

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF NEWS AND VIEWS

# Beijing Review

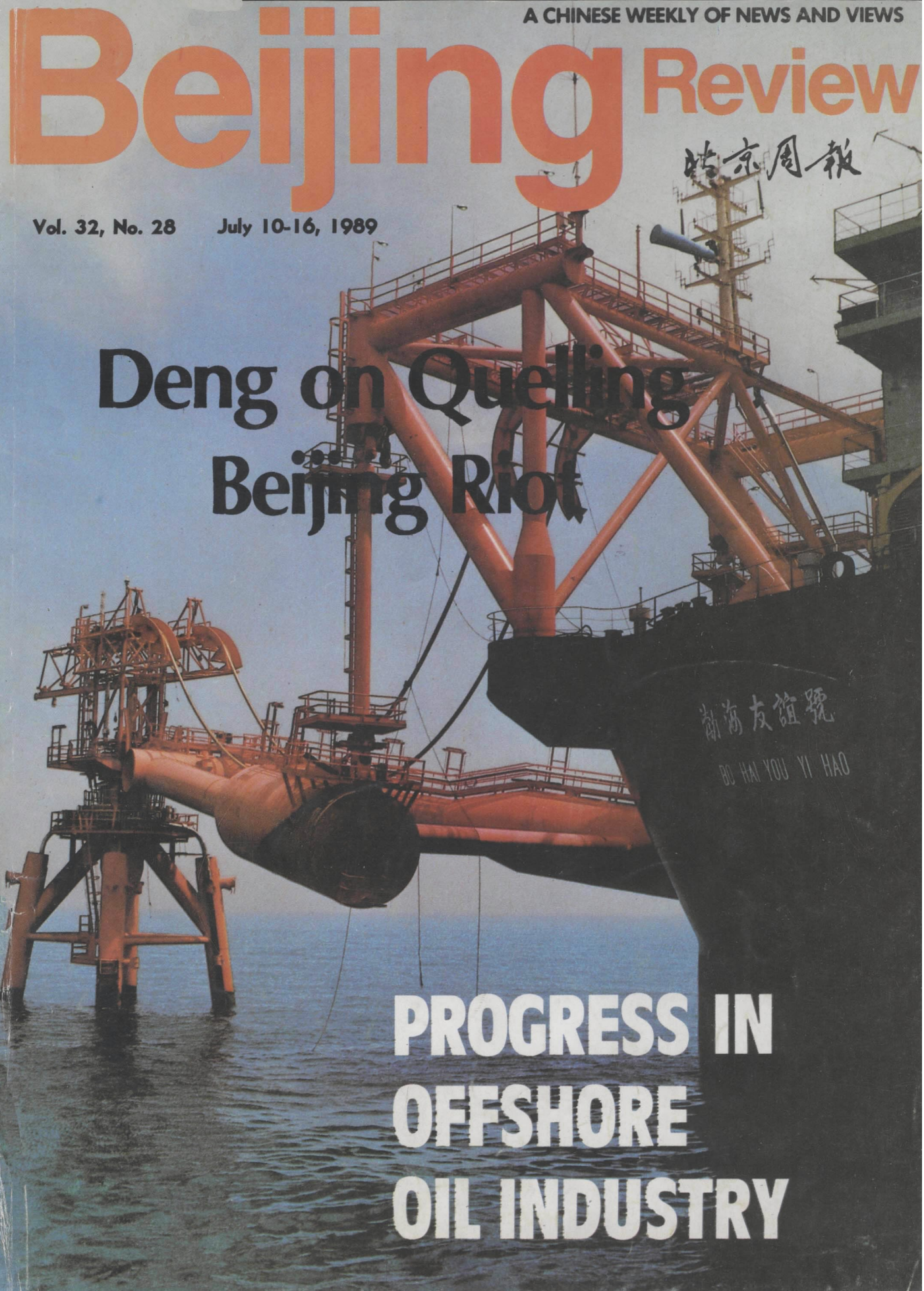
北京周報

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## Deng on Quelling Beijing Riot

**PROGRESS IN  
OFFSHORE  
OIL INDUSTRY**







Old people doing morning exercises in a park.

*Photo by Shi Li*



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**COVER:** The Bozhong 28-1 Oilfield in the Sino-Japanese co-operative area in the Bohai Sea began production on May 25, 1989.

by Chen Fusheng

## Deng on Quelling the Rebellion in Beijing

□ Full text of Deng Xiaoping's June 9 statement. At a meeting with commanders above corps level of the martial law enforcement troops, Deng talked about the recent rebellion in Beijing. Determined by the international and domestic climate, he pointed out, the rebellion was bound to happen sooner or later; it was independent of man's will. He also discussed a number of questions in connection with the event (p. 14).

## Jiang Reiterates Party's Policies

□ Jiang Zemin, the newly-elected Party general secretary, gave a talk on questions of popular concern at a recent forum attended by leaders of China's democratic parties and non-party figures. He reiterated that China's overall policy of reform and opening to the outside world would never change. He said that leaders at all levels must concentrate on economic construction while continuing to quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion and stabilizing the situation (p. 4).

## How do People See the Rebellion

□ The shocking counter-revolutionary riot in Beijing has aroused people's political consciousness and revealed the ulterior motives of the small number of instigators (p. 21).

## China's Offshore Oil Industry Marches Ahead

□ Despite foreign conjecture that China's offshore oil industry is now facing difficulties, the prospecting and exploitation work has continued without interruption. China has also stepped up its international co-operation, which indicates that the country's offshore sedimentary basins have good oil-bearing prospects (p. 27).

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

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# Jiang Reiterates Party's Policies

**T**he Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was a great success, said Jiang Zemin, the newly elected general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), at a forum attended by non-Communist Party figures in Beijing on June 28.

He said he believed that the Party's plenary session, which was held on June 23 and 24 in Beijing, would not only play an important role in stabilizing the general situation in the country, but would also have far-reaching significance in ensuring the continuity of the Party's guidelines and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978.

Leaders of China's democratic parties and non-party personalities were invited to the forum which was sponsored by the Party's Central Committee. Li Peng presided and other members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee also attended.

Jiang said concerted efforts should be made for a period ahead to implement the four important tasks set at the session.

"We must be resolute and prompt in thoroughly quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion and putting an end to the turmoil, but at the same time, we must strictly differentiate between two different types of contradiction, namely those among the people and those between the people and their enemies," Jiang said.

"We are determined to dig out all instigators, organizers and conspirators of the turmoil and rebellion, leading members of il-

legal organizations and other criminals who engaged in assaulting and killing of soldiers, burning, looting and other crimes that brought serious damage to society.

"We must mete out severe and timely punishment to them according to law. Otherwise, there will be no peace and security for the country and people. For those cruel enemies of the people, we should not have an iota of forgiveness or we shall make a serious historical mistake.

"But on the other hand, we must make a strict distinction between the two different types of contradiction and act seriously according to the law and policies."

Jiang said that for those who participated in parades, demonstrations and a hunger strike due to their ignorance of the truth, especially the young students, it was mainly a question of education. They should be earnestly helped so that they would draw experience and lessons from the events.

Jiang stressed that education on the four cardinal principles and the struggle against bourgeois liberalization should be seriously carried out for a long time. This struggle, however, would never change the Party's policy towards intellectuals, nor the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend."

While continuing to quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion and stabilizing the situation, leaders at all levels must concentrate on economic construction.

"We must ensure a rational and feasible economic growth rate, avoiding any possible economic downturn," he said. "Measures must be resolutely taken to

straighten out the economy and deepen the reform.

"Effective efforts should be made to strengthen the basic industries, communications, transport and agriculture, and more efforts should be devoted to science and technology and education."

Jiang reiterated that China's overall policy of reform and opening to the outside world would never change. On the contrary, this reform and openness would be carried out even more effectively.

But he stressed that the socialism-oriented reform and openness is different from that advocated by those who stubbornly stick to bourgeois liberalization.

Jiang said the multiparty cooperative system and the political consultative system under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party should be adhered to and the role of the People's Political Consultative Conference, and of all the democratic parties and various people's organizations in political life in China should be given fuller recognition.

He expressed the hope that the democratic parties would continue to help the Communist Party and the government to correct mistakes, eliminate corruption and arouse the socialist enthusiasm of people from all walks of life.

Because of the complicated nature of the current struggle and the time needed for events to develop and to be exposed, it was understandable that some non-communist friends had for a time some doubts and different views.

It was gratifying, however, that they had gradually got rid of



their doubts and reached a common understanding of events after they got to know more facts and studied Deng Xiaoping's June 9 speech.

He said that in the future the Party would persist in building a patriotic united front and expanding it, and all the principles concerning the united front, the policy of "one country, two systems" and the Party's policies on the Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao questions, would remain unchanged. The existing policy on

nationalities, religions and overseas Chinese affairs would also remain the same.

"The Party and government are still facing many problems and difficulties," Jiang said. He urged all the people at the meeting to make their due contributions to striving for the thorough victory of quelling the counter-revolutionary riot, promoting reform and openness and strengthening the construction of democracy and the legal system. □

## Party Leader Calls for Discipline

**T**he quelling of the recent counter-revolutionary rebellion has proved the strength of the Communist Party of China (CPC) but also revealed problems in Party organizations, CPC General Secretary Jiang Zemin said in Beijing on June 30.

History has proved there would be no socialist China without the leadership of the CPC, Jiang said at a discussion attended by over 50 Party veterans and sponsored by the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee.

Generally speaking, Party organizations at various levels and the vast numbers of Party members stood up well to the test at a time crucial to the survival of the Party and state, Jiang said.

However, the struggle also revealed many problems in Party organizations and among Party members, and some of them were serious.

He said former Party general secretary Zhao Ziyang's neglect of Party building had brought about very grave results, weakening the Party.

The new Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee would concentrate on strengthening

Party building in the areas of ideology, organization and working style in the course of reform and opening to the outside.

Jiang called on Party members to study Deng Xiaoping's speech and related documents and sum up experience and draw lessons. He said education should be carried out among Party members

on adherence to the four cardinal principles and opposition to bourgeois liberalization, on plain living and hard work and on discipline.

He asked Party leaders at various levels to take the initiative in handling several problems of popular concern so as to earn the people's confidence and forge closer ties between the Party and the people.

He also said the new Central Committee would take the lead in carrying out Party decisions, observing Party discipline, maintaining Party unity, adhering to the four cardinal principles and the policy of reform and opening and in combating corruption.

The Central Committee would earnestly accept the supervision of the whole Party and the whole people.

"We're confident that the socialist cause pioneered by revolutionary veterans will continue to achieve new successes," the Party leader said. □

## Li Peng Meets American Doctor

**C**hinese Premier Li Peng met visiting Chinese-American Daniel K. Wong, a former mayor of Cerritos, California, the United States, in Beijing July 1.

At the meeting requested by Wong, Li Peng explained the policies of the Chinese Communist Party and government on stopping the turmoil in China and quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing.

"We shall strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions," Li said. "We strike and punish those who engineered and commanded the turmoil and rebellion both in front and behind the scenes, those who collaborated with anti-China forces abroad in an at-

tempt to subvert China's socialist system, those who committed beating, smashing, looting, burning and killing, and particularly those ex-convicts who continued to do evil."

To punish these people, he added, was in line with the fundamental interests of the Chinese people. "And this is China's internal affairs."

Li said that the Chinese Party and government had repeatedly stated that they would adopt a lenient policy towards those students who had made extremist statements and done extremist things so long as they had not violated the Criminal Law, "although we are not in favour of their way of doing things."

Speaking of Chinese students studying abroad who had made



extremist statements, the Chinese Premier said they did so because they were misled by foreign mass media and unaware of the truth. "I believe they will gradually change their viewpoint once they become aware of the truth," Li Peng said, adding that the Party and government still expected them to come back after they had finished their studies and make their contributions to China's modernization.

Commenting on foreigners' misunderstanding and criticism of China's quelling of the rebel-

lion, Li Peng said that except for those who are biased against China, most were deceived by the mass media and ignorant about China's actual conditions. "I believe that this situation will also change gradually," he said.

At the end of the meeting, Li noted: "China is a country with 1.1 billion people. As long as China's political situation is stable, the economy developing and the leading core of the Party united, our country has a bright future." □

## Beijingers Rescue PLA Men

**T**ears were streaming out from the eyes of Chen, an old woman, when she saw her 74 "sons" stand full of vim and vigour before her calling her "mammy."

They are all the soldiers of the martial law enforcement troops she had rescued early June when counter-revolutionary rebellion occurred in Beijing.

In the small hours of June 3, Chen recalled, loud noises out-

side attracted her attention. When she came out, she saw some plainclothes soldiers, part of the martial law enforcement troops, being pursued and attacked by a big crowd of people.

"My heart was trembling when I saw these soldiers, many of them wounded, being beaten up," she said.

At that moment, Chen, nearly 70, rushed into the crowd and pulled a soldier with a leg wound

out of the crowd.

"Where are you going to take him to?" asked some people around, booing and hooting. Chen said, "He is my son. His leg was injured by a bicycle. I'll send him to a hospital." Then She led the exhausted soldier into her home in a housing compound.

By using this ploy of calling them her "sons," she rescued the soldiers one after another and brought them to a safer place.

"In fact, I only pulled out 12 soldiers from the crowd and brought them back," Chen later recalled. "Some of the remaining 62 soldiers followed me to my house themselves and the others were rescued by other people and brought to my house."

Although some martial law enforcement troops were blocked and attacked on their way to city areas, many Beijing residents, including college students, workers and medical personnel, at great personal risk, valiantly helped to rescue the soldiers who had been caught in the city.

Lying on his sickbed, Shao Songgao, a major general of a unit subordinate to Beijing Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), recalled his ordeal of escaping dangers of the Beijing streets.

Late into the evening of June 2, Shao's unit received orders and started for Tiananmen Square from Fengtai. When arriving at the Xidan crossroads, Shao's jeep was encircled by a sea of pedestrians.

"At 2 am on June 3," he said, "a young man came out from the crowd. He grabbed my hair and slapped me in the face."

The young man then shouted, "They came here to suppress the people. Beat him."

A group of people swarmed forward, Shao said, and fists fell onto his back, waist and other parts of his body.

The attack lasted for more than seven hours when shao had

From the night of June 3 to early morning of the next day, Wei Peiping (second from left), a cadre at the Yangfangdian Subdistrict Office in Beijing's Haidian District, risked his life and rescued 12 PLA soldiers. He also helped to transfer weapons, radio sets and other equipment to a safe place.

DU JIE





an attack of his old illness.

Chang Bingxi, a doctor of Beijing Institute of Post and Telecommunications, and Yang Xinqun, a student of Beijing Medical Sciences University, who were passing by at that moment, gave Shao a physical examination.

"We are doctors. This PLA man is very sick and his life is in danger. We must send him to the hospital immediately," they told the crowd.

"Three students and one official of the Capital Iron and Steel Company were beaten and injured by the crowd, in order to escort me to the hospital," said Shao.

Early on June 4, a tank unit soldier, by the name of Chen, became separated from his unit after it was blocked at Muxidi. He was knocked out by bricks.

