And the commission has established a research group to investigate how sex education should best be taught to middle school students. Its brief includes the preparation of standard teaching materials.

Sexual Mores

At present, sex education classes cover not only the scientific and biological basis of reproduction, but also the acquisi-

Staff from the Beijing Jishultan Hospital hand out information about AIDS to passersby.



tion of sexual morals. Because of this, all courses have to include lessons on self-respect, self-love, self-possession and self-improvement. This aspect, in fact, has become more important of late as some publishing houses and newspapers are now prepared to put economic returns above social values and willingly publish pornography or other obscene material.

Although the state is trying to strengthen its control over the content of such publications, their very existence renders sex education even more necessary to ensure that adolescents gain a true understanding of the nature of sex.

As a final point, it is also worth noting that China's open policy, while it has proved beneficial in introducing economic, political, scientific and cultural knowledge from abroad, does not entail the free import of Western attitudes. Sexual permissiveness, for example, will not be tolerated. Although notions such as "free love" were once seen as the path to personal liberation in many Western societies, permissiveness has in fact led to various social problems, such as high divorce rates, large numbers of illegitimate children, and problems with sexually transmitted diseases.

The aim of sex education in China is to replace the notion that human reproduction is a mysterious, hidden and forbidden subject with a more open and civilized outlook. This does not, however, mean that China will become a sexually permissive society. And although obstacles remain to be overcome before sex education becomes a part of every Chinese early teenager's schooling, ever more people—from top officials to ordinary citizens—are now coming to realize its importance. □

Sex Education in a Haidian Middle School

by Our Staff Reporter Lou Xinyue

In 1986, the August 1 Middle School was one of the first schools in northwest Beijing's Haidian District to offer sex education classes to junior grade 1 and 2 students (aged around 13). Its courses include examining the bodily changes that occur at the onset of puberty, basic sexual psychology and personal hygiene. They have all proved popular with the students.

"Our sex education classes have helped me solve many of the problems that once puzzled me," said one student. Like most of her classmates, she studied the course earnestly—out of the 348 students examined last year, 201 got full marks and the average score was 94.55 percent.

The course is taught by Xu Lanying. "It involves explaining the menstrual cycle and seminal emissions, subjects which people

aren't accustomed to talk about," said Xu. "Before we started the course, some teachers and parents were worried that sex education might have a bad effect on the pupils. Some people said it was unnecessary to teach such a subject. Others said it was better not to talk about it as the children would find out about it in other ways.

"At first, I also had some misgivings," Xu continued, "But I thought that as there exists a large body of scientific knowledge about sex, why shouldn't I explain it to the students in a scientific way?" Encouraged and supported by the Haidian District Educational Bureau and her school leaders, Xu organized the course herself.

One of the main reasons for sex education is to help dispel the anxieties many young people suf-

Reproductive studies: Students from the August 1 Middle School at a sex education lecture.



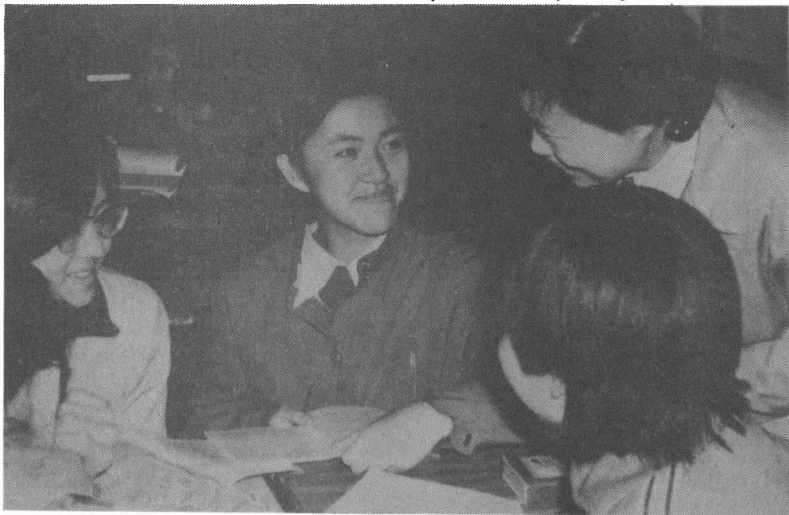
fer as their bodies undergo the changes of puberty. Left in ignorance, a lot of children feel restless or even frightened. One female student said, "Before these classes, I was really afraid about what would happen when my periods started. Meals were unappetizing and I didn't dare take big strides or even turn over in bed. But since attending Teacher Xu's classes, I haven't felt nervous at all."