When he came to, several students and an old worker brought him to a local hospital.

"Some people outside the hospital shouted, 'Don't treat the soldier.' However, doctors and nurses still gave me treatment," Chen recalled.

"To ensure my safety, the head of the hospital asked me to take off my uniform and put on plainclothes. Doctors and nurses never left me for a moment during the days I stayed there," he said.

Then the hospital head asked a female doctor to disguise herself as Chen's mother and transferred him to an army hospital.

"I feel grateful from the bottom of my heart to those students, workers and medical personnel. It was they who saved my life," Chen said with tears starting to flow from his eyes. □

## World Bank Link Still Exists

A top finance official expressed the hope that China's co-operation with the World Bank (WB) will continue unhindered by political issues.

The WB's Resident Mission in China has been tending to business all along. "We have discussed business with people from the bank's Resident Mission here every day since June 5," said Luo Qing, deputy director of the Finance Ministry's WB Department, in an interview with China Daily.

Luo said there was no truth to reported rumours that the WB had closed its Beijing office and decided to stop granting China new loans after the Chinese government used troops to quell riots in Beijing early last June.

On June 8 the WB decided to put off Executive Board discussions to approve a US\$60 million loan to help an agricultural project in China.

The discussion was rescheduled for the following week. Ex-

plaining the rescheduling, a vice president of the WB noted that the extra week would help clarify the situation in China.

Also up for discussion on June 14 were two loans totalling about US\$230 million, designed to help a power project and training programme in China. The bank decided though to suspend discussions on the two loans because of the situation in China. No new date has been scheduled for a review of those two loans, said Luo.

"It is understandable that the WB has postponed consideration of the new loans to China at the moment," Luo said, "since the bank needs time to gain an understanding of the situation here so as to make its own judgement."

Luo added that the suspension of discussions on loans to China is also related to the political views of some of the bank's member countries.

Some countries have put pres-

sure on the bank because they oppose the Chinese government's way of dealing with recent domestic riots, Luo said.

Luo noted that the WB is an international financial institution, and according to the bank's charter, it must not interfere in the domestic political issues of member countries, nor should its decisions be influenced by the political views of its member countries.

The WB has been working with China for eight years now. In that time the bank's loan commitments have soared from zero to more than US\$9.3 billion. During the bank's 1989 fiscal year (July 1, 1988 to June 30, 1989), China has received loan commitments totalling US\$2.1 billion, a jump of 24 percent over the 1988 fiscal year. In the coming few years, the bank hopes to disburse US\$2 billion annually for 10 to 15 projects worth US\$150 million to US\$200 million each, Luo said.

The loans are meant to support 18 new projects in China and the WB has approved loans for 11 of the projects by May. Negotiations on the remaining seven projects have also been completed, Luo said, and he hoped that the bank will soon give its approval to loans for the remaining seven projects.

There were eight WB missions in China doing feasibility studies on potential projects when the riots broke out in Beijing on June 3, according to Luo.

Vice-premier Yao Yilin met with head of the China section of the WB on June 21 and exchanged views with him on bilateral co-operation.

Yao said that China is now in a stable situation, and that it is completely able to carry out the agreements and contracts signed with both the bank and relevant countries.

He expressed the hope for the development of better China-WB co-operation. □

## Policy on Taiwan Unchanged

The Chinese Communist Party and government will not change the basic national policy for the solution of the Taiwan question, namely, "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems," a State Council official said in Beijing on June 26.

Tang Shubei, deputy director of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, said that the policy had been formulated in the fundamental interest of the people of the whole country, including the people of Taiwan. It would not be changed now because of the current situation or in the future.

In line with the above policy and relevant laws, the Chinese government will continue to guarantee personal safety and protect the property and legitimate rights and interests of Taiwan compatriots who visit relatives, tour, invest, do business or engage in other legitimate activities on the mainland; it would continue to promote trade, navigation and post and telecommunications and exchanges in other fields between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, and to promote peaceful reunification of the country.

Tang said that some Taiwan compatriots had written letters to express their understanding and support of the resolute measures adopted by the central government to quell the recent counter-revolutionary riot in Beijing. Quite a number of Taiwan businessmen had confidence in the stability and prosperity of the mainland and continued to invest here despite the recent happenings. "We appreciate their far-sightedness," he said.

"It is regrettable that the Taiwan authorities have repeatedly expressed support for the extremely small number of people who created the counter-

revolutionary riot in Beijing, and fanned and added fuel to the flames by some improper means; and a few people have even made statements calling for the 'overthrow' of the government of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, they have continued their attempt to create 'two Chinas' or 'one China, one Taiwan' internationally."

The Taiwan authorities should immediately stop any talk or action which would create tension between the two sides of the strait and which would be unfavourable for peaceful reunification.

He said, "The mainland welcomes the measures adopted by the Taiwan authorities in recent years which have relaxed the tension in relations and helped trade, navigation and post and telecommunications between the

two sides of the strait.

"The central government hopes that the Taiwan authorities, taking into consideration the long-term national interest and conforming to the wishes of the people on both sides of the strait, will do more things conducive to peaceful reunification."

Tang stressed that the central government would continue to adhere to the four cardinal principles and further implement reform and the open policy. All policies and decrees which were favourable for peaceful reunification and the "one country, two systems" would be enriched and improved rather than changed.

The government would consistently support and protect Taiwan compatriots doing business on the mainland, Tang said. It would also encourage and guide normal exchanges in culture, sports, science and technology and academic fields between the two sides of the strait. □

## Stop Sex Checks of Fetuses

Medical establishments across the country must stop checking the sex of unborn babies and restrict the use of artificial insemination, the Ministry of Public Health urged in a recent circular.

Determining the sex of the fetus not only violates medical ethics, but also aggravates such social problems as the imbalance in the numbers of boys and girls, and therefore should be banned, the circular said, according to a report in *Health News*.

Artificial insemination should only be allowed in scientific research, it said. Any other medical health units are forbidden to use the technique on people, it said.

Sex forecasting services, that exploit devices such as ultrasound, have resulted in the increase of voluntary abortions of

female fetuses and a high boy-girl ratio in some areas, according to the Health Ministry circular.

According to the Zhejiang Provincial Bureau of Statistics, about 113 boys were born for every 100 girls in the province last year.

With a birth control policy that advocates one-child families, many couples who want a son rather than a daughter go to hospitals to find out the sex of their unborn baby. Many couples who are told they are expecting a girl then decide on an abortion.

Sex-determination services also pose a threat to the country's family planning policies, the circular said.

Some women who already have a daughter resort to all means to go through with a second birth if they know that they



are pregnant with a boy.

According to experts from the Health Ministry, ultrasound is now used in hospitals throughout the country to monitor the health of the developing fetus.

But to make more money, some hospitals, including some individually run clinics, are in the business of sex-forecasting.

The circular also noted an increasing abuse of artificial insemination.

Many quack institutions and individuals have begun providing the service simply to make profits.

Some collect sperm without first verifying the health of the donors or use the same sperm from the same donor to impregnate several women. Not only could this spread disease to the woman receiving the sperm and contribute to the birth of unhealthy children, but it also could lead to marriages between half-brothers and half-sisters who are unaware that they have the same biological father, said Su Yanhua, chairperson of the Nanjing Society of Gynaecology and Obstetrics, which is affiliated with the China Medical Association. □

## News in Brief

### Beijing Mayor on Rebellion Death Toll

Over 200 civilians including 36 college students died and more than 3,000 were injured during the counter-revolutionary rebellion which erupted in Beijing in early June, according to Mayor Chen Xitong.

He said on June 30 that more than 6,000 soldiers and policemen were also wounded and dozens of them died.

More than 1,280 vehicles were

damaged or burned, including over 1,000 military trucks, 60 armoured vehicles, 30 police cars and 120 buses. And the city suffered 1.3 billion yuan (about US\$ 350 million) in damage, Chen said. □

### Deep Regret on EC Statement

A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman expressed deep regret on June 29 over the "Statement on China" issued by the European Council.

"Before finding out the truth concerning the quelling of the counter-revolutionary rebellion in China, the European Council went so far as to rashly issue a statement on June 27, making presumptuous accusations against China and unilaterally adopted decisions jeopardizing bilateral relations," said the spokeswoman at a weekly news briefing in Beijing. □

### China Wins Sympathy in Third World

While there have been both friendly and unfriendly responses towards China's quelling of the recent counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing, the vast number of third world countries have shown sympathy and understanding for the Chinese government, Chinese President Yang Shangkun said on June 29.

"No ruling party or government will allow itself to be subverted," Yang said when meeting a delegation from the Bolivian National Congress.

As a sovereign nation, China has every right to handle its own internal affairs, Yang said. "We hope our friends will understand that the suppression of the rebellion represents a reasonable act in handling our internal affairs." □

### 10 US Tourists Ordered to Shorten Stay

Ten tourists from the United States have been ordered to shorten their stay in China and leave the country before June 30 for "activities not consistent with their tourist status," according to

a spokesman for the Yunnan Provincial Public Security Department.

These tourists arrived in Kunming, the capital of the province, on June 21. On the afternoon of June 23 they distributed religion-related propaganda material to people at Cuihu Park in the city. Local policemen stopped them right away, and confiscated 157 items of propaganda material. The 94 items already distributed were handed over by the recipients.

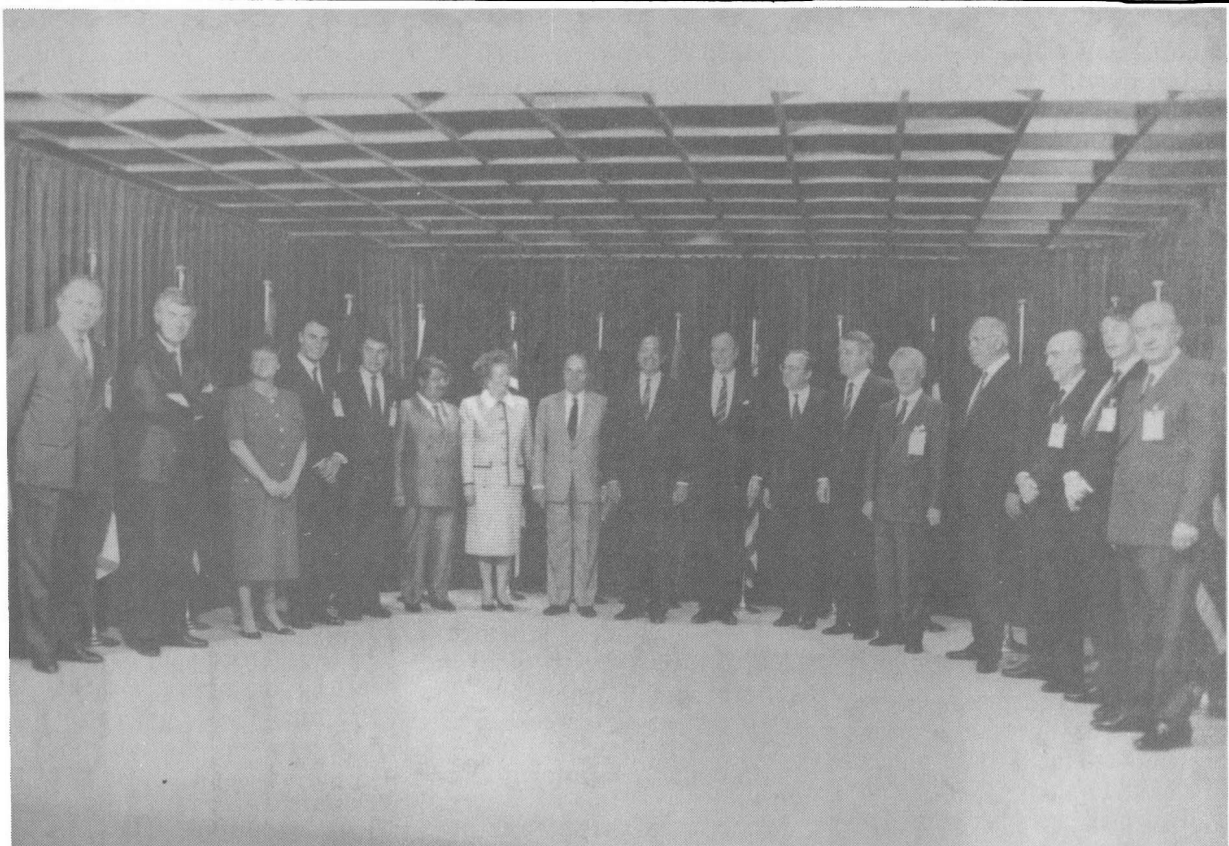
On the evening of the same day, the police searched their rooms and confiscated more than 800 pieces of propaganda material such as pictorials, leaflets, recorded tapes and books. One leaflet containing attacks on the Chinese government for the crackdown on the rebellion in Beijing was found. □

### Tourists Group May Enter Tibet

An official from the Travel Administration of the Tibet Autonomous Region said on June 30 that foreign tourist groups may now enter Tibet with the approval from relevant government departments. As the situation in Tibet has become stable and the safety of tourists can be assured, planned foreign tourist groups with at least 10 people can come to the region for sightseeing, he said.

Martial law was enforced in Lhasa in March this year after a riot took place there and since then Tibet has been closed to foreign tourists for the sake of their safety.

The official also said that only two travel organs — the Lhasa Branch of the China International Travel Service and the Tibet Travel Corporation — have been authorized to receive overseas tourists. Tourist groups may contact them if they want to go to Tibet, but the region is still not open to individual tourists. □



NATO leaders attending the 40th anniversary summit of the organization in Brussels, Belgium.

XINHUA

## NATO Safeguards Unity With SNF Compromise

by Chu Qimen

**T**he 40th anniversary summit meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has reached a compromise upon short-range nuclear forces (SNF) in the interests of unity, thus ending a serious dispute of several months' duration within the organization. The summit has been described by NATO as a great success.

On May 30, NATO leaders issued a final document and a so-called comprehensive concept. The final document, the longest since NATO's founding, gave a detailed explanation for the political concept of the Atlantic league; the comprehensive concept concentrated on NATO's strategy for disarmament.

The United States has agreed

to put off a decision on modernizing short-range missiles until after 1992, while West Germany and some other countries supporting its attitude made their concession by accepting that the US will be responsible for the upgrading of SNF.

As to the question of negotiations, the United States abandoned its no-talks stand while West Germany withdrew its demand for the earliest possible talks. The summit eventually agreed to hold negotiations under certain conditions.

The documents avoided referring to Gorbachev's "third zero option proposal." But the choice of a partial reduction in the SNF actually rejects this initiative.

It is clear that the key leading to the agreement in the docu-

ments is each leader's wise attitude towards concessions upon SNF, especially Bush and Federal Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

From now on, NATO can follow the adjusted course planned by the two documents, continuously developing overall cooperation with the Soviet Union and East European countries and influencing their reforms.

### The Focus of NATO Disputes

On the subject of SNF, one side in dispute headed by the United States and Britain demanded for immediate modernization of SNF, while West Germany, the other side, followed by some sympathetic small and

intermedium-sized countries, suggested earliest possible negotiations.

Being in a sensitive geographical position, West Germany especially fears becoming the victim of a limited nuclear war.

Next year West Germany will hold general elections. Facing the Soviet peace offensive and a strong domestic calling for disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, Kohl hopes to take advantage of SNF talks to strengthen his competitive position in the elections.

The United States and Britain, however, only stressed the talks on conventional weapons with the Soviet Union. Washington called West Germany's demand for SNF talks a serious mistake, appealing for the maintenance of unity in NATO and warning Bonn not to follow its own way in disarmament policy.

French President Francois Mitterrand also rejected the proposal for immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union. He said NATO should wait and see whether concrete progress could be achieved at the conventional weapons talks in Vienna.

These countries believe that if NATO holds SNF talks with the Soviet Union and abandons the missile modernization plan before reaching a balance in conventional forces between West and East, they will risk weakening their forces, losing the bargaining counters with which to press the Soviet Union to reduce its conventional weapons.

They considered NATO's flexible response strategy since the 1960s a success. The flexible response strategy is a trinity composed of strategic nuclear weapons, theatre nuclear forces and conventional weapons.

The Warsaw Pact enjoys great advantages in conventional weapons and the strategic nuclear forces cannot be used easily. Intermediate missiles are planned

to be destroyed before 1992 and NATO's 88 Lance systems in Western Europe will be withdrawn from military service in 1995.

To offset the Soviets' 15 to 1 superiority in its progressively modernizing SNF, NATO has to develop high-grade and advanced SNF with a range of 500 miles, capable of striking Warsaw Pact targets in depth and thus maintaining its deterrent force.

Therefore, they argued that even at present, there is no need to change the strategy.

However, some allied West European countries hold different views. They argue that Europe is witnessing an actual opportunity of conventional forces to be on the way towards stability at a low level and that it is unsuitable to decide hastily to develop the theatre nuclear forces prior to assessing the course and possible results of the conventional weapons talks.

They hold that if the modernization of the SNF is dependent on the progress of the conventional forces talks, it may offer NATO the best way to use nuclear weapons to decrease the possibility of European military conflict because the results of the conventional weapons talks could possibly make the former's modernization unnecessary.

Also, they are convinced that the improvement in the situation of European stability helps NATO to bear more easily the military imbalance than does tense opposition between West and East.

From the military and technological standpoints, some West European defence experts point out that the theatre nuclear forces, including the SNF, are not enough to stop a Soviet military invasion. Only if nuclear war becomes a possibility can the SNF possess an effective nuclear deterrent capacity.

## Causes of Disputes

Analyzed from a deeper sense, the difference between the US and Western Europe over the SNF is rooted in their differences in understanding and dealing with the Soviet Union. It also shows that the old international pattern formed during the Cold War period apparently cannot adapt to the development of the present international situation.

In the wake of the intermediate nuclear force agreement, the Soviet Union raised a series of disarmament initiatives on conventional weapons and SNF. At the end of last year, Mikhail Gorbachev announced his plan to withdraw 500,000 Soviet troops from Europe.

In May this year, James Baker made his first visit to Moscow as United States Secretary of State. He assured the Soviet side that the arms control stance of the Reagan administration would be continued by the new government.

When meeting with Baker, Gorbachev surprisingly declared that his country would unilaterally withdraw 500 tactical nuclear warheads from Eastern Europe. He said that the Soviet Union was prepared to pull out all its nuclear warheads deployed in Eastern Europe during 1989-1991, if the United States took a similar step.

And the Warsaw Pact countries subsequently announced their arms reduction plans. All this placed a strong challenge before NATO.

The West German people, who have lived 40 years under the shadow of the nuclear war threat, strongly demand for disarmament and oppose continuing the arms race. They considered the Soviet proposal a new opportunity for disarmament after the Cold War and thought that NATO should not miss the historically opportune moment.



This prompted West Germany to prevent NATO from upgrading its SNF deployed in West Germany and to demand for immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Kohl declared earlier this year in the Bundestag (Federal Assembly) that Europe would enter into a new era because of the coming unified European market in 1992. He thought that the Soviet Union's new policy provided wide opportunities and prospects for building future East-West relations and the West German government was resolved to co-operate with the Soviet Union, building up bilateral relations and taking the long-term view of European peace and security.

However, the new East policy of West Germany is just what the United States is worried about. The US sees the current situation of detente as the result

of its arms expansion under the Reagan administration over the past eight years. During the latter part of the Reagan reign, the US was superior to the Soviet Union in strength. But facing the Soviet peaceful disarmament offensive, US diplomacy fell into a passive position.

The present international situation is at an historical turning point. The US position in the world and its consequent influence are on the decline. Japan has increasingly strengthened its economy and the European Community has steadily done the same. Furthermore, the unified European market in 1992 is a worry for the US. And West European countries showed more and more confidence and good feeling towards the Soviet Union.

President Bush understands the dangers and attempts to suppress the trend by treating it

coldly. He stresses the necessity to upgrade the SNF and opposes SNF talks with the Soviet Union in an effort to slow down the increasing trend to detente in Western Europe and he believes that continuing pressuring on the Soviet Union can make it concede more.

That is why the US insists on the strategy of nuclear deterrent while people are generally convinced that it seems impossible for the Soviet Union to stage a military attack.

It is not difficult to see the deep reasons behind the SNF dispute. And the existing rift within NATO is basically hard to cure. Besides, the growth in the economic strength of West Germany and some other countries and their increasing sense of independence are forming an ever stronger challenge to the Bush administration's security policies. □

## Moscow Tries Out Democracy

**T**he recent convention of the first Congress of People's Deputies has been hailed as a milestone in the process of Soviet reform.

At the congress, which has now become the highest organ of power in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev was elected president of the Supreme Soviet, the standing organization of the congress, and various hot issues, such as ethnic clashes, food supply, the candidacy for the presidency, were debated. Almost all the resolutions and decisions met with opposing votes.

Traditionally, the highest organ of power was the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, which consisted of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, altogether 1,500 delegates. A presidium was elected, its chairman acting as head of

state, largely a symbolic office.

The greatest shortcoming of the old system was that the election of deputies was a formality. Candidates to deputy at various levels were all designated by superior bodies and elected on the basis of one candidate for one vacancy. The voters could only vote yes, and the leading organizations then announced the unanimous election of the candidates. The Supreme Soviet and its presidium were also elected in this way.

Obviously, deputies thus elected cannot truly represent the interests of the voters and the Supreme Soviet was nothing but a rubber stamp.

In a major departure from old practices, the latest congress adopted the principle of multiple candidates for one vacancy and candidates were nominated by

voters and elected through contestants campaigning rather than being designated by their superior authorities according to the positions they hold and their experiences.

As a result, in the national elections on March 26, dozens of party secretaries at the provincial level and two presidents of the Supreme Soviet at republican level failed to be elected.

Another eye-catching feature of the elections is that many government officials did not participate. Apart from the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the five members of the Politburo who concurrently hold government positions and the various ministers of the government all acted as ordinary voters. To ensure the independent, supervisory role of the Congress of People's Deputies, the election draft

law stipulates that government ministers cannot be elected deputies. Therefore, Boris Yeltsin, a well-known radical reformer, quit his position as first vice-chairman of the State Committee for Construction before running for deputy.

The new blueprint for the organ of power was designed by Gorbachev last June at the 19th National Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The new structure consists of four ladders — the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the president of the Supreme Soviet. The power of the Congress of People's Deputies and of the president has been greatly enlarged.

The recent congress was held at a time when the *perestroika* (restructuring) drive has met with huge difficulties — food and consumer goods are increasingly in short supply, the budget deficit is snowballing, and ethnic clashes are escalating — and political reform needs to be perfected. The Soviet people place high aspirations on the congress, although they don't expect it to resolve many problems.

The primary task facing the congress is to establish a Soviet Union ruled by law with the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet as the leading legislative bodies so as to safeguard democratization, *glasnost* (openness), and diversity of opinion.

At the opening ceremony, Gorbachev, as candidate for the presidency of the presidium, delivered a speech in which he said that the reform has met with major setbacks and has entered the most difficult period, but that the government has taken control of the situation.

He said his country has been



An atmosphere of democracy: deputies pass notes to President Gorbachev asking to speak at the Congress of People's Deputies.

and is still learning democracy. He said he favours holding dialogues with various classes and all social movements and organizations within the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, despite that sometimes they seem intolerable.

When talking of the role of the military in restoring order, Gorbachev said the military should do what it is supposed to do and that every effort should be made to avoid the occurrence of the situation in which the military is forced to intervene.

It should be made clear that the military is not supposed to suppress the people. However, he added, in order to maintain stability, every force — political, organizational, police, activists and people — should be used when necessary.

All this should be decided on through discussions in the Supreme Soviet and the most im-

portant issues concerning the national interest should be settled by the Congress of People's Deputies, Gorbachev said.

In his May 30 key-note policy speech, Gorbachev also disclosed for the first time actual Soviet military spending — 77.3 billion roubles this year, or 15.6 percent of the national budget.

He did not favour the complete introduction of a market economy but instead advanced the concept of a legal economy — one regulated by law rather than administrative decrees.

Democracy, as it turns out, can bring with it some side-effects, quite possibly a challenge to the leadership of the Communist Party. In light of this, Gorbachev stressed the role of the Party, strengthened discipline, and the observance of order. He said that without the leadership of the Party, the cause of reforming socialism cannot succeed. □

# Deng's Talks on Quelling Rebellion in Beijing

Following is the full text of the speech delivered by Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Military Commission, on June 9 in Beijing to commanders above the corps level of the martial law enforcement troops. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

**Y**ou comrades have been working hard.

First of all, I'd like to express my heartfelt condolences to the comrades in the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the armed police and police who died in the struggle; and my sincere sympathy and solicitude to several thousand comrades in the army, the armed police and police who were wounded in the struggle, and I want to extend my sincere regards to all the army, armed police and police personnel who participated in the struggle.

I suggest that all of us stand and pay a silent tribute to the martyrs.

## The Nature of the Storm

I'd like to take this opportunity to say a few words. This storm was bound to happen sooner or later. As determined by the international and domestic climate, it was bound to happen and was independent of man's will. It was just a matter of time and scale. It has turned out in our favour, for we still have a large group of veterans who have experienced many storms and have a thorough understanding of things. They were on the side of taking resolute action to counter the turmoil. Although some comrades may not understand this now, they will understand eventually and will support the decision of the Central Committee.

The April 26 editorial of the *People's Daily* classified the problem as turmoil. The word was appropriate, but some people objected to the word and tried to amend it. But what has happened



Deng Xiaoping delivering an important speech in Zhongnanhai to commanders above the corps level of the martial law enforcement troops. LIU SHUANGLING

shows that this verdict was right. It was also inevitable that the turmoil would develop into a counter-revolutionary rebellion. We still have a group of senior comrades who are alive, we still have the army, and we also have a group of core cadres who took part in the revolution at various times. That is why it was relatively easy for us to handle the present matter. The main difficulty in handling this matter lay in that we had never experienced such a situation before, in which a small minority of bad people mixed with so many young students and onlookers. We did not have a clear picture of the situation, and this prevented us from taking some actions that we should have taken earlier. It would have been difficult for us to arrive at a conclusion on the nature of the matter had we not had the support of so many senior comrades. Some comrades

didn't understand this point. They thought it was simply a matter of how to treat the masses. Actually, what we faced was not just some ordinary people who were misguided, but also a rebellious clique and a large number of the dregs of society. The key point is that they wanted to overthrow our state and the Party. Failing to understand this means failing to understand the nature of the matter. I believe that after serious work we can win the support of the great majority of comrades within the Party.

The nature of the matter became clear soon after it erupted. They had two main slogans: to overthrow the Communist Party and topple the socialist system. Their goal was to establish a bourgeois republic entirely dependent on the West. Of course we accept people's demands for combating corruption. We are



even ready to listen to some people with ulterior motives when they raise the slogan about fighting corruption. However, such slogans were just a front. Their real aim was to overthrow the Communist Party and topple the socialist system.

## A Severe Test

During the course of quelling the rebellion, many comrades of ours were injured or even sacrificed their lives. Some of their weapons were also taken from them by the rioters. Why? Because bad people mingled with the good, which made it difficult for us to take the firm measures that were necessary.

Handling this matter amounted to a severe political test for our army, and what happened shows that our People's Liberation Army passed muster. If tanks were used to roll over people, this would have created a confusion between right and wrong among the people nationwide. That is why I have to thank the PLA officers and men for using this approach to handle the rebellion.

The PLA losses were great, but this enabled us to win the support of the people and made those who can't tell right from wrong change their viewpoint. They can see what kind of people the PLA are, whether there was bloodshed at Tiananmen, and who were those that shed blood.

Once this question is made clear, we can take the initiative. Although it is very sad that so many comrades were sacrificed, if the event is analyzed objectively, people cannot but recognize that the PLA are the sons and brothers of the people. This will also help people to understand the measures we used in the course of the struggle. In the future, whenever the PLA faces problems and takes measures, it will gain the support of the people.

By the way, I would say that in the future, we must make sure that our weapons are not taken away from us.

In a word, this was a test, and we passed. Even though there are not so many veteran comrades in the army and the soldiers are mostly little more than 18, 19 or 20 years of age, they are still true soldiers of the people. Facing danger, they did not forget the people, the teachings of the Party and the interests of the country. They kept a resolute stand in the face of death. They fully deserve the saying that they met death and sacrificed themselves with generosity and without fear.

When I talked about passing muster, I was referring to the fact that the army is still the people's army. This army retains the traditions of the old Red Army. What they crossed this time was genuinely a political barrier, a threshold of life and death. This is by no means easy. This shows that the people's army is truly a Great Wall of iron and steel of the Party and country. This shows that no matter how heavy the losses we suffer and no matter how generations change, this army of ours is forever an army under the leadership of the Party, forever the defender of the country, forever the defender of socialism, forever the defender of the public interest, and they are the most beloved of the people.

At the same time, we should never forget how cruel our enemies are. For them we should not have an iota of forgiveness.

## Some Questions Worth Thinking About

The outbreak of the rebellion is worth thinking about. It prompts us to calmly think about the past and consider the future. Perhaps this bad thing will enable us to go ahead with reform

and the open door policy at a more steady, better, even a faster pace. Also it will enable us to more speedily correct our mistakes and better develop our strong points. I cannot elaborate on this today. I just want to raise the subject here.

The first question is: Are the line, goals and policies laid down by the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, including our "three-step" development strategy, correct? Is it the case that because this riot took place there are some questions about the correctness of the line, goals and policies we laid down? Are our goals "leftist"? Should we continue to use them for our struggle in the future? These significant questions should be given clear and definite answers.

We have already accomplished our first goal of doubling the gross national product. We plan to use 12 years to attain our second goal of doubling the GNP. In the 50 years after that, we hope to reach the level of a moderately developed country. A two-percent annual growth rate is sufficient. This is our strategic goal.

I don't believe that what we have arrived at is a "leftist" judgment. Nor have we set up an overly ambitious goal. So, in answering the first question, I should say that our strategic goal cannot be regarded as a failure so far. It will be an unbeatable achievement for a country with 1.5 billion people like ours to reach the level of a moderately developed nation after 61 years.