As well as teaching girls about the physiology of menstruation, Xu concentrates on demonstrating how to prevent related diseases such as dysmenorrhea and bleeding of the uterus.

During the course of her classes, Xu discovered that some of her male pupils had picked up the habit of masturbation. A few of them were totally unable to control themselves, and would even masturbate during lessons. This often left them dispirited, lacking energy and constantly yawning. To help them, she took them aside for a private talk. After finding out why they masturbated, she told them of its disadvantages. Now, they have all succeeded in ridding themselves of this habit.

Another problem that Xu's lessons have helped overcome has been the growing tendency of

School students and teachers discuss the problems of puberty.



Sex education texts for middle school pupils.

Photos by YANG LIMING

school pupils to immerse themselves in love affairs. One of her students had entered a relationship with a local worker. As a result, there had been a marked decline in the quality of her schoolwork. Even though her parents were against the affair, the girl still continued seeing the worker.

Xu taught her class why romances should be avoided by middle school students, and then took the girl aside for a heart-to-heart talk. Finally the girl decided to break off her affair with that worker. "Teacher Xu told us about what sort of relationships should be established between

students," said the girl. "Now I've come to understand about the disadvantages of getting involved in love affairs too early." Her marks in class have gradually started to rise again.

The sex education classes have also helped realize some unexpected benefits, in particular clearing up some misunderstandings between children and both their parents and their teachers. In the report he wrote at the end of one term, one boy student said, "Before I took the sex education course, I regarded myself as grown-up. I thought I knew about most things. My parents and teachers, however, could not understand me. But after studying the physiology and psychology of puberty, I have changed my outlook. I now think the experiences and views of my parents and teachers are worthy of notice. Now I like to talk with them, strengthening our mutual understanding and feelings."

Because of her classes, Xu has been designated one of Haidian's advanced teachers. The district's educational bureau has lost no time in trying to pass her experience to other schools in the area, and many other teachers have been sent to visit her and find out about her teaching methods.

□

Hanamizake Economics and China's Excessive Consumption

GUOJI ZHANWANG
(World Outlook)

It has been an outstanding problem in China's economic development over recent years that overall demand has surpassed overall supply and that the growth rate of consumption has outstripped that of the national income. What do foreign friends think about it? Morino Yuzo, director of the Shanghai Office of the Japan External Trade Organization, regards this short-term behaviour that only attends to present consumption without consideration of long-term economic construction as the phenomenon of "Hanamizake Economics." He points out that China's economy will hardly develop greatly if this phenomenon does not change.

"Hanamizake Economics" is a book written in the 1960s by economist Ryu Shintaro. The book cites a fable. The story happened during the festival of enjoying flowers in April one year when many people went to Tokyo to enjoy the flowers, singing, dancing and drinking. Taro and Jiro, who were two poor brothers carried a bucket of wine intending to sell it in Ueno. Shortly after they began their journey, Taro found five cents in his pocket by accident. He said to Jiro excitedly that he had five cents and that he wanted to drink a cup of wine. Then he gave Jiro the five cents and enjoyed a cup of wine. With five cents in his hand, Jiro was also pleased because he had made five cents before he got to Ueno. After a while, Jiro said to Taro that he now had five cents and that he too wanted to enjoy the wine. Therefore he drank a cup of wine, giving the five cents to Taro. Soon Taro again drank an-

other cup of wine with the same five cents. In this way the brothers had consumed the bucket of wine before they arrived in Ueno, yet they only had the original five cents Taro had found in his pocket.

Ryu Shintaro intended initially to use the fable to express his dissatisfaction with the Ikeda Cabinet's policy that took doubling the national income as a slogan and target for Japanese economic development. He warned people not to get swollen-headed because of a few cents in their pockets. The book caused a sensation throughout Japan and became well known after being adapted into Rakugo—Japanese comic dialogue. People took it as a serious lesson and endeavoured to control consumption through putting every cent available into investment. Thus, the ten years' plan of doubling the national income was actually carried out within seven years. Hence the ten-year high-speed development of the Japanese economy.