China is capable of realizing this goal. It cannot be said that our strategic goal is wrong because of the occurrence of this event.

The second question is this: Is the general conclusion of the 13th Party Congress of "one focus (refers to making economic development the nation's central task) and two basic points" cor-

rect? Are the two basic points—upholding the four cardinal principles (that is, keeping to the socialist road and upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, leadership by the Communist Party, and Mao Zedong Thought) and persisting in the policy of reform and opening up—wrong?

In recent days I have pondered these two points. No, we haven't been wrong. There's nothing wrong with the four cardinal principles. If there is anything amiss, it's that these principles haven't been thoroughly implemented; they haven't been used as the basic concept to educate the people, educate the students and educate all the cadres and Party members.

The crux of the current incident was basically the confrontation between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalization. It isn't that we have not talked about such things as the four cardinal principles, worked on political concepts, and opposed bourgeois liberalization and spiritual pollution. What we haven't done is maintain continuity in these talks. There has been no action and sometimes even hardly any talk.

The fault does not lie in the four cardinal principles themselves, but in wavering in upholding these principles, and in the very poor work done to persist in political work and education.

In my Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference talk on New Year's day 1980, I talked about "four guarantees\*," one of which was the "enterprising spirit

it of hard struggle and plain living." Hard working is our tradition. Promoting plain living must be a major objective of education and this should be the keynote for the next 60 to 70 years. The more prosperous our country becomes, the more important it is to keep hold of the enterprising spirit. The promotion of this spirit and plain living will also be helpful for overcoming corruption.

After the People's Republic was founded we promoted plain living. Later on, when life became a little better, we promoted spending more, leading to wastage everywhere. This, in addition to lapses in theoretical work and an incomplete legal system, resulted in backsliding.

I once told foreigners that our worst omission of the past ten years was in education. What I meant was chiefly political education, and this doesn't apply to schools and students alone, but to the masses as a whole. And we have not said much about plain living and the enterprising spirit, about what kind of a country China is and how it is going to turn out. This is our biggest omission.

Is there anything wrong with the basic concept of reforms and opening up? No. Without reforms and opening up how could we have what we have today? There has been a fairly satisfactory rise in the standard of living, and it may be said that we have moved one stage further. The positive results of ten years of reforms must be properly assessed even though there have emerged such problems as inflation. Naturally, in reform and adopting the open policy, we run the risk of importing evil influences from the West and we have never underestimated such influences.

In the early 1980s, when we established special economic zones, I told our Guangdong

comrades that on the one hand they should persevere with reforms and opening up and on the other hand they should deal severely with economic crimes and carry out ideological and political education.

Looking back, it appears that there were obvious inadequacies; there hasn't been proper coordination. Being reminded of these inadequacies will help us formulate future policies. Further, we must persist in the coordination between a planned economy and market regulation. There cannot be any change in this policy.

In the course of implementing this policy we can place more emphasis on planning in the adjustment period. At other times there can be a little more market regulation so as to allow more flexibility. The future policy should still be a marriage between the planned economy and market regulation.

What is important is that we should never change China back into a closed country. Such a policy would be most detrimental. We don't even have a good flow of information. Nowadays, are we not talking about the importance of information? Certainly, it is important. If one who is involved in management doesn't possess information, he is no better than a man whose nose is stuffed and whose ears and eyes are shut. Again, we should never go back to the old days of trampling the economy to death. I put forward this proposal for the consideration of the Standing Committee. This is also an urgent question, a question we'll have to deal with sooner or later.

In brief, this is what we have achieved in the past decade: Generally, our basic proposals, ranging from a developing strategy to policies, including reforms and opening up, are correct. If there is any inadequacy, then I should say our reforms and

\*"Four guarantees": 1. It is necessary to unswervingly implement the Party's political line; 2. It is imperative to maintain a political situation of stability and unity; 3. It is necessary to carry forward the enterprising spirit of hard struggle and plain living; and 4. It is necessary to train a contingent of cadres who adhere to the socialist road and have professional expertise.

opening up have not proceeded adequately enough. The problems we face in implementing reforms are far greater than those we encounter in opening our country. In political reforms we can affirm one point: We have to adhere to the system of the National People's Congress and not the American system of the separation of three powers. The US berates us for suppressing students. But when they handled domestic student unrest and turmoil, didn't they send out police and troops to arrest people and cause blood shed? They were suppressing students and the people, but we are putting down a counter-revolutionary rebellion. What qualifications do they have to criticize us? From now on, however, in handling such problems, we should see to it that when a trend occurs we should never allow it to spread.

### What's to Be Done in the Future

What do we do from now on? I would say that we should con-

tinue, persist in implementing our set basic line, principles and policies. Except where there is a need to alter a word or phrase here and there, there should be no change in the basic line or basic policy. Now that I have raised this question, I would like you all to consider it seriously. As to how to implement these policies, such as in the areas of investment, the manipulation of capital etc., I am in favour of putting the emphasis on capital industry and agriculture. In capital industry, this calls for attention to the supply of raw materials, transportation and energy; there should be more investment in this area for the next ten to 20 years, even if it involves heavy debts. In a way, this is also openness. Here, we need to be bold and have made hardly any serious errors. We should work for more electricity, railway lines, highways and shipping. There's a lot we can do. As for steel, foreigners estimate we'll need some 120 million tons a year in the future. Now we turn out some 60

million tons, half of what we need. If we were to improve our existing facilities and increase production by 20 million tons we could reduce the amount of steel we need to import. Obtaining foreign loans to improve this area is also an aspect of reform and opening up. The question now confronting us is not whether the policies of reform and opening up are correct or not or whether we should continue with these policies. The question is how to carry out these policies, where do we go and which area should we concentrate on?

We have to firmly implement the series of policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. We must conscientiously sum up our experiences, persevere in what is right, correct what is wrong, and do a bit more where we lag behind. In short, we should sum up the experiences of the present and look forward to the future.

That's all I have to say on this occasion. □

## Profiles of the Party's Leaders



**Jiang Zemin** was elected General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Party's 13th Central Committee.

He was also elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee at the session.

Jiang was born in July 1926 in Yangzhou City, Jiangsu Province.

He joined the Chinese Communist Party in April 1946. In 1947, he was graduated from the electrical machinery department of Jiaotong University in Shanghai.

After China's liberation in 1949, his positions included Par-

ty committee secretary and first deputy director of the Yimin No. 1 Foodstuffs Factory in Shanghai, first deputy director of the Shanghai Soap Factory, chief of the electrical machinery section of the Shanghai No. 2 Designing Division of the First Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

Jiang went to work as a trainee at the Stalin Automobile Factory in Moscow in 1955.

After returning to China in 1956, Jiang worked as deputy chief of the power division and deputy chief engineer for dynamic mechanics of the Changchun No. 1 Automobile Plant, director of the plant's power factory, deputy director of the Shanghai Electrical Equip-



ment Research Institute under the First Ministry of Machine-Building Industry, director and acting secretary of the Party committee of the Wuhan Power Machinery Institute under the ministry, deputy director and director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the First Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

After 1980, he served as deputy director and concurrently as secretary-general of the leading Party members' group of the State Administration Commission on Import and Export Affairs and State Administration Commission on Foreign Investment.

After 1982, he served as first vice-minister, deputy secretary, minister, and secretary of the leading Party members' group of the Ministry of Electronics Industry.

After 1985, Jiang served as mayor of Shanghai, deputy secretary and secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, was elected a member of the 12th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1982, and a member of the Political Bureau of the 13th Party Central Committee in 1987.



Li Peng was born in 1928 in

Chengdu City, Sichuan Province. In 1948, a year prior to the founding of the People's Republic, he was sent to study in the Moscow Power Institute and became chairman of the Association of Chinese Students in the Soviet Union during his study there. After returning to China in 1955, he worked as chief engineer and director of two large power plants in northeast China and as deputy chief engineer in the Northeast China Electric Power Administration.

After 1966, he was director of the Beijing Electricity Power Administration. Thanks partly to his efforts, Beijing and Tianjin were ensured of a normal supply of electricity despite the turmoil of the "cultural revolution." In the 1979-83 period, he served as vice-minister and minister of Power Industry and first vice-minister of Water Resources and Electric Power.

Li was elected a member of the Party Central Committee at the Party's 12th National Congress in 1982 and a member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee in the Fifth Plenary Session of the Party's 12th Central Committee in 1985.

In 1983, he became a vice-premier of the State Council and a member of the leading group under the Party Central Committee in charge of finance and economy to supervise such industrial sectors as energy, transportation and raw material supply. He served concurrently as minister of the State Education Commission starting in 1985.

Once asked by a Western journalist whether he was "pro-Soviet," Li said, "I am Chinese and a member of the Chinese Communist Party. I act only according to the Party's line and in the interests of my country."

Li Shuoxun, Li's father, was one of the members who joined the Party in its primary stage

and was one of the participants in the Nanchang Uprising on August 1, 1927, an armed rebellion led by the Communist Party. He was killed in Hainan Island by the Kuomintang when Li Peng was three.

In 1939, the late Premier Zhou Enlai sent 11-year-old Li Peng to Chongqing to study. Li Peng joined the Communist Party in 1945 at the age of 17.

According to people close to him, Li Peng is an avid reader. He speaks good Russian and has taught himself English. His wife is an electrical engineer. They have two sons and a daughter.



Qiao Shi, a Party affairs expert, is also in charge of government administration and legal affairs.

He was elected a member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the 13th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1987 as well as secretary of the Party's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

He joined the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai in 1940 at the age of 16 where he served as the secretary of a district students' committee under

the local underground Party organization. After 1945, he was one of the organizers of the students' movement in Shanghai.

After the founding of People's Republic in 1949, Qiao first did Party and political work, then technical work and then returned to Party work. In the post-liberation years, he was secretary of the youth subcommittee under the city Party committee of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, while in charge of the youth work in the East China Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

From 1954 through 1962, Qiao worked on the industrial front. He was technical division chief of the construction company under the Anshan Iron and Steel Works, then the largest iron and steel enterprise in China, and later served as director of the Design Institute of the Jiuquan Iron and Steel Co., a new iron and steel enterprise in northwest China's Gansu Province.

Qiao was transferred to the International Liaison Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee in 1963 and worked there until 1982. During this period, he served as deputy bureau chief, bureau chief, deputy head and head of the department.

After 1982, he was an alternate member and a member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, director of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee, head of the Organizational Department of the CPC Central Committee and secretary of the Political Science and Law Committee under the CPC Central Committee.

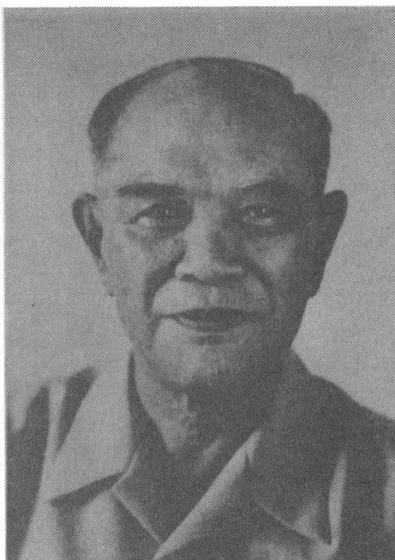
Qiao was elected member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee in 1985 and appointed vice-premier of the State Council in 1986.

Those who have worked with Qiao Shi see him as attaching great importance to investigat-

ing, hearing and soliciting various opinions, particularly different ones, on all types of issues.

Qiao Shi is familiar with the history of the Communist Parties in various countries. He sometimes reads books in English.

Qiao Shi gets up before six and then jogs and walks for nearly an hour—this has become a morning routine for him. A non-smoker and non-drinker he works more than ten hours a day.



**Yao Yilin** was one of the young ministers of the central government in the early 1950s. His name has been linked to many important economic activities in China. He is still concurrently minister in charge of the State Planning Commission. People believe his expertise is important to the ongoing reform of China's economic structure.

Early in 1980, Yao put forth a series of proposals for accelerating the reform of the economic management system. These included greater decision-making power for state-owned industrial enterprises, extensive competition among enterprises, and more channels for commercial distribution, independent banking operations, taxation system reform and a market-regulating

system under the guidance of state planning.

Yao's career as an economic planner dates back to the country's Liberation War period from 1946 through 1949 when he was the deputy director of the Financial and Economic Office of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Border Region Government and head of the Department of Industry and Commerce of the North China People's Government.

After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Yao was vice-minister of trade and then vice-minister and minister of commerce and deputy director of the Office in Charge of Finance and Trade under the State Council.

Like many other veteran cadres in China, Yao was dismissed from office during the "cultural revolution," which began in 1966. Since 1973, Yao has served successively as first vice-minister of foreign trade, minister of commerce, minister in charge of the State Planning Commission, head of the Leading Group in Charge of Finance and Economy under the Party Central Committee. He also served as deputy secretary-general and director of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and was appointed a vice-premier in 1978.

Born in 1917 in Guichi County, Anhui Province, east China, Yao is a graduate of Qinghua University. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1935. As secretary of the Party Group in the Beiping (today's Beijing) Students' Federation, he was one of the organizers of the then Beiping students' patriotic movement against Japanese aggression and for democracy.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Yao went underground working as secretary of the Communist Party City Committee in Tianjin and secretary-general of the Shanxi-

Chahar-Hebei Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

Yao was elected an alternate member of the Central Committee at the Party's Eighth and Tenth National Congresses held in 1956 and 1973 respectively. He became a full member of the 11th Central Committee in 1977 and a member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee late in 1978. He was elected an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the 12th CPC Central Committee at the committee's First Plenary Session in 1982 and then a full member at the committee's Fifth Plenary Session in 1985.



**Song Ping** was elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Party's 13th Central Committee.

Song was born in 1917 in Juxian County, Shandong Province.

He joined the Chinese Communist Party in December 1937 after working for it since the spring of 1936.

Beginning in 1934, he studied at the Agricultural College of Beijing University and at Qinghua University.

After 1938 he held such positions as assistant at the Central Party School in Yanan, head of the education office of the Yanan Institute of Marxism-Leninism, secretary of the Central Institute of Party Affairs, secretary in charge of studies in the Party's South China Bureau, secretary-general of the editorial department of the Chongqing-based *Xinhua Daily*. He also served as chief of the Nanjing branch and Chongqing general branch of the Xinhua News Agency and as political secretary to Zhou Enlai.

After 1947, Song worked as political commissar of the garrison brigade in Harbin and vice-chairman of the Northeast China Federation of Trade Unions.

After 1952, he became a member of the State Planning Commission, director of the commission's Labour, Wages and Planning Bureau and concurrently vice-minister of Labour, vice-minister in charge of the commission, and minister of the Planning Commission of the Party's Northwest China Bureau, deputy director of the headquarters of defence construction projects in inland areas and deputy head of the office in charge of national defence industry in the Lanzhou Military Command Area.

After 1972, Song worked as first secretary of the Party committee and chairman of the revolutionary committee of Gansu Province, second political commissar of the Lanzhou Military Command Area and first political commissar of the Gansu Military Command Area.

After 1981, he worked as minister of the State Planning Commission and secretary of the Party leading members' group in the commission, State Councillor, head of the Organization De-

partment of the Party Central Committee, and was elected a member of the 11th and 12th Party Central Committees and a member of the Political Bureau of the 13th Party Central Committee.



**Li Ruihuan** was elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Party's 13th Central Committee.

He was born in 1934 in Baodi County, Tianjin.

He joined the Chinese Communist Party in September 1959 and earned a university degree in his spare-time. He worked as a construction worker in the Beijing No. 3 Construction Co. in July 1951.

Beginning in 1965, he served as deputy secretary of the Party committee of the Beijing Co. of Building Materials and concurrently as secretary of the general branch of the company's timber plant.

In 1971 Li began working as secretary of the Party committee of the Beijing Construction Timber Plant, deputy secretary of



the Party committee of the Beijing Bureau of Building Materials, vice-chairman of the Beijing Capital Construction Commission and director of the headquarters in charge of Beijing's capital construction. He also served as vice-chairman of the city's Trade Union Federation, a member of the Standing Com-

mittee of the Fifth National People's Congress and a Standing Committee member of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

After 1979 he became a member of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League and vice-chairman of the All-China Youth Federation.

After 1981, he served as deputy mayor of Tianjin, deputy secretary and secretary of the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee, acting mayor and then mayor of Tianjin.

He was elected a member of the 12th Party Central Committee and a member of the Political Bureau of the 13th Party Central Committee in 1987. □

## People Comment on the Riot in Beijing

The Chinese government's just action in resolutely quelling the riot in Beijing has been supported by people in all walks of life. The following are shortened versions of articles recently published in Chinese newspapers and magazines.—Ed.

### Who Stirred Up the Turmoil

I, a university student, was bitterly shocked yesterday after watching a TV news report showing how a soldier named Chui Guozheng was brutally killed by rioters at Chongwenmen. Recalling the events of the last two months, I could not help feeling extremely guilty. The public, as well as the Chinese soldiers, are simply too kind. And most of the students are too kind also. To prevent further meaningless sacrifices by these kind people, I made a bitter choice and decided to reveal something about Wang Dan (a student of the history department of Beijing University and one of the important heads of the illegal "Beijing college students autonomous federation").

Originally I did not know Wang Dan. I had heard only that he did not do very well with his studies and had to change to the history department after staying down one year in the international politics science department. But I was told that he had strong backing. Every Wednesday afternoon he sponsored a democratic salon on the campus. This activity lasted for more than a year and received great support from

Fang Lizhi and Li Shuxian who put forward all the topics for discussion. (Fang is a researcher at the Beijing Astronomical Observatory under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and Li is Fang's wife and a physics associate professor at Beijing University).

After the counter-revolutionary riot in Beijing, they escaped to the US embassy in Beijing and asked for protection. The Chinese public security department has issued a warrant for their arrest due to their counter-revolutionary demagoguery. US ambassador Winston Lord and Mrs. Lord were also invited to give speeches at the salon. In short, Wang Dan was famous on the campus and I wanted very much to make his acquaintance.

However, I did not get an opportunity until the morning of April 18 when I was sitting-in in front of the Great Hall of the People. All of us—about 100 students—were very tired after a long walk from Beijing University and a long sit-in in Tiananmen Square. We wanted very much to return to the campus. Wang Dan persuaded us to hold on. Then he went away and tele-

phoned Professor Li Shuxian and returned to tell us her opinion. He said Professor Li had instructed us to demand that responsible officials of the National People's Congress accept our petition and to realize our goal by lawful means. He also said that Professor Li had put up big character posters on the campus of Beijing University calling for support and that other Beijing University students would soon come to join us. He made a good impression on me. I thought him very brave and began to get close to him.

With a closer relationship, I gradually found that Wang Dan was not as good as he was said to be. At dawn on April 20 when we charged the Xinhuaamen (the south gate of Zhongnanhai, where the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council are located), he encouraged us to be brave while he himself escaped immediately when the police came. No one was beaten that day, but he insisted that it was bloody. He said Guo Xiangdong, a student of the Beijing Normal University, was run over and killed by a police car. I said that I had seen

no bloodshed and that even Guo's boyfriend had said that she was run over by a No.105 trolleybus. I asked him why he told a lie. Wang replied that it was necessary to mobilize the public and he criticized me for being too stupid. "Why did Professor Li advise us to use 'citizens' instead of 'intellectuals' when we proposed to rehabilitate those intellectuals suppressed in the counter-bourgeois liberalization movement? That is the art of struggle," Wang said.

On April 26, we were all shocked by the editorial "Resolutely Oppose Turmoil" in the *People's Daily*. Wang Dan hurried back from Professor Li and said that we should alter our strategy by calling on the people to fight against the authorities. And then we attended a meeting at which a decision was made to change the slogans.

After the May 4 demonstration, many students wanted to return to class, but Wang voiced his strong opposition and proposed to go on a hunger strike on May 13. I asked him why. He said the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev was a good opportunity to be made use of to put pressure on the authorities. I felt very dissatisfied and wondered whether it was patriotic to do so.

After the hunger strike began on May 13, all social circles showed sympathy with the

students. But when Wang Dan came to the square on May 15, I found him still in very high spirits. He spoke very loudly and did not seem tired at all. I was told later that although he had signed the statement on fasting, he continued to have food due to the needs of struggle and that he had other lodgings at night. One of Wang's bodyguards said that Wang had booked a room at the Jimen Hotel. I found what he said was true when I made inquiries later.

With the development of the situation, Wang's status was getting higher and it became very difficult for me to see him. Then came a rare opportunity and I had a talk with him. I asked him how the matter could be wound up. He told me not to worry. They (referring to the authorities) would not touch us until we had become as well-known as Fang Lizhi, he said. I asked what was the final aim. He said that the basic aim was to have the "Beijing college students' autonomous federation" recognized as legal and to fight for Fang's rehabilitation and get permission to run non-governmental newspapers. The highest aim, he said, was to set up a plural political system and practise "elitism". I asked him whether we should continue to fight against official profiteering and he replied that did not matter very much. With

that, he got into his hired car and drove away.

At dawn on June 3, the troops had not come, but Wang and three others slipped away from Tiananmen Square quickly. He gave 1,000 yuan to each of his bodyguards and then made off in a limousine. Some students saw that he took with him a bag with thousands of yuan in it.

Of course, Wang Dan is a man of the hour. But I think he is still petty after all. He had to make advance preparations for each of his speeches. Otherwise he would speak incoherently. Although he declared at a press conference at the Shangri-la Hotel in Beijing that he had no connection with Fang Lizhi and Li Shuxian, I must say that they did have a close association. It is hard to say whether he has been used or whether he has made use of others. The events of the last two months were absolutely not as simple as most people have thought them to be. Unfortunately, kind people always simplify complicated matters. I hope they can realize something from what is said above.

Finally, I want to ask to be excused for not providing my signature as the present situation does not allow me to do so.

(Reprinted from *Beijing Daily*, the organ of the Beijing Municipal Communist Party Committee, on June 15) □

## Seize the Vicious Manipulator—Liu Xiaobo

by Wang Zhao

In early April when turmoil was just beginning in Beijing, Liu Xiaobo, a lecturer in the Chinese Language Department at the Beijing Teachers' University, hurried back to Beijing from the United States. Addressing a crowd through a loudspeaker at the front gate of the university on the evening of June 1, he said

without reservation, "Since I've been back to China, I've plunged body and soul into the national democratic movement largely made up of university students. I have spent a dozen or so unforgettable days and nights at Tiananmen Square together with college students. The government has repeatedly hammered away

on the handful or the tiny handful. It seems that the so-called handful refers to people like me, who are no longer students. Here I'd like to say... I am not afraid of being called a black hand. Rather I feel proud and honoured!"

Nothing else could show Liu Xiaobo up more clearly than this

remark of his. Now let's see what Liu has done during the recent campus upheaval which gradually developed into turmoil and riot, and how Liu, working in collaboration with internal and external reactionary forces, has stretched his hand into the campus upheaval and tried his utmost to fan it up into a riot.

For his efforts since 1986 to negate everything Chinese, Liu Xiaobo has won the name of "madman," "mad dog" and "black horse." Liu received his Ph.D in literature from the Beijing Teachers' University on June 25, 1988, and two months later, on August 24, he went to Norway on a lecture tour. Three months later, he went to the United States. Before going abroad, he had thought of shooting a salvo of "heavy bombs" against the Party and the people, but had chosen not to do so but to lie low simply because he was afraid that the explosion would blow away his overseas visit. Once abroad, he felt he had nothing to be afraid of. He fired one bomb after another. Amidst the explosion, however, he exposed himself in his true colours.

In an article published in 1988 in a Hong Kong magazine (October issue), Liu wrote, "Marxism-Leninism in China is not so much a belief as a component part of the autocracy. Marxism-Leninism is not a belief but a tool of the rulers for imposing ideological dictatorship." That is why Liu has always targeted his attack at Marxism-Leninism. In another article published in the April 1988 issue of the same magazine, he said, "Criticism of Marxism-Leninism should be converted into direct criticism of Oriental autocracy." In November 1988, when he was interviewed by the magazine on his way from Norway to the United States via Hong Kong, he was so unbridled as to sing the praises of colonialism. When asked un-

der what conditions it would be possible for China to make a historic transformation in the true sense of the word, Liu had the audacity to say, "To be a colony for 300 years. Only when it had remained a colony for a century did Hong Kong become what it is today. China is so big that it will of course need 300 years before it becomes what Hong Kong is today. Three hundred years may not be enough, I'm afraid." In response to Liu's remark, the correspondent could not help pointing out, "That's national betrayal pure and simple!" Liu replied, "It makes no difference to me whether I'm patriotic or traitorous. If you say I'm a traitor to my country, I like to be! I admit I'm an unfilial son who wants to open up his ancestor's grave. And I feel it's an honour." In a signed article published in the November 1988 issue of the same magazine, Liu put forward four "replacements" as his programme. He said, "The one-party autocracy can only be replaced by the democratic system of multi-party coexistence; the public ownership and planned economy by private ownership and market economy; the monistic thinking by freedom of pluralistic speech and ideology; and the traditional Chinese culture by modern world (Western) culture." These four "replacements" represent Liu's systematic and comprehensive programme for overthrowing our socialist republic and establishing a bourgeois republic in its place.

At the end of 1988 Liu Xiaobo went to the United States, where he soon got in touch with the New York-based China Democratic League, a reactionary organization whose programme is to "liquidate the 'four adherences' included in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and "change the current autocratic system of China once and for all." Working hand in

glove with this organization, Liu cast about for chances to make a move.

In March 1989 in New York, Liu added his name to an open letter, drafted by some people who called for "defending human rights," which supported Fan Lizhi's demand for the release of Wei Jingsheng (Wei was sentenced to 15 years in jail for the crimes of leaking Chinese military secrets to foreigners, inciting people to overthrow the government and doing counter-revolutionary propaganda; he is still in jail).

In April when Beijing was in the grip of student unrest, Hong Kong's *Ming Pao Daily News* reported on April 20 that Liu Xiaobo and Hu Ping, a head of the China Democratic League, and Chen Jun, core member of the league, had jointly issued their "proposals for reform" and "concern for the current student movement on the mainland." In their so-called proposals, they called for a "re-examination" of the "movement to clean up spiritual pollution in 1983" and "problems concerning the movement against bourgeois liberalization in 1987," advocating the "revision of the Constitution" and the "wiping out of the four cardinal principles from the Constitution."

On April 22, Liu Xiaobo published an article in a newspaper entitled "Thoughts on the Occurrence of Hu Yaobang's Death." In it he attacked China's socialist system for being "autocratic" and proposed that the student movement should "give up its reform model of looking for enlightened state leaders and try to strike out onto the road of reforming China by changing the system." To this end, Liu clamoured for collaboration with overseas reactionary forces, adding, "If the university students and intellectuals who work for democracy on the mainland can



couple their public support for the enlightened faction inside the Party with their public support for Wei Jingsheng and others and the overseas 'China Spring,' the pace of China's democratization will certainly be quickened." "China Spring" is a reactionary magazine sponsored by the China Democratic League fostered by Taiwan's KMT. Obviously, Liu's purpose was to try to bring the student movement onto the path of linking up internal and external reactionary forces and direct its spearhead of attack against "despotic rule" in China. He once said that "despotic rule is not fearful; what is fearful is the yielding, silence and praise to despotic rule." It was certainly not accidental to note that the Beijing students soon raised a slogan demanding reversal of the policies opposing spiritual pollution and bourgeois liberalization; and flaunted banners with the reactionary slogan "down with despotic rule" during the demonstrations.

On April 26, a big character poster titled "an open letter to Chinese university students," which appeared at Beijing University, stated that the student unrest "has exerted an influence on China's present and is bound to exert, to an even larger extent, an effect on China's future." The letter advised the organizers of the student unrest to "reinforce the organizational relations which have already been set up," "publish their own news reports and other publications," "strengthen contacts with other social sectors (including workers, farmers, citizens and intellectuals)," "win their support and participation," "strive to win campus freedom" including the establishment of various kinds of societies which enjoy full autonomy," "the consolidation of on-campus freedom to air views (including democratic walls on campus, big-character posters,

academic symposiums and various kinds of debates)," and "readiness at any time to adopt methods from big-character posters to parades and strikes." Most of these seven proposals were adopted by the student leaders during the ensuing unrest and turmoil. This open letter was drafted by none other than Liu Xiaobo on April 22 in New York and was also signed by Hu Ping, Chen Jun and seven others from the China Democratic League. The letter was brought to China soon after it had been published in an American newspaper.

Maybe Liu Xiaobo had become aware of how inconvenient it was to try to manipulate the student movement by "remote control" from New York. On April 27, he hastily left for Beijing by air on orders of the China Democratic League. In a letter to the Chinese Language Department of Beijing Teachers' University, he had said he would not return until 1990 because he had accepted an invitation to lecture at Columbia University in the United States. However, in early May when his letter was just delivered at Beijing Teachers' University, Liu himself had already appeared at Tiananmen Square. Did he come back in a hurry to attend activities in mourning Hu Yangbang? Not at all. In an article published by a newspaper he explained this clearly, saying, "When I heard the news of Hu Yaobang's death, I felt nothing but indifference." His sudden return was for the sole purpose of taking a hand in the student movement."

According to reports, before his return, Liu had discussed the Beijing student movement many times with Hu Ping. On Liu's departure from the United States, Chen Jun made a long-distance call to Stone Group Co. in Beijing, informing it of Liu's flight number and arranging for a car to meet him at the airport.

He added that in case Liu is arrested (revealing their guilty conscience) be sure to report it to the China Democratic League.

Back in Beijing, Liu Xiaobo promptly got in touch with his friends Wuerkaixi, Wang Dan and other ringleaders of the illegally organized Beijing Autonomous College Student Federation. Liu also presented them with several thousand US dollars and more than ten thousand yuan donated by himself, Wang Bingzhang (ringleader of the China Democratic Party, reorganized from the former reactionary organization, the China Democratic League) and others as funds for the student movement. Liu Xiaobo then took an active part in the propaganda activities of the Beijing Autonomous College Student Federation headquarters by writing, speaking and raising funds at Tiananmen Square. In addition to collecting and editing articles for the "voice of the square," as well as making speeches about the situation in the student movement, he was also responsible for the preparatory work of establishing the Beijing Federation of All Circles, another illegal organization. When some students at Tiananmen Square indicated that they wished to withdraw from the hunger strike, Liu Xiaobo threatened them, "If you withdraw you are traitors. We now have no road back!"