According to Morino, China's current economic difficulties lie in the fact that demand has exceeded supply, resulting in consistent price rises. If the state and enterprises put the extra income from the price rises into enlarged reproduction to increase supply, then supply and demand relations will gradually become balanced, and inflation will slow down and eventually disappear. In the end the economy will develop healthily. However, some state organs and enterprises have not done so. They have bought cars and colour TVs and have built disco dance halls with the hard-earned money. While the whole nation struggles for food and clothing, some enterprise workers each earn 3,000 yuan a

month, and their directors each earn 10,000 yuan a month. On the surface, everything is lively and prosperous but, actually, serious problems are hiding below. Energy, communications and transport, which are badly needed for development, have become the "bottleneck" of economic development because of the lack of funds. This has stopped foreign investors from investing further in China. Morino sincerely hopes China's economic policy-makers and enterprise leaders keep and develop the traditional Chinese virtues of being industrious and thrifty instead of falling into the odd circle of "Hanamizake Economics."

It might be a bitter irony to compare China's present excessive consumption with Japan's "Hanamizake Economics," but it appears to hit the nail on the head with China's present-day social evil. Since honest advice induces good conduct and bitter medicine cures sickness, it is to be hoped that the authorities will keep a clear head.

(No. 4, 1989)



-- He will be your life-long partner and yet you have only known him a couple of days!
-- To live with him all my life? Oh, no, Mum.

WANG JINGKAN

Hainan Seeks Metal Funds

In a bid to increase foreign involvement in the exploitation of Hainan's non-ferrous metal resources, the Jinhai (Hainan) Group Co. has been granted powers to negotiate with overseas companies.

Jinhai is the general agent of the China Nonferrous Metal Import and Export Corp. in Hainan Province. According to General Manager Liu Yaochi, the company is looking for foreign backing for the development of several major projects including a 600-ton capacity magnesium smelter, titanium mining, aluminium oxide factories, copper processing, galvanized tube production and aluminium products.

Hainan Province has large reserves of high-grade titanium, mostly located in the shallow waters around the island. It hopes to establish co-operative links with foreign companies to open mines both off-shore and on beaches and to raise the output percentage of titanium through the use of advanced technology.

Liu said that each project would involve an investment of US\$5-10 million, and that they all offered sound prospects for quick returns.

In the last year, Hainan has stepped up infrastructural construction to improve its investment environment. Generating capacity was expanded by 150,000 kw in 1988, bringing the island's installed capacity to 530,000 kw. With annual electricity generation standing at 867 million kwh, the island can now meet lighting and industrial power demands.

Progress has been realized in communications, with 70 km of highways being built last year and 50 million yuan now being spent on modernizing port facil-

ities, including six new berths, at Haikou, Basuo and Yangpu. Airlines link Haikou with Beijing, Shanghai, Kunming, Chengdu and Shenyang.

Last year also saw the unveiling of a 7000-channel programme controlled telephone exchange and the opening of 154 long-distance telephone lines and four long-distance telegraph cables. Users in Haikou can now dial direct to Hong Kong and some foreign countries as well as to major cities across China. The province also offers courier delivery, telex and express remittance services.

by Li Ping

1st Beijing Fair Set for July

From July 14-23, the 40,000 square metres of the China International Exhibition Centre will be the site of the First Beijing International Fair—China's first comprehensive trade show since the 1985 Asia-Pacific International Trade Fair.

More than 1,000 companies from 26 countries and regions have already booked for the fair, whose major goal is the promotion of Sino-foreign economic co-operation. Facilities will be provided throughout the ten days for trade negotiations and meetings, technological exchanges and symposia.

Among the organizations backing the fair are the Ministry of Machine-Building and Electronics Industry, the Ministry of Textile Industry, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, the Ministry of Materials and Equipment and the Beijing

municipal government.

Chinese Premier Li Peng has also given the fair his personal endorsement by writing an inscription for it, and while it is running certificates will be issued to high-quality products.