During this period, Liu Xiaobo was very busy. He drafted and distributed "an open letter to the Party committee of Beijing Teachers' University," and "a letter to overseas Chinese and all foreigners concerned about China's affairs," in order to throw dust in people's eyes and confuse their minds.

After the enforcement of martial law in parts of Beijing, Liu Xiaobo intensified his criminal activities. On May 23, a reactionary leaflet entitled "our propos-

als" appeared at Tiananmen Square, the centre of the disturbances, and streets and lanes in Beijing. The leaflet, regarded as "a programmatic document" "guiding the development of the student movement," slandered the legal Central government elected through the National People's Congress as a "puppet regime," clamoured that "the puppet regime must resign, Li Peng must step down." It also seriously distorted the martial law in effect in parts of Beijing as "military control," fanning up "a general mobilization of the whole of society" in an attempt to "disintegrate the military control," and instigate "workers in state-owned enterprises" to set up "autonomous federation genuinely representing the interests of workers." Besides, the leaflet incited "enterprises run by the people" to openly demand that "enterprises should be completely privatized," in order to "make it clear that property should be privately owned." In the leaflet, Liu tried in every way to undermine the co-operative ties of China's "eight democratic parties" with the Chinese Communist Party, in an attempt to cut them off from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Through investigation it has been established that the leaflet, a counter-revolutionary declaration, issued in the name of the

illegal Autonomous Student Federation of Beijing Teachers' University, and aimed at toppling the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and subverting our country's socialist system, was not written by students of Beijing Teachers' University at all but by Liu Xiaobo personally.

As events developed, more and more people became clear about the nature of the turmoil. Many university students withdrew from Tiananmen Square. A large number of students from other parts of the country left the capital and went back to their schools. Relations between the martial law enforcement troops of the People's Liberation Army and the residents of Beijing were becoming more harmonious with each passing day. In a word, the situation took a turn for the better.

Under these circumstances, flustered and exasperated, Liu Xiaobo came out from behind the scenes into the open. He stirred up university students to continue their fast and tried to organize 1,000 to 5,000 noted personages from all fields to join the hunger strike. When his schemes miscarried, he joined up with two Stone Group employees and a composer, and they went to Tiananmen Square, shouting at the top of their voices trying to conduct a so-called "48-72-hour

limited fast."

They not only took practical actions like these to incite university students and residents of Beijing to create a long-term disturbance in Tiananmen Square, expanded the critical situation and injected renewed vigour into the turmoil, but seized on the contingency to shout out calls for rebellion. In a speech made on June 1 with ulterior motives, Liu Xiaobo said, "Through our recent actions I hope to end Chinese intellectuals' several-thousand-year-old case of osteomalacia—only moving the mouth to speak but not raising the arm to fight. What on earth do they want to do? Liu Xiaobo put it very clearly at the end of his speech, "Under the white terror today, the reason why we've come out is to once again arouse the self-confidence of all the people of Beijing. We have the ability and confidence to dominate China!" How would they raise their arms to fight and dominate China? In a talk on June 2 with "a leader of the mainland democratic movement," published by a Hong Kong newspaper, he said, "We must organize armed forces among the people." If some people of goodwill still doubt that they schemed to organize a counter-revolutionary rebellion, please consider Liu Xiaobo's own explanations. □

## What Did the Campus Broadcasting Station Do?

I am an intellectual and my home is near Beijing Normal University. Since the establishment of the external broadcasting station of the "students' autonomous union" of the university at the beginning of May, nearby residents have all suffered from the noise of the broadcasts. The station was an important propaganda and agita-

tion point for the "Beijing college students' autonomous federation," and also a rumour-making place. Every day they made many broadcasts over loudspeakers, frequently past midnight and even to three o'clock one morning. They completely ignored the regulations of the Beijing municipal government on controlling noise and

protecting the environment and they wantonly trampled on the right of residents to enjoy peaceful lives. They attacked the Party and government with extremely demagogic words and maligned leaders of the Party and government by spreading rumours. Despite saying that they were striving for "democratic" rights, the station did not respect the resi-

dents' right to live quietly at all. The noise was so bad that residents nearby could not sleep, not only when the station was broadcasting but also for two or three hours after it stopped because they were nervous.

Because of the students' strike, the announcers could sleep in the daytime and prepare to broadcast in the evening, but the residents could not do this.

They often broadcast news which was said to come from the Voice of America and other Western mass media. News, such as "more than 30 countries have decided not to recognize the Chinese government" and "the Chinese Foreign Ministry has announced that it has broken away from the central government," was so fantastic that people who had some basic knowledge could not believe it. Sometimes, they also announced astonishing news, such as "workers in such and such place have struck in support of the students," to stir up dissatisfaction with the Party and government among the people. But all this has been proved to be only malicious rumour-mongering. Their style of propaganda was so poor that people found it difficult to accept. They hurled invective against leaders of the Party and government with quite filthy words. They attacked the government as a "corrupt government," a "reactionary government" and a "puppet government." But it was the government attacked by them as being devoid of any merit that, always taking the whole situation into account and starting from cherishing the patriotic enthusiasm of most college students, provided a lot of medical and nursing care and buses to protect students from the wind and rain when some of them went on a hunger strike so that no one died during the six to seven days it lasted. Again it was the government which provided

food, water, bedding and clothing when students went on a sit-in. And the PLA troops on duty and policemen did not counter-attack when they were beaten and insulted by people who were unaware of the truth until the situation developed into a counter-revolutionary rebellion, the rioters burned military vehicles, cruelly injured and killed soldiers and stole their weapons and ammunition. What did all this show?

During the period of the counter-revolutionary rebellion, the station worked 36 hours without a break from the morning of June 3 to past five o'clock on the afternoon of June 4, creating an extremely rampant atmosphere. But this just shows what role it played.

From the morning of June 3, the station constantly incited people unaware of the truth to obstruct military vehicles and martial law troops, and to puncture tyres of military vehicles so that they could not move. That afternoon, it talked continuously about how many military vehicles were encircled in what places and how many soldiers were beaten so as to stir up crowd excitement. All vehicles passing the gates of the university had to be inspected, and military vehicles were detained, causing traffic jams.

Thousands of people gathered in front of the university as night came. When the situation in the city proper had gradually become tense, Wuer Kaixi (a student of Beijing Normal University and an important leader of the "Beijing college students' autonomous federation") came on air. He shouted himself hoarse for a fight to the bitter end with the government. Soon after the news came that the situation in Tiananmen Square was critical, the station again stirred up people, under Wuer Kaixi's leadership, to go to Tiananmen Square

in support. The station also incited people to obstruct and force vehicles passing the university to carry them to Tiananmen Square. Then, it again incited the crowds to take buses from North Taipingzhuang, and four or five were driven away.

After learning that troops had counter-attacked the rioters near the Military Museum and Muxidi when advancing to Tiananmen Square, the station immediately started a rumour that 7,000 people had been killed. It is surprising that the response was so quick and the number so exact. People with a clear head can easily see through it. At that time, a man, who called himself the director of the propaganda department of the "students' autonomous union" angrily shouted "kill every PLA soldier you see." He called for a strike by workers, students and shopkeepers in the whole city. Then, one by one so-called "witnesses of murder cases" came on air to describe how a lot of people had been killed on West Changan Boulevard. They tried their best to stir up people to join in the counter-revolutionary rebellion. After the clearing of Tiananmen Square, they again broadcast the news, saying many students had been killed and that more than ten were run over and killed by a tank. They also collected bottles, gas, petrol, diesel oil, kerosene and even paint to make fire-bombs. They described in detail how to make and use fire-bombs and which parts of tanks and armoured vehicles were vulnerable. They also advised that if a large number of troops came to the campus, the students should disperse and take cover in dormitories, but if a small group came, they should wipe them out. A female announcer, cursing and sobbing by turns, put on an act which showed her up completely.

About four o'clock in the morning of June 4, news that "a



group of policemen are coming to the university" poured in. They immediately called on people to carry bricks up to the roof to prepare to meet the policemen head-on. Later, they changed their tactics to get people to withdraw into the campus and close the gates. However, no one saw any policeman coming. They also broadcast that their "hero" Wuer Kaixi and four other people who went on a limited hunger strike in front of the Monument to the People's Heroes had escaped danger without mishap. It

is noteworthy that they had guns, because they broadcast clearly that "three pistols have not been returned, they should be given back immediately."

From the morning of June 4, they also broadcast their call for a multi-party system and parliamentarism. People can easily see, from these two demands, that the crux of their demands is to oppose the four cardinal principles, oppose the Constitution, oppose the Chinese Communist Party and turn China into a capitalist

country. They continued until five o'clock in the afternoon, then suddenly stopped their broadcasting and removed the loudspeakers that night. The broadcasting station which aimed at stirring up and creating the rebellion through starting rumours died down at last. However, it has been abundantly clear what role the so-called broadcasting station played in this counter-revolutionary rebellion.

(Reprinted from *Beijing Daily*, on June 17.)

## Developments in China's Offshore Oil Industry

by Our Staff Reporter Han Baochen

In 1982 the founding of the China National Offshore Oil Corp. (CNOOC) and the tendering of its first round of invitations for joint offshore oil exploitation created a great sensation in oil circles of the world. However, some foreign oil firms, after several years' geographical prospecting, failed to discover any rich oil reserves comparable to those in the North Sea oilfields. Moreover, the weakening of oil prices in the international market was another unfavourable factor for China's offshore oil industry. Internationally it looked as if attention was shifting from the Bohai Sea, southern Yellow Sea, South China Sea and Beibu Bay, where large oilfields had been thought to exist. People seemed to have the impression that China's offshore oil industry was in a predicament because its ambitious plans had not turned out.

In fact, China's offshore oil prospecting and exploitation has continued without interruption. Since 1982, China has offered two rounds of international tender invitations, and the third round is now open to bidding. Meanwhile, China has also started indepen-

dent prospecting. In spite of the fact that no extra-large oilfields have as yet been reported, joint and independent prospecting over the past few years indicate that China's offshore sedimentary basins have good oil-bearing prospects.

### Newly Discovered Oil-Bearing Structures

The year 1988 saw all-round development in CNOOC. Nine oil-bearing structures were found, of which five are in co-operative areas, four in independently-managed areas. The success rate in drilling reached 36 percent.

In the Huizhou sunken area, located in the northeastern part of the South China Sea, some oil-bearing structures have been found. For example, the Huizhou 26-1-1 oil well drilled last year has a daily crude oil yield of 3,540 tons; Lufeng 13-2-1 produces 645 tons daily. The Wenchang 9-2 formation is the first condensate oil-and-gas field found in the Zhujiang (Pearl River) Estuary Basin, which is in the Sino-American co-operative area. Some test wells also have been drilled in the independently-managed 11-4 oil-

field, and among them, four appraisal wells have obtained high-yield oil-and-gas deposits.

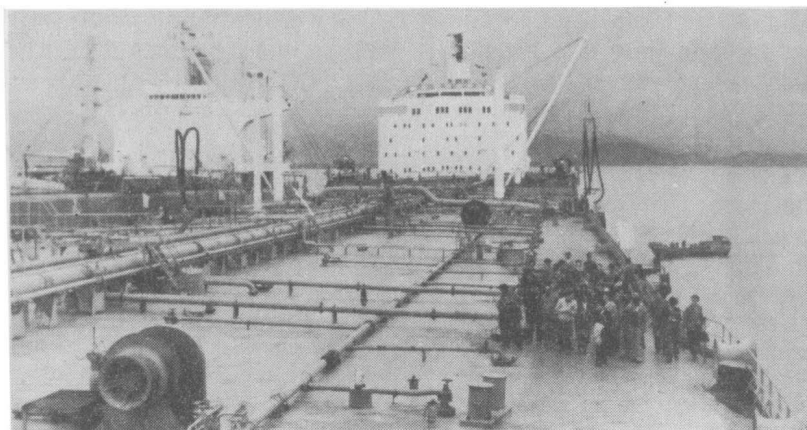
Over the past few years, Bohai Sea prospecting has also served gratifying achievements. Altogether, there are more than 20 oil-bearing structures discovered in Bohai Sea. Initial surveys show that five oil-bearing structures near the northern part of the Bohai Sea have crude oil reserves totalling 270 million tons. Both land and offshore prospecting over the past few years has yielded new oil-bearing structures around the Shengli Oilfield in the Huanghe (Yellow) River estuary on the Shandong Peninsula. For example, about five kilometres off the Huanghe estuary an oilfield with reserves totalling 120 million tons was discovered in water 3 to 10 metres deep. The Shengli Oilfield has now decided to build a man-made island to exploit the offshore oil.

Last year, three test wells were drilled in the East China Sea continental shelf. They all have shown oil and gas prospects in different degrees. Since 1980, of 16 test wells drilled, most show oil-and-gas indications.

This year's prospecting plan is to drill 30 initial test wells and appraisal wells in independently managed areas. While expanding the scale of prospecting, efforts will be made to look for new oil-bearing structures around oilfields already designated for development. The focus of the work will be put on the Liaozhong sunken area in the northern part of the Bohai Sea. In Sino-foreign co-operative areas, the corporation will further expand the gains made in the Huizhou sunken area in the South China Sea. In addition, the corporation will seek new breakthroughs around the Wei 10-3 Oilfield in the southwest sunken area in Beibu Bay.

## Oilfields Under Construction

At present, there are nine oilfields which are either under construction or are to be started this year. Among them six are under Sino-foreign contracts. For example, the construction of the Bozhong 28-1 and 34-2/4 oilfields in the Sino-Japanese co-operative area are expected to be completed in May and December respectively, the peak annual output of the two oilfields will stand at 360,000 tons and 400,000 tons. In addition, three oilfields in the Sino-US co-



This oil wharf at Ningbo Port, Zhejiang Province, can accommodate 10,000-ton tankers.  
GUO SHUOCHUAN

operative area in the South China Sea—Huizhou 21-1 and 26-1, and Xijiang 24-3—will go into production between 1990 and 1992. The purchasing of oil exploitation equipment and materials, and the installation of offshore oil prospecting and exploitation equipment for the three oilfields are expected to begin soon. The Sino-US jointly operated 13-1 gasfield in the Yingge Sea to the west of Hainan Island is expected to be put into production in 1993, with an annual gas output of 3,250 million cubic metres in its peak period. Currently, the building of a liquefied-gas works and the laying of a gas-pipe line overland are un-

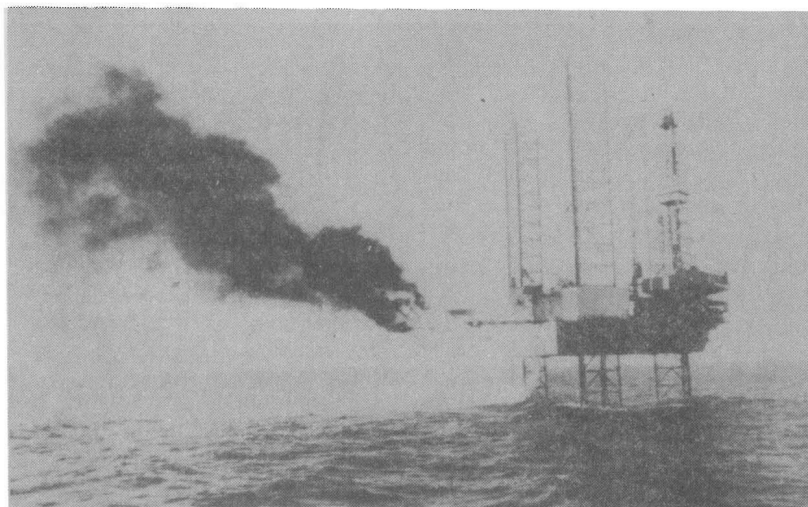
der way along with the construction of the oilfield.