Among the major categories of goods on show will be machinery and electrical products, communication technology and equipment, computers, precision instruments and meters, aeronautic and space technology, high-tech products, textile machinery, medical instruments and supplies, metallurgical technology and materials, nonferrous metals, food processing machinery, building materials, household electrical appliances, rubber products, furniture, arts and crafts, health products and consumer goods.

Already the China International Exhibition Centre has built a comprehensive service building for the show to help exhibitors handle businesses concerning customs, banking, transport and so on. Full telegraph and telex facilities will also be available.

In future, the fair will be held every two years.

by Zhang Zhiping

Asian Games Get Credit Lift

The financially beleaguered 11th Asian Games to be held in Beijing in September 1990 have reportedly been offered sponsorship by American Express.

Although neither side in the deal is willing to reveal the amount involved, it is understood that American Express cards and traveller's cheque will be the only ones accepted in organizations connected with the games.

American Express' move to of-

for aid to the games is part of the company's long-term market strategy in China. To date, around 1,800 shops across the country accept Express cards.

The Asian Games organizing committee estimates that more than 10,000 people, including athletes, delegation officials, coaches and reporters will attend the games. And already a number of large companies and advertising agencies have shown interest in offering additional sponsorship.

by Han Baocheng

News in Brief

□ The United States Food Day will be celebrated during early June in the Sheraton Hotel Group's four hotels across China, and the activities will then continue through the month until July 6.

The promotion campaign, the first to be simultaneously mounted in all the group's hotels, aims particularly at selling American dinner drinks.

The food promotion will begin at the Tianjin Sheraton, followed by the Wenhua Sheraton Hotel Guilin and the Huating Sheraton Hotel Shanghai, and end at the Great Wall Sheraton Hotel Beijing.

□ The Beijing-Moscow Restaurant, which first opened in 1954, looks set once again to have Russian staff. Negotiations are now under way to run the restaurant as a joint venture, with management drawn from both China and the Soviet Union. An agreement is expected to be signed soon.

The restaurant, which stands right besides the Beijing Exhibition Centre in the west of the city, has long been famous for its Russian-style dishes.

It is reported that its 15 rooms will be converted into separate small restaurants. Each one will be decorated according to the fa-

shion of one of the Soviet Union's many nationalities, with attendants wearing the appropriate national dress.

The Soviet side is planning to send some chefs, pastry cooks and management staff to work in the restaurant.

□ China's insurance business, which resumed in 1980, is playing an important role in the country's construction.

The business has developed from single property insurance for enterprises to take in 200 items of rural and urban coverage, including overseas business.

By the end of last year, the total volume of domestic property insurance reached 1,797 billion yuan (US\$400 billion) and overseas insurance business also developed rapidly, with agencies, staff and insurance volumes rising at an average annual rate of 50 percent.

From 1980 to 1987 China's insurance companies paid out more than 8.3 billion yuan (US\$2 billion) in damages. Last year alone, they paid 4.3 billion yuan (US\$1 billion) in damages to domestic or overseas clients.

□ The US Trade and Development Programme (TDP) has granted China US\$1.5 million for an aluminium project feasibility study.

An agreement on the grant was signed between TDP and the China National Nonferrous Metals Corp. (CNNC).

The grant is to be used for the technical and economic feasibility study of the Great Wall aluminium project to be built in Henan Province, Central China, at an estimated cost of nearly US\$2 billion. CNNC will select a United States engineering company to carry out the study.

It will be China's biggest aluminium producer with the first phase being capable of producing 250,000 tons a year when completed.

□ China's social institutional ex-

penditure on controlled commodities fell by a small margin in the first three months this year compared with the figure for the same period last year.

Institutional purchases accounted for 9.2 percent of the retail sales volume of consumer goods, as compared with 9.9 percent last year.

Instead of buying commodities in short supply, at present some institutions spend more on purchasing different kinds of uncontrolled daily necessities, including shoes, socks, caps and blankets, for their staff. *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) says the government should pay much more attention to this new trend.

□ Using idle social funds to "build railways commercially with official supervision and support" has been proposed as an effective way to speed up China's railway construction and ease the strain on the existing system.

Li Xuan, head of the construction headquarters for the eastern China railways network, said, "With this concept, railway stock companies will be set up, with the support of the government and as a supplement to State-owned railways, to be exclusively responsible for building and managing some railways, and for collecting funds as well as for their economic gains and losses."