Three independently developed oilfields include the 11-4 Oilfield in Beibu Bay of the South China Sea, and the Meizhou 20-2 condensate gasfield and the Suizhong 36-1 Oilfield in the Bohai Sea. It is estimated that the annual output of the Huizhou 21-1, Xijiang 24-3 and Suizhong 36-13 oilfields will be close to, or surpass, 1 million tons in their peak periods.

In 1988, China's offshore oilfields produced 752,000 tons of crude oil, a 5.6 percent increase over the previous year's figure. This year, the output is expected to reach 900,000 tons, up 12 percent over last year. Statistics show that from 1982 to 1988, China's offshore oil output totalled 2.45 million tons. The Chengbei Oilfield jointly managed by China and Japan in the Bohai Sea and the 10-3 Oilfield jointly managed by China and France in Beibu Bay are now operated independently by Chinese, lowering the cost of operation.

According to Zhong Yimang, general manager of CNOOC, the corporation's short-term target between now and 1992, the year of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the corporation, is to find 1,200 million tons in oil reserves and 150,000 million cubic metres of natural gas by geological pros-

One of the oil-and gas-wells in the Beibu Bay area drilled by the South China Sea Western Co. of the China National Marine Petroleum Corp.  
LI CHUNNIAN



pecting, and to raise the productive capacity of crude oil to 5 million tons, that of gas, to 1,200 million cubic metres.

## Foreign Investment

Last year, CNOOC concluded five contracts and agreements with foreign oil firms, including one on initial test wells signed for the first time with a Norwegian state oil company. Up to now, 45 contracts and agreements have been concluded with foreign oil companies in the fields of oil exploitation, test well drilling, physical prospecting and chemical prospecting. Of these 45 contracts, 20 (including three agreements), have expired, and 25 are being implemented. Some famous foreign oil firms have all along maintained complete confidence in China's offshore oil exploitation. One example is BP of Britain. Although the firm did not achieve encouraging results in its five contracts signed in CNOOC'S first round of tender invitations, it signed two further contracts with the Chinese side on drilling initial test wells in the Bohai Sea and one will soon begin drilling in the Bohai Sea co-operative area. Some foreign oil firms seek new co-operative items after their contracts with China have expired. Correspondingly, CNOOC has adopted more flexible forms in its co-operation with foreign firms.

Last year, foreign oil companies invested US\$200 million in China's offshore oil prospecting and exploitation, 16 percent more than the previous year. Of this sum, US\$140 million was invested in prospecting risks. By the end of 1988, the corporation had absorbed a total of US\$2,400 million in investments from abroad.

## Five Measures

China's offshore oil indus-

try, after several years of energetic development, has entered an important stage in oil prospecting and exploitation—it must lose no time in expanding oil reserves while increasing output.

At the same time, there are new challenges: weakening of oil prices on the world market and shortage of funds at home. To face these, CNOOC proposes five strategic measures for future development.

- Sticking to and developing foreign co-operation. Practice has proved that foreign co-operation is an efficient measure and the only way to develop China's offshore oil industry, and this policy will be adhered to.

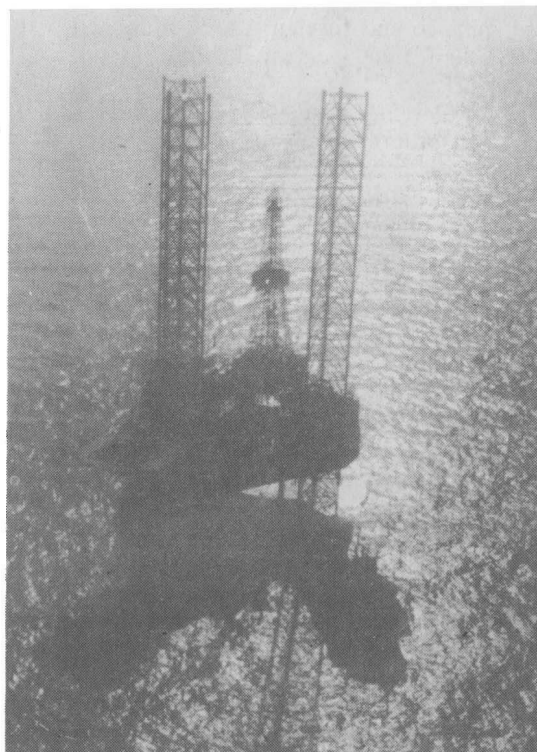
- Continuously developing China's independently managed prospecting and exploitation. Since 1984 China has won encouraging results in its independently managed prospecting. With the growth in financial and material strength, the scale of independently managed prospecting will increase day

by day.

- Building a natural gas production base in the western part of the South China Sea. Guangdong, Hainan Island and the east China coastal area have a serious shortage of energy resources. The development of the Ya 13-1 Gasfield is of great significance in boosting the economy in these areas. Surveys show that gasfields found in the South China Sea have rich natural gas reserves. The development of the Ya 13-1 Gasfield is viewed as important by the Chinese government and has attracted the attention of many foreign oil businesses. CNOOC will do more to build a large gas base in the sea in a planned way by further expanding prospecting and importing more foreign capital.

- Opening the East China Sea to the outside world. The East China Sea basin is the largest deposited basin on China's continental shelf. It has attracted the keen attention of Chinese and foreign geologists.

The KL-11-1K well recently completed in the Bohai Sea by the China Bohai Sea Oil Co. and the Laizhou Bay Oil Development Co. of Japan. REN QING



Test wells drilled in this area have shown good prospects for oil and gas exploitation, and many foreign firms have expressed the desire of working in co-operation with China in the area. CNOOC will actively create conditions for early co-operation with foreign oil firms.

- Building oil refining and petrochemical industries. With the beginning of the development of a group of oil and gas fields, will aim to raise economic efficiency as a whole by putting more effort into developing oil refining and petrochemical industries. In these new branches, the corporation will adopt the same policy of foreign co-operation as in oil prospecting and exploitation. □



## Mediating Disputes for Foreign-Funded Enterprises

**C**hina Foreign-Funded Enterprises Society is playing an active role in the mediation of disputes.

According to Deputy Secretary-General of the society, He Qu, since its establishment in 1987, the society has solved 150 of the 250 dispute cases accepted and heard. For example, the Chinese general-manager of the West Lake Rattan Works Co. Ltd. in Zhejiang Province was dismissed. Through the mediation of the society, he has been reinstated. Also, a foreign enterprise in Guangdong Province was wrongly fined and its products were confiscated. This was countermanded and the products and fine returned to the enterprise.

He Qu said the purpose of the society was to provide services to foreign-funded enterprises and uphold their legitimate rights and interests, while at the same time improving the relationships and co-operation between the government and enterprises, between enterprises themselves and between the Chinese and foreign sides and making the investment environment better.

Besides this, the society does the following:

**Arranges dialogues:** the society and its local branches have invited officials at all levels to explain investment policies and the business environment at meetings with foreign-funded enterprises which help with the timely settlement of their difficulties and problems. These meetings can be formal or informal. At the same time, information can be exchanged between enterprises and co-operations intensified.

**Organizes exhibitions:** In order to promote publicity and sales, the society organizes groups of representatives to attend fairs held both in China and overseas. In April, the society held the China Spring Export Exhibition which was attended by representatives of some

140 enterprises, and 80 percent of them signing up for businesses totalling US\$80 million. Besides this, representatives from more than 100 enterprises were organized to visit foreign countries. Through these activities, foreign-funded enterprises have set up co-operative relationships, such as investment agencies and selling on commission, with foreign counterparts as well as developing new business channels. The society is planning to organize a group to visit Japan, Southeast Asia, Europe and Britain and other countries, and to hold a foreign-funded enterprises achievement exhibition in September.

**Provides information and answers inquiries:** The society has set up various special organizations to provide information on the economy, laws, policies, relevant official documents and China's market conditions. It publishes two periodicals, *Enterprises Today* and *International Quotations*. Training courses have been held on law, finance and foreign trade for more than 5,000 personnel from enterprises.

**Develops business links overseas:** In order to enhance the relationships between enterprises and the rest of the world, the society has established business exchanges with government organizations and non-governmental chambers of commerce in some ten countries and regions including Japan, the United States, the Soviet Union and South Korea. It plans to set up more co-operative relationships around the world.

He Qu said that although the society had done a lot of work since its establishment, foreign-funded enterprises still had many difficulties and problems waiting for settlement, such as shortages of raw materials and funds, price rise, and a tense energy situation. Despite the appeals of the society and the measures adopted by the gov-

ernment, such problems would not be solved in a short time owing to the overall economic situation in China.

The society today has more than 3,000 members and 31 local branches. Its council members include government officials at all levels and representatives from foreign-funded enterprises.

by Liu Jianjun

## Resource Capital Needs Capital

**L**uoyang besides being the peony growing capital of China has also served as the capital to nine dynasties in an imperial tradition starting in 770 BC during the Eastern Zhou.

Although Luoyang is strategically located and richly endowed with resources, the city is hungry for investment capital to assist its development.

Luoyang is at the north-south and east-west junctions of China's major rail network.

Moreover, more than 40 kinds of mineral resources have been discovered in the soil below Luoyang. Valuable minerals such as bauxite and molybdenum wait for exploitation.

If investment did come to the city, besides unlocking Luoyang's mineral wealth, it would also help increase the city's standing as a major cultural centre.

But, without enough investment the city has been forced to cancel the excavation of the mausoleum of Liu Xiu, the first emperor of the Eastern Han (25-220). Lack of capital keep its secrets buried.

Investment shortages in the city also mean that more than 300,000 pieces of cultural relics dug up from ancient tombs are packed away in storehouses. The treasures instead of luring tourists and historians can only wait for better times.

For lack of investment the city's 4,000-year Longmen Buddhist Grottoes are being chiselled away by nature. The grottoes, which have been

exposed to natural erosion for more than 4,000 years, require proper protection which just cannot be fit into the budget.

When several years ago the ruins of five ancient cities were uncovered in Luoyang, a prize for any nation, the city waited in vain for investment assistance to help them explore and develop the ruins. The city, and the ruins, are still waiting.

Along with these ruins historic structures like the White Horse Temple and dozens of ancient sites need repair. Ancient gardens, tombs, temples and pagodas all live a fragile existence in the city, waiting for large injections of investment.

The main industrial base for Luoyang has been its factories that turn out tractors, bearings and mining machinery and equipment.

The state is counting on Luoyang growing into an important base for both industrial machinery manufacturing and petrochemical production with its advanced science and technology.

Being a transport and communication hub, with its newly opened airport that ties it to the rest of most major Chinese cities, Luoyang is betting that resources will spark investment. □

## US\$100 Million Repaid to HK

**T**he Guangzhou China Hotel has already repaid capital and interest of more than US\$100 million to Hong Kong and turned over 60 million yuan in taxes to the state since it opened in 1984, according to hotel Deputy General Manager Lu Hongbing.

With a total investment of US\$125 million, the hotel has a floor space of 16,000 square metres and 1,017 rooms. It is managed by Hong Kong New World Hotels International. The hotel introduced a complete system of scientific management, resulting in improved service. Its profits are among the best of hotels in China. At present,

it possesses great capacity for repayment. The investment recovery programme should be completed within two or three years.

Last year, the hotel offered some preferential treatment to travellers. For example, when a traveller has stayed at the hotel for the sixth time, he or she can enjoy one evening free of charge. From the beginning of May 1 this year, travellers who stay 18 times will get 15 kinds of special treatment including courtesy car meetings and departures, free fruit, free sauna, flowers, drinks and food. These flexible measures are expected to boost its profits greatly.

by Li Ming

## More Foreigners Invest in Shanghai

**T**he United States Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.(China), one of the first two fully foreign-owned enterprises in Shanghai, recently decided to invest US\$12 million in the expansion of its business there. It has also decided to make the city its general headquarters to provide unified leadership for its three working organizations and a subsidiary company in China.

The 3M China Co. Ltd. was established in 1984. Its friction tape enjoys good sales in China.

Statistics show that from January to April this year the Shanghai municipal government approved the establishment of 137 foreign-funded enterprises. Of these, 94 percent are industrial projects. According to the agreements, the volume of foreign currency introduced will be about US\$230 million. Up to the end of April, the number of projects using foreign investment in Shanghai was 1,135 with a total foreign investment of US\$3 billion.

Another new trend has emerged in Shanghai. More and more foreign businesspeople are visiting the city for the purpose of setting up fully foreign-owned enterprises. Over the past four months, five such proposals have been ap-

proved.

In addition, a number of enterprises using foreign investment have put their profits into expanding production. Many foreign businesspeople consider that investment, production and business in Shanghai have a great future in accordance with international standards. □

## US & Holland Invest in Hi-Tech Industry

**I**n May, American Telephone and Telegraph and Holland's Philips, two famous transnational corporations, held a contract signing ceremony in Shanghai for a joint venture in China to produce optical-fibre digital communications equipment.

This hi-tech enterprise is new for China. According to the contract, the company will import high technology from the United States and Holland to manufacture 16 varieties of optical-fibre transmission equipment and digital multiple equipment. Their types and performances will completely accord fully with domestic and international standards and 25 percent of these products will go to the world market. The enterprise will be located in Shanghai's Chaohejing New Technological Development Zone, and its total investment will be US\$14.5 million with the Chinese and foreign sides each providing the half. The term is 25 years.

It is known that Philips has started 11 joint ventures in China but for AT&T it is the first. Both America and Holland have shown their confidence in this enterprise. Its foreign financial manager said that, based on China's wide market and good economic environment as well as the high technology of America and Holland, the enterprise would definitely become a first-class operation and make a contribution to China's telecommunications modernization.

by Li Ming

## Butterfly Stories Focused on History and Romance

Cool-headed Chinese literary critics are now re-evaluating "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School," a special literary school that appeared early this century in Shanghai's concession.

In China, mandarin duck and butterfly are both symbols of love. The school got the name because its writers focused on love stories.

The "Butterfly School" existed about 40 years and had a large group of writers including Xu Zhenya, Wu Shuangre, Li Dingyi, Zhang Henshui, Zhou Shoujuan and Bao Tianxiao.

These writers dominated in hundreds of literary magazines or literary supplements of newspapers. In Shanghai alone, there were more than 300 such publications. The "Butterfly" writers created more than 2,000 novels and countless short stories on romance, social events, *kungfu*, espionage, and historical themes.

Before the new literature rose in 1919, the influence of the school had spread to Beijing, Tianjin and many other cities.

In their youth, famous revolutionary writers Lu Xun, Ye Shengtao and Zhang Tianyi all published their works in the magazines run by the "Butterfly School."

Many writers who started their literary career in the 1920s or 1930s were more or less influenced by the writings and translations by this school.

"Butterfly" literature emerged from late Qing Dynasty literature. Xu Zhenya was considered the founder of the school.

Xu's representative work, *Soul of Pear Flower*, was published in 1912. The novel was re-printed more than 30 times and was adapted for both stage and film.

It tells a tragic love story between He Mengxia, a scholar, and Bai Liying, a beautiful woman,

who fall in love and want to get married but are too filled with guilt, restrained by the feudal ethical code that requires marriages to be arranged by their parents. The story ends with the death of the two lovers.

The novel certainly cannot be regarded in the same category as *A Dream of Red Mansions*, the greatest novel about feudal China. But the story moved many readers to tears. Liu Yuanying, daughter of a Qing official, was so moved by Xu's novel and by an article he wrote mourning the death of his wife that she wrote many letters to him and ended up marrying him.

The late woman author Ding Ling once wrote that before she got in touch with new literature, she had read quite a few "entertaining novels" including Xu's *Soul of Pear Flower*.

The novel "aroused young people's burning desire for love," one American scholar from the University of California wrote.

Certainly its influence was great in having the school recognized before the "May 4 Movement" in 1919.

Of all the magazines and newspapers run by the "Butterfly School," the most influential was the *Weekend* magazine edited by Wang Dungen and Zhou Shoujuan.

The magazine published from June 1914 to April 1916 and from March 1921 to February 1923 and printed more than 1,000 short stories.

In the 1920s, the new literature camp headed by the Literature Research Society severely criticized the negative influence and evil sides of the "Butterfly School." Assailed by the new thinking and new literature, the school had to make some changes.

"Butterfly" writers turned to writing *kungfu* novels, which were all the rage in 1930. Howev-

er, the "kungfu novel craze" did not bode well for the school whose days now appeared numbered.

In this period of decline, Zhang Henshui's novel, *Tears and Laughter*, created another sensation. The novel was a romance involving a young scholar, Fan Jiashu, and three beautiful women—Shen Fengxi, Guan Xiugu and He Lina.

Though influenced to some degree by the "Butterfly School," the novel was more socially conscious than others of the same school.

It exposed the ugly features of the warlords and aroused sympathy for the oppressed people by combining a moving romantic story with dramatic tales of chivalry. It also expressed some democratic concepts such as equality between the sexes and the right of one to select his own spouse without interference of others.

*Tears and Laughter* was soon adapted for film, local operas and other folk art forms. It was the last summit of the "Butterfly" literature. After that, the school gradually came to an end.

In 1936, most "Butterfly" writers had joined the national anti-Japanese united front and some wrote good novels reflecting the patriotic struggle, although few were noted for their depth in dealing with the aggressors or the victims of aggression.

Some attacked imperialist aggression and wrote about the corruption of the Kuomintang regime, exposing venal officials and unscrupulous merchants. Zhang Henshui's *Eighty-One Dreams* and Qin Shou'ou's *Qiu Haitang* were prominent in arousing national indignation.

Others tried to escape reality and wrote vulgar or even pornographic romance stories.

With liberation in 1949, the school, considered a semi-feudal



and semi-colonial byproduct of a bygone era, was over.

But its popularity among China's city residents in the first half of this century cannot be denied. The writings reflected the feelings, desires and illusions of the time.

"Butterfly" writers were nurtured by feudal culture and yet exposed to Western education. Their thinking was very complicated. They were not all representatives of the landlord and comprador classes.

While a number of "Butterfly" novels advocated feudal ideas, quite a few helped people see life as it was, especially its dark side.

Today when we review the history of modern Chinese literature, we cannot evaluate the "Butterfly School" in a summary fashion or simply label it as reactionary, vulgar or pornographic.

"Butterfly" novels were written in a natural style and usually told a compelling story. Plots were drawn from Chinese classics yet

the writers borrowed much from Western novels such as psychological descriptions and narrations interspersed with flashbacks. They were non-political, written for entertainment and catered to lowbrow urban tastes.

For many years, Chinese critics all but ignored the school, repudiating rather than analyzing its works.

But today, when pure literature is challenged by popular literature, a critical re-evaluation is necessary.

To this end, the Sichuan Literature Publishing House recently published a collection of the school's representative works. China Journalism Publishing House, Beijing Publishing House and Anhui Literature Publishing House have also reprinted some of the novels of Zhang Hengshui (1895-1967), a prolific "Butterfly" novelist.

by Yu Wentao (This article appeared in "China Daily" on June 6, 1989)

## Revving Compatriots Cross China

**A**t 60, Taiwan resident He Qingtong never dreamt that he could complete a 4,000-kilometre motorcycle trek across China's mainland.

When he arrived last May 17 at the Great Wall at Badaling after completing the grizzling course with 36 other motorcyclists from Taiwan and the mainland, he was so moved that tears rolled down his cheeks.

The motorcycle tour was just another step in the journey that shows daily increases in Taiwan and the mainland ties between civilians.

The epic motorcycle journey began in Shenzhen, in south China next to Hong Kong, when the bikers revved up their machines and headed for the Great Wall on the other side of China.

The 14 motorcyclists from the mainland and 24 from Taiwan travelled through five provinces,

Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei, Henan and Hebei before arriving at their Badaling goal at the Great Wall.

They roared through cities such as Guangzhou, Shaoguan, Hengyang, Changsha, Yueyang, Wuhan, Zhengzhou and Shijiazhuang as they moved northwards on the first large-scale joint sports venture between the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait in the past 40 years.

One of the bikers, He Qingtong said, "It's really exciting to have held this activity which is like a family gathering!"

During the 17-day ride, the cyclists crossed prairies, basins and mountain ranges. They roared down expressways and then cautiously over rural paths. They rode 10 hours a day at an average speed of 100 kilometres, facing every sort of weather.

Dangers were common along

the way with one death, some injuries and wipe-outs. Despite all the pains of travel, the riders managed to keep in high spirits until the end of their trek.

The motorcyclists passed through such scenic and historical sites as the Hengshan Mountain (one of China's five famous mountains), Changsha (capital of Hunan Province), the Huanghe (Yellow) River and the ancient Han Dynasty tombs at Mawangdui in Changsha. Many of them say it was those scenes that relieved the grinding pressures they were under.

Huang Renhe, captain of the Taiwan motorcyclists and general secretary of the Taiwan Motorcyclists Association said, "It is better to see once than to hear a hundred times. On this tour, I have not only enjoyed the grand and beautiful landscapes of the motherland, but also increased my understanding of the mainland."

In Taiwan, motorcycling is a popular sport and when news leaked out about the Shenzhen-Beijing motorcycle trek, thousands applied to take part. The 24 lucky selected included demobbed soldiers, businessmen, students and office workers.

Most of the mainland participants were from press circles and I, as a special correspondent for this magazine, *Beijing Review*, had the honour of being one of the 14 mainland bikers to go along. We found the Taiwanese cyclists highly skilled and those from the mainland are capable of standing up to the great challenges offered by the intricate mountain paths. By helping each other, we overcame the hurdles and also became good friends.

The 38 motorcycles were Taiwan-made Sanyang, Wild Wolf-125CC models that were supplied by Plassen Company of Hong Kong. Since the end of the motorcade, all the motorcycles have been donated to the China Environmental Protection Fund.

by Zhang Wei

# A Restaurant That Serves Medicinal Food

**A**t the start of this year, when 28-year-old Sun Rongcan, manager of the Baicaooyuan (Hundred-Grass Garden) Restaurant of the Minshan Hotel, was giving lectures on Chinese health food in Japan, he found that many Japanese women were suffering from a disease called epidemic tracheitis.

He linked the cause of the disease to their lifestyle of living indoors, in an air-conditioned world.

That condition Sun found weakened their resistance to disease. He also found that such women would start coughing as soon as they came in contact with cold air.

As "medicine" for the ailment, he recommended a special steamed duck dish served with pomelos. Many of the patients, after eating this, felt their illness alleviated. Such good results were promising in curing a disease that bothers much of the Japanese.

Although it sounds awful, medicinal food is tasty and not at all like taking medicine! When people take the delicious cold dishes, fried food, stewed food and refreshments containing Chinese medicinal herbs, they can't actually tell the difference between it and traditional Chinese food.

Sun Rongcan, who specializes in doing research work on Chinese traditional food, was born into a family that practised Chinese medicine and he graduated from the Chengdu College of Traditional Chinese Medicine.

After reading many ancient books and using his own medical knowledge, he experimented and systematized a large number of health recipes and methods for the production of medicinal

food.

He says the medicinal food that is prepared with edible Chinese medicine and traditional cuisine builds up health while supporting the body's resistance to illnesses.

The function of medicinal food helps to regulate the human body to suit the changing seasons and maintain an inner balance.

Between winter and spring, for example, the human body is low in resistance and can be assisted with diets that bring extra energy.

To apply this concept, Sun started the Baicaooyuan Restaurant in Chengdu, Sichuan that serves dishes of medicinally prepared health food. Elicious dishes that also support body health such as Chinese angelica and fried mutton in soup, duck strips with the traditional Chinese tonic medicine dangshen and ginseng dumplings in soup are all served.

In all, there are over 200 dishes served at the restaurant with its changing menu according to season.

Sun says that such food, besides curing disease, also regulates the body and helps keep it in good condition.

If you just eat this food once you will feel its effect, he says.

Another advantage is that Sichuan Province has its special geographical and climatic conditions that encourage the growth of many rare and valuable Chinese medicinal herbs such as the tuber of elevated gastrodia, the bark of eucommia, the bulb of fritillary and Chinese caterpillar fungus that can be added to the health food recipes.

Since the Baicaooyuan Restaurant opened for business it has

attracted many tourists from Japan, Hong Kong, Macao, South-east Asia, Europe and America.

The Japanese Association for Popularizing Medicinal Food has also invited manager Sun Rongcan to lecture in Japan and is prepared to open a joint-venture health restaurant in Japan.

The Minshan Hotel that houses the health food restaurant is one of the two highest-rated hotels in Chengdu. "Since it started business, the hotel has stressed that it should be administered according to international standards, and that its workers and staff be trained in Hong Kong and Shenzhen," says its General Manager Li Li. "It also manages various restaurants and bars in the hotel."

Next to the Baicaooyuan Restaurant is Cuizhuyuan (Green Bamboo Garden) Restaurant. It provides a variety of delicious refreshments. In addition there is also a Cantonese Restaurant, Sichuanese Restaurant, Western Food Restaurant and a British-style bar.

"Many visitors come here because it is very convenient to tour Sichuan from Chengdu. Chengdu is also the gateway to Tibet," added Li Li.

During the first ten days of June when social turmoil broke out in Chengdu, the hotel's gate, lobby and first floor bar were damaged by thugs. But now, with the rapid return to order, the hotel has been re-opened for business.

The number of Chinese and foreign tourists coming to Sichuan, since the recovery of order, is once more gradually increasing.

by Han Baocheng



Sunset Reflected Over a High Mountain.

## ART PAGE



Wilderness Overgrown With Grass.



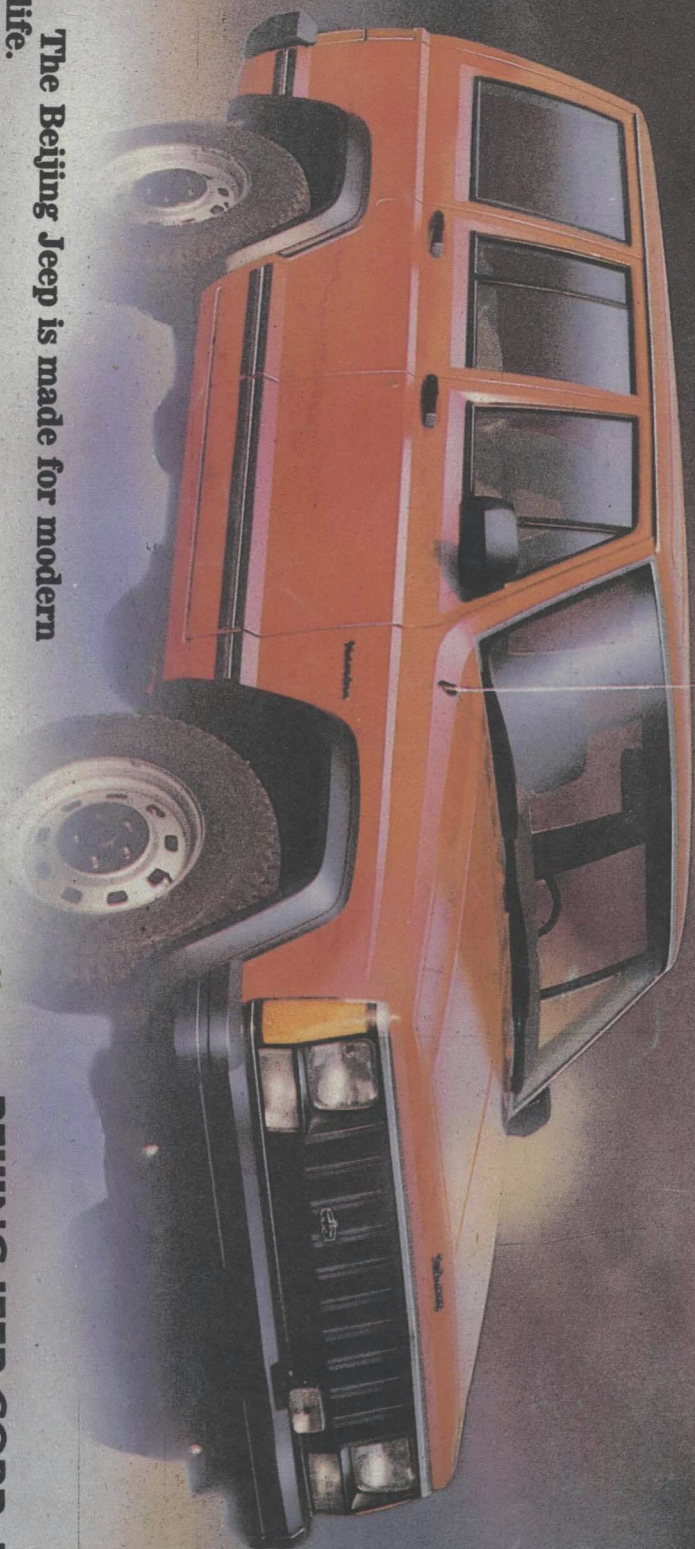
Mountain, Water and a Village.

## Zhao Wenzhu and His Glassworks

Zhao Wenzhu is a farmer painter who was born in Yantai, Shandong in 1955. His folk glass paintings blend modern painting concepts and techniques that suit both refined and popular tastes.



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