With a total of 53,000 kilometres, the overloaded Chinese railways are increasingly becoming a bottleneck undercutting China's economic growth.

□ The Bank of European Union of France has opened an office in Beijing.

This is the 85th foreign bank representative office opened in China.

Jean-paul Dessertine, executive vice-president of the bank, said that the office will provide services for the French and Chinese companies in China and Sino-French joint ventures. □

Ancient Money on Show

For Suzhou resident Sun Guobao, 1969 was a year to remember; one day during that year he almost fainted as a powerful bulldozer came bursting into his courtyard. Running over his garden, the bulldozer crushed to pieces a big vase he had buried there.

Inside the vase was his collection of valuable ancient Chinese currencies he had collected for many years. But he dared not utter a word of discontent, for ancient currencies were considered "rubbish of the feudal society" during the chaotic "cultural revolution."

History has been kind and Sun did get recognition for his persistence when the Suzhou Ancient Currencies Museum was started last April. His collection, which traces the historical evolution of Chinese money, was the major attraction.

The first kind of currency used in Chinese history were sea shells which came into use some time during the Shang and Zhou dynasties (16th century BC-221 BC). Their wide use may be explained in their beauty, shape and convenience for counting. At that time, they were generally called as *baobei* (precious shells). That's why many Chinese words related to trade and business carry the character *bei* as a radical.

During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods (770-221BC), China was torn into many feudal states. Different natural and social conditions prompted currency to evolve into four major systems.

Cloth currency, which evolved from the primitive agricultural tool *chan* (spade), was widely used in the Han, Wei, Zhao and other states.

A second form of money, called *sword currency*, evolved from the real sword and was used in the Qi, Yan and Zhao states.

Then there was the *ring currency* that evolved from an ancient spinning wheel. It was used in the Qin and Wei states. There was also the *yibi currency*, shaped after the shell currency, which was used in the Chu State in southern China.

The people of the Chu State also used a kind of square gold coin called the *yingyuan* which was the first gold money used in China. So far the biggest such gold coin weighing 610 grammes, has been unearthed in Yutai County, Jiangsu Province. It has 54 seals of *yingyuan* on it.

In 221 BC, Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of the the Qin Dynasty, unified China and issued the famous *banliang* currency which brought an unified system of currency.

Emperor Wudi (156-87 BC) of the Western Han Dynasty further modified the *banliang* currency into the five *zhu* currency (*zhu* was one of the weight units of that time. Five *zhu* equals 6.25 grammes. This kind of currency was in use for more than 700 years.

Herbs Make Male Pill

Two Chinese herbs may be the basis of a male pill, according to Chinese scientists. Tests using *Tripterygium wilfordii* and the Kunming wild crabapple found they had a strong counter-fertility effect in men and will hopefully form the basis for an ideal male contraceptive.

Professor Qian Shaozhen, who sits on the directive committee of the World Health Organization's (WHO) counter-male fertility directive committee and who is also an expert in contraception, announced the findings at an international conference on fertility and counter-fertility in Nanj-

ing. In 612 AD, Emperor Gaozu (566-635) of the Tang Dynasty abolished the five *zhu* currency and decided to have the name of the reigning title of respective. The following dynasties such as the Song Dynasty (960-1279), Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) all followed this tradition.

Many other currencies have also been used in Chinese history in addition to the currencies mentioned above. Emperor Wudi once used deer hide to make currency called *leather currency* that was mainly for use among the imperial families.

The *Jiaozi* was the first paper currency used in China. The paper money of the Yuan Dynasty spread as far as Thailand. The largest paper currency found is one used in the Ming Dynasty measuring 33 cm long and 23 cm wide.

The exhibition in the museum include currencies such as those issued by various peasant uprising armies during the Ming and Qing dynasties and many other types of currency that appeared on the Chinese market at the turn of this century.

by Chen Zuoe

Both Chinese and foreign experts showed a strong interest in applying the findings that promise to make an important contribution to global population control.

Tripterygium wilfordii and Kunming wild crabapple have both been used mainly against rheumatoid arthritis. In recent years, however, tests suggested that the use of the two herbs had resulted in sharp decreases in sperm counts.

The Birth Control Research Institute of Jiangsu Province conducted a number of tests which confirmed that the herbs

had a strong counter-fertility effect on male white rats.

They then continued their research together with other related units in Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing which involved a year's observation on 26 rheumatoid arthritis and dermatosis patients who were using the two Chinese herbs.

The study showed that the herbs had a strong counter-fertility effect on the patients without any apparent side effects. It was also found that fertility was restored two months after the patients stopped using the herbs.

So far there has not been a satisfactory male counter-

fertility drug produced that is both safe and effective and China's study for a herbal-based male contraceptive has attracted attention from medical circles around the world.

Research into the counter-fertility effect of *Tripterygium wilfordii* has been conducted in China with WHO backing since 1986. In 1987, China listed that research as a key item in its Seventh Five-Year Plan.

Now that there has been the separation of the effective chemical elements, further work remains both in weeding out any possible toxic effects and in the actual production of the male contraception medicine. □

dots and lines to draw the outline of the landscape.

Such painting technique, he explains, is very popular among middle-aged artists who are caught in a kind of bitterness and loneliness. Traditional skills used in freehand brushwork has been just incapable of giving expression to this kind of feeling.

Li Keran, a famous master of traditional Chinese painting, gave Zhang high credit for his use of colour.

"Few natural objects are in the colour of pure white or black," commented Li on Zhang's works. "The prevailing colour of nature is grey....Zhang did very well in his use of colour, especially in the greys."

Acknowledging the challenges artists of traditional Chinese painting are confronted with today, Zhang says a major hurdle for them is how to break the rigid traditional mode which has lasted several thousand years.

According to traditional theory, he says, paintings are to give a realistic, detailed reflection of nature.

"If this idea can be established, then artists should use a camera instead of a paint brush," he argues.

Despite holding this view Zhang does not agree with the idea that Chinese traditional painting is doomed.

"As long as there are Chinese living in the world, Chinese painting will never perish," he says.

Chinese painting, explains Zhang, will undergo great changes in many ways, such as in form, technique and even in the tools used in creating it. All these will change along with China's social development. And with that development, many promising artists with strong individual characters will emerge.

"It is possible that Chinese painting will take on a completely new form, but in essence it will continue to be Chinese," says Zhang.

by Wei Liming

Artist's Mountains Signal Change

At a recent one-man exhibition in Beijing it was evident that Zhang Zhenxue from China's northwestern province of Shaanxi had brought some of his native region to the capital. The mountains of the artist's home, some small and delicate, others with solid peaks, soared across his canvass.

"I always try to express the bold and inspiring spirit of northern China, especially of the northeastern plateau in my works," says Zhang who intends

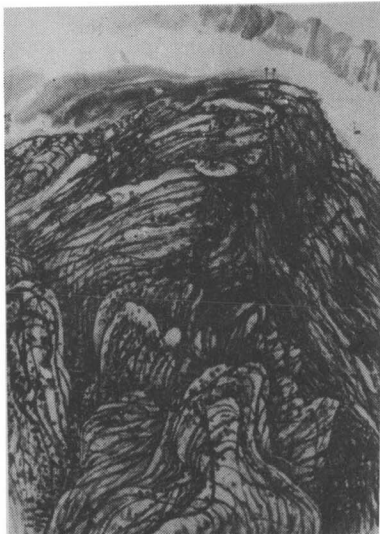
to express his perception of life and pursuit of art through the sketching of mountains.

In terms of technique, Zhang has managed to bridge the gap between past and present by combining modern ideas with traditional Chinese painting skills.

Zhang says his major interest is impressionism, and repeatedly one sees that influence in his work.

Apart from the traditional water and ink splashing method, he also borrows the method of using

Two of Zhang's works.



More Coverage About Students

Editors,

It was with great interest that I read the last few issues of *Beijing Review*. As a journalist for more than 20 years, I was curious about your coverage of the recent student demonstrations following the death of Hu Yaobang. As you may have guessed, I was quite disappointed.

Please understand, this is *not* being written from the point of view that we have all of the answers here in the US. On the contrary, we're all too aware of the problems of modern American society. So is the rest of the world: and that's exactly my point. Our shortcomings are aired nightly on television news and daily in newspapers and magazines. I guess our philosophy is that recognition and admission of those problems represent the first steps towards correcting them.

I understand that, as a publication of the government, *Beijing Review* has a responsibility to present the government's view on the important events of our time. In fact, that's one reason I enjoy reading it every week. It affords those of us thousands of miles away with the opportunity to "stay in touch" with contemporary Chinese policy. But, at the same time, to present that government position as the *only* voice in China today, I think, does a serious disservice to the millions of other voices that deserve to be heard.

Your issue No. 18 was particularly curious. Your report on the memorial service for Hu Yaobang noted that the "...proceedings were broadcast through loudspeakers to some 100,000 students and others gathered on Tiananmen Square..." After reading that, I looked eagerly for an accompanying article that might explain in greater depth the circumstances surrounding the "students and others" appearance in the square. Instead, I got a reprint of the *People's Daily* editorial urging people to take a firm stand against public disturbances. In light of the great strides China has made recently to open up the business of

government to public scrutiny, I was very disappointed in the coverage given to the events leading up to May 4th. I can only hope that future issues of *Beijing Review* will explore public dissent in a more balanced fashion.

I had the extreme pleasure to wander into the "English Corner" at Purple Bamboo Park last summer. I spoke with hundreds of eager students on a beautiful Sunday morning. I found them delightful, concerned and, above all, *highly* patriotic. I think it's that same concern and patriotism that lead thousands into the streets of Beijing in late April and early May.

But by choosing to focus on the legal aspects of their demonstrations, you also chose to ignore the substance of their complaints. These young adults are China's future. From my discussions last summer, it was obvious that they're anxious to find a *Chinese* solution to the problems facing their country. If the government will listen to their voices and find a way to work *with* them, I'm sure China's future will be in good hands. Certainly they don't have all of the answers. But if you can find a way to harness their energy, it will help find the solutions.

I certainly didn't mean this letter sound like a lecture. It's just that I saw what happened in the United States during our own turbulent 60s, and I think there must be a better way of handling it than we did. I saw a television report on the demonstrations and was deeply touched when I saw one student pasting up a poster that started with the phrase "I have a dream..." The US certainly does not have a very good record in bringing Dr. King's dream closer to reality. Obviously, we both have some distance to go.

Dick Van Wie.

San Francisco, USA

Thank you very much for your comments. We are trying our best to improve our coverage of the student movement as you may have noticed in this issue.—Ed.

A Letter From Hong Kong

The patriotic actions of Beijing's

university students are genuinely full of power and grandeur. They are our nation's pride, but their lives are seriously threatened. We all worry and cry for them.

When I saw the great scene of the hunger striking students on TV, I was greatly moved. Every time I see the news tape again, I cry. This morning in a newspaper, I saw a teacher from Beijing Teachers University crying at the sight of the hunger striking students. I also was moved to tears, even though I was sitting in a bus.

Now the eyes of the world are focused on Beijing. The situation in Tiananmen Square worries people. Like people of the country, Chinese around the globe are very concerned at the risk threatening the students' health and lives. The students are crying, they hunger strike to save their motherland. Patriotism is not a crime, but as time passes, the lives of thousands of wholehearted fine sons and daughters are seriously threatened, hundreds of millions of people now burn with anxiety. The central government faces a severe test in finding a resolution to the issue of the hunger striking students—the people of the world are watching Zhongnanhai.

It is heartening to learn from today's news report that central government personnel support the hunger striking students parade in the square bore a placard characteristic of its marchers: *Xinhua News Agency's* showed a covered mouth and camera; CCTV's said "Current News: Student hunger strike lasts three days; artist carried one saying "Blood is not rouge"; the teachers said "Our Hearts ache for the students."

One Hong Kong newspaper carried the headline "Grieve for our students who cough blood for the country; 600,000 people support the hunger strikers and cry for our country; let the country advance." In the face of these exemplary Chinese sons and daughters, how could we have reason to remain silent?

*Zhang Meiyang
Hong Kong*



Lotus.

ART PAGE



Orchid.

Chinese Paintings by Yang Dalin

Yang Dalin, born in Beijing in 1938, is an artist of the Beijing Studio of Art and Calligraphy. He specializes in traditional Chinese landscape paintings, flowers and birds. These paintings express his bold and free style with rich and varied skills.



